

THEOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY OF APELDOORN

THE THEOLOGY OF CONTINUITY:

Henry Drummond's Integration of Faith and Science in the Victorian Era

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Abstract

This study investigates the theological and intellectual synthesis of Henry Drummond (1851–1897), the Scottish evangelist, natural scientist, and theologian whose writings sought to reconcile Christian faith with the emerging scientific worldview of the nineteenth century. While previous scholarship has treated Drummond primarily as a popular preacher or skilled communicator, this thesis re-examines him as a serious theological thinker who developed a coherent methodology—centred on the *law of continuity*—for integrating natural science and Christian doctrine. The research adopts a qualitative, historical-theological approach, drawing upon Drummond’s published works, sermons, correspondence, and relevant secondary sources to reconstruct the personal, intellectual, and cultural influences that shaped his worldview.

The analysis unfolds in three stages. First, it traces Drummond’s spiritual formation and early education within the moral earnestness of the Scottish Free Church of Scotland, which combined reverence for Scripture with disciplined inquiry into nature. Second, it examines his engagement with the scientific culture of Victorian Britain, especially his attempt to read the natural order as continuous with the divine order. In *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883), Drummond argued that the same rational principles governing physical life also illuminate spiritual realities; in *The Ascent of Man* (1893), he extended this logic into evolutionary theory, interpreting altruism and love as the telos of creation. Third, the thesis analyses his doctrine of *biogenesis* and *involution* as theological principles, asserting that spiritual life originates only from divine initiative, thus safeguarding the distinctiveness of grace while affirming the unity of God’s creative activity.

The findings demonstrate that Drummond's originality lies not in opposing evolution but in transforming it into a theologically meaningful narrative of ascent fulfilled in Christ. His theology of continuity provides a conceptual bridge between science and revelation, affirming that nature and spirit disclose the same Creator. Situated between Darwinian naturalism and Huxley's ethical dualism, Drummond articulated a Christ-centred vision in which love, rather than competition, defines the ultimate law of life. The study concludes that his integrative paradigm anticipated later models of dialogue between theology and science and remains a valuable resource for contemporary Christian reflection amid technological and cultural change.

By recovering Drummond's synthesis of intellect and devotion, this research contributes to the broader field of science-and-religion studies, demonstrating that theological engagement with scientific thought need not entail concession but can embody an act of faithful understanding within the continuity of divine revelation.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The dialogue between theology and science has endured throughout history, reaching a decisive turning point in the Victorian era with the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*¹ (1859) and *The Descent of Man*² (1871). These works not only revolutionized scientific thought but also profoundly unsettled the theological landscape of the era, provoking intense controversy within both academic and ecclesiastical circles. For many Christians, Darwin's theory of evolution did not merely introduce a new biological paradigm; it appeared to challenge the authority of Scripture itself, striking at the very foundations of faith and the traditional understanding of divine creation.³

In the twenty-first century, this dialogue continues in new and complex forms.⁴ Technological innovations—ranging from artificial intelligence and humanoid robotics to the metaverse, social media, and other applied sciences—have prompted renewed reflection on the relationship between faith and scientific advancement. Such developments are often perceived as threats to the Christian worldview, echoing the anxieties of the nineteenth century.⁵ In light of these apprehensions,

¹ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, 6th Ed. (New York: P F Collier & Son, 1909), <https://ia802205.us.archive.org/19/items/originofspecies00darwuoft/originofspecies00darwuoft.pdf>.

² Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, 2 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981).

³ Paul B. Badey, "The Christian Implications of Darwin's Theory of Evolution," *European Journal of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2014), 5.

⁴ Shiva Khalili, Fraser Watts, and Harris Wiseman, eds., *A 21st Century Debate on Science and Religion* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), <https://www.cambridgescholars.com/resources/pdfs/978-1-4438-9593-4-sample.pdf>, viii-x.

⁵ Brady D. Lund and Zoë A. Teel, "Fear of AI, Christianity, and the Modern Library," *The Christian Librarian* 67, no. 1 (August 2024): 30–31, <https://doi.org/10.55221/2572-7478.2450>.

contemporary Christians must engage these issues with both discernment and theological depth. Revisiting the insights of nineteenth-century theologians who wrestled with the challenges of Darwinian thought may provide a valuable perspective for navigating today's intersection of theology, science, and technology.

Throughout history, many theologians have actively engaged in discussions that intersect with science, politics, and society. Among the prominent figures contributing to these debates were Charles Hodge (1797–1878), Bishop Samuel Wilberforce (1805–1873), James Orr (1844–1913),⁶ and Abraham Kuyper (1837–1925).⁷ Yet the views of Professor Henry Drummond (1851–1897) have received comparatively limited scholarly attention, despite his distinctive perspective on the relationship between science and theology, articulated through his widely acclaimed work *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*,⁸ as well as his preaching and public lectures. This thesis, therefore, seeks to explore Drummond's unique synthesis of theological and scientific thought—an approach that stood apart within nineteenth-century Christianity—and to consider the personal qualities underlying his engagement with these issues, from which contemporary Christians may still draw valuable insight.

Henry Drummond, a distinguished evangelist, preacher, theologian, and professor of natural science, emerged as a prominent figure of the nineteenth century. Serving as the preacher of Possilpark Church in Glasgow, he regularly delivered sermons while simultaneously holding the

⁶ See (pp. 109–137) for a detailed discussion of Hodge's, Wilberforce's, and Orr's respective contributions to the nineteenth-century science–faith debate.

⁷ Abraham Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Lectures Delivered in the Theological Seminary at Princeton* (New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1899).

⁸ Henry Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, with Cornell University Library (New York: James Pott & Co, 1888), <https://ia800204.us.archive.org/15/items/cu31924029058976/cu31924029058976.pdf>.

chair of natural science at the Free Church College, Glasgow. Beyond his academic and pastoral duties, Drummond was a prolific writer and an influential public speaker whose lectures and addresses reached audiences across continents and were read and heard by hundreds of thousands around the world.⁹

Drummond's outlook on the world was profoundly shaped by his Christian faith. He viewed creation as the magnificent handiwork of God—worthy of admiration, reverence, and responsible stewardship. Guided by this conviction, his scientific curiosity became a natural extension of his theology, compelling him to study the natural world as a visible expression of divine order that invited careful investigation and understanding. Integrating his theological and scientific sensibilities, Drummond articulated a unified vision in which faith and reason complemented rather than conflicted with one another. This synthesis was unconventional in his day, yet it offers enduring insight for contemporary Christians seeking to reconcile spiritual conviction with scientific engagement. Grasping the foundations of Drummond's perspective may thus enable modern believers to perceive creation through the same lens of wonder and coherence that animated his thought.

Accordingly, this study investigates how Drummond's integration of theology and science shaped his theological outlook and explores its continuing relevance for contemporary Christian thought in an age increasingly defined by scientific and technological advancement.

⁹ See the discussion of Drummond's international readership and circulation figures in the quotation on pp. 120–121, where contemporary reports estimate that his lectures and writings reached audiences numbering in the hundreds of thousands.

Literature Review

Following Henry Drummond's death in 1897, a substantial body of biographical literature emerged, reflecting the widespread admiration and fascination surrounding his life and thought. Among these works were several full-length biographies and shorter biographical sketches written by contemporaries who knew him personally and held him in deep respect. The first and most comprehensive account—spanning 541 pages—appeared only eighteen months after his passing and was authored by his close friend and colleague, Professor George Adam Smith.¹⁰ Smith had known Drummond since their youth, and their friendship endured until Drummond's untimely death at the age of forty-six. As both an academic peer and an intimate acquaintance, Smith possessed exceptional insight into Drummond's intellectual development, personal convictions, and spiritual temperament. Much of this understanding was shaped through their longstanding companionship in the Gaiety Club, a small circle of friends who met annually for around two decades to discuss theology, science, faith, and personal life—conversations that profoundly informed Smith's portrayal of Drummond's life and thought.

Four years after Drummond's passing, Cuthbert Lennox—his former classmate at the University of Edinburgh—published a 285-page biographical study that offered valuable insight into Drummond's ministry among university students. Lennox's account highlights Drummond's profound influence on the academic and spiritual lives of young people, whose admiration for him stemmed from both his intellectual depth and his pastoral warmth.¹¹ Around the same period, in

¹⁰ George Adam Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, with University of California Libraries (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898), <http://archive.org/details/lifeofhenrydrumm00smit>.

¹¹ Cuthbert Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, with Harvard University (New York: James Pott & Co., 1901), <http://archive.org/details/practicallifewo01lenngoog>.

1901, James Y. Simpson produced a more concise 160-page biography that traced Drummond's life from his early years in Stirling, Scotland, to his prominence as a leading advocate for the harmony between science and theology. Written in the aftermath of the Darwinian controversy, Simpson's work situates Drummond within the broader struggle of late nineteenth-century Christianity to defend and reinterpret faith amid the challenges posed by evolutionary theory.¹²

Several decades later, in 1953, James W. Kennedy, an American minister and author, edited and published *Henry Drummond: An Anthology*.¹³ Appearing in an era shaped by Einstein's theory of relativity, Kennedy's work drew parallels between the scientific challenges of his own time and those that Drummond had encountered in responding to Darwinian evolutionary theory. The *Anthology* provides valuable insight into Drummond's distinctive style of communication, highlighting both the substance of his message and the persuasive method through which he sought to bridge the realms of faith and scientific understanding.

In addition to the numerous biographical accounts, five doctoral dissertations have examined various aspects of Henry Drummond's life and work. The earliest of these, written by Malcolm C. McIver in 1959, focuses on Drummond's preaching, particularly his ministry among university students.¹⁴ McIver's study analyses Drummond's influence on students at the University of Edinburgh during the final decade of his life. Through his leadership in the nascent Christian Student Movement—of which he was one of the pioneering figures who helped lay its

¹² James Young Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, with University of California Libraries (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901), <http://archive.org/details/henrydrummond00simprich>.

¹³ James W. Kennedy, *Henry Drummond: An Anthology*, with Internet Archive (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), <https://archive.org/details/henrydrummondant0000drum/page/n7/mode/2up>.

¹⁴ Malcolm Chester McIver, "Preaching of Henry Drummond: With Special Reference to His Work among Students" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1959), accessed June 1, 2018, <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/30486>.

foundation—Drummond’s message gained widespread appeal across English-speaking nations, including Great Britain and the United States. McIver concludes that Drummond’s ministry was “unique in originality, power, and sustained appeal, from all others who ministered to students in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.”¹⁵

The rise of Darwin’s theory of evolution presented a profound challenge to the convictions of many preachers and theologians, shaking the intellectual and doctrinal foundations of Christianity. Although Darwin himself did not explicitly deny the existence of God, he maintained that the identity and nature of such a being were ultimately unknowable. In an age increasingly shaped by agnosticism—a dominant intellectual current that weakened the faith of many Christian students—Drummond emerged as a persuasive voice of reconciliation. He argued that science and theology were not adversaries but complementary disciplines, both converging in their pursuit of truth and united in their recognition of divine order within creation.

Subsequently, Kenneth R. Schott produced a doctoral dissertation that examined Drummond’s rhetoric of reconciliation.¹⁶ Adopting a rhetorical framework, Schott analysed Drummond’s career and argued that his enduring influence in both historical and religious contexts stemmed primarily from his remarkable communicative ability. Schott underscores that Drummond “achieved his impact upon history and upon the religious world largely through his skill as a communicator,” highlighting the centrality of rhetoric in advancing Drummond’s message of harmony between faith and scientific inquiry.¹⁷

¹⁵ McIver, “Preaching of Henry Drummond,” i.

¹⁶ Kenneth Ronald Schott, “An Analysis of Henry Drummond and His Rhetoric of Reconciliation” (Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1972).

¹⁷ Schott, “An Analysis of Henry Drummond,” 6.

According to Schott's analysis, Drummond sought to reconcile science and theology by proposing that "the evolutionary process was God's method of creating and perfecting both natural and spiritual life."¹⁸ Notably, Drummond's rhetorical style was marked by a restrained use of explicit ethical appeals. Yet, those who encountered him personally or engaged with his writings discerned a profound moral foundation grounded in his relationship with Christ, which subtly permeated both his message and manner of communication.

Joan M. Wysong also completed a doctoral dissertation on Henry Drummond, employing a historical approach to examine his so-called "new" evangelical theology.¹⁹ Her study contends that Drummond's theological outlook aligns closely with liberal theology. In her abstract, Wysong argues that Drummond's writings intertwine elements of evolutionism, naturalism, Christianity, and Pelagianism. She observes that although Drummond affirms the doctrines of sin and rebirth, he simultaneously minimizes other core Christian teachings—at times to the point of exclusion—making it difficult to locate him precisely within either orthodox or non-Christian traditions.²⁰ To substantiate her analysis, Wysong explores Drummond's views on God, Christ, sin, death, rebirth, and life. While her observations illuminate the doctrinal scope of Drummond's theology, they risk fragmenting what he himself conceived as a single, coherent vision in which God, Christ, sin, and life are interdependent realities unified under the law of continuity that binds the natural and the spiritual.

¹⁸ Schott, "An Analysis of Henry Drummond," 162.

¹⁹ Joan M. Wysong, "The 'New' Evangelical Theology of Henry Drummond 1857-97. An Historical Analysis" (Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1977).

²⁰ Wysong, "The 'New' Evangelical Theology," Abstract.

Mark J. Toone, who completed his Ph.D. at the University of St Andrews, presents a counterargument to Wysong's interpretation. While recognising the value of her focus on Drummond's theology and the originality of her insights, Toone maintains that her analysis is weakened by a discernible theological bias. He further argues that Wysong neglects the developmental and evolutionary dimensions of Drummond's theology, inaccurately depicting him as a consistent advocate of liberal theology throughout his ministry.²¹ In his dissertation, *Evangelicalism in Transition: A Comparative Analysis of the Work and Theology of D. L. Moody and His Protégés, Henry Drummond and R. A. Torrey*, Toone substantiates these claims through a rigorous comparative examination.

Toone's research situates Henry Drummond within the broader context of the profound transformation that reshaped British and American evangelicalism in the nineteenth century. During this period, an increasing rift emerged between traditionalists and modernists who held divergent views on Christian theology. This divide was characterized by disputes over the authority of Scripture, the implications of Darwinian evolutionary theory, and growing dissatisfaction among many thinkers with the rigidity of Calvinistic doctrine.²² By the early twentieth century, these tensions had crystallized into two distinct branches of evangelical Christianity: the liberal and the fundamentalist movements. Within this landscape, D. L. Moody stood as a central figure, mentoring two protégés—Henry Drummond and R. A. Torrey—who came to represent, respectively, the liberal and fundamentalist expressions of evangelical faith.

²¹ Mark J. Toone, "Evangelicalism in Transition: A Comparative Analysis of the Work and Theology of D. L. Moody and His Protégés, Henry Drummond and R. A. Torrey" (Dissertation, University of St Andrews, 1988), 14.

²² Toone, "Evangelicalism in Transition," 4–5.

Toone's research findings suggest that Moody effectively avoided addressing the controversial issues by not aligning himself with either faction. However, his two protégés were not as successful in avoiding the same controversy. Therefore, Toone concludes that while Moody remained neutral, his protégés were not immune to the divisive issues that characterized the era. Toone wrote,

“Drummond dealt with the changes by picking and choosing what he would accept from the new thought and coupling that with the things he was prepared to retain from the old.” Torrey's response, along with other Fundamentalists,²³ was to denounce modernism in its entirety and push forward a revitalized and fortified brand of evangelicalism, reminiscent in its components of Moody's older orthodoxy but suffused with a spirit entirely foreign to the great evangelist.²⁴

While Toone rightly notes Torrey's reaction as part of the widening divide between modernism and conservative faith, his reading of Drummond tends to understate the continuity between Drummond's evangelistic spirit and the moral earnestness of earlier evangelicalism.

Anne Scott's doctoral dissertation, completed in 2001 at the University of Kent at Canterbury, represents the most recent major academic study of Henry Drummond—a pivotal figure in nineteenth-century theological and scientific discourse.²⁵ Scott's research examines the development of Drummond's scientific theology, with particular focus on his first published work, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883). In this work, Drummond sought to reconcile Darwin's theory of evolution with the concepts of divine providence and metaphysical progress, thereby

²³ Edward B Davis, “Science and Religious Fundamentalism in the 1920s,” *American Scientist* 93, no. May-June (2005): 254. Edward B. Davis explains that the term *fundamentalist* was originally defined by Curtis Laws, editor of a national Baptist weekly, as referring to those “who mean to do battle royal in defense of certain traditional Christian beliefs and against the efforts of liberal Protestants to make those beliefs more consistent with secular thought and culture.”

²⁴ Toone, “Evangelicalism in Transition,” 320.

²⁵ Anne Scott, “Practices of Witnessing in Victorian Science and Religion: The Heresy Trial of William Robertson Smith and the Development of Henry Drummond's Evolutionary Scientific Theology.” (Ph.D., University of Kent, Canterbury, 2001), accessed June 26, 2020, <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.369687>.

constructing a theological framework that grounded Christian doctrine within an evolutionary paradigm.²⁶

Drummond served as Professor of natural science at the Free Church College in Glasgow, an institution affiliated with the Free Church of Scotland and noted for its commitment to Calvinist orthodoxy. Scott's research investigates how this ecclesial and academic setting shaped Drummond's engagement with contemporary debates concerning the cultural authority of science, biblical scholarship, and religious texts. She concludes that Drummond's theological outlook was profoundly influenced by the historical and cultural milieu of his time—marked by vigorous scientific and theological discourse—as well as by the distinct confessional identity of the institution in which he taught.²⁷

Although several doctoral dissertations have been devoted to Henry Drummond, a notable gap remains in the literature concerning his theological perspective during his tenure as both theologian and science educator. In particular, further study is needed to explore the formative influences that shaped his understanding of the relationship between the spiritual and natural worlds, especially his interpretation of Darwinian evolutionary theory.

Although Drummond's theological ideas were not entirely original, the distinctive combination of his character, reputation, and intellectual outlook gave his writings and addresses exceptional influence, captivating audiences and readers across the world. A more comprehensive examination of Drummond's theological mindset is therefore essential to deepen our understanding of his

²⁶ Scott, "Practices of Witnessing in Victorian Science and Religion," 1.

²⁷ Scott, "Practices of Witnessing in Victorian Science and Religion," 176.

thought and to assess how his ideas were received by both his contemporaries and later generations. Such an inquiry also contributes to the broader discourse on the relationship between theology and science in the nineteenth century, illuminating the complex interplay between religious belief and scientific advancement during this transformative period.

This study, therefore, seeks to examine Henry Drummond's personality, family background, upbringing, and the spiritual and scientific influences that shaped his worldview and theological paradigm. It aims to derive insights that may inform and guide contemporary Christians and theologians. In Drummond's time, many believers faced a crisis of faith provoked by the emergence of Darwinian evolutionary theory. Today, Christians encounter different yet analogous tensions between faith and secular society, as technological developments—such as social media and artificial intelligence—challenge traditional understandings of human identity and purpose, leading some to regard Christianity as outdated or irrelevant. This persistent struggle reflects a broader departure from a worldview grounded in God's Word. By exploring Drummond's integration of scientific inquiry and Christian faith, this study seeks to provide a framework through which modern Christians, particularly theologians engaging with public life, might approach contemporary issues of faith and technology with similar discernment and coherence.

Methodology

This study employs a qualitative historical-theological approach to examine the life, worldview, and paradigm of Henry Drummond, with particular attention to the personal, intellectual, and spiritual influences that shaped his thought. The research is primarily interpretive and analytical,

grounded in the examination of biographical materials, Drummond's published works, sermons, correspondence, and secondary scholarship. Through this approach, the study seeks to uncover the formative factors that contributed to Drummond's integration of scientific and theological perspectives and to evaluate the continuing relevance of his thought within contemporary Christian discourse.

Within this historical-theological framework, the study adopts a narrative–developmental approach. Rather than organising Drummond's thought thematically around predefined doctrines or problems, the thesis reconstructs the historical emergence of his theological synthesis through chronological analysis of texts, contexts, and intellectual influences. As a result, key works may be revisited at different stages of the study, each time examined from a distinct developmental perspective. Critical engagement is therefore embedded within the historical analysis itself—through attention to tension, reception, and limitation—rather than presented as a separate systematic or normative evaluation. This methodological orientation reflects the study's reconstructive aim and informs the structure of the thesis as a whole.

Accordingly, the investigation begins with an exploration of Drummond's family background and the cultural and intellectual environment in which he was raised. This includes an analysis of the social, moral, and educational values instilled in his early years, followed by a consideration of his formal education—both at school and at the university level—as a foundation for his later engagement with science and theology.

Subsequently, the study traces Drummond's vocational journey, from his early ministry as an evangelist under the mentorship of D. L. Moody to his pastoral service at Possilpark Church, his public addresses in London, and his lecture tours in America. It also examines his scientific expeditions in America and Africa, his work with the Boys' Brigade and student ministries, and his final years of life and reflection. Each stage of his career is analysed in relation to the development of his theological and scientific synthesis.

The next stage of analysis focuses on identifying the defining characteristics of Drummond's worldview—how his personality and intellectual disposition shaped his understanding of faith, nature, and humanity. This includes examining how his integrative perspective contributed to strengthening the faith of Christians who struggled to reconcile their religious conviction with scientific advancement in his era.

Finally, the study considers the practical implications of Drummond's perspective for the contemporary Christian community. In particular, it explores how his model of engagement between faith and science might inform present-day theological reflection on technological innovation, including artificial intelligence and digital media. By doing so, the research demonstrates how Drummond's integrative paradigm can offer valuable insights for viewing technology not as a threat to faith but as a potential means of deepening spiritual understanding and fostering a renewed sense of connection with God.

This study approaches Henry Drummond's thought through a historical–theological and narrative-developmental lens. Rather than beginning with abstract doctrinal evaluation, it first reconstructs

the historical formation of Drummond's theological imagination in order to clarify how his integrative vision of science and faith emerged. This approach reflects the conviction that theological positions are best assessed after their intellectual, cultural, and spiritual conditions of emergence have been carefully established.

Accordingly, Chapters II and III adopt a primarily narrative-developmental orientation. These chapters trace the contexts, influences, and intellectual habits that shaped Drummond's worldview, including his family background, educational formation, scientific training, evangelical commitments, and key personal relationships. The aim in these chapters is not to adjudicate the coherence or doctrinal adequacy of Drummond's theology in full, but to map the processes through which his integrative approach took shape and gained plausibility within its nineteenth-century setting.

Critical and analytical evaluation is undertaken explicitly in the later stages of the thesis. Chapter IV examines Drummond's mature theological synthesis, engaging directly with his published works and subjecting his method to sustained analysis, including its conceptual strengths, internal tensions, and implications for questions such as scientific analogy, continuity, and Scriptural authority. Chapter V then synthesises the findings and reflects on their broader significance for contemporary discussions at the intersection of theology and science.

This sequential structure allows narrative reconstruction and critical analysis to function in a complementary rather than competing manner: historical development establishes the explanatory ground upon which theological evaluation is subsequently conducted.

Research Questions

To guide this investigation into the life, worldview, and theological paradigm of Henry Drummond, the following research questions were formulated:

1. Spiritual Formation and Early Influences

How did Henry Drummond's family background, spiritual upbringing, and early education shape the development of his worldview and theological paradigm?

2. Scientific Engagement and Faith Integration

In what ways did Drummond's scientific training and intellectual curiosity influence his theological outlook, and how did his faith, in turn, inform his understanding of science and nature?

3. View of Nature and the Natural Order

How did Drummond conceptualize the relationship between the natural and spiritual realms, and what theological meaning did he ascribe to scientific laws and discoveries?

4. Faith and Evolutionary Theory

How did Drummond reconcile the tension between Christian faith and the Darwinian theory of evolution, and what distinctive theological framework did he propose in *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*?

5. Personality and Theological Expression

In what ways did Drummond's personality traits—his optimism, empathy, and intellectual curiosity—shape his outlook on faith, ministry, and engagement with contemporary issues?

6. Distinctive Features of Drummond's Paradigm

What were the defining features of Drummond's theological paradigm, and how did his synthesis of science and theology distinguish him from other nineteenth-century thinkers?

7. Impact on Christian Faith and Community

How did Drummond's writings and public ministry strengthen the faith of Christians in an era marked by intellectual and spiritual upheaval?

8. Contemporary Relevance

How might Drummond's integrative approach between faith and science inform the response of modern Christians—particularly theologians and faith leaders—to contemporary challenges such as technological innovation, artificial intelligence, and the secularization of society?

Chapter II

Henry Drummond, His Childhood and School Years

The preceding chapter established the intellectual and theological context of the nineteenth century and introduced Henry Drummond as a central figure seeking harmony between faith and science. This chapter now turns from ideas to formation—examining the personal, familial, and educational influences that shaped Drummond’s distinctive worldview.

Drummond’s enduring influence as both evangelist and natural scientist cannot be understood apart from his early development. His character, spirituality, and intellectual curiosity were moulded by a Christian upbringing that combined moral discipline with intellectual encouragement. The following sections trace the key formative factors in Drummond’s life—his family background, his conversion and calling, his schooling and university education, and the individuals and events that shaped his early faith and scientific outlook. Together, these influences reveal how the young Drummond grew into a figure uniquely prepared to bridge theology and the emerging sciences of his age.

2.1 The Shaping

Merryfield and Subedi of Ohio University researched the relationship between upbringing and worldview, concluding that “a person’s worldview is shaped by his or her family and upbringing, community beliefs and values, experiences, and knowledge.”²⁸ This observation finds particular

²⁸ Merry M. Merryfield and Binaya Subedi, “A Global Education Framework for Teaching about the World’s Women,” *National Council for the Social Studies* 67, no. 1 (2003): 15.

relevance in the life of Professor Henry Drummond. To grasp Drummond's distinctive perspective—one that views theology and science as complementary instruments for understanding God's creation—it is essential to begin with an examination of his formative background.

A range of interrelated influences contributed to the development of Drummond's worldview: his family environment, his personal conversion and call to ministry, his formative years at school and university, the literature that enlightened his thinking, his association with the D. L. Moody Evangelistic Mission, his collaboration with Professor Geikie during his early scientific formation, his involvement with the early leaders of the Student Movement such as Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd, and his enduring friendships within the Gaiety Club. Collectively, these experiences shaped Drummond's intellectual and spiritual synthesis, nurturing the integrative vision through which he sought to harmonise scientific discovery with theological reflection.

2.1.1 Family

The lineage of Henry Drummond can be traced to his grandfather, William Drummond, a nurseryman at Coney Park, Bridge of Allan. William was the founder of William Drummond & Sons, Seedsmen and Nurserymen at Stirling and Dublin,²⁹ a thriving enterprise that provided for his extensive family of eleven sons and four daughters. Yet his sense of responsibility extended beyond material provision: deeply committed to the moral and spiritual welfare of his children, William also established a Sunday school for the youth of a neighbouring village, reflecting the family's enduring Christian convictions.

²⁹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 18.

Among William's eleven sons, Peter Drummond and Henry Drummond Senior stand out for their fervent religious devotion. Peter dedicated himself to evangelistic work, while Henry Senior was renowned within the town for his philanthropic spirit and active participation in religious initiatives.³⁰ Described as a man of refined appearance, genial temperament, and exemplary conduct, Henry Senior embodied a balance of dignity and warmth that left a lasting impression on his community. These same qualities—his integrity, humour, and gracious bearing—were evidently inherited by his son, Henry Drummond, whose character would later harmonise intellectual seriousness with personal charm in his ministry and academic life.

Examining Henry Drummond's paternal lineage reveals the influence of a closely knit family that not only upheld strong spiritual values but also cherished humour as an essential element of daily life. This distinctive combination of faith and light-heartedness contributed significantly to shaping Henry Drummond Jr. into a man whose spirituality was both authentic and approachable. His character embodied a balance between moral earnestness and genial humanity—traits that would later define his ministry and personal appeal.

Testimonies from his contemporaries affirm this harmonious blend. His close friend George Adam Smith remarked on Drummond's calm composure and quiet eloquence, observing that "his speech was quiet and restrained,—an excited preacher was always a wonder to him,—he had a perilous sense of humour."³¹ Likewise, Cuthbert Lennox described Drummond as "a fine example of natural goodness; a beautiful type of normal religious unfolding," noting that "to the end of his life

³⁰ Lennox, *Practical Life*, 3.

³¹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 67–68.

humour and gaiety were matched in him with charming urbanity and unfailing courtesy.”³² Such accounts reveal that Drummond’s disposition was not merely inherited but cultivated within a familial environment that united piety with warmth, seriousness with wit, and faith with humanity—qualities that would profoundly inform his theological outlook and public ministry.

On his maternal side, Henry Drummond was also connected to a lineage marked by intellectual curiosity and scientific aptitude. His uncle, James Blackwood, distinguished himself as a man of science, displaying an early mastery of chemistry and geology. From youth, Blackwood constructed his own *camera obscura*, microscope, and telescope, and demonstrated exceptional skill in petrology.³³ His genial and enthusiastic temperament, together with his capacity to inspire young minds in both scientific inquiry and religious service, closely paralleled the traits later evident in his nephew.³⁴

While it cannot be assumed that the interests or talents of one or two family members necessarily extend to others, the striking resemblance between Drummond and his uncle—an affinity noted by George Adam Smith—suggests that heredity may have played a formative role in shaping their shared intellectual gifts, spiritual sensitivities, and engaging personalities.³⁵ These accounts thus provide persuasive evidence that Drummond’s enduring Christian faith and his deep fascination with natural science were profoundly influenced by the intellectual and moral inheritance of his family.

³² Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, xxi.

³³ Petrology refers to the scientific study of rocks, including their composition, structure, and origin. As a recognised branch of geology, it developed during the nineteenth century alongside advances in mineralogical analysis and the study of Earth history. See Herbert E. Gregory, “History of Geology,” *The Scientific Monthly* 12, no. 2 (1921): 97–126.

³⁴ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 19–20.

³⁵ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 20.

2.1.2 Conversion and Calling

From an early age, Henry Drummond Jr. exhibited a reflective concern for matters of faith and belief. Among the eleven children of William Drummond, it was his uncle Peter Drummond who exerted the most formative influence on young Henry's spiritual life, guiding him to accept Jesus Christ as his personal Saviour at the age of nine. Cuthbert Lennox records a moving account of this event, describing how Henry, deeply conscious of his lack of love for Christ, was brought to tears before yielding his heart in faith. Lennox writes:

After a meeting for children, held in his uncle Peter's drawing-room, he remained for personal conversation. The chronicler of this incident describes him as a little curly-haired boy, and says, "He was weeping to think that he had never loved that dear Saviour who took the punishment that he deserved. We prayed together, and he gave his heart to Jesus." Years after, he told the students of Amherst College in America "that it was at that meeting in his uncle's home that he began to love the Saviour, and became a happy Christian."³⁶

This moment of conversion proved to be a defining experience in Drummond's spiritual formation, setting the trajectory for his lifelong understanding of divine grace and redemption. It shaped the theological orientation that would later distinguish his preaching and writing—one centred less on the fear of judgement and more on the transforming power of God's love. This emphasis, vividly reflected in his interpretation of 1 Corinthians 13, underscores Drummond's conviction that love is not merely an ethical virtue but the very essence of divine life—a perspective that would permeate both his theology and his engagement with the natural world.^{37 38}

³⁶ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 5.

³⁷ Unprepared for D. L. Moody's impromptu request to speak on the Word of God, Henry Drummond quickly turned to *1 Corinthians 13* and began to expound the passage verse by verse. His spontaneous yet eloquent exposition left the audience deeply moved, particularly Moody himself, who later confessed that he had never before heard so profound an interpretation of the chapter. Impressed by both the insight and simplicity of Drummond's message, Moody urged him to share it with a wider audience—a suggestion that ultimately led to the publication of Drummond's celebrated work, *The Greatest Thing in the World*.

³⁸ Henry Drummond, *The Greatest Thing in the World And Other Addresses* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1920), <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/d/drummond/greatest/cache/greatest.pdf>.

During his early adolescence, around the age of twelve to fourteen, Henry Drummond experienced an event that would mark his first distinct sense of calling towards evangelistic ministry. This occurred at a crowded meeting in Stirling, conducted by the Rev. James Robertson of Edinburgh. Because of the large attendance, the overflow of children was invited to sit in the pulpit—Henry among them. Demonstrating remarkable familiarity with the Scriptures, he was able to identify correctly the passage to which Robertson referred. This action earned him the minister’s praise and a prayerful benediction upon his future. George Adam Smith recounts the incident, as originally told by Mr. Fotheringham:

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 three and seventeen.’ ‘Right, my boy; now take my place and read it out.’ Then from the pulpit came the silvery voice: ‘And they shall be Mine, saith the Lord of Hosts, in that day when I make up My jewels.’ Mr. Robertson laid his hand on the boy’s head and said, ‘Well done. I hope one day you will be a minister.’³⁹

These two formative spiritual experiences—the first his childhood conversion, and the second this early recognition of ministerial potential—served as affirmations of Drummond’s divine calling. They pointed not to a conventional parish ministry, but to a broader vocation as an evangelist and author whose writings would renew Christian faith and devotion to Christ, the Saviour.

Another significant episode in Drummond’s spiritual journey occurred when he celebrated his nineteenth birthday away from home. Reflecting upon his life up to that point, he expressed profound gratitude for the continual evidence of divine mercy and kindness. His reflection, recorded by George Adam Smith, reads:

In looking back over my past years, I see nothing but an unbroken chain of mercies. Few lives have been as happy as mine. Few have shared as many pleasures and borne as few griefs. The rod of affliction may conquer many, but if I am subdued at all I have been killed with kindness unmerited,

³⁹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 25; Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 5.

unrequited, unsolicited, unexampled kindness. What can I render unto God for all His gifts to me? Alas, I have rendered nothing but evil. . . . As honestly, I think I can say that God in His great goodness has given me little care for the things of the world.⁴⁰

This testimony reveals a spiritual maturity unusual for his age—a disposition of humility, gratitude, and detachment from worldly ambition. It deepened in him a conviction of God’s unwavering mercy, justice, and goodness, even amidst intellectual and cultural challenges such as the rise of Darwinian evolutionary theory. This unshakable assurance in divine sovereignty laid the theological groundwork for Drummond’s later conviction that science and theology need not exist in opposition but in harmony—a conviction most fully expressed in his seminal work, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*.⁴¹

2.1.3 School and College Years

Henry Drummond was born in Stirling on 17 August 1851, the second son in a family of four sons and two daughters.⁴² At the age of six, he entered Stirling High School, where his vivacity and leadership on the playground often outshone his academic achievements, yet marked him early as a boy of distinction among his peers.⁴³ Together with his brothers, Henry spent many hours playing

⁴⁰ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 35–36.

⁴¹ Drummond’s conviction that science and theology were mutually illuminating rather than antagonistic is explicitly articulated throughout *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. He wrote that “Science and Religion should have never been contrasted in the first place” (*Preface*, v), and further urged that “the first step in their deliverance must be not to ‘reconcile’ Nature and Religion, but to exhibit Nature in Religion.... Science is the demonstration of the supernaturalness of the Natural.... until in the impersonal authority of Law men everywhere recognise the Authority of God” (*Preface*, xxii–xxiii). He also maintained that “if the purification of Religion comes from Science, the purification of Science, in a deeper sense, shall come from Religion.... Science [must] take its place as the great expositor” (*Introduction*, 31), and defined the Law of Continuity as the principle that “as the Natural Laws are continuous through the universe of matter and of space, so will they be continuous through the universe of spirit” (*Introduction*, 41–42). A few months after the publication of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, Drummond reiterated this view in his address, “*The Contribution of Science to Christianity*,” delivered before the Christian Medical Association at Edinburgh University, chaired by Professor Geikie, asserting that “without theology, the sciences are incomplete, and theology can only complete itself by completing the sciences.” This theme will be further developed and theologically analysed in Chapter V.

⁴² Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 12.

⁴³ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 15.

in a secluded corner of King’s Park, situated opposite their home. The park’s natural beauty and its commanding view of the ancient Stirling Castle left a profound impression on his young imagination, nurturing in him a lifelong affection for his homeland—an affection later expressed after his travels abroad in the exclamation, “Man, there’s nothing like this anywhere.”⁴⁴

Fishing soon became one of Henry’s cherished recreations, a pastime that endured throughout his life. These outdoor excursions brought him into close communion with nature, sharpening his powers of observation and instilling a habit of studying the life and behaviour of creatures in their natural habitats, particularly the nesting of birds.⁴⁵ Such experiences contributed significantly to the vivid natural imagery and descriptive precision that would later characterise his writing, enabling him to portray scenes of nature with the freshness and clarity of direct observation.

In addition to his love of the outdoors, Henry displayed notable skill in chess, a pursuit that occasionally earned him invitations from the school’s rector to join intimate chess gatherings.⁴⁶ This combination of aesthetic sensitivity and strategic intellect reveals the early development of a balanced mind—at once imaginative, reflective, and disciplined.⁴⁷ From these formative years, Drummond’s natural curiosity and keen powers of observation emerged as defining traits,

⁴⁴ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 17.

⁴⁵ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 18.

⁴⁶ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 18.

⁴⁷ Psychological studies have long associated chess proficiency with advanced cognitive abilities, particularly logical reasoning and disciplined thought. As early as the pioneering research of Alfred Binet, and later through the work of Russian psychologists during the 1925 Moscow tournament, evidence suggested that chess demands a capacity for abstract reasoning, concentration, and the discovery of logical principles. These studies also led Soviet scholars to regard chess as an activity that cultivates self-discipline and enhances intellectual competence. See Fernand Gobet, *The Psychology of Chess*, in *The Psychology of Chess* (London & New York: Routledge, 2018), 2–3, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315441887>.

preparing him for the intellectual rigour and spiritual insight that would later shape both his scientific and theological work.

Upon leaving school at the age of fifteen, Henry Drummond's growing fascination with natural science—particularly geology and botany—became increasingly evident. Reflecting later on this early passion, he remarked, “It seemed to come naturally to knock about with a hammer.”⁴⁸ He subsequently matriculated at the University of Edinburgh, the university that would remain central to his academic and ministerial life and later serve as the birthplace of the Student Movement with which he became closely associated.

During his undergraduate years, Drummond joined the Philomathic Society, initially with some reluctance, yet it was within this forum that his gifts for observation, argument, and expression were first honed. His inaugural address, delivered on *Novels and Novel-Reading*, received enthusiastic commendation from his peers and tutors alike.⁴⁹ Through his active participation in the Society, Drummond cultivated a disciplined intellect and refined his command of the English language—skills that would later underpin the clarity and persuasiveness of both his scientific and theological writing.⁵⁰

While still a student, Henry Drummond was deeply influenced by the fervent addresses he heard during a series of mission services at Cambusbarron, experiences that stirred within him a strong conviction to devote his life to Christian ministry.⁵¹ Having conveyed this aspiration to his father,

⁴⁸ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 6.

⁴⁹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 31–32.

⁵⁰ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 32.

⁵¹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 39.

he soon left the University of Edinburgh before completing his degree and successfully passed the Board Examination, enabling him to enter the New College of the Free Church of Scotland. There he distinguished himself both academically and spiritually, being elected President of the Theological Society.

At New College, Drummond applied himself diligently to the study of Hebrew, Apologetics, and natural science, excelling particularly in the latter, for which he received the first prize.⁵² His intellectual horizons were further broadened by a brief summer term at Tübingen University, where he encountered continental approaches to theology and biblical scholarship that would later enrich his own integrative perspective. Upon his return to Scotland, Drummond temporarily deferred his formal studies to concentrate on natural science while simultaneously engaging in mission work, combining academic inquiry with practical evangelism.⁵³

Despite these commitments, he continued to preside over the Theological Society, where he delivered his influential paper *Spiritual Diagnosis*—an essay that anticipated many of the themes that would later characterise his theological convictions.⁵⁴ This occurred shortly before the arrival of D. L. Moody in Liverpool, whose revival meetings ignited a new wave of evangelical enthusiasm. Following two formative years of service as Moody’s protégé and assistant in the Young Men’s Christian meetings, Drummond returned to New College to complete his theological training.⁵⁵ Throughout these years, his intellectual and spiritual journey reflected a seamless

⁵² Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 46.

⁵³ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 53.

⁵⁴ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 53–55.

⁵⁵ During the Great Mission of 1873–1875, D. L. Moody conducted evangelistic campaigns across the United Kingdom, drawing widespread participation from clergy and theological students alike. The faculty of New College supported the movement by permitting students to assist in the revival efforts throughout various cities. It was in this context that Drummond came to Moody’s attention as a gifted evangelist, particularly effective among young

interplay between faith and reason, as he sought to unite his calling to divine service with his scientific curiosity—a synthesis that would define his later ministry and enduring legacy.

2.1.4 Books

Books played a formative role in shaping Henry Drummond’s intellectual and spiritual worldview. Renowned for his acute powers of observation, contemplative depth, appreciation of beauty, and gift for vivid description, Drummond freely acknowledged his debt to literature as a source of both intellectual and moral cultivation. “I owe more to these books than to all the professors,” he once confessed, underscoring the profound influence of reading on his development as both thinker and preacher.⁵⁶

From John Ruskin (1819–1900), author of *The Stones of Venice*,⁵⁷ Drummond learned the art of seeing. Ruskin’s detailed studies of painting and architecture trained him to perceive the intricacies of colour, texture, and form in the natural world. Through this literary apprenticeship, Drummond came to discern beauty even in the ordinary, viewing creation through newly awakened eyes—an experience he compared to that of the blind receiving sight, echoing the transformation expressed in John Newton’s hymn “Amazing Grace.”⁵⁸ Ruskin’s own attentiveness to detail deeply shaped

audiences, and was frequently deployed wherever Moody’s campaigns required him. For approximately two years, Drummond did not attend classes, and there is no evidence to suggest that he was formally granted a leave of absence from his studies. The revival occupied the energies of many within the Free Church community, making his temporary withdrawal a natural consequence of the movement’s momentum. Upon his eventual return to New College, most of his contemporaries had already graduated, and Drummond resumed his studies among younger cohorts—who regarded him with admiration as one who had already preached to thousands.

⁵⁶ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 12.

⁵⁷ John Ruskin, *The Stone of Venice* (Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1900), <https://ia800206.us.archive.org/32/items/stonesveniceillu03ruskuoft/stonesveniceillu03ruskuoft.pdf>.

⁵⁸ Although nineteenth-century Evangelical thought was often shaped by the Romantic movement, Henry Drummond’s sensibilities cannot be accurately described as Romantic in the sense outlined by David W. Bebbington. In his analysis of Romantic influences on Evangelical Christianity, Bebbington identifies six defining characteristics: poetic sensibility, heightened awareness of the supernatural, a sense of history, corporate consciousness, aesthetic refinement, and involvement in matters of public and colonial governance. None of these

Drummond's descriptive method, enabling him to render the natural world with both scientific precision and poetic sensitivity. As Cuthbert Lennox recorded, Drummond once remarked:

Ruskin will help a man to the use of his eyes. Anybody can be put up to this in a few minutes. Go out into the country on Saturday, and stop at the first ploughed field. At first you will see nothing but an ugly ploughed mass. When you look again, it is a rich amber colour, with probably two feet of coloured air moving over it. The ploughed field is really a glowing mass of beautiful colour. When I was a little boy, I wondered why God made the world so dingy. I saw in Ruskin that the colours as they are in Nature are most perfectly beautiful, and that by no possibility can they be changed to advantage.... I should have gone through the world and never seen them at all had Ruskin never taught me to look.⁵⁹

This cultivated perception found further confirmation in the contemporaneous testimony of Professor Archibald Geikie, who accompanied Drummond on several geological expeditions. Geikie observed, "The grandeur of the scenery through which we passed appealed powerfully to his imagination, and his eyes would light up with delight as each new landscape unfolded before us. He approached everything with the eye of a poet first, and that of a man of science afterwards."⁶⁰

From Ralph Waldo Emerson, Drummond learned to perceive not merely with the eye, but with the mind. He admired Emerson's intuitive grasp of truth, observing that,

Emerson never proves anything; he never works out logic. He just looks at truth, and sees what he sees, and you see that what he sees is right.... He teaches the great truth that a man ought to rely upon himself; that God has given him a certain number of talents, and that is his equipment to go through life on.... He has to stand on his own instincts, and to be perfectly content to be what God has made him to be, and not anxious to be anybody else.⁶¹

features is markedly present in Drummond's outlook. While literary influences such as Ruskin and Emerson nurtured in him a deeper appreciation of beauty and sharpened his perception of nature, his perspective arose not from Romantic sentiment but from a theological conviction that the natural world reveals the character and wisdom of the Creator. His admiration for beauty was thus devotional rather than Romantic, grounded in faith rather than feeling. See David W. Bebbington, "Evangelical Christianity and Romanticism," *Cruce* XXVI, no. 1 (March 1990): 9–15.

⁵⁹ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 12–13.

⁶⁰ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 188.

⁶¹ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 14.

For Drummond, Emerson exemplified the disciplined independence of the Christian intellect—what he called “the ripe scholar all the time”⁶²—embodying a purity of mind that was unworldly yet profoundly human. Emerson’s influence deepened Drummond’s conviction that self-reliance, properly understood, was a form of reverence for divine vocation, teaching believers to be content with the gifts and limits God had ordained.

From George Eliot, Drummond learned to seek the moral meaning of life; from Mark Twain’s *Selections of American Humour*, he acquired a sense of balance through laughter; from William Ellery Channing, he absorbed a vision of God that inspired gladness rather than fear; and from F. W. Robertson’s sermons, he drew lessons of intellectual and spiritual freedom.

Together, these authors cultivated in Drummond a rare synthesis of imagination, intellect, and faith. They refined his perception of nature, sharpened his moral sensibilities, and expanded his theological horizon—laying the foundation for the eloquence, breadth, and spiritual insight that would later distinguish his preaching, writing, and scientific reflection.

2.1.5 D. L. Moody Evangelistic Rally

At the close of the summer of 1873, D. L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey arrived in Liverpool from America to commence their evangelistic mission in Britain. Their campaign soon expanded across major cities in England, where they sought to awaken a spirit of revival among churches and communities. In Scotland, the initiative was spearheaded by the Reverend John Kelman of Leith, who invited Moody to begin the movement in Edinburgh, believing that the city’s spiritual and

⁶² Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 14.

intellectual influence would facilitate outreach to the rest of the nation.⁶³ A preparatory committee was established under Kelman's leadership, with him serving as secretary, to organise the forthcoming campaign.

The so-called Great Mission refers to the wave of evangelical revivalism that swept Britain in the late nineteenth century, marked by large-scale evangelistic campaigns and a renewed emphasis on personal conversion. In this context, the American evangelist D. L. Moody conducted influential preaching missions in Scotland during the early 1870s, particularly in Edinburgh and Glasgow, which drew widespread public attention and shaped the evangelical environment in which Drummond's early ministry developed. Six weeks later, on 23 November 1873, a great spiritual awakening began that would sweep through Scotland. The revival drew vast crowds in cities such as Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, and Inverness, as well as in smaller towns to the east and north, including Oban, Campbeltown, and Rothesay, all of which were visited by Moody and Sankey. Moody devoted particular attention to the Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA), recognising the need to train capable young men to lead meetings among their peers. Among those selected for this ministry was the young Henry Drummond, then a theological student at New College, Edinburgh.

The flames of revival continued to spread across Scotland for many months. Wherever Drummond preached, his messages were received with remarkable warmth and enthusiasm, particularly by younger audiences, whose intellectual and spiritual needs he could address with rare sensitivity. Moody soon recognised Drummond's exceptional gift as an evangelist and entrusted him with

⁶³ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 59.

preaching engagements in various parts of Britain, providing him with a detailed itinerary. Even after Moody's return to America, Drummond continued to proclaim the Gospel in towns and cities across the United Kingdom before finally returning to New College to complete his studies after a prolonged period of ministry.⁶⁴

The revival profoundly shaped Drummond's identity and vocation. It confirmed his calling as a Christian evangelist, giving him a public platform from which to express his faith with both conviction and compassion.⁶⁵ Through witnessing Moody's dynamic preaching to tens of thousands and observing the transformative power of the Gospel in countless lives, Drummond's theology was tested and refined in practice. His faith and worldview were not formed in abstraction but proved in experience—where intellect, emotion, and will converged in the service of Christ. Without the Great Mission of 1873–1875, it is unlikely that Drummond would have emerged as a leading evangelistic voice of his generation, nor would his later synthesis of theology and science have carried the same moral and spiritual authority.

2.1.6 Professor Archibald Geikie

This section focuses on Geikie's role in Drummond's early scientific formation and professional establishment. Professor Archibald Geikie played a decisive role in Drummond's early scientific training and professional establishment. Their association began in 1871, when the newly established Chair of Geology at the University of Edinburgh opened under Geikie's direction, and Drummond was among the first students to enrol.⁶⁶ Recognising Drummond's aptitude, Geikie

⁶⁴ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 58–108.

⁶⁵ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 3.

⁶⁶ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 19.

appointed him as a geological tutor in November 1872, marking the beginning of a professional relationship that would deeply influence Drummond's career and worldview.⁶⁷

Five years later, upon the death of Mr. Keddie, lecturer in natural science at the Free Church College, Glasgow, Drummond wrote to Principal Douglas to express his interest in the vacant position. He later acknowledged that it was Geikie's strong testimonial that secured him the appointment over another well-qualified candidate. On 17 September 1877, the General Assembly's College Committee formally appointed Drummond to the lectureship for one session; he would continue to hold the post until ill health eventually forced his resignation.

Drummond's collaboration with Geikie extended beyond the classroom. Building on the scientific formation he had already received under Geikie, Drummond's participation in the 1879 expedition to the Rocky Mountains marked a shift from classroom instruction to sustained field practice. A few years later, from 1883 to 1884, Drummond undertook a solo geological expedition to Central Africa, during which he meticulously recorded his observations of geological formations, flora, and fauna. These findings were later published in his volume *Tropical Africa*⁶⁸ (1888), which integrates systematic scientific observation with a style intended for a broader educated readership.

In 1880, Drummond's growing reputation in the scientific community was recognised through his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, a distinction made possible through the sponsorship of four eminent scholars, among them Professor Geikie. Through Geikie's mentorship

⁶⁷ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 50.

⁶⁸ Henry Drummond, *Tropical Africa*, with Princeton Theological Seminary Library (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1888), http://archive.org/details/tropicalafrica00drum_0.

and friendship, Drummond found an intellectual environment that nurtured both his scientific curiosity and his theological reflection on the natural world. Their relationship, grounded in mutual respect and shared admiration for nature's beauty, endured until Drummond died in 1897.

2.1.7 Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd of the China Inland Mission

The flame of the Student Movement at the University of Edinburgh, in which Henry Drummond was actively involved, was kindled not by him but by two of the famed “Cambridge Seven”⁶⁹—students who had dedicated their lives to missionary service under the China Inland Mission led by Hudson Taylor. These two were Charles Thomas Studd and Stanley Smith. Before departing for China, they undertook a series of farewell visits to British universities, aiming to awaken in other students a similar passion for missionary work. Their visit to Edinburgh on 9 December 1884 generated great enthusiasm among the students, and both men promised to return. They fulfilled this promise on 28 January 1885, addressing a capacity audience in Synod Hall, which held nearly two thousand people, where many publicly professed new faith and resolve.

After the departure of Studd and Smith, the Student Movement Committee faced the pressing question of who could sustain the momentum they had inspired. Their prayers were soon answered when an announcement appeared that Professor Henry Drummond of Glasgow would speak to the students at Oddfellows' Hall the following Sunday.⁷⁰ Drummond's participation proved decisive.

⁶⁹ The “Cambridge Seven” were a group of seven Cambridge University graduates who, in 1885, committed themselves to missionary service with the China Inland Mission, becoming emblematic figures of late Victorian evangelical missionary enthusiasm. See John Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven*, with Internet Archive (Basingstoke, Hants: Marshalls, 1985), <http://archive.org/details/cambridgeseven0000poll>.

⁷⁰ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 96–97.

Over the next decade, he became a central figure in the Student Movement, delivering powerful and intellectually compelling addresses that drew large and attentive audiences.

Drummond's influence derived not merely from his eloquence but from the rare combination of his two vocations—as Professor of natural science and as a renowned Christian Evangelist. His gentle manner and balanced intellect enabled him to present the Christian faith in a way that resonated deeply with the questioning minds of university students. In a period when belief was being tested by the intellectual upheavals following Darwin's theory of evolution, Drummond stood firm in his conviction that science and faith were not adversaries but allies in the search for truth. His presence offered a model of integrative thinking—faith informed by intellect, and intellect illumined by faith.

Regrettably, Drummond's active involvement with the Student Movement ended in 1894, when his health began to fail irreversibly. Yet the legacy of his ministry among students endured, continuing to inspire Christian witness within the universities of Scotland and beyond.

2.1.8 The Gaiety Club

Among the many associations that shaped Henry Drummond's life and ministry, none reflected his character and friendships more intimately than the Gaiety Club. Its origins trace back to Drummond's evangelistic initiative in the winter of 1875, when he leased the Gaiety Music Hall in Chambers Street, near the University of Edinburgh, for a series of Sunday evening meetings. By this time already recognised as a persuasive evangelist, Drummond drew large audiences, the

hall being filled whenever he spoke. Yet, characteristically modest, he often preferred to listen rather than preach, inviting close friends from the university to deliver the addresses.

From this fellowship of kindred spirits emerged the Gaiety Club, which began to hold annual gatherings “for the cultivation of fraternal intercourse,” as Cuthbert Lennox described it.⁷¹ These meetings were convened each year at a quiet country inn, where members enjoyed a week of study, conversation, and spiritual reflection. The club’s membership included many of the leading young ministers and scholars of the day—James Stalker, Alexander Skene, James Brown, John Watson, David Morison Ross, Frank Gordon, George Adam Smith, Alexander Hugh F. Barbour, John F. Ewing, Robert William Barbour, and, of course, Henry Drummond himself.⁷²

According to George Adam Smith’s recollections, the group met without interruption for twenty-two consecutive years, with Drummond attending nineteen of these gatherings. Smith wrote:

At first some of the evenings were set apart for criticism of each other’s growth upwards or downwards during the year. But as time went on this grew less formal, and the gathering became simply one of close friends, members of the same church, with very sacred memories of work and study together in the service of Christ, and with common interests in literature and religion. Every man discusses with the rest his own work planned or achieved, and I do not think that there can be anywhere a group of friends who have more constantly shared each other’s aspirations, or who have more benefited by each other’s criticism. If one could be more loyal than another it was Drummond.... It is our chief pride that Drummond was one of us.⁷³

Smith’s tribute highlights Drummond’s exceptional loyalty, generosity of spirit, and the deep bonds of trust that sustained the fellowship. The club’s conversations blended the personal with the theological, and the literary with the spiritual, embodying the kind of reflective friendship that Drummond valued most—one that encouraged both intellectual refinement and moral growth.

⁷¹ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 45.

⁷² Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 5.

⁷³ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 117.

The group's first loss came with the death of John F. Ewing, an event that deeply affected Drummond. Holding Ewing's hand in his final moments, he later confessed to D. M. Ross and other members of the club, "I never thought it was so big."⁷⁴ A similar sorrow accompanied the passing of Robert Barbour, who, near the end of his life, restricted his visitors to his wife and Drummond alone. Barbour's death on 27 May 1891 left another profound mark on the fellowship, illustrating the depth of affection and mutual regard among its members.

Though the Gaiety Club did not exert a direct influence on Drummond's formal theological formulations, it constituted an important social and intellectual context within which his commitments were lived and sustained. The Club provided a setting characterised by long-term friendships, habits of mutual intellectual engagement, and shared moral seriousness—features that recur throughout Drummond's biography.⁷⁵ The stability of these relationships corresponds with broader patterns in his life, in which sustained personal networks played a significant role in shaping his approach to Christian practice and intellectual engagement. In this sense, the Gaiety Club illuminates the relational environment that supported Drummond's worldview, without functioning as a theological source in its own right.

2.2 The Development

Henry Drummond's enduring influence rested upon the dynamic integration of his dual vocations—as evangelist and man of science. While his name became synonymous with the revival movement of his time, his intellectual curiosity and sustained engagement with natural

⁷⁴ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 391.

⁷⁵ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 445.

science revealed a mind equally devoted to the exploration of truth in the created order. His participation in numerous scientific expeditions attested to a restless spirit of inquiry, yet even amid these pursuits, he remained deeply engaged with evangelical ministry.

Drummond's ministry was characterised by his conviction that science and theology were not adversaries but allies, two complementary modes of apprehending divine reality. Through his preaching, writing, and academic work, he sought to demonstrate the harmony between the emerging Darwinian science and the Christian faith, countering the prevailing assumption that scientific advancement necessarily undermined religious belief. His approach did not involve defending theology against science, but rather interpreting both within a broader theological vision in which God's creative activity pervaded every level of existence.

To comprehend the depth of Drummond's contribution, it is essential to recognise the qualities that underpinned his work—his engaging personality, his fervent evangelistic zeal, and his penetrating scientific curiosity. These attributes combined to form a worldview that was at once intellectually rigorous and spiritually vibrant, positioning Drummond as a bridge between two worlds that many of his contemporaries regarded as irreconcilable.

2.2.1 Character and Moral Influence

Growing up in a prosperous and devout Christian household, Henry Drummond enjoyed a life marked by affection, stability, and comfort. Until the final decade of his life, he was spared both physical suffering and personal loss. As one of his closest friends observed, "Our friend knew nothing of poverty or of friendlessness; till his last illness he never suffered pain; and death did

not enter his family till he was thirty-six.”⁷⁶ His early life, free from adversity, did not render him insensitive to the suffering of others; rather, it deepened his compassion. When a friend experienced bereavement, Drummond confessed his own inadequacy in the face of grief, writing: “I wish I were nearer, that I might come to see you—I shall not say come to try and comfort you. I could not do that. I do not know what this thing is. So little do I know, that when I lay down your black-edged note and take up my pen, I cannot write.”⁷⁷

Such candour revealed a rare spiritual honesty—a humility that refused to offer facile consolation, preferring truthfulness over empty reassurance. In both joy and sorrow, Drummond’s faith was expressed not through emotional fervour but through the quiet integrity of one who lived out his convictions with sincerity and grace.

Those who knew Drummond intimately regarded him as an exemplar of Christian virtue. George Adam Smith, his lifelong friend and confidant, described him as “one of the purest, most unselfish, most reverent souls you ever knew.”⁷⁸ Smith attributed Drummond’s enduring friendships to his humility, patience, and capacity for trust, qualities that made his affection both genuine and transformative. He wrote:

That he had a genius for friendship goes without saying, for he was rich in the humility, the patience, and the powers of trust which such a genius demands.... It is the measure of what he felt friendship to be that he has defined religion in the terms of it.⁷⁹

Smith’s reflection presents Drummond’s spirituality as fundamentally relational, framing religion in terms of personal bonds and ethical conduct rather than abstract doctrine. In Smith’s

⁷⁶ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 5.

⁷⁷ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 76.

⁷⁸ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 3.

⁷⁹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 3.

biographical account, Drummond's faith is portrayed as expressed through loyalty, integrity, and sustained commitment to others—an interpretation that shaped contemporary perceptions of his moral and spiritual influence.

Those who had known him since youth and remained close until his death consistently testified to the Christlike quality of his life.⁸⁰ Despite widespread admiration and public recognition, Drummond remained unpretentious and true to himself. His writings and sermons, suffused with warmth and moral clarity, offered spiritual sustenance to countless readers seeking meaning in an age of scientific uncertainty.

Yet his success and unorthodox approach inevitably attracted criticism.⁸¹ Some of his contemporaries, unable to comprehend his attempt to reconcile theology and science, derided him

⁸⁰ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 1.

⁸¹ Some of the criticism directed at Drummond was not entirely groundless, reflecting the intellectual tensions of his time rather than mere hostility. His influential work *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* attracted both acclaim and censure. James Denney, in his review *On "Natural Law in the Spiritual World"* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1885), remarked, "Considering its extraordinary popularity, and its common relation to religion and science, it may seem rash to say so, but *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* is a book that no lover of men will call religious, and no student of theology scientific" (67). Denney's critique captured a broader unease among theologians who found Drummond's synthesis of science and faith rhetorically powerful but methodologically ambiguous—neither fully scientific nor strictly theological.

Similarly, Newman Ernest, *Pseudo-Philosophy at the End of the Nineteenth Century: I. An Irrationalist Trio: Kidd - Drummond - Balfour*. (London: University Press, 1897), dismissed Drummond's *The Ascent of Man* as a superficial attempt to reconcile Christianity with evolution. Newman rejected Drummond's assertion that "the objective of evolution is love," labelling it a sentimental distortion of both theology and science. He accused Drummond of reusing traditional religious arguments under the guise of scientific language and concluded that his reasoning was "fallacious" and his philosophy "mere rhetoric" (175).

Drummond was also criticised by some as a liberal theologian, primarily because he gave limited attention to themes such as repentance, which dominated the evangelical discourse of his contemporaries. In response, Drummond affirmed, "The power to set the heart right, to renew the springs of action, comes from Christ... If you ask me why I do not write whole books on these themes, I reply that I believe one's only excuse for writing a book is that he has something to say that is not being said... My message lies among the forgotten truths, the false emphasis, and the wrong accent. To every man his work." This defence reveals Drummond's self-awareness regarding his intellectual position. He did not deny the central doctrines of the faith but sought to address neglected dimensions of Christian thought—those reconciling faith with the new scientific worldview. His critics, therefore, were responding less to theological error than to his audacious attempt to speak across disciplinary boundaries; Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 8, 444.

as a charlatan—neither a true scientist nor a theologian. Critics dismissed his efforts to interpret faith in light of Darwinian thought as compromising orthodoxy,⁸² particularly because his use of scientific analogy risked diluting doctrinal precision.

At the same time, those who knew him personally and engaged closely with his work interpreted these criticisms less as evidence of theological incoherence than as resistance to his attempt to address neglected dimensions of Christian thought in a changing intellectual climate. In their accounts, Drummond's life bore witness not merely to intellectual ambition but to a moral seriousness expressed through humility, compassion, and a sustained commitment to truth.

2.2.2 Evangelistic Enthusiasm

From an early age, Henry Drummond was immersed in a disciplined Christian upbringing that combined intellectual formation with devotional practice. His family instilled in him the habit of attending regular Bible studies, participating in daily Scripture readings, and joining in school prayers. Every Monday morning, he was required to recite a verse from the Psalms and read a chapter from the Holy Scriptures, while on Fridays, he answered questions from the Catechism.⁸³ Although in his youth Drummond was known more for his liveliness in the playground than for academic distinction in the classroom, these early patterns of spiritual discipline quietly shaped his theological sensibilities and later found expression in his vocation as a teacher and preacher.

⁸² Concerns raised by Drummond's contemporaries and subsequent commentators regarding his theological method focused particularly on his use of scientific analogy, his rhetorical integration of evolutionary concepts, and the perceived risk that doctrinal precision might be subordinated to explanatory coherence. These external critiques, together with a critical historical analysis of their substance and limits, are examined in greater detail in Chapters IV and V, where Drummond's theology of continuity is analysed with specific attention to its methodological strengths, conceptual tensions, and historical boundaries within late nineteenth-century Protestant thought.

⁸³ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 23.

On his nineteenth birthday, while away from home, Drummond reflected on his past and recognised the unbroken chain of divine mercy that had characterised his life. Filled with gratitude for what he called “God’s great kindness,” he resolved to dedicate himself wholly to Christian service and soon afterwards enrolled at New College, Edinburgh, to pursue theological studies.⁸⁴ During this period, when New College regularly sent deputations to support D. L. Moody’s evangelistic campaigns across Britain, Drummond discovered what would become his life’s central calling—evangelism.⁸⁵ The experience awakened in him a deep passion for communicating the Gospel with both intellectual clarity and spiritual warmth. Evangelism was not, for Drummond, a secondary activity or mere professional duty; it was the axis around which his life revolved. Indeed, he often described it as his “recreation”—a labour of love that filled his leisure hours when he was not occupied with his academic responsibilities.⁸⁶

Drummond’s evangelistic enthusiasm combined the zeal of the revivalist with the restraint of the scholar. His preaching avoided emotional excess, favouring instead a quiet persuasion grounded in reason and compassion. This distinctive synthesis of intellect and devotion became the hallmark of his ministry, drawing both students and sceptics to listen with respect to a man who exemplified the union of faith, humility, and intellect in the service of Christ.

2.2.3 Scientific Interest

Raised in a family home situated on the southern edge of King’s Park, Henry Drummond grew up surrounded by the natural beauty of Stirling’s landscape—a setting that fostered in him an enduring

⁸⁴ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 36–37.

⁸⁵ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 41.

⁸⁶ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 175.

fascination with the created world. The woods, fields, and open skies of his youth became both playground and classroom, awakening a curiosity that would later mature into a disciplined scientific interest. Twice or three times a year, young Drummond visited his uncle, James Blackwood, whose scientific interests and personal example reinforced Drummond's growing fascination with the natural world. These visits helped nurture in him the conviction that scientific investigation and religious faith were not adversaries but complementary paths toward understanding the order of creation.^{87 88}

Drummond's intellectual formation during his college years deepened this dual commitment. His growing enthusiasm for natural science led to a close friendship with Professor Archibald Geikie, one of Scotland's leading geologists. Geikie's professional endorsement proved decisive in securing Drummond's appointment. Through Geikie's recommendation, Drummond was appointed Lecturer in natural science at the Free Church College, Glasgow, where he was affectionately known as Professor Drummond.

Biographer Cuthbert Lennox later described him as "a man of science" in both temperament and method, recognising his analytical precision, intellectual curiosity, and capacity to communicate complex geological concepts with clarity and grace.⁸⁹ Drummond's scientific writings, though not vast in quantity, reflected a disciplined mind and a profound theological imagination—one that

⁸⁷ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 19–20; see Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 13–14.

⁸⁸ The connection between Henry Drummond and his uncle, James Blackwood, is mentioned only in passing in contemporary biographical accounts. Apart from brief references in George Adam Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), and James Y. Simpson, *Henry Drummond* (London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1901), no other primary or secondary sources have been found that document the nature or extent of their relationship.

⁸⁹ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 176.

sought in nature not merely patterns and processes, but the traces of divine intelligence.⁹⁰ For Drummond, the study of natural law was never detached from the contemplation of the Creator; his scientific vocation was an extension of his faith, a means of seeing God’s handiwork more clearly in the world He had made.

2.3 His Influences

In late nineteenth-century evangelical discourse, influence was frequently articulated through biblical metaphors such as “salt” and “light,” drawn from the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:13–16), to describe moral, intellectual, and social impact. Within this cultural and theological framework, Henry Drummond was widely regarded as a figure whose presence extended beyond any single sphere of activity. His influence was expressed through evangelistic ministry, scientific engagement that culminated in his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, leadership within the Student Movement, involvement in social and public debates, and a body of writing that continued to shape readers well beyond his lifetime.

2.3.1 Evangelistic Ministry

While the previous section outlined the scope of Drummond’s influence across multiple domains, this subsection focuses specifically on the character and reception of his evangelistic ministry. At the outset of his theological studies, Drummond knew little of D. L. Moody’s evangelistic revival. His initial involvement came as part of a student delegation from New College, commissioned to assist in the follow-up work of Moody’s mission. What soon distinguished Drummond from his fellow students was the simplicity and clarity of his preaching. His messages were accessible to

⁹⁰ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 175.

all, such that even an uneducated Danish nursemaid with limited English comprehension reportedly understood him perfectly.⁹¹ Yet this same simplicity did not diminish his intellectual appeal. His sermons invited profound reflection among university students, professors, scientists, and politicians alike, blending practical spirituality with intellectual integrity.

Drummond's deep passion for student evangelism shaped many of his decisions throughout his career. He consistently declined positions or honours that might have interfered with his ministry to young people, believing that the university context was a vital mission field in an age increasingly defined by scepticism and scientific doubt.⁹² From his early participation in Moody's revival movement to his final years of declining health, Drummond remained unwavering in his commitment to the Gospel.

Through both personal encounters and public preaching, he guided countless individuals to faith in Christ. His addresses reached thousands across Britain, America, and beyond, reviving weary believers and awakening the indifferent to spiritual truth. His message—intellectually honest, emotionally restrained, and deeply Christ-centred—redefined evangelism for a generation caught between the certainties of faith and the emerging challenges of modern thought.

2.3.2 Geological Expeditions and Fellowship of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (F.R.S.E.)

Whereas earlier references to Geikie established Drummond's scientific formation and professional entry, this section examines how that formation was enacted and tested through sustained fieldwork and subsequent institutional recognition. Professor Archibald Geikie was

⁹¹ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 124.

⁹² Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 283–85.

deeply impressed by Henry Drummond's intellectual curiosity, disciplined observation, and remarkable aptitude for natural science. Their collaboration marked the transition from academic training to sustained scientific practice.⁹³ A year after first encountering him, Geikie offered Drummond a geological tutorship, recognising in the young student a rare combination of analytical precision and poetic sensitivity. Five years later, in 1877, and largely through Geikie's strong recommendation, Drummond was appointed lecturer in natural science at the Free Church College, Glasgow, securing the post over a formidable rival candidate.

At a more advanced stage of his scientific development, Geikie invited Drummond to accompany him on a three-month geological expedition to the Rocky Mountains of North America, where they conducted extensive research on volcanic formations. Drummond's field notes reveal a meticulous and reflective mind: he recorded with precision the characteristics of mountains, rock strata, lakes, skies, and mud geysers, noting even variations in temperature and light.⁹⁴ His attention to both empirical detail and aesthetic beauty demonstrated his unique synthesis of scientific observation and spiritual wonder.

Building on his earlier geological training and field experience, a new opportunity arose that would extend Drummond's scientific reach beyond Europe. In 1883, he was invited to lead a geological expedition to Central Africa to study Lake Nyasa (now Lake Malawi) and the surrounding plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika. The expedition formed part of the wider effort to map the region and assess the route for the proposed Stevenson Road, which would connect the two great bodies of water and facilitate future exploration and commerce. Granted a year's leave from his

⁹³ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 166.

⁹⁴ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 167–89.

teaching responsibilities by the College Committee, Drummond undertook the journey with characteristic rigour and faith.

During this expedition, Drummond made two of his most significant contributions to scientific knowledge: the discovery of fossil fish in Central Africa and his detailed study of the White Ant (*Termes bellicosus*), an organism whose intricate social structures attracted his sustained analytical attention.⁹⁵ These findings were later presented in his volume *Tropical Africa* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1888), which combined systematic scientific observation with a style accessible to a broad educated readership.⁹⁶

Drummond's final scientific undertaking was a journey to the New Hebrides (now the Republic of Vanuatu), where he combined geological observation with informal advisory involvement in a contemporary colonial governance issue, studying the islands' volcanic and coral formations.⁹⁷ His reflections from this expedition were later published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, offering further evidence of his lifelong fascination with the harmony of natural processes and divine design.⁹⁸

Drummond's scientific achievements culminated in his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (F.R.S.E.), supported by four distinguished sponsors. The fellowship signified not only professional recognition of his scientific competence but also a public affirmation of his capacity to unite empirical inquiry with theological reflection.

⁹⁵ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 107–10.

⁹⁶ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 190–277.

⁹⁷ "Threading Many Needles: Ins and Outs of Anthropological Research in Pre-Independence Vanuatu," *The Australian National University E Press*, 2011, 37, <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/33586/459793.pdf?sequence=1#page=43>.

⁹⁸ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 402–38.

2.3.3 The Student Movement

George Adam Smith identified Henry Drummond's most enduring contribution as his influence among students, exercised most fully through the Student Movement.⁹⁹ The Student Movement, which began in Edinburgh in 1884, quickly expanded to other universities throughout Great Britain and subsequently to Germany, America, and Australia, becoming an international network of spiritual and intellectual renewal.

From the outset, Drummond devoted himself wholeheartedly to this student ministry, regarding it as the defining vocation of his later life. It became, in his own words, both his chief interest and his greatest burden. His dedication came at personal cost. As Smith recalled, "He shut himself off from the pulpits of his Church, denied his friends, turned from the public, banished reporters, and endured infinite misrepresentation."¹⁰⁰ Drummond's withdrawal from more conventional ecclesiastical platforms was not an act of isolationism, but a deliberate choice to engage directly with those most in need of a rational and compassionate presentation of the Gospel—the rising generation of university students struggling to reconcile faith with modern scientific and social thought.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 318.

¹⁰⁰ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 318.

¹⁰¹ While Drummond's withdrawal from the pulpit and public view was sometimes misinterpreted, the "infinite misrepresentation" mentioned by Smith did not stem from denominational opposition but rather from public misunderstanding and media intrusion. By 1884, Drummond was already a nationally recognised figure—known as "Professor Drummond the Evangelist" and the widely read author of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. His growing popularity drew the persistent attention of newspaper reporters, whose sensationalised coverage often distorted his intentions. To preserve the spiritual integrity of the Student Movement, Drummond banned journalists from attending his meetings. He devoted every Sunday to addressing students at Oddfellows' Hall in Edinburgh, where the first gathering attracted nearly nine hundred attendees. Recognising the unique spiritual opportunity before him, he declined further church preaching engagements to concentrate exclusively on ministering to students. In a letter to George Adam Smith, he described the event as a striking work of God, unlike anything he had previously encountered in evangelistic ministry. It left him with a deep and almost haunting sense of responsibility. Yet he regarded that audience as so significant that he would not have exchanged it for any other. The spiritual

Drummond himself recognised the extraordinary nature of the movement, describing it as “a distinct work of God; such a work as I, after considerable experience of evangelistic work, have never seen before. It haunts me like a nightmare. The responsibility I feel almost more than anything in my life. I do not think I would exchange that audience for anything else in the world.”¹⁰² His words reveal both the depth of his conviction and the weight of spiritual responsibility he felt toward his student audiences.

The results of his ministry were remarkable. Hundreds of students—many of whom had previously shown little or no interest in Christianity—were converted through his meetings. Over time, his influence extended to thousands of lives, touching individuals across nations and professions who would later carry his ideas into the wider world. For the final decade of his active life (1884–1894), Drummond’s commitment remained unwavering: nearly every Sunday, he could be found preaching at Oddfellows’ Hall in Edinburgh, where his lectures combined intellectual clarity, moral urgency, and spiritual grace.

The Student Movement not only revealed Drummond’s distinctive gift for communicating faith to the modern mind but also exemplified his lifelong vision—that religious truth must engage with the intellectual and ethical challenges of its age. In this mission, Drummond became a bridge between science and theology, faith and reason, embodying in his ministry the very reconciliation he sought to articulate in his writings.

vitality of the Edinburgh Student Movement soon became a model for similar initiatives across Britain and eventually inspired parallel movements in America and Australia

¹⁰² Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 324.

2.3.4 Political Influences

Drummond's association with Lord Aberdeen introduced him to the upper echelons of British society and brought him into contact with influential political and intellectual figures of his day. Through this connection, he gained access to circles that were not merely socially distinguished but also intellectually engaged in the pressing moral and scientific debates of late Victorian Britain. On two notable occasions, Drummond was invited to address audiences in London's West End, speaking about Christianity and Evolution in the ballroom of Grosvenor House—first during the winter of 1884–85, and again three years later. On both occasions, the room was filled, reflecting the immense public interest in reconciling faith and modern science. His delivery combined scientific insight with moral seriousness, achieving an unusual balance of accessibility and intellectual dignity. George Smith, writing about these events, captured their significance:

Professor Drummond... has struck out a completely new line of his own, in which there is nothing that is not dignified, nothing that is not telling. To be able to collect, even under a ducal roof, on four (sic) successive Sunday afternoons, four or five hundred people, many of them of the highest distinction, social and intellectual, is a triumph of ingenious ingenuity.¹⁰³

Such occasions reflected not Drummond's pursuit of prestige, but his capacity to bring theological reflection into the centre of public discourse. His lectures before the nation's elite demonstrated his conviction that the Christian faith could address the intellectual and moral anxieties of modern civilisation without compromising its spiritual core.

Despite receiving several attractive offers that could have secured him a prominent political career, Drummond declined them all. He remained resolute in his belief that his vocation lay not in politics

¹⁰³ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 88–89.

but in the spiritual transformation of minds and hearts. His refusal of political ambition revealed both his integrity and his clarity of purpose: that the work of bridging faith and reason, not the pursuit of political power, was the field to which he had been divinely called.

2.3.5 Published Books

Henry Drummond authored several significant works, among which two achieved worldwide recognition: *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* and *The Greatest Thing in the World*. *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* articulated Drummond's attempt to construct a coherent framework for relating scientific law to spiritual reality, while *The Greatest Thing in the World* functioned as a practical and ethical exposition of his theological priorities, particularly his emphasis on love as the organising principle of Christian life.

2.3.5.1 Natural Law in the Spiritual World (1883)

Drummond's first major publication, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883), was not intended as a systematic theology but as an interpretive framework through which readers might view the spiritual life with the same coherence and order observable in nature. He aimed to illuminate Christian truth through analogies drawn from natural science, demonstrating that the laws governing the physical universe could also shed light on the principles of the spiritual realm.

He clarified from the outset that natural laws “originate nothing, sustain nothing: they are merely responsible for uniformity in sustaining what has been originated and what is being sustained. They are modes of operation, therefore, not operators; processes, not powers.”¹⁰⁴ In articulating

¹⁰⁴ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 5.

this, Drummond affirmed the Law of Continuity—the principle that divine order permeates both matter and spirit. He argued that the same laws which govern physical life extend without rupture into the spiritual world, reflecting not opposition but unity under God’s creative authority. As he wrote, “The Laws of the invisible are the same Laws, projections of the natural not supernatural... Analogous Phenomena are not the fruit of parallel Laws, but of the same Laws—Laws which at one end... may be dealing with Matter, at the other end with Spirit.”¹⁰⁵

This conception was not a sudden innovation but the outcome of a decade-long intellectual journey. During the Great Mission of 1873–1875, Drummond had worked closely with the American evangelist D. L. Moody, whose ministry profoundly shaped his practical theology. After returning to academic life, he joined the faculty of the Free Church College, Glasgow, in 1877 as lecturer in natural science. There, Drummond began to develop a vision of reconciliation between scientific and theological inquiry, believing that both were modes of apprehending the divine order. Between 1881 and 1882, he published three essays—*Degeneration*, *Biogenesis*, and *Semi-Parasitism*—that later formed the nucleus of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, which appeared in print just a week before his departure on a geological expedition to Africa.

The volume consists of eleven chapters: *Biogenesis*, *Degeneration*, *Growth*, *Death*, *Mortification*, *Eternal Life*, *Environment*, *Conformity to Type*, *Semi-Parasitism*, *Parasitism*, and *Classification*. Each topic seeks to illustrate a spiritual truth through the analogy of natural law.

¹⁰⁵ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 11.

In *Biogenesis*, Drummond established his central thesis that life—both natural and spiritual—can only proceed from pre-existing life. Just as all biological life originates from life, so too spiritual life can only arise through union with Christ, “the Life.” In *Degeneration*, he applied the concept of decline through maladaptation to the moral and spiritual sphere, warning that neglect of spiritual nourishment results in moral decay.

His chapter on *Growth* evokes Christ’s invitation to “consider the lilies how they grow” (Luke 12:27), reflecting Drummond’s conviction that spiritual maturity occurs organically and mysteriously, not through human striving but through divine vitality. In *Death*, he contrasted biological and spiritual cessation, arguing that spiritual death results not from annihilation but from separation, “disconnection from the Life which is God.”

In *Mortification*, Drummond developed a theology of sanctification through detachment from sin. He outlined three modes of self-renunciation: suicide (the radical renunciation of sin), mortification (the gradual subduing of sinful habits), and limitation (the voluntary restraint from indulgence). Each represented the believer’s conscious cooperation with divine life.

The chapter *Eternal Life* portrayed salvation as a state of perfect environmental harmony between the soul and God, echoing Christ’s own definition in John 17:3 - “to know Thee, the only true God.” Likewise, *Environment* drew on both biology and theology, presenting Christ as the essential “environment” of the Christian life: “Apart from Me, ye can do nothing” (John 15:5).

In *Conformity to Type*, Drummond argued that just as biological organisms reproduce after their kind, the Christian life reproduces the moral and spiritual likeness of Christ. Those “born of the Spirit” (John 3:6) inevitably bear the image of the divine life within them.

His chapters on *Semi-Parasitism* and *Parasitism* offered moral warnings against spiritual complacency. Drawing analogies from natural organisms that live by exploiting others, Drummond denounced any “parasitic” theology promising safety without moral effort—whether in the ritualism of the Church of Rome or the complacent pietism of certain Evangelical circles. Genuine faith, he insisted, must be active, self-renouncing, and life-giving.

The final chapter, *Classification*, synthesised the work’s argument by dividing humanity, in Johannine and Pauline terms, into the living and the non-living—those who “have the Son” and those who do not (1 John 5:12). For Drummond, the Law of Continuity unites both realms: “Evolution” in nature mirrors “Redemption” in grace—each signifying progressive movement towards the divine purpose.

Drummond, however, never claimed to write as a professional theologian or scientist. His vocation was that of a pastor and evangelist, employing the language of science as a bridge to reach those alienated from traditional theology. His analogies were illustrative, not doctrinal; heuristic rather than dogmatic. Though his synthesis lacked the rigour of systematic theology, it captured the spiritual imagination of a generation wrestling with the intellectual crisis of faith in a post-Darwinian age.

Despite its speculative elements, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* represents a distinctive methodological intervention rather than an exercise in systematic theology. Drummond did not seek to construct a formal doctrine of nature or grace, but to employ scientific law analogically as a rhetorical and pedagogical strategy. His use of analogy was deliberately selective and illustrative, aimed at persuasion rather than deduction. This approach enabled him to address readers unsettled by evolutionary science without requiring prior theological training or technical competence.

At the same time, this methodological choice exposed the work to substantive criticism. By relying on analogy rather than formal theological argument, Drummond risked blurring conceptual boundaries between the natural and spiritual orders, leaving his synthesis open to charges of imprecision and methodological overreach. Nevertheless, the significance of the work lies less in doctrinal exactitude than in its function. *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* operated as a pastoral and apologetic intervention, offering intellectual reassurance at a moment of cultural and theological dislocation. Its enduring influence reflects its capacity to mediate anxiety rather than resolve theological debate, positioning the work as a bridge between scientific rationality and Christian faith rather than as a definitive theological system.

2.3.5.2 The Greatest Thing in the World (1889)

The genesis of Henry Drummond's most celebrated address, later published as *The Greatest Thing in the World*, arose from a spontaneous moment during one of D. L. Moody's Sunday evening gatherings in England in 1884. At the close of a long day of preaching, Moody was asked to read and expound upon a passage of Scripture before a small group of friends. Weary from his exertions, he suggested that Drummond, who was present, should speak instead. Though initially reluctant,

Drummond eventually consented, drew a small Testament from his pocket, and read from 1 Corinthians 13—the apostle Paul’s hymn to love. What followed was an impromptu exposition so arresting in its simplicity and spiritual insight that Moody later confessed he had never heard anything comparable. Deeply moved, Moody urged Drummond to deliver the same discourse at his Northfield Convention in America.

The address was subsequently transcribed, published, and quickly became one of the most widely read religious works of the late nineteenth century. Its enduring appeal lay not in speculative theology or intellectual argument but in the purity and accessibility of its moral vision. *The Greatest Thing in the World* distilled Drummond’s lifelong conviction that Christianity is, at its core, a religion of transformed affections—that love is both the motive and measure of the Christian life.

In this brief yet profound meditation, Drummond urged his readers to recognise that love is the supreme good—the *summum bonum*—and the most precious gift attainable by humankind. He warned that the pursuit of knowledge, eloquence, or faith, when devoid of love, leads to spiritual emptiness. Drummond stated that the greatest reality in human life is love—the possession of it renders every other achievement secondary, while the absence of it leaves all else devoid of meaning.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Henry Drummond, *The Perfected Life: The Greatest Need of the World* (New York: Fleming G. Revell, 1888), 1–2, 6. In this short address on 1 Corinthians 13, Drummond affirms that love—not faith—is the supreme gift of the Christian life, declaring that “the greatest of these is Love,” and later concluding, “Love never faileth. Love is success, Love is happiness, Love is life.... Where Love is, God is.”

The work is structured into three chapters—“Love Contrasted,” “Love Analysed,” and “Love Defended”—each offering a practical and pastoral reflection. In *Love Contrasted*, Drummond contends that the absence of love invalidates even the noblest virtues, echoing Paul’s declaration that without love, one becomes “as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.” In *Love Analysed*, he dissects the nature of love through the fifteen qualities listed in 1 Corinthians 13—patience, kindness, humility, generosity, and truthfulness—arguing that these are not abstract ideals but tangible habits of daily life. In *Love Defended*, he anticipates objections that love is impractical or sentimental, asserting instead that it is the highest form of divine realism: the only force capable of transforming both individual hearts and human society.

For Drummond, love was not merely a moral virtue but the operative principle of divine life itself, linking his pastoral message to the broader theme of continuity between the natural and the spiritual. Just as life in nature is sustained by vitality and connection, so spiritual life is animated by love, the energy of God’s own being. The address thus reflects not a departure from *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, but its moral culmination—an embodiment of its principles in the language of grace and charity.

Upon publication, *The Greatest Thing in the World* achieved extraordinary circulation, was translated into multiple languages, and distributed across continents. Its simplicity and warmth resonated with audiences far beyond the academic or ecclesiastical elite, reaching the hearts of ordinary believers and sceptics alike. Even critics who questioned Drummond’s scientific analogies acknowledged the spiritual beauty of this work. It remains a testament to his distinctive synthesis of intellect and devotion—a theology not of speculation but of love lived and expressed.

Drummond's early formation reveals the convergence of disciplined faith and intellectual curiosity that would later underpin his theological development. The next chapter examines how these formative influences matured into a distinctive perspective that integrated his scientific vocation with his religious conviction.

2.4 Conclusion

The portrait that emerges from Drummond's childhood and youth is that of a figure whose early formation can be historically understood as converging trajectories of religious piety, scientific curiosity, and intellectual discipline. His family inheritance, conversion experience, education, friendships, and early ministerial engagements collectively shaped a theological orientation in which love, moral earnestness, and confidence in the unity of truth became central organising themes.

When considered together, these influences suggest that Drummond's later works were not the result of abrupt innovation, but of cumulative formation within the intellectual and religious culture of late nineteenth-century Protestantism. His evangelistic accessibility, scientific attentiveness, and rhetorical sensitivity functioned as interrelated elements rather than discrete traits. What later readers encountered as a "theology of continuity" can thus be analysed as the outcome of a life shaped by sustained exposure to both scientific method and evangelical devotion. In this sense, Drummond's early life operates as a historical precondition for his mature thought. It provides the conceptual and experiential framework within which his attempt to relate natural law and spiritual meaning became intelligible and persuasive to his contemporaries. The

conclusion of this chapter therefore establishes not a theological judgement, but the contextual groundwork necessary for analysing how Drummond's integrative project developed and why it proved compelling within its historical moment.

Chapter III

The Formation of Drummond's Integrative Vision

This chapter examines how Henry Drummond developed an integrative approach to the relationship between Christian faith and scientific understanding. Rather than presuming an inherent harmony between these domains, it analyses how Drummond conceptualised their relationship and sought to articulate a framework in which religious conviction and scientific inquiry could be held together. His movement between pulpit and laboratory is treated here not as a settled synthesis, but as the outcome of sustained reflection on the epistemological and theological challenges posed by modern science within late nineteenth-century Protestant thought.

Drummond's Career Trajectory

Henry Drummond excelled in two interwoven yet distinct spheres: as a preacher and evangelist deeply rooted in Christian spirituality, and as a scientist actively engaged within the academic and professional scientific community.

A London religious magazine, published a century ago, aptly described this duality: "The old faith and the new science met in him, not in controversy, but in a strenuous struggle after truth."¹⁰⁷ This portrayal captures the tension and vitality of Drummond's intellectual pilgrimage: his was not a mere accommodation between faith and science, but a lifelong endeavour to articulate a theology

¹⁰⁷ W S, "The Sunday at Home: A Family Magazine for Sabbath Reading," *The Religious Tract Society*, 1899 1898, 369.

capable of withstanding the scrutiny of modern knowledge without surrendering its spiritual integrity.

This section traces the *kairos* moments—decisive encounters and turning points—that shaped Drummond’s integrative worldview. It examines how his Christian faith provided the interpretive foundation for his scientific curiosity, and conversely, how his engagement with natural science deepened and refined his theological understanding. To situate these developments, the discussion begins with an overview of the religious and scientific landscapes of nineteenth-century Britain, highlighting the intellectual and cultural currents that formed the backdrop of Drummond’s thought. This contextual foundation allows for a more nuanced analysis of the complex interplay between the historical, intellectual, and spiritual influences that ultimately shaped his enduring synthesis of theology and science.

3.1.1 The Religious Landscape

To gain a nuanced understanding of the religious context in which Henry Drummond was formed, it is essential to examine the broader socio-religious dynamics that characterised nineteenth-century Scotland. The period was one of profound transformation, shaped by theological controversies, ecclesiastical realignments, and the emergence of new intellectual and cultural currents. Movements such as Romanticism and Evangelicalism interacted in complex ways, influencing both public discourse and personal devotion. The establishment of new religious institutions, together with debates over biblical authority and the relationship between faith and reason, reflected the tension between inherited orthodoxy and modern thought.

These developments provided the spiritual and intellectual backdrop to Drummond’s upbringing. They nurtured a generation of thinkers who sought to reconcile religious conviction with the new, expanding horizons of scientific knowledge and philosophical inquiry. Within this dynamic environment, Drummond’s later synthesis of Christian faith and scientific investigation can be seen not as an isolated endeavour but as the natural outgrowth of a culture deeply engaged in redefining the relationship between theology, nature, and the modern mind.

3.1.1.1 The Religious Landscape in Scotland in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

The mid-nineteenth century in Scotland witnessed profound theological and societal transformation. David Fergusson—Scottish Presbyterian minister and Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge—observes that in the aftermath of the Disruption of 1843, Thomas Chalmers and a new generation of Free Church scholars saw themselves as reclaiming a distinctly Reformed vision for both Church and nation, one grounded in the authority of Scripture and the sovereignty of God.¹⁰⁸ Shaped by the theological and pastoral leadership of Chalmers, the religious environment of this period was characterised by moral discipline, doctrinal precision, and a deep concern for personal piety.¹⁰⁹ These emphases left an enduring imprint on Scottish identity, uniting faith with civic responsibility and moral seriousness.

Rooted in the principles of Reformed theology—particularly the conviction of divine sovereignty, the primacy of Scripture, and the integration of faith with everyday vocation—this tradition fostered a culture of rigorous spiritual devotion that permeated both private and public life.

¹⁰⁸ David Fergusson, “Scotland and the Netherlands: Reformed Crosscurrents,” *Dutch Crossing* 37, no. 2 (July 2013): 150, <https://doi.org/10.1179/0309656413Z.00000000033>.

¹⁰⁹ John W. Keddie, “Thomas Chalmers: ‘The Chief Scottish Man of His Time’,” *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal* 10 (2020): 220.

However, the certainties of this inherited faith were increasingly challenged by the rapid forces of industrialisation and urbanisation, which reconfigured social and economic structures, and by the scientific advances that marked the Victorian age.¹¹⁰ The publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) unsettled long-established biblical interpretations and provoked widespread theological unease, compelling ministers, scholars, and lay believers alike to re-examine the relationship between divine revelation and natural law.¹¹¹

Within this volatile context, the Disruption itself marked a watershed in Scottish ecclesiastical history. The dispute over spiritual independence from state interference fractured the national Church and gave birth to the Free Church of Scotland, whose adherents sought to embody the original spiritual autonomy and evangelical fervour of the Reformed tradition.¹¹² This schism was not merely institutional but ideological, symbolising the struggle to preserve spiritual authority amidst modern pressures. The resulting religious climate profoundly shaped the moral and intellectual landscape of nineteenth-century Scotland, nurturing a generation for whom faith, reason, and vocation were inseparable. Among them was Henry Drummond—born less than a decade after the Disruption—whose formative years unfolded within this charged atmosphere of religious renewal and intellectual contestation.

¹¹⁰ R J Morris, "Victorian Values in Scotland and England," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 78 (1992): 31–41.

¹¹¹ H Allen Orr, "Darwin and Darwinism: The (Alleged) Social Implications of The Origin of Species," *Genetics* 183, no. 3 (November 2009): 767, <https://doi.org/10.1534/genetics.109.110445>.

¹¹² Ryan Mallon, "A Church for Scotland?: The Free Church and Scottish Nationalism after the Disruption," *Scottish Church History* 49, no. 1 (December 2020): 1, <https://doi.org/10.3366/sch.2020.0019>.

3.1.1.2 The Disruption of 1843 and the Free Church

The Disruption of 1843 stands as a defining moment in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, arising from a long-standing conflict between the Church of Scotland and the British government over the right of congregations to appoint their own ministers independently of landowning patrons.¹¹³ This dispute extended far beyond questions of patronage; it encapsulated deeper theological and constitutional tensions concerning the Church's spiritual autonomy and its freedom from state interference. At its core lay the Evangelical conviction that the Church must remain subject to the authority of Scripture alone and that spiritual governance should not be compromised by civil power.¹¹⁴

The schism culminated in the formation of the Free Church of Scotland through *The Act of Separation and Deed of Demission*, signed in 1843. In an act of remarkable conviction, approximately 474 ministers of the established Church voluntarily surrendered their stipends, homes, and parishes rather than compromise the principle of spiritual independence.¹¹⁵ The departing clergy and lay members asserted that the Free Church represented not a new denomination but the legitimate continuation of the true national Church of Scotland—faithful to its Reformed heritage and biblical mandate.

¹¹³ G. I. T. Machin, "The Disruption and British Politics 1834-43," *The Scottish Historical Review* 51, no. 151 (1972): 20–22.

¹¹⁴ The details of the decade-long debate were documented and published in a two-volume book of more than 1,000 pages, the title of which speaks for itself — Robert Buchanan, *The Ten Years' Conflict: Being the History of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland - In Two Volumes. Vol.1*, with Princeton Theological Seminary Library (Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, and New York: Blackie and Son, 1854), <http://archive.org/details/tenyearsconflict01buch>.

¹¹⁵ Robert Buchanan, *The Ten Years' Conflict: Being the History of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland - In Two Volumes. Vol.2*, with Princeton Theological Seminary Library (Glasgow ; Edinburgh ; London ; New York : Blackie and Son, 1854), 586–88, <http://archive.org/details/tenyearsconflict02buch>; John Rothney Stephen, "The Presbyterian Response to the Famine Years 1845 to 1855 within Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland" (University of Glasgow, 2011), 25, <https://theses.gla.ac.uk/3311/1/2011StephenMLitt.pdf>.

Despite the formidable challenges of economic hardship—the Disruption coincided with one of the most severe financial downturns of the nineteenth century—the new Church mobilised an extraordinary level of commitment and sacrifice. Within five years, its members had constructed over 750 churches, 500 schools, several theological colleges, and a vibrant network of overseas missions.¹¹⁶ This unprecedented achievement, sustained by voluntary offerings and local initiative, testified to the vitality of the Evangelical spirit in Scottish life and attracted admiration across the Christian world.

At the forefront of this movement stood Thomas Chalmers, the first Moderator of the Free Church and one of the most influential theologians of the age.¹¹⁷ A leading proponent of Reformed theology and a passionate advocate of social reform, Chalmers shaped the intellectual and spiritual ethos of the new denomination. Under his leadership, the Free Church combined Evangelical fervour with theological rigour, cultivating a culture of disciplined piety, moral responsibility, and intellectual engagement. Its emphasis on personal faith, social conscience, and ecclesiastical self-governance established it as a transformative force within nineteenth-century Scottish Christianity.

This legacy profoundly shaped the moral and theological climate into which Henry Drummond was born less than a decade later. The Free Church's insistence on both doctrinal integrity and freedom of conscience would resonate deeply with Drummond's later efforts to reconcile faith with scientific understanding. The Disruption thus formed more than a historical backdrop—it

¹¹⁶ Stewart J. Brown, "After the Disruption: The Recovery of the National Church of Scotland, 1843-1874," *Scottish Church History* 48, no. 2 (December 2019): 103–4, <https://doi.org/10.3366/sch.2019.0008>.

¹¹⁷ John Roxborough, "Thomas Chalmers and Scottish Calvinism in the 19th Century," *New Zealand and International Perspectives*, August 2009, 1–15, <https://roxborough.com/Documents/ChalmersandCalvinism.pdf>.

provided the spiritual and intellectual inheritance that undergirded Drummond's lifelong commitment to integrating faith, reason, and moral purpose.

3.1.1.3 Evangelicalism and Social Reform

By the early eighteenth century, Evangelicalism had emerged as a significant Protestant movement across Britain.¹¹⁸ Rather than identifying a particular denomination, it represented a broader religious renewal encompassing various churches that traced their lineage to the Reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Church historian Joseph Milner, writing in the late eighteenth century, referred to the "Evangelical religion" as a continuation of Reformed theology, thereby associating its spiritual vitality with the legacy of Calvinism.¹¹⁹ Milner's writings captured the intellectual and moral seriousness characteristic of Scottish Calvinism, which profoundly shaped the nation's religious and philosophical life. As the historian T. M. Devine notes, "Calvinism was therefore a key element in a long-established Scottish philosophical tradition that created the context for the wide-ranging inquiries of the eighteenth century."¹²⁰

Within this intellectual and theological milieu, the Evangelical movement became one of the defining features of nineteenth-century Scottish Christianity, particularly during the Victorian era. It was marked by a dual emphasis on spiritual renewal and social transformation, combining personal piety with active moral reform.¹²¹ Evangelicals confronted the challenges of industrialisation and urbanisation by addressing issues of poverty, education, and public morality.

¹¹⁸ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203359907>.

¹¹⁹ Joseph Milner, "On Evangelical Religion," in *The Works of Joseph Milner*, I (London: Luke Hansard and Sons, 1810), 8:199; see also Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1.

¹²⁰ T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2000*, with Internet Archive (New York: Viking, 1999), 71, <http://archive.org/details/scottishnation170000devi>.

¹²¹ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 364–69.

Campaigns for temperance, Sabbath observance, and the improvement of working-class conditions reflected their conviction that faith must find expression in social responsibility. For them, Christianity was not confined to the pulpit or private devotion but was to be embodied in civic life as a testimony to divine grace at work in society.

Their activism extended to the establishment of Sunday schools, missionary societies, and charitable institutions designed to instil Christian values among the working classes and marginalised communities.¹²² These efforts aimed to bridge spiritual formation with practical service, affirming that true religion must manifest itself in tangible social improvement.¹²³ The Sunday school movement, in particular, became a powerful instrument for moral education and community transformation.

The Disruption of 1843 and the founding of the Free Church of Scotland gave fresh impetus to this Evangelical vision. The Free Church not only endorsed Sunday schools but also actively integrated them into parish life, providing access to church buildings and resources for their activities.¹²⁴ Within this context, the Drummond family exemplified the Evangelical synthesis of faith and social service. William Drummond, Henry's grandfather, established a Sunday school in his community, demonstrating deep pastoral concern for the moral and spiritual welfare of the local community.¹²⁵ His son, Henry Drummond Sr., carried forward this legacy as an elder in the Free Church, president of the YMCA, and founder of a Sunday school in Cambusbarron near Stirling.

¹²² For more on the origins of the Sunday school movement in Scotland, refer to Professor Callum Brown's research, Callum G. Brown, "The Sunday-School Movement in Scotland 1780-1914," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 21 (1981): 3–26.

¹²³ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 370.

¹²⁴ Brown, "The Sunday-School Movement in Scotland 1780-1914," 14–15.

¹²⁵ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 2.

This environment of practical Evangelicalism profoundly shaped Henry Drummond's spiritual imagination. From his earliest years, he witnessed a model of faith that was both intellectually serious and socially engaged—a faith that sought not only to save souls but also to transform lives and communities. These formative influences would later find expression in his own ministry and writings, where he integrated theological conviction with scientific curiosity and social responsibility. For Drummond, faith was never merely contemplative; it was an active force that engaged both the moral and intellectual dimensions of human existence.

3.1.1.4 The Influence of the Romantic Movement

The Romantic movement profoundly shaped nineteenth-century European thought, leaving a discernible mark on Scotland's religious, cultural, and intellectual landscape.¹²⁶ Arising in part as a reaction against the Enlightenment's exaltation of reason and scientific rationalism, Romanticism redirected attention toward emotion, intuition, imagination, and the individual's encounter with nature.¹²⁷ It offered a richer, more holistic framework for articulating religious experience, especially within the evangelical and theological circles of nineteenth-century Britain. By emphasising the sublime, the unity of creation, and the perception of the divine within the natural world, Romanticism provided Christian thinkers with a new vocabulary for expressing faith in an age of intellectual transition. For many theologians and writers, nature became a mirror of the divine—an expression of God's beauty, complexity, and interrelatedness. Within this context,

¹²⁶ A general overview of the influence of Romanticism on religion in Britain can be found in these articles: Bebbington, "Evangelical Christianity and Romanticism," 9–15; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 80–86.

¹²⁷ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 80.

Professor Henry Drummond's life and writings stand as a compelling example of how Romanticism influenced the intersection of religion, science, and moral imagination.

In his essay *Evangelical Christianity and Romanticism*, David Bebbington identifies six defining characteristics of Romanticism within the British Evangelical milieu—five of which are evident in Drummond's own life and work.¹²⁸ These are: poetic sensibility; an emphasis on the supernatural dimension; historical awareness; a preference for communal over purely individual experience; and an appreciation of aesthetic and moral beauty. The sole feature that Drummond did not embody was Romanticism's tendency toward eschatological pessimism, often linked to speculative interpretations of the Second Coming. In contrast, Drummond's outlook was markedly hopeful and constructive. His ministry and writings were characterised by an unwavering commitment to improving human life and fostering communal well-being—whether through preaching in Glasgow and Edinburgh, addressing university audiences in London, or engaging with students and lay communities in Australia and the United States. His involvement in the Student Volunteer Movement and the Boys' Brigade reflected his conviction that Christian discipleship must find expression in service. His scientific lectures and geological expeditions, similarly, were animated by a desire to integrate intellectual pursuit with moral and spiritual purpose.

Drummond's most influential work, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883), epitomises the Romantic synthesis of faith, nature, and science. In this work, he articulates a vision of unity and harmony between the natural and spiritual realms—an approach deeply indebted to Romantic

¹²⁸ Bebbington, "Evangelical Christianity and Romanticism," 11–13.

sensibilities. For Drummond, nature was not merely an object of scientific observation but a revelatory text through which divine truths could be discerned. His insistence that the same divine rationality governed natural law and spiritual life reflects a Romantic confidence in the coherence of creation. By grounding his scientific exploration within a theological framework, he transformed Romantic intuition into a disciplined methodology, bridging the perceived divide between scientific empiricism and Christian belief.

This Romantic impulse—affirming beauty, order, and divine presence within the natural world—permeated Drummond’s theological imagination and informed his lifelong attempt to reconcile empirical inquiry with faith. Romanticism thus served not as a passing influence but as an enduring intellectual and spiritual catalyst, shaping both his scientific vocation and his theological vision. Through this synthesis, Drummond exemplified how Romantic ideals could elevate the dialogue between science and religion, offering a vision of creation that was at once intellectually credible and spiritually profound.

3.1.1.5 The Rise of Liberal Theology

In what Martin Downes describes as a “deeply instructive short article,” *How Liberal Theology Infected Scotland*, R. A. Finlayson (1895–1989)—a minister of the Free Church of Scotland and later Professor of Systematic Theology at the Free Church College, Edinburgh—traces the origins of nineteenth-century Scottish liberal theology to the very formation of the Free Church itself.¹²⁹ Finlayson contends that the establishment of theological colleges in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen following the Disruption of 1843, while instrumental in consolidating the Church’s

¹²⁹ Martin Downes, “Liberalism: A Warning from History,” *Banner of Truth USA*, August 12, 2008, <https://banneroftruth.org/us/resources/articles/2008/liberalism-a-warning-from-history/>.

academic foundations, also exposed its ministers-in-training to the intellectual crosscurrents of continental theology. In their zeal to engage with emerging scholarship, the leaders of the new institutions, he argues, inadvertently elevated modern critical knowledge above traditional evangelical convictions, creating fertile ground for the spread of liberal thought. Finlayson describes the outcome in vivid terms:

Not content with opening three colleges, in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen... her theological students would not deem their course complete, or their standing in the Church assured, without a postgraduate course of one or more years in one of the more famous Colleges in Germany. From that folly, the product of spiritual pride, the Free Church was to reap a bitter harvest. Germany then was the nursery of Liberal Theology, which was spreading like prairie fire through the Protestant Churches of Europe.¹³⁰

According to Finlayson, this tendency to seek intellectual validation from German universities accelerated the diffusion of liberal theology within Scotland. Graduates of the Free Church colleges, returning from studies abroad, introduced higher critical methods into their preaching and pastoral practice, thereby transforming the theological temper of the denomination. The resulting tension between critical inquiry and doctrinal orthodoxy reshaped Scottish ecclesiastical life in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as liberal theology sought to reinterpret the Christian faith in light of historical criticism, moral philosophy, and emerging scientific thought.

It was within this environment that Henry Drummond pursued his theological education. As a divinity student at the Free Church College in Edinburgh, he studied under the influential scholar A. B. Davidson,¹³¹ whose lectures in Hebrew, Apologetics, and the introduction to higher criticism of the Pentateuch reflected an openness to the critical methodologies then circulating in German academia. Drummond's lecture notes from this period reveal his intellectual diligence and

¹³⁰ R. A. Finlayson, *Reformed Theological Writings* (Tain: Mentor, 1996), 195.

¹³¹ Downes, "Liberalism: A Warning from History"; according to Downes, in his analysis of Finlayson's writing, A. B. Davidson "had drunk deeply at the wells of German Liberal theology."

curiosity, though not necessarily a wholesale acceptance of Davidson's critical stance.¹³² At the conclusion of his third year, Drummond, following a practice common among Free Church divinity students, attended a summer course in Germany, selecting Tübingen—one of the principal centres of liberal theology.

Although Drummond appears to have enjoyed his time in Germany, the extent and character of his engagement with contemporary liberal theology cannot be established with precision. As George Adam Smith acknowledges, the surviving evidence does not allow for confident reconstruction of which lectures Drummond attended, which theologians he studied in depth, or how systematically he engaged with the liberal tradition during his stay.¹³³ The available record, therefore, warrants caution against attributing formative influence based on location alone.

What can be stated with greater confidence is that exposure to the intellectual climate of Tübingen placed Drummond in direct proximity to a range of critical and liberal theological positions that were shaping European Protestant thought in the late nineteenth century. This exposure did not result in identifiable doctrinal alignment, but it expanded his awareness of theological plurality and sharpened his sensitivity to the questions raised by modern criticism.

In later years, accusations of theological liberalism were directed at Drummond, particularly in response to his reluctance to articulate the doctrine of atonement in conventional evangelical terms and his preference for moral and experiential categories of faith.¹³⁴ These critiques, however, reflect retrospective reception rather than demonstrable early adoption of liberal theology.

¹³² Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 46.

¹³³ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 50–53.

¹³⁴ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 439–44.

Drummond's position is better understood as a mediating posture: neither a capitulation to liberalism nor a rejection of evangelical conviction, but an attempt to engage modern intellectual challenges without surrendering the core of Christian belief. This posture, already visible in germinal form during his early encounters with European theology, would later become explicit in his theology of continuity.

3.1.1.6 Conclusion

The religious landscape of nineteenth-century Scotland was characterised by profound and often turbulent transformation, reshaping both ecclesiastical institutions and individual expressions of faith. From the Disruption of 1843 and the establishment of the Free Church to the continuing tension between evangelical orthodoxy and the rising tide of intellectual modernity, Scottish religious life reflected a sustained effort to preserve theological integrity amidst rapid social and cultural change. During this period, the Free Church asserted its independence from state interference, upholding the Reformed principles of divine sovereignty, scriptural authority, and personal piety, even as it grappled with the disorienting effects of industrialisation, urban expansion, and scientific advancement.

At the same time, Romanticism and liberal theology introduced new frameworks for interpreting Christian faith, offering alternative responses to the intellectual challenges of the age. Romanticism reawakened a sense of wonder and divine immanence within creation, inviting believers to perceive beauty, harmony, and moral order as reflections of God's character. Liberal theology, emerging partly through the intellectual climate of the Free Church's own colleges and their exposure to German higher criticism, sought to reinterpret doctrine through the lens of

modern scholarship and historical consciousness. Though controversial, these movements captured the aspirations of many who sought to reconcile Christian conviction with contemporary science, philosophy, and moral thought. Consequently, nineteenth-century Scotland became a crucible of theological experimentation, where traditional Reformed commitments encountered and engaged the broader intellectual currents of Europe.

Within this dynamic context, Henry Drummond emerged as a distinctive and synthesising figure. Rooted in the fervent evangelicalism of the Free Church, shaped by a family deeply devoted to faith and social service, and intellectually formed within an environment receptive to Romantic and liberal influences, Drummond developed a theology that resisted both rigid dogmatism and uncritical modernism. His scientific training and profound appreciation for the natural world led him to discern in nature the operations of divine law and spiritual truth. In *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883), he articulated a creative synthesis in which the principles of science illuminated rather than diminished the realities of faith. By interpreting natural phenomena through a spiritual lens, Drummond sought to demonstrate that divine revelation and natural order were not opposing domains but complementary manifestations of the same creative wisdom.

Though some contemporaries accused him of theological liberalism, Drummond's outlook was less a departure from evangelical conviction than a re-articulation of it in the language of modern thought. His work represents a conscientious attempt to remain faithful to the moral and spiritual core of Christianity while engaging rigorously with the intellectual challenges of his age. In this respect, Drummond stands as a transitional figure between traditional evangelicalism and the

emerging modern theology of continuity—a thinker whose synthesis of science and religion anticipated many of the dialogues that would come to define twentieth-century theology.

3.1.2 The Evangelist and His Biographers

To understand Henry Drummond’s deep Christian conviction—the faith he both preached and practised—we must first attend to the spiritual growth he underwent in his formative years. True to his modest and reticent nature, Drummond “always kept silent concerning his own religious struggles.”¹³⁵ Consequently, the biographies written by those “friends who knew him longest and were most intimately acquainted with the growth of his character” are indispensable for tracing his childhood spirituality and the foundations of his faith.¹³⁶

Chapter II surveyed the spiritual milieu of Drummond’s family; this section builds on that account by considering his own reflections and the testimony of those closest to him. In the opening chapter of his biography, George Adam Smith offers a succinct portrait of Drummond’s life and convictions, observing that the core of his faith rested on an unshakeable trust in Jesus Christ: “we would greatly misunderstand both the man and his teachings if we did not recognise that the source and foundation of his concern for others and his trust in God is Jesus Christ.”¹³⁷

Smith’s work is no mere eulogy. It is a measured portrait that candidly acknowledges limitations—what he calls Drummond’s “weak point” in logic—while maintaining the affection of a lifelong friend:

¹³⁵ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 4.

¹³⁶ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 1.

¹³⁷ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 8.

This biography is written by one of a circle of life-long friends, and with their affections upon its words; it was among them that some of his books received the most severe criticism, and therefore I have deemed it not inconsistent with the spirit of the biography to introduce an adverse judgment upon the substance of one of his volumes.¹³⁸

Composed within eighteen months of Drummond's death, the biography functions both as personal homage and as an expression of the loss felt by those who knew him well.¹³⁹

A central question remains: when did Drummond first discern his calling as an evangelist? Addressing this requires attention to the formative influences of his youth—the people who shaped him, the character he cultivated, and the ideas he embraced. As Smith notes, “the biographer of Henry Drummond can at least describe the influences which moulded him, trace the growth of his character and the development of his opinions, and give a record of the actual work he did, and of the movements which he started or enforced.”¹⁴⁰ These early experiences are essential for understanding the roots of Drummond's lifelong commitment to evangelism and his eventual integration of faith with broader intellectual pursuits.

3.1.2.1 The Birth of a Lifelong Calling to Evangelism

Drummond's Christian vocation did not emerge abruptly but developed through early patterns of leadership, scriptural engagement, and sustained religious seriousness. From childhood, he displayed a capacity to assume responsibility among peers and to engage Scripture with confidence, traits that later became central to his evangelistic practice.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 16–17.

¹³⁹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 14.

¹⁴¹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 25.

More decisive than isolated childhood incidents was the formative influence of his home and ecclesial environment, in which faith was treated not as sentiment but as disciplined commitment.¹⁴² Nurtured by his father's example of sincere religion, Drummond learned to reflect on his own spiritual path.¹⁴³ His father's model of sincere religion, combined with regular exposure to preaching and mission services, fostered an early sense of calling marked by reflection rather than impulse.¹⁴⁴ By adolescence, Drummond had begun to articulate his vocation in deliberate terms, indicating that evangelism would become not merely an activity but a defining orientation of his life.

Together, these moments point to an early spirituality characterised by intellectual attentiveness and personal seriousness. Confidence in Scripture and responsiveness to preaching were accompanied by a temperament marked by openness and ease, qualities that shaped how Drummond related to others and to ideas.

A contemporary description by George Adam Smith is revealing in this regard, not for its sentiment, but for the way it captures how Drummond's disposition was perceived by those who knew him closely. Smith observed that Drummond "remained a boy, happy, whole-hearted and unspoiled... able to look out on life from the level of a boy's eyes."¹⁴⁵ Read analytically, this portrayal points less to nostalgia than to a sustained posture of receptivity and imaginative engagement—traits that later enabled Drummond to approach both faith and science without

¹⁴² Henry Drummond, *The Ideal Life and Other Unpublished Addresses*, with Harvard University (Hodder and Stoughton, 1899), 26, <http://archive.org/details/ideallifeandoth00drumgoog>.

¹⁴³ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 17.

¹⁴⁴ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 39.

¹⁴⁵ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 473.

defensiveness. These early dispositions set the trajectory for his lifelong ministry and his subsequent engagement with the relationship between faith and science.

In recounting Drummond's childhood, George Adam Smith offers valuable insight into his early spiritual development. He notes Drummond's selective engagement with the religious instruction of his time—what he found appealing, what he resisted, and what he silently left aside:

What had interested and what had tempted him; what he had understood in the religion he was taught and what he silently dropped. That religion was evangelical Christianity of a doctrinal form, strict in its adherence to a somewhat dry routine of preaching and teaching, but not gloomy nor ascetic, for it forbade no amusements, allowed the boys to lead an athletic life, to play chess and whist, to learn dancing, and as they grew older to go to dancing parties.¹⁴⁶

Drummond's early religious environment, though marked by doctrinal seriousness, did not foster a restrictive or joyless spirit. His parents cultivated a home life that combined firm moral and spiritual discipline with warmth, openness, and a recognition of human joy. Religion was lived sincerely but without rigidity; it shaped character while leaving room for laughter, recreation, and intellectual curiosity. This atmosphere encouraged balance—a harmony between devotion and delight—that enabled Drummond to see faith not as confinement but as the fullest expression of human vitality.

Such an upbringing proved formative in developing his capacity to hold piety and intellect in creative tension. The moral discipline of his home grounded him in conviction, while its openness to culture and recreation prepared him to encounter the modern world without fear. This integrative approach to faith foreshadowed his mature theological outlook, in which spiritual truth and natural understanding were not viewed as competing realities but as complementary dimensions of divine revelation.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 28.

Drummond’s ability to navigate the interplay between faith and social life during these formative years laid the groundwork for his later efforts to unite Christian spirituality with scientific inquiry. These early experiences nurtured a faith that was both reflective and resilient—a faith capable of embracing the complexities of human experience and the discoveries of modern science without losing its spiritual centre. This foundation ultimately shaped the distinctive synthesis that would characterise his theological and intellectual contributions: a Christianity intellectually alive, morally earnest, and joyfully engaged with the world.

3.1.2.2 Spiritual Crisis

William Edgar, Professor Emeritus at Westminster Theological Seminary, has observed that “redemptive history is filled with great men and women who, at some point, grappled with deep discouragement and despair.”¹⁴⁷ He cites the example of Francis Schaeffer and his famous “hayloft experience,” during which Schaeffer “reconsidered the entirety of Christianity.”¹⁴⁸ From that season of darkness, Schaeffer emerged with a renewed and clarified faith, later writing:

“...I saw that my earlier decisions to step from agnosticism to Bible-believing Christianity were right, and I also discovered that I had been missing something vital in my biblical understanding. It was this: that the finished work of Christ on the cross, back there in time and space, has a moment-by-moment meaning.”¹⁴⁹

This experience left Schaeffer’s heart “lightened.”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ William Edgar, “The Faith Crisis of Francis Schaeffer: How His Shadows Brought Light,” *Articles, Desiring God*, February 4, 2023, <https://www.desiringgod.org/articles/the-faith-crisis-of-francis-schaeffer>.

¹⁴⁸ Edith Schaeffer, *The Tapestry: The Life and Times of Francis and Edith Schaeffer*, with Internet Archive (Texas: Word Books, 1984), 354–55, <http://archive.org/details/tapestrylifetime0000scha>.

¹⁴⁹ Francis A. Schaeffer, “Why And How I Write My Books,” *Eternity Magazine*, March 1973.

¹⁵⁰ Colin Duriez, *Francis Schaeffer - An Authentic Life* (Illinois: Crossway Books, 2008), 109, <http://hcf-india.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Francis-Schaeffer-An-Authentic-Life-by-Colin-Duriez.pdf>.

In a different context but with strikingly similar spiritual depth, Henry Drummond underwent a profound inner reorientation—an awakening not born of scepticism but of a renewed apprehension of divine mercy. Whereas Schaeffer rediscovered the present reality of Christ’s finished work, Drummond experienced a deeply personal grasp of that same truth: that the cross secures forgiveness and reconciliation even amid one’s own guilt and frailty. His experience was not a collapse of faith but a moment of spiritual illumination—a *kairos*—that reshaped the course of his vocation. Remarkably, Drummond was only nineteen when this insight crystallised. He later reflected in his private writings:

May I never be too hardened to let these annual milestones sweep by unwept for! In looking back on my past years I see nothing but an unbroken chain of Mercies. Few lives have been as happy as mine. The rod of affliction may conquer many, but if I am subdued at all I have been ‘killed with kindness’—unmerited, unrequited, unsolicited, unexampled kindness.

‘What can I render unto God for all His gifts to me?’ Alas! I have rendered nothing, nothing but evil... For days I have felt ashamed to look up to Him and too wicked to approach His footstool... I think I can honestly say that the chief desire of my heart is to be reconciled unto God and to feel the light of His countenance always upon me... I cannot be too thankful that I have been thus spared being whirled into the vortex of the cares of this life and the deceitfulness of riches... I say it not boastfully but in fear and trembling, with deep humiliation that all these mercies have made me little better than if I had them not.¹⁵¹

These words reveal the candour and depth of Drummond’s spiritual introspection. They disclose an acute consciousness of sin and mercy, a longing for divine communion, and a posture of humility before God. This early spiritual crisis did not weaken his faith; rather, it deepened it. It clarified his understanding of grace and forged in him the moral and theological sensibilities that later enabled him to approach the relationship between science and theology with both intellectual integrity and spiritual equilibrium.

¹⁵¹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 40–41.

Drummond's youthful reflections thus offer more than a glimpse into personal piety—they illuminate the theological architecture that would undergird his mature thought. His experience of grace and reconciliation formed the inner grammar of a worldview capacious enough to embrace both faith and reason. By examining this formative episode, we discern the genesis of Drummond's enduring conviction that the truths of science and of Scripture ultimately converge in the character and purpose of the Creator.

Though intensely personal, Drummond's spiritual reflection also gestures toward broader theological themes that became integral to his later writings: the sovereignty of God as Creator, the manifestation of divine mercy and kindness in nature, and the call to continual reconciliation with God. These strands, woven together through experience and contemplation, would shape the theological synthesis developed in his mature works, such as *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* and *The Ascent of Man*, where the young evangelist's early encounter with grace found expression in a theology of divine continuity across the natural and spiritual realms.

3.1.2.2.1 God and His Authority

A defining element of Henry Drummond's spiritual transformation was his renewed recognition of God as sovereign Creator—a conviction deeply rooted in his Reformed upbringing within the Free Church of Scotland. This theological orientation shaped his worldview, grounding his later reflections on science and religion in a profound sense of divine authority. The emphasis on God's sovereignty is vividly articulated in his sermon *Marvel Not* (based on John 3:7), later published in book form, where Drummond expresses deep reverence for the Creator's unrivalled power and

generative capacity. Reflecting on the loss of simple, childlike faith in the modern age, he laments the diminished confidence in divine omnipotence:

There is a name for God which men, in these days, have many temptations to forget—God the Creator of heaven and earth. It was the name, perhaps, by which we first knew God—God had made our earth, our house; God had made us. He was our Creator—God. We thought God could make anything then, or do anything, or do everything. But we lost our happy childhood's faith; and now we wonder what things God can do, as if there were many things He could not... No one has ever made life but God. We call Him the Author of life, and the Author of life is a wondrously fertile author.¹⁵²

Here, Drummond exposes a spiritual and intellectual malaise characteristic of his century—a creeping scepticism that had eroded confidence in divine omnipotence. Against this tide of doubt, he reasserts a theocentric vision of creation, insisting that the natural order remains the sphere of God's ongoing creative activity. This conviction reflects not only his theological heritage but also his conviction that true science must acknowledge its dependence upon divine authorship.

Drummond's understanding of God's sovereignty liberated him from what he perceived as a necessary conflict between science and faith. For him, scientific inquiry—including evolutionary theory—was not an intrusion upon divine territory but an exploration within it. Every genuine discovery of natural law disclosed further dimensions of the Creator's wisdom. Consequently, he felt no obligation to defend Christianity by refuting scientific claims, since both Scripture and nature, rightly understood, originate from the same divine source.

This position, however, was not without theological risk. By prioritising harmony between revelation and natural law, Drummond tended to treat Scripture and scientific insight as parallel witnesses rather than as sources operating under clearly differentiated authorities. Critics would later argue that this approach risked smoothing over serious questions concerning the normative

¹⁵² Drummond, *The Ideal Life and Other Unpublished Addresses*, 194.

authority of Scripture when scientific interpretations appeared to challenge traditional readings. While Drummond regarded this integration as faithful to divine sovereignty, the tension it generated between confidence in Scripture and openness to scientific theory would remain a central point of contention in assessments of his thought.

This theological vision positioned Drummond within a distinct stream of late Victorian religious thought that sought harmony rather than hostility between revelation and observation. In his later work, particularly in *The Ascent of Man*, Drummond extended this conviction, arguing that evolution itself could be viewed as a mode of divine self-expression—an unfolding of creative purpose rather than a negation of it. Thus, his recognition of God’s supreme authority served not as a retreat from scientific modernity but as the foundation for an integrative theology that affirmed the unity of divine truth across both natural and spiritual domains.

3.1.2.2.2 God’s Mercy and Kindness in Nature

At the heart of Drummond’s spiritual experience lay a profound recognition of God’s mercy and kindness—an awareness that grounded his entire theological outlook in the grace of God. He came to perceive the natural world not merely as the stage upon which human life unfolds, but as a visible expression of divine benevolence: a tangible reflection of the Creator’s character and care. This conviction profoundly shaped his belief that nature, when viewed through the lens of faith and illuminated by science, reveals the attributes of God and invites a deeper communion with Him.

One concrete source that sharpened Drummond’s attentiveness to nature was the influence of John Ruskin. Ruskin’s writings trained him not merely to admire creation, but to practise disciplined observation, learning to see natural forms as morally and spiritually significant. This influence shaped Drummond’s aesthetic habits of attention rather than introducing a new theological claim. In the intricacy of natural forms and the harmony of colour and light, Drummond perceived what he later described as an echo of grace—an experience of delight grounded in careful seeing rather than speculative reflection. He expressed this sensibility vividly:

Now I can linger beside a ploughed field and revel in the affluence of colour and shade which are to be seen in the newly turned furrows, and I gaze in wonder at the liquid amber of the two feet of air above the brown earth.¹⁵³

In later reflection, Geikie characterised Drummond as possessing a capacity to unite scientific curiosity with reverent wonder, and to see in nature’s beauty a reflection of the divine.

For Drummond, this sensitivity was not merely aesthetic but deeply theological. Nature became a conduit of divine mercy, mediating lessons about grace, order, and providence. The created world, in his view, is not self-sufficient but sustained by the ongoing care of its Maker. The rhythm and beauty of natural processes thus serve as continuous revelation, drawing humanity toward the Creator. This perspective resonates with the Psalmist’s confession: “The heavens declare the glory of God, and the sky above proclaims his handiwork” (Psalm 19:1).

By integrating this theological vision with his scientific interests, Drummond advanced a form of natural theology distinct from both rigid dogmatism and secular empiricism. For him, scientific inquiry was not a challenge to faith but a means of deepening it—an act of participation in the

¹⁵³ Henry Drummond, *What Is a Christian? The Study of the Bible. A Talk on Books*, with The Library of Congress (Philadelphia H. Altemus, 1898), 49–50, <http://archive.org/details/whatischristians00drum>.

discovery of divine wisdom embedded within creation. In observing nature's laws and harmonies, one learns not only of the physical order but of the moral and spiritual character of God Himself. Through this lens of divine kindness, Drummond found the meeting point of faith and reason: a vision in which the study of the natural world becomes an act of worship and a testimony to the Creator's mercy.

3.1.2.2.3 Spirit of Reconciliation

Drummond matured in an era when the religious climate—particularly within evangelicalism—was often perceived as defensive or even antagonistic toward the progress of modern science. As David Bebbington observes, “the evangelical movement as a whole is commonly supposed to have been hostile to science.”¹⁵⁴ Within this intellectually charged and frequently polarised environment, Drummond's writings reveal an exceptional balance of conviction and openness. Even in his youth, he wrestled not with scepticism toward science, but with the deeper theological implications of sin and divine grace. His early journals disclose a profound sense of ingratitude before God and a yearning for reconciliation—an inner longing to dwell in the divine presence. This spiritual aspiration was not merely the pursuit of moral peace but the desire for restored communion with God, marked by an abiding awareness of His favour and guidance.

Drummond often described this spiritual intimacy as living under “the light of His countenance,” a phrase that captures both his trust in divine providence and his desire for continual fellowship with God. It reflects the devotional centre of his theology: that reconciliation is not a single act but

¹⁵⁴ David W. Bebbington, “Henry Drummond, Evangelism and Science,” *Records-Scottish Church History Society*, no. 28 (1998): 132.

a sustained posture of the soul before its Creator.¹⁵⁵ For Drummond, such reconciliation produced not withdrawal from the world but renewed vitality within it—a life suffused with divine warmth and grace, attentive to God’s presence in all things.

This formative orientation toward reconciliation profoundly influenced Drummond’s later approach to the perceived conflict between faith and science. When he eventually confronted the intellectual tensions that troubled many of his contemporaries, he did so without anxiety. In the preface to his first major work, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, Drummond acknowledged that he had once regarded science and religion as belonging to “opposite poles of thought,” requiring strict separation. For a time, he maintained this intellectual partition, categorising spiritual and scientific inquiry as distinct spheres. Yet as his thought matured, this artificial division dissolved. What he once described as a “wall of partition” gradually collapsed, and the “two fountains of knowledge... met and mingled.”¹⁵⁶

This imagery encapsulates the theological heart of Drummond’s mature vision: reconciliation as a governing principle of reality itself. Just as humanity is reconciled to God through grace, so too the realms of faith and science—when rightly understood—are reconciled in truth. The unity of divine revelation in Scripture and nature became, for Drummond, an extension of the same redemptive logic operative in the gospel.

This reconciliation, however, was not achieved without theological redefinition. In order to sustain coherence between scientific discovery and Christian belief, Drummond increasingly framed

¹⁵⁵ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 41.

¹⁵⁶ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, vii.

divine sovereignty and revelation in relational and analogical terms rather than in narrowly propositional or defensive categories. While this move enabled a persuasive synthesis for many readers unsettled by evolutionary science, it also rendered his position vulnerable, particularly where questions of Scriptural authority and doctrinal boundary-setting were concerned.

His personal experience of reconciliation with God thus provided the spiritual and intellectual foundation for an integrative theology whose strength lay in its pastoral and apologetic reach, even as its long-term theological sustainability remained open to contestation—a tension examined more fully in the analysis of his mature works in subsequent chapters.

3.1.2.3 Spiritual Diagnosis

A pivotal moment in Henry Drummond’s spiritual and intellectual formation—one that signalled the emergence of his distinctive theological outlook—occurred during his tenure as president of the Theological Society at New College, Edinburgh.¹⁵⁷ On that occasion, he presented an essay entitled *Spiritual Diagnosis*, a work that captured the essence of his developing perspective on the relationship between faith, pastoral practice, and scientific reasoning.

In the essay, Drummond criticised the Church’s prevailing failure to engage individuals personally during the most critical moments of their lives.¹⁵⁸ He contrasted this pastoral detachment with the hands-on, empirical training of medical students, who learned by direct observation and diagnosis. Theological education, he argued, too often neglected such experiential depth, resulting in ministers more adept at doctrinal exposition than at discerning the spiritual state of those they

¹⁵⁷ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 39.

¹⁵⁸ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 10–11.

served. Drummond maintained that a pastor's effectiveness depended not solely on the pulpit but on the ability to "diagnose" the soul—to understand its condition before prescribing the gospel as its cure.

By drawing this analogy between the physician and the minister, Drummond sought to bridge medical science and theology, suggesting that both disciplines shared a common vocation: the healing of life, whether physical or spiritual. His argument reflected a growing conviction that divine truth is best apprehended not through abstraction but through observation—by studying the laws governing both nature and the human soul. This orientation anticipated his later theological method, in which he would interpret natural law as a means of understanding spiritual realities.

Drummond's reading of *Spiritual Diagnosis* took place while he was still a seminary student at New College, just weeks before the arrival of the American evangelist Dwight L. Moody in Britain—an event that would further shape his ministry and theology. The essay not only foreshadowed Drummond's lifelong integration of faith and science but also revealed his pastoral concern for making theology practical and redemptive. Its core insight—that spiritual discernment requires careful observation and personal engagement—formed the intellectual groundwork for his later works, particularly *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*.

Spiritual Diagnosis will be examined in greater depth in Chapter IV, where its conceptual continuity with Drummond's established theology will be explored.

3.1.2.4 Conclusion

The formative years of Henry Drummond’s Christian faith provided the groundwork for his later synthesis of theology and science. Rooted in Scripture and shaped by an awareness of divine sovereignty and mercy, his spirituality combined reverent devotion with intellectual curiosity. This early formation enabled him to approach the new scientific worldview not as a threat but as another means of discerning the Creator’s order.

By the close of this period, Drummond had forged the essential contours of what this study terms his *theology of continuity*—the conviction that the same divine laws govern both the natural and the spiritual realms. This framework, already implicit in his formative spirituality, became the organising principle of his mature thought.

3.2 The Scientific Landscape

Victorian Scotland was characterised by a remarkable flourishing of scientific thought, in which Enlightenment rationalism converged with a deeply ingrained cultural commitment to theology and education. Institutions such as the University of Edinburgh played a pivotal role in this intellectual renaissance, cultivating an environment where scientific inquiry was pursued with rigour and often in dialogue with religious belief.¹⁵⁹ Learned societies, public lectures, and the increasing accessibility of scientific literature brought recent discoveries into the public sphere, making science not merely an academic pursuit but a defining element of cultural life.

¹⁵⁹ J. B. Morrell, “The Patronage of Mid-Victorian Science in the University of Edinburgh,” *Science Studies* 3, no. 4 (1973): 353–54.

3.2.1 The Scientific Landscape of the Victorian Era

Among the natural sciences, geology and biology rose to particular prominence. New discoveries began to unsettle traditional understandings of the natural world, especially regarding the age of the Earth and the origins of life. Theories such as uniformitarianism¹⁶⁰—popularised by Charles Lyell—reshaped the scientific imagination and laid the conceptual groundwork for evolutionary thought.¹⁶¹ These developments inevitably provoked theological debate, yet they simultaneously captured the imagination of scholars and the general public alike, establishing science as an authoritative voice in the interpretation of nature.

The University of Edinburgh exemplified the integration of scientific training with theological reflection. Its curriculum encouraged students to engage deeply with both disciplines, fostering a worldview that did not demand a binary choice between faith and reason. Influential figures such as Archibald Geikie¹⁶²—Henry Drummond’s mentor—and John Stevens Henslow¹⁶³—mentor to Charles Darwin—embodied this synthesis, cultivating a culture of empirical observation, critical reasoning, and intellectual humility before the mysteries of creation. Within this context, science and religion were not necessarily viewed as antagonistic but as complementary modes of apprehending divine truth.

¹⁶⁰ W. Faye Cannon, “Charles Lyell, Radical Actualism, and Theory,” *The British Journal for the History of Science* 9, no. 2 (July 1976): 107, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007087400014709>.

¹⁶¹ Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology in Two Volumes*, I (London: John Murray, 1830), <https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/principlesgeolovolllyel>; Lyell is widely recognized as the father of modern geology, outlines the theory of uniformitarianism.

¹⁶²D. R. Oldroyd, “Sir Archibald Geikie (1835–1924), Geologist, Romantic Aesthete, and Historian of Geology,” *Annals of Science*, Taylor & Francis Group, August 22, 2006, 441–62, world, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00033798000200351>.

¹⁶³ S. M. Walters and E. A. Stow, *Darwin’s Mentor: John Stevens Henslow, 1796-1861* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

This intellectually vibrant and theologically responsive milieu proved formative for Henry Drummond's emerging scientific outlook. Immersed in a culture that valued disciplined inquiry and empirical investigation, Drummond developed a keen interest in geology and the natural sciences during his university years.¹⁶⁴ The prevailing conviction that scientific study could coexist harmoniously with religious faith enabled him to perceive the natural world not as a challenge to belief but as a field of theological revelation. Exposure to Lyell's geological writings and the mentorship of scholars who combined scientific precision with theological awareness nurtured in Drummond a methodological openness that would later define his own integrative approach.

Victorian Scotland thus offered Drummond more than intellectual stimulus; it provided a model of synthesis—a union of empirical rigour and spiritual insight—that became the foundation of his theological vision and found mature expression in *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883).

3.2.1.2 The Emergence of Darwinian Evolutionary Theory

Although evolutionary speculation long predated Charles Darwin, he was the first naturalist to construct a systematic and empirically grounded framework capable of explaining the diversity of life in coherent scientific terms. At the core of his theory lay the principle of common descent, memorably depicted through the metaphor of the “tree of life.”¹⁶⁵ As evolutionary biologist Ernst Mayr later observed, this conceptual breakthrough constituted the first Darwinian revolution, while the identification of natural selection as the principal mechanism of evolutionary change represented the second.¹⁶⁶ Darwin's seminal work, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural*

¹⁶⁴ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 32, 46.

¹⁶⁵ Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, 143–44.

¹⁶⁶ Peter J. Bowler, *Darwin Deleted: Imagining a World without Darwin* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 36.

Selection, or The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life (1859), articulated this mechanism with unprecedented scientific rigour, challenging deeply entrenched assumptions in both theology and the natural sciences. Its publication did more than transform biological thought—it precipitated a profound intellectual and cultural upheaval that reverberated far beyond the scientific community. While some historians, most notably David Bebbington, have rightly emphasized that Darwinian evolution did not produce an immediate or uniform collapse of Christian belief at the level of popular opinion, the present discussion focuses on the deeper intellectual and theological disruption introduced by Darwin’s theory, particularly in its challenge to long-established frameworks of natural theology and biblical interpretation.

One of the chief reasons *On the Origin of Species* provoked such controversy was its implicit challenge to the literal interpretation of biblical creation. Rather than attributing the diversity of life to divine fiat, Darwin offered a naturalistic account grounded in gradual modification and adaptation over immense periods of time. As Richard H. Robbins and Mark Nathan Cohen have observed, Darwin’s theory “contradicted the accounts of creation contained in the book of Genesis” and “undermined the popular argument for the existence of God.”¹⁶⁷ This intellectual rupture destabilised long-standing theological certainties and marked a decisive moment in the Victorian struggle to reconcile revelation with reason. Summarising the essence of Darwin’s argument, Robbins and Cohen note that *The Origin* advanced two interrelated propositions: first, that “the variety of life on the planet was not specially and individually created, but had been

¹⁶⁷ Richard H. Robbins and Mark Nathan Cohen, *Darwin and the Bible: The Cultural Confrontation* (London & New York: Routledge, 2016), 1–2.

gradually modified from pre-existing forms over millions of years”; and second, that “the main mechanism of evolution was the process of natural selection.”¹⁶⁸

By explaining the origin and adaptation of species as the product of natural processes rather than direct divine intervention, Darwin’s theory introduced a paradigm that appeared to exclude God from the creative order. Its most unsettling implication concerned the place of humanity within nature: if all species, including humankind, shared a common ancestry, then the traditional conception of humanity as a distinct and privileged creation was profoundly undermined. This assertion directly challenged the anthropocentric worldview embedded within the Judeo-Christian tradition, threatening not merely theological doctrines but also the moral and existential self-understanding of the age. Darwin’s theory thus represented far more than a biological innovation; it was an epistemological revolution that redrew the boundaries between science and theology.¹⁶⁹ Its reception exposed deep fissures within Victorian thought, shaping theological responses and fuelling broader debates across education, philosophy, and culture for decades to come.

The controversy surrounding *On the Origin of Species* was not confined to ecclesiastical circles. Within the scientific community itself, many were equally unsettled by Darwin’s departure from established paradigms. His rejection of the immutability of species—the belief that all forms of life had remained fixed since their original creation—posed a direct challenge to prevailing scientific orthodoxy. By positing that species evolved gradually through natural processes operating over vast geological timescales, Darwin disrupted existing taxonomies and challenged

¹⁶⁸ Robbins and Cohen, *Darwin and the Bible*, 1.

¹⁶⁹ Edward J Larson, “The Reception of Darwinism in the Nineteenth Century: A Three Part Story,” *Science & Christian Belief* 21, no. 1 (2009): 7–10.

the perceived stability and order of the natural world. This conceptual shift was revolutionary, and not all scientists were prepared to embrace it.

Among the early critics was Adam Sedgwick (1785–1873), a foundational figure in nineteenth-century British geology and a professor at Trinity College, Cambridge, where Darwin himself had studied. Sedgwick, one of Darwin’s former mentors, voiced his disquiet in a letter that revealed both scientific and theological apprehensions:

If I did not think you a good-tempered and truth-loving man, I should not tell you that I have read your book with more pain than pleasure. Parts of it I admired greatly; parts I laughed at till my sides were almost sore; other parts I read with absolute sorrow, because I think them utterly false and grievously mischievous.... You have deserted—after a start in that tram-road of all solid physical truth—the true method of induction, and started up a machinery as wild, I think, as Bishop Wilkins’s locomotive that was to sail with us to the Moon. Many of your wide conclusions are based upon assumptions which can neither be proved nor disproved. Why then express them in the language and arrangements of philosophical induction?¹⁷⁰

Sedgwick’s critique underscored the anxiety that Darwin had abandoned the empirical restraint of Baconian induction—the methodological cornerstone of modern science—in favour of speculative reasoning. Yet beneath his methodological objection lay a deeper spiritual unease. In a subsequent remark, Sedgwick added: “If (you and) I humbly accept God’s revelation of Himself both in His works and in His word... we shall meet in heaven.”¹⁷¹ His response epitomised the broader Victorian dilemma: the desire to uphold scientific integrity while remaining faithful to divine revelation.

Such exchanges illustrate that the impact of Darwin’s theory extended beyond the laboratory and the church pulpit; it penetrated the moral and intellectual conscience of an age. For figures like

¹⁷⁰ Adam Sedgwick, “Letter 2548 — Sedgwick, Adam to Darwin, C. R., 24 Nov 1859,” November 24, 1859, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070902194530/http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/darwinletters/calendar/entry-2548.html#mark-2548.f5>.

¹⁷¹ Sedgwick, “Letter 2548 — Sedgwick, Adam to Darwin, C. R., 24 Nov 1859.”

Henry Drummond, who came of age amid this turbulence, the challenge was not merely to defend theology against science, but to demonstrate that both could coexist within a unified framework of truth—a task that would define his life’s work and find mature expression in his theology of continuity explored in the ensuing chapters.

3.2.1.3 The Great Debate

The publication of *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 ignited fierce controversy across scientific, philosophical, and theological circles. *The Press*, a London weekly, reported that “the theory of Dr Darwin...on the origin of species by natural selection, gave rise to the hottest of all debates.”¹⁷² Among the many responses it provoked, none captured public imagination more vividly than the encounter at the 1860 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Oxford. The now-legendary exchange between Thomas Henry Huxley—a rising naturalist and ardent defender of Darwin’s theory—and Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford and a renowned orator, came to symbolise the wider Victorian struggle between faith and scientific progress.¹⁷³

Although Wilberforce had a genuine interest in natural history—having served as vice-president of the British Association and as a member of the councils of several geological and zoological societies—he rejected Darwin’s theory on both scientific and theological grounds. Huxley, by contrast, challenged what he regarded as Wilberforce’s superficial understanding of scientific

¹⁷² “The Press (London Weekly),” Literature & Art, *The Press* (London), July 7, 1860, British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁷³ Michael Ruse, *Can a Darwinian Be a Christian?: The Relationship Between Science and Religion* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

reasoning and offered a spirited defence of Darwin's ideas as intellectually rigorous and empirically grounded.

During the debate, Huxley contended that Darwin's theory provided more than conjecture; it constituted a comprehensive and testable framework for understanding the natural world. As reported in *The Athenaeum*, he maintained:

Prof. Huxley defended Mr Darwin's theory from the charge of its being merely an hypothesis. He said it was an explanation of phenomena in Natural History.... Darwin's theory was an explanation of facts; and his book was full of new facts, all bearing on his theory. Without asserting that every part of the theory had been confirmed, he maintained that it was the best explanation of the origin of species which had yet been offered.¹⁷⁴

The most dramatic moment of the exchange, immortalised in later retellings, occurred when Wilberforce is said to have asked Huxley whether he claimed descent from an ape on his grandfather's or grandmother's side. Though no verbatim record confirms the exact wording, the incident became emblematic of the clash between clerical authority and scientific naturalism. In a letter to his friend Frederick Dyster dated 9 September 1860, Huxley recalled:

I had listened with great attention to the Lord Bishop's speech but had been unable to discover either a new fact or a new argument in it—except indeed the question raised as to my personal predilections in the matter of ancestry—that it would not have occurred to me to bring forward such a topic as that for discussion myself, but that I was quite ready to meet the Right Rev. prelate even on that ground.

If then, said I, the question is put to me would I rather have a miserable ape for a grandfather or a man highly endowed by nature and possessed of great means and influence, and yet who employs these faculties and that influence for the mere purpose of introducing ridicule into a grave scientific discussion—I unhesitatingly affirm my preference for the ape.¹⁷⁵

Huxley's retort electrified the audience and soon entered popular legend, symbolising the growing confidence of scientific naturalism and the perceived waning of clerical authority in Victorian

¹⁷⁴ -J. Vernon Jensen, "Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 21, no. 2 (1988): 168, JSTOR.

¹⁷⁵ T. H. Huxley, "Letter to Frederick Dyster," T. H. Huxley: Letters and Diary: 1860, 09 1860, <https://mathcs.clarku.edu/huxley/letters/60.html>.

intellectual life. The exchange, though often mythologised, encapsulated the era's shifting epistemological boundaries—where theology and science contended not merely for factual truth but for interpretive supremacy in understanding the human condition and the created order.

Not all contemporary responses, however, adopted such combative tones. Sir David Brewster—a respected scientist, minister, and former Principal of the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh—advocated a more conciliatory position. He maintained that “science and religion must be one since each dealt with truth, which had only one and the same Author.”¹⁷⁶ In his 1862 article *The Facts and Fancies of Mr Darwin*, Brewster conceded the plausibility of limited adaptive change within species but dismissed Darwin's broader conclusions as “dangerous and degrading speculation.”¹⁷⁷ He found the idea of a primordial life form emerging without divine causation “offensive alike to science and to Christianity.”¹⁷⁸ Brewster's response represented a moderate Evangelical effort to safeguard theological orthodoxy without rejecting the legitimate findings of empirical science.

The legacy of the Oxford debate extended far beyond its immediate participants. It reshaped public perceptions of Darwinism and established the conflict between science and religion as a defining feature of Victorian intellectual life. More importantly, it catalysed a new generation of thinkers—among them Henry Drummond—to re-examine the relationship between revelation and natural law. Troubled by the polarised rhetoric of his age, Drummond sought a middle path: one that

¹⁷⁶ Alexander Strahan, *Sir David Brewster and Sir John Herschel*, VIII, *The Day of Rest in The Library Magazine of American and Foreign Thought* (New York: American Book Exchange, 1881), <https://archive.org/details/librarymagazine13unkngoog/page/n6/mode/2up?view=theater&q=Darwin>.

¹⁷⁷ David Brewster, “The Facts and Fancies of Mr. Darwin,” *Good Words; London* 3 (December 1862): 3–4.

¹⁷⁸ Brewster, “The Facts and Fancies of Mr. Darwin,” 3–4.

refused both the defensive hostility of theological traditionalists and the reductionism of scientific materialists. He came to view evolution not as a threat to Christian faith but as a potential expression of divine purpose woven into the fabric of creation.

This integrative approach, which would later crystallise in *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883) and *The Ascent of Man* (1894), positioned Drummond as a mediator between the contending spheres of faith and science. His vision anticipated subsequent theological movements that sought to reconcile biblical revelation with evolutionary understanding, making the Oxford debate not merely a historical episode but a turning point that shaped the trajectory of modern Christian thought.

3.2.1.4 The Shaking of Christian Foundations

Darwin's theory of evolution has often been perceived as a direct assault on Christianity. Yet the historical record reveals that Darwin himself did not intend to subvert religious belief. In a personal reflection, he confessed: "In my most extreme fluctuations I have never been an Atheist in the sense of denying the existence of a God."¹⁷⁹ Although not hostile to religion, Darwin recognised that his ideas would inevitably provoke theological unease, for they confronted the prevailing Christian worldview of Victorian Britain. In a letter to his American correspondent and supporter Asa Gray (1810–1888)—a devout Christian, botanist, and professor at Harvard University—Darwin candidly acknowledged his own discomfort with the theological implications of his work:

With respect to the theological view of the question, this is always painful to me. I am bewildered. I had no intention to write atheistically. But I own that I cannot see as plainly as others do, and as I should wish to do, evidence of design and beneficence on all sides of us. There seems to me too much

¹⁷⁹ Francis Darwin, *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, Including An Autobiographical Chapter in Three Volumes* (London: John Murray, 1887), 1:304, <http://darwin-online.org.uk/content/frameset?pageseq=1&itemID=F1452.1&viewtype=side>.

misery in the world. I cannot persuade myself that a beneficent and omnipotent God would have designedly created the Ichneumonidae with the express intention of their feeding within the living bodies of caterpillars, or that a cat should play with mice.¹⁸⁰

This striking admission discloses Darwin's internal struggle—not with the existence of God, but with the problem of divine benevolence in the face of natural suffering. Far from being a militant atheist, he wrestled with the moral and theological implications of natural selection, recognising its potential to unsettle long-cherished certainties of Christian thought. His anguish reveals the extent to which his scientific discoveries compelled a rethinking of traditional theodicies rather than a rejection of faith itself.

Reverend John Brodie Innes (1817–1894), a long-time friend of Darwin and the perpetual curate of Down—the village in which Darwin resided from 1848—forcefully rejected accusations that Darwin was hostile to religion. A committed High Church Anglican and defender of orthodoxy, Innes remained unconvinced by the theory of evolution, yet admired Darwin's intellectual honesty and moral integrity. Writing of his friend to fellow clergymen, he recalled:

I have the pleasure of the intimate friendship of one of the very first Naturalists in Europe. He is a most accurate observer, and never states anything as a fact which he has not most thoroughly investigated. He is a man of the most perfect moral character, and his scrupulous regard for the strictest truth is above that of almost all men I know. I am quite persuaded that if on any morning he met with a fact which would clearly contradict one of his cherished theories he would not let the sun set before he made it known. I never saw a word in his writings which was an attack on religion. He follows his own course as a naturalist and leaves Moses to take care of himself.¹⁸¹

Despite such personal defences, *On the Origin of Species* was widely condemned by theologians who perceived it as a threat to the very foundations of Christian doctrine. In his *Autobiography*, Darwin reflected with irony on this hostility, remarking that he had once seriously contemplated entering the Anglican priesthood: “Considering how fiercely I have been attacked by the

¹⁸⁰ Robbins and Cohen, *Darwin and the Bible*, 1.

¹⁸¹ John B. Innes, “Letter to Darwin,” Darwin Correspondence Project, accessed December 20, 2019, <http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/letter/DCP-LETT-11768.xml>.

orthodox,” he wrote, “it seems ludicrous that I once intended to be a clergyman.”¹⁸² The publication of *The Origin* and the naturalistic worldview it introduced destabilised the faith of many believers and ignited a wave of theological controversy that extended well beyond Britain’s borders.

One prominent example was Leslie Stephen (1832–1904), an English historian, essayist, and former Anglican clergyman, who later confessed that his faith “was weakened through a gradual process of doubt resulting from reading Darwin’s work.”¹⁸³ Stephen’s experience mirrored that of countless others, particularly within Britain and North America, where Darwin’s theory compelled many to re-examine their understanding of Scripture, providence, and divine design.

The crisis of belief that followed did not arise in isolation. It was the culmination of earlier intellectual movements, including Enlightenment rationalism and the emergence of German higher criticism, both of which had already begun to erode confidence in biblical authority. These intellectual undercurrents prepared the soil in which Darwin’s theory would take root, amplifying its destabilising effect upon Christian thought. As historian Timothy Larsen explains, this period witnessed the emergence of a pervasive but misleading narrative of conflict between science and religion:

There has been this whole mythology of the conflict between faith and science. So there have been a lot of people who have tried to discredit Christianity by seeing it as anti-scientific. And therefore they had this whole story about Darwin coming along and disproving Christianity and therefore, henceforth, once again faith is not credible. And so Darwin, because he fits right in the middle of the

¹⁸² Charles Darwin, *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin (1809 - 1882)*, The Only Complete Edition (Books iRead, 1999), 40, <http://archive.org/details/TheAutobiographyOfCharlesDarwin1809-1882>.

¹⁸³ Badey, “The Christian Implications of Darwin’s Theory of Evolution,” 3.

Victorian Age, becomes a nice shorthand for that whole way of constructing the relationship between faith and science—which is, again, false.¹⁸⁴

Larsen’s observation underscores that Darwin himself became emblematic of a broader cultural myth—a simplification of a far more nuanced reality. While polemicists on both sides advanced a rhetoric of opposition, many Victorian thinkers continued to seek reconciliation between revelation and discovery. Yet for ordinary Christians, the challenge was existential. Darwin’s theory did not merely question specific doctrines; it shifted the epistemological ground on which faith had long rested. The authority of Scripture, once assumed to provide an unassailable foundation for knowledge, now had to contend with the rising authority of scientific empiricism.

For many believers, the question was not simply whether Genesis could be read metaphorically, but whether divine revelation and empirical reason could coexist without contradiction. This epistemological tension provoked a crisis that reverberated through seminaries, pulpits, and parlours alike. Some theologians attempted to reinterpret the creation narratives in light of evolutionary science, proposing that natural processes might constitute the means through which divine creativity is expressed. Others, however, regarded Darwinism as a categorical threat to the doctrines of divine design, human uniqueness, and the historical reality of Adam and Eve.

Thus, the publication of *On the Origin of Species* did more than introduce a scientific theory—it precipitated a profound reorientation of theological consciousness. It forced Victorian Christianity to grapple with questions of divine agency, moral order, and human identity within a universe governed by natural law. This intellectual upheaval forms the essential backdrop against which

¹⁸⁴ Timothy Larsen, “A Closer Look at Victorian Christianity: A Conversation with Historian Timothy Larsen,” November 21, 2011, Web, <https://albertmohler.com/2011/11/21/a-closer-look-at-victorian-christianity-a-conversation-with-historian-timothy-larsen/>.

Henry Drummond's theology of continuity must be understood. His later efforts to harmonise faith with evolutionary thought, examined in Chapters IV and V, represent not a capitulation to modernity but a creative theological response to the crisis of belief that Darwin had unintentionally set in motion.

3.2.1.5 Conclusion

This concluding section does not advance new analytical claims, but draws together the formative threads traced throughout the chapter in order to clarify the developmental trajectory of Drummond's thought. The intellectual and scientific milieu of Victorian Scotland provided the soil in which Henry Drummond's formative ideas first took root. The era's extraordinary advances in geology and evolutionary biology reshaped prevailing conceptions of creation and humanity's place within it, stirring both fascination and anxiety in theological circles. Amid this ferment, Drummond's years at the University of Edinburgh placed him at the intersection of two powerful currents—the emerging scientific order and the enduring claims of Christian theology. Within this environment, he began to sense that truth revealed in Scripture and truth discovered in nature could not ultimately conflict.

The controversies surrounding Darwinian evolution, with their attendant implications for biblical interpretation and theological anthropology, formed a central framework within which Drummond's intellectual and spiritual outlook evolved. Immersed in an environment where faith and reason were often perceived as mutually exclusive, Drummond was compelled to engage these tensions critically rather than defensively. This early encounter with the intellectual ferment of his

age laid the foundation for his lifelong endeavour to articulate a synthesis between scientific understanding and religious belief—a project that would culminate in his mature writings.

Drummond's developing perspective was profoundly shaped by the prevailing intellectual currents of Victorian thought, which he neither dismissed nor uncritically absorbed, but approached with disciplined discernment and theological imagination. His seminal work, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883), stands as both a product and a critique of his era. Through it, Drummond sought to interpret spiritual realities through analogies drawn from natural processes, thereby demonstrating that divine order permeates both the physical and moral dimensions of existence. In doing so, he aligned himself with a broader movement of late nineteenth-century theologians who endeavoured not to resist scientific progress, but to reinterpret its discoveries as complementary to, rather than contradictory of, divine revelation.

Victorian Scotland, therefore, furnished Drummond with far more than scientific literacy; it provided him with a model of inquiry grounded in empirical rigour, intellectual openness, and spiritual depth. Within this context, he learned to view scientific investigation as a legitimate mode of theological reflection—a way of discerning God's continuous activity within the natural order. This formative synthesis between observation and faith became a defining feature of Drummond's intellectual outlook during his formative years in Victorian Scotland.

3.2.2 Scientific Career

To regard Henry Drummond solely as a preacher and evangelist is to overlook a vital dimension of his intellectual identity. Equally formative was his sustained engagement with the natural

sciences, which profoundly influenced not only his academic trajectory but also his broader theological and philosophical outlook. Drummond's scientific vocation cannot be understood apart from his theological vision; the two were inextricably intertwined in a lifelong quest to interpret the created order as a reflection of divine law and purpose.

This section traces the development of Drummond's scientific interests—from his early fascination with geology and botany, through the formative influence of literary figures such as John Ruskin, to his formal appointments in natural science at New College and the Free Church College in Glasgow. His career embodies a distinctive Victorian synthesis: an integration of empirical inquiry and theological reflection, through which he sought to reconcile scientific discovery with Christian faith. In this respect, Drummond represents a unique figure within late nineteenth-century thought, bridging the intellectual divide between science and religion that so sharply characterised his era.

3.2.2.1 Early Interest in Nature and Science

As a boy, Henry Drummond was remembered more for his exuberance on the playground than for any early academic distinction, with fishing as his favoured pastime.¹⁸⁵ Yet alongside this youthful energy there emerged a sustained curiosity about the natural world that would later assume methodological significance. By the time he completed his formal schooling in the summer of 1866, shortly before his fifteenth birthday, this curiosity had crystallised into a deliberate interest in the natural sciences. Reflecting later on this formative period, Drummond wrote:

¹⁸⁵ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 24.

My scientific bent was apparent in a desire to investigate things, to examine the objects about me—the rocks of the hills and the flowers of the field. My first scientific loves were geology and botany. It seemed to come naturally to me to knock about with a hammer.¹⁸⁶

What is significant here is not simply the presence of early interest, but the emergence of a disciplined habit of observation. This mode of attentiveness—empirical, patient, and reflective—would later shape both Drummond’s scientific practice and the analogical structure of his theological reasoning.

The intellectually vibrant atmosphere of a Scottish university further nurtured these inclinations. During his studies at the University of Edinburgh, Drummond was drawn to the spirit of inquiry that defined the institution’s intellectual culture. Though, as one biographer notes, his “inquisitive nature rebelled against the traditional and the commonplace,” he remained deeply engaged in his academic pursuits.¹⁸⁷ This creative tension between intellectual independence and disciplined study became a defining feature of his character, propelling him toward a lifelong exploration of nature as a medium of divine revelation.

In his third year, Drummond studied Second Mathematics and Natural Philosophy under Professor Peter Guthrie Tait, co-author (with Lord Kelvin) of the influential *Treatise on Natural Philosophy*.¹⁸⁸ Tait’s lectures left a deep and lasting impression on the young student, awakening in him a profound respect for the precision and explanatory power of scientific reasoning.¹⁸⁹ Drummond’s notebooks from that course—filled with detailed transcriptions and carefully drawn

¹⁸⁶ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 6.

¹⁸⁷ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 9.

¹⁸⁸ William Thomson Kelvin and Peter Guthrie Tait, *Treatise on Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879), <http://archive.org/details/treatiseonnatur01darwgoog>.

¹⁸⁹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 31.

experimental diagrams—attest to the seriousness with which he approached the study of physical law. Under Tait’s influence, he began to perceive that the ordered structure of nature could itself bear witness to divine rationality, a conviction that would later inform his theology of continuity between natural and spiritual realms.

Drummond’s first known publication, a descriptive essay on Alva Glen that appeared in the *Stirling Observer*, reveals the distinctive blend of scientific attentiveness and literary sensitivity that would come to define his mature style.¹⁹⁰ The piece demonstrates both his observational precision and his capacity to translate empirical detail into evocative prose. George Adam Smith, his close friend and biographer, described the work as follows:

They reveal a keen sense of beauty and an extraordinary care in sketching natural facts. Every boulder in the glen, every turn of the banks, every twist and cascade in the burn, the geological formations, the colouring of the rocks, the fragrances of the wood, the sounds of human industry that penetrate to the furthest corners, the features of the skyline, the distant prospects, are all noted in a series of rapid, impressive clauses that succeed in making a stranger to the scene feel as if he were viewing it... There is abundant proof of unusually keen powers of observation, of a fine and healthy taste in letters, and of distinct powers of illustration and interpretation—all exercised with a maturity remarkable in a boy of just over eighteen years of age.¹⁹¹

This combination of aesthetic appreciation and empirical precision became the hallmark of Drummond’s intellectual style. He possessed not only the scientist’s eye for detail but also the poet’s sensibility for meaning—an integration that enabled him to read nature both as data and as revelation. Even in these early writings, one can discern the outlines of his later theological method: a conviction that truth, whether scientific or spiritual, arises from the same divine source and therefore invites synthesis rather than separation.

¹⁹⁰ William Drysdale, ed., *Old Faces, Old Places, and Old Stories of Stirling* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1899), 114.

¹⁹¹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 37–38.

Such formative experiences reveal that Drummond’s vocation as a scientist was never detached from his religious sensibility. Rather, his growing engagement with the natural sciences deepened his sense of wonder before the Creator’s handiwork and provided him with a disciplined framework for theological reflection. This early fusion of faith and empirical curiosity would shape his later contributions as a lecturer, writer, and theologian, culminating in his efforts to articulate a vision of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*—a theme that the subsequent chapters will explore in depth.

3.2.2.2 Literary and Scientific Formation

Building on the earlier discussion of Ruskin’s influence on Drummond’s habits of perception, this section examines how that influence extended beyond observation into language and epistemology. Henry Drummond’s scientific sensibility was not nurtured by experiment alone but was profoundly shaped by his engagement with literature. The first book he ever purchased was a selection of writings by John Ruskin, a volume he later referred to affectionately as “my No. 1.” Reflecting on its impact, Drummond confessed that Ruskin had taught him how to see the world with awakened perception. Without this encounter, he feared, he might have passed through life “much like newborn bats or kittens,” never fully opening his eyes to the beauty and meaning embedded in the created order.¹⁹² Ruskin’s prose instilled in Drummond a disciplined attentiveness to the textures and patterns of nature—a quality that would become foundational to both his scientific methodology and his theological imagination.

¹⁹² Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 12.

From Ruskin, Drummond also learned the expressive power of language—the ability to render perception with precision, depth, and moral resonance. He was especially struck by Ruskin’s use of adjectives to capture the subtlety of natural phenomena, an influence that shaped his own ability to communicate scientific and spiritual truths with clarity and emotional force. He later observed:

One of the advantages this gives a man is the possession of a great many adjectives, and it is a man's adjectives, to a large extent, that bear witness to his intellectual power. A lot of men go to hear a sermon or a lecture. Some say, ‘It was very nice,’ but the thoughtful man will say, ‘It was a discerning sermon,’ or ‘a well-thought-out sermon,’ or ‘a weak sermon.’ Now, there is nothing that will supply a man with adjectives so much as Nature. What should we know of the word ‘awful,’ if it were not for thunder? Ruskin says, ‘No one knows what tenderness is until he has seen a sunrise.’ The best idea that one can get of tenderness is the delicate light of an autumn sunrise.¹⁹³

For Drummond, this attentiveness to language was not a mere aesthetic refinement; it was an epistemological discipline. The act of describing nature accurately demanded both intellectual rigour and moral sensitivity. Ruskin’s influence thus awakened in him a dual vocation—as observer and interpreter—rooted in the conviction that nature was not only to be analysed but also to be read, much like Scripture, for the deeper truths it revealed about divine order and human perception.

This synthesis of scientific observation and literary imagination became a defining hallmark of Drummond’s intellectual life. His later writings reveal a seamless interplay between the empirical and the expressive, where scientific insight is rendered through prose that engages both reason and emotion. This ability to translate complex ideas into accessible, evocative language marked his enduring contribution as a communicator of science and faith.

¹⁹³ Lennox, *The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond*, 13.

Ruskin's influence can be traced across Drummond's later prose, where scientific description and moral imagination are repeatedly held together. Each text demonstrates a combination of scientific competence and rhetorical clarity aimed at rendering contemporary scientific ideas accessible to a non-specialist audience. Through these works, Drummond sought to translate scientific knowledge into a conceptual framework that could be engaged within Christian discourse, thereby mediating between academic scientific debate and wider religious publics.

Drummond's literary and scientific formation thus exemplified his lifelong commitment to integration—to the belief that beauty, truth, and revelation were not separate realms but interwoven dimensions of the same reality. His early encounter with Ruskin did more than cultivate an aesthetic sensibility; it provided a hermeneutic framework for understanding the world as both God's creation and humanity's classroom. This capacity to discern continuity between art, science, and theology would later mature into the central principle of his thought—the conviction that the laws of the natural world mirror those of the spiritual realm, a theme explored in depth in the ensuing chapters.

3.2.2.3 Natural Science Lectureship and Professorship

From his university years, Henry Drummond exhibited a marked aptitude for the natural sciences—a field he pursued with both intellectual seriousness and personal enthusiasm throughout his theological studies at New College. His abilities were quickly recognised: he was awarded the first prize in natural science, a distinction that testified not only to his scientific competence but also to his disciplined curiosity and commitment to the empirical study of

creation.¹⁹⁴ Drummond’s interdisciplinary disposition was already evident in his choice of topic for his statutory homily in the Apologetics course, *The Six Days of Creation*. The selection reflected his early interest in reconciling scriptural exegesis with scientific insight, particularly in interpreting the Genesis narrative through the lens of contemporary geological and cosmological understanding.¹⁹⁵ Even at this formative stage, he was probing the boundaries between faith and reason, anticipating the integrative approach that would characterise his mature thought.

Having completed his theological training, Drummond passed his exit examinations in April 1876.¹⁹⁶ Yet the months that followed proved to be a period of acute uncertainty. He later described that year as “the most miserable time of his life,” marked by vocational indecision, financial instability, and an underlying sense of spiritual restlessness.¹⁹⁷ Torn between the intellectual life of the academy and the practical demands of ministry, he found himself suspended between two callings—one pastoral, the other scientific.

This impasse ended in September 1877, when Drummond was appointed lecturer in natural science at New College Divinity School in Glasgow, following the death of his predecessor.¹⁹⁸ The appointment offered more than professional stability; it provided the intellectual home in which his dual vocation—as theologian and scientist—could converge. As a lecturer, Drummond was tasked with introducing theological students to the empirical study of nature, ensuring that ministers-in-training were not alienated from scientific thought but equipped to engage it

¹⁹⁴ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 46.

¹⁹⁵ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 46–47.

¹⁹⁶ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 52.

¹⁹⁷ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 126.

¹⁹⁸ Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, 54.

constructively. His lectures thus became a forum for exploring how the laws of the natural world could illuminate, rather than undermine, the truths of revelation. This pedagogical vision, at once scientific and theological, positioned him uniquely within the Free Church's educational landscape.

Drummond's intellectual reputation expanded considerably following his return from his African expedition (1883–1884), undertaken under the auspices of the Free Church and funded by Mr James Stevenson. The expedition not only deepened his appreciation for natural diversity but also broadened his theological imagination, reinforcing his conviction that divine purpose operated through natural process and evolutionary law. Upon his return, his academic trajectory gained renewed momentum. In recognition of his growing influence and scholarly competence, he was advanced to the Professorship of Theology, and soon thereafter, in 1884, he was elected Professor of natural science at the Free Church College, Glasgow, by a closely contested vote of 260 to 167 in the General Assembly, reflecting both institutional recognition of his integrative vision and the presence of significant reservation within the Free Church.

This formal recognition marked the consolidation of Drummond's dual identity as both scientist and theologian.¹⁹⁹ It signified institutional affirmation of his conviction that the study of nature and the study of theology need not exist in opposition but could together illuminate divine truth. In his lectures and writings, Drummond consistently demonstrated that scientific observation could serve as a means of discerning the order and wisdom of the Creator. Through this integrative approach, he emerged as one of the foremost Victorian voices advocating for harmony between

¹⁹⁹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 264.

scientific discovery and Christian belief. Rather than perceiving science as a rival to faith, Drummond regarded it as a complementary avenue through which the moral and spiritual structure of the universe could be more fully apprehended.

3.2.2.4 Conclusion

Henry Drummond's scientific vocation emerged from the confluence of personal curiosity, academic formation, and literary refinement. What began as an early fascination with the natural world—manifest in his youthful explorations of geology and botany—matured into a disciplined intellectual pursuit under the influence of mentors such as Peter Guthrie Tait at the University of Edinburgh. His engagement with John Ruskin's writings further shaped this formation by cultivating a mode of perception that united empirical attentiveness with moral and aesthetic discernment. Together, these influences structured Drummond's intellectual imagination, in which scientific inquiry functioned not merely as technical analysis but as a disciplined way of attending to the order of creation.

Drummond's published works reflect this integrative disposition, not through technical innovation within the natural sciences, but through their communicative and interpretive character. His distinctive contribution lay in his ability to render scientific insight intelligible and morally suggestive to a broad audience, inviting reflection on the ethical and spiritual implications of natural processes. In this respect, Drummond resisted compartmentalising his roles as scientist, theologian, and educator, instead treating scientific observation as inseparable from questions of meaning, purpose, and value.

What distinguished Drummond was not that he resolved the tensions between science and theology, but that he sustained them with intellectual seriousness and imaginative restraint. He neither collapsed scientific inquiry into doctrinal certainty nor subordinated theology to the categories of natural philosophy. Rather, he approached investigation itself as a formative practice—one that required humility before both empirical evidence and spiritual mystery. This posture allowed him to inhabit the contested space between faith and reason without prematurely closing it through systematisation.

Chapter III has traced the formation of this integrative disposition, from Drummond's early literary and scientific influences to its institutional expression in his academic appointments. The following chapter, *Law and Life: Drummond's Theology of Continuity*, examines how these formative habits were translated into a theological method. Beginning with his early essay *Spiritual Diagnosis*, Chapter IV analyses how Drummond developed a theology of continuity that employed natural law analogically, not as doctrine but as a heuristic framework for interpreting spiritual life. In doing so, it evaluates both the coherence and the limits of this method as it emerged in his mature theological synthesis.

Chapter IV

Law and Life – Drummond’s Theology of Continuity

This chapter forms the core of the thesis, centring on Henry Drummond’s distinctive approach to the correlation between science and theology. In the context of the late nineteenth century—a time marked by rapid scientific advancement and theological uncertainty—Drummond developed a pioneering method for bridging the two domains. Rather than defending theology against science or subordinating one to the other, he sought a theological method that could integrate natural law with spiritual truth without diminishing the integrity of either.

To explore this integration, the chapter focuses on two key works: *Spiritual Diagnosis* (1873) and *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883). These texts demonstrate Drummond’s conviction that the laws governing the natural world offer profound analogies—and in some cases, direct insights—into the structure of spiritual reality. Anchored in the principle of continuity, Drummond argues that law governs both nature and grace, and that the recognition of this unity provides a more robust theological anthropology and soteriology. From early observations of the soul to his articulation of the Law of Biogenesis, Drummond builds a theological framework that refuses to isolate spiritual life from the observable order of creation. This chapter traces the development and implications of that framework as the methodological foundation for his broader theological vision.

Before engaging with these works, however, it is necessary to outline the dominant theological and scientific paradigms of Drummond's time. Understanding this broader intellectual context will illuminate the tensions he sought to navigate and underscore the originality of his contributions within the Victorian landscape of belief and knowledge.

While this chapter focuses primarily on reconstructing Drummond's theological method and internal logic as it crystallises in *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, critical engagement with alternative interpretations and objections—both scientific and theological—is taken up explicitly in the later analytical sections of the thesis, where the strengths and limitations of his analogical approach are assessed in dialogue with its reception.

4.1 Evolutionary Theory and Christianity in the Nineteenth Century

Many theologians in the nineteenth century regarded the rise of evolutionary theory as a direct threat to the authority of Scripture and the foundational doctrines of Christianity. One of the most forceful articulations of this concern came from Charles Hodge of Princeton Theological Seminary in his influential work, *What is Darwinism?* (1874). While engaging with Asa Gray, who sought to harmonize Darwinism with Christian theism,²⁰⁰ Hodge ultimately concluded that Darwinism, by excluding divine design, was "tantamount to atheism."²⁰¹ Despite Gray's insistence that evolution could be reconciled with belief in a purposeful Creator, Hodge maintained that any theory which denied teleological design in nature effectively rejected theism. For Hodge and many

²⁰⁰ Asa Gray, *Darwiniana: Essays and Reviews Pertaining to Darwinism* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1876), 89–132, <https://darwin-online.org.uk/content/frameset?viewtype=side&itemID=A336&pageseq=1>. Gray argued that the theory of natural selection concerned the mode of creation, not the absence of a Creator, and thus could be reconciled with Christian theism.

²⁰¹ Charles Hodge, *What Is Darwinism?* (London and Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons, 1874), 177, https://darwin-online.org.uk/converted/pdf/1874_HodgeDarwinism_DlibD_A3065.pdf.

of his contemporaries, the notion that life could arise through undirected natural processes posed a profound threat to key Christian doctrines, including the divine act of creation, the imago Dei in humanity, and the theological foundations of sin and redemption.²⁰² Evolution, by seemingly eliminating the necessity of a Creator in the traditional sense, appeared to sever the intimate bond between God and creation that lay at the heart of Christian theology.²⁰³

On the other side of the discourse, historians such as David N. Livingstone, former President of the Geography Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, have argued that nineteenth-century theological resistance to evolutionary theory was driven not only by doctrinal concerns but also by deeper anxieties about morality and social cohesion. Evangelical thinkers, in particular, feared that Darwinism, if widely accepted, would erode the metaphysical foundations of morality by depicting human beings as the products of blind, purposeless natural forces rather than divine intention.²⁰⁴ This perceived threat extended beyond the doctrine of creation to encompass fundamental concerns about free will, human dignity, and moral accountability. Thus, evolutionary theory was not interpreted merely as a biological hypothesis but as a comprehensive and competing worldview, one that, if unchallenged, could unravel the ethical and spiritual foundations of Christian civilization.²⁰⁵

One of the less frequently explored questions in the nineteenth-century science-religion controversy is: who was attacking whom? In the cultural confrontation that culminated in the

²⁰² Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, II, with Princeton Theological Seminary Library (New York: Charles Scribner and Co., 1872), 17–18, 96–98, <http://archive.org/details/systematictheolo02hodg>.

²⁰³ Hodge, *What Is Darwinism?*, 126–53.

²⁰⁴ David N. Livingstone, *Darwin's Forgotten Defenders: The Encounter Between Evangelical Theology and Evolutionary Thought* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1984), 48–51.

²⁰⁵ Livingstone, *Darwin's Forgotten Defenders*, 46–51.

famous exchange between the senior influential clergyman Bishop Samuel Wilberforce and the young thirty-five-year-old scientist Thomas Huxley, was it science, represented by Darwinian theory, that launched an assault on religion, or was the attack initiated by the religious establishment? J. Vernon Jensen, historian and Professor Emeritus of Communication Studies, offers a nuanced reflection on this issue in his article *Return to the Wilberforce-Huxley Debate*.²⁰⁶ Jensen vividly reconstructs the events surrounding the debate, situating them within a broader narrative of rhetorical conflict and ideological contestation.

He notes that, following months of intensifying controversy sparked by Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (published in November 1859), the British Association for the Advancement of Science convened at Oxford on Wednesday, 27 June 1860, at 4 p.m.²⁰⁷ The *Athenaeum*, a respected British Journal, reported that "a large and brilliant assembly... filled the Sheldonian Theatre in almost every part. The Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and all the heads of the University were present, as well as men of science from all parts of Europe."²⁰⁸ The following day, Professor Richard Owen, an eminent critic of Darwinism published an article in the same magazine claiming that "the brain of a gorilla had more differences from the brain of man than from the brain of the very lowest of

²⁰⁶ Jensen, "Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate."

²⁰⁷ Jensen, "Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate," 164.

²⁰⁸ "The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts," *The Athenaeum* 1705, no. January-June 1860 (June 1860): 886, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.319510019229610&seq=938>.

animal life.”²⁰⁹ This statement directly contradicted Huxley, who had argued that the anatomical differences between apes and humans were relatively minor.^{210 211}

Huxley was initially reluctant to engage in a public rebuttal, as reported in *The Athenaeum* on July 7, 1860,²¹² believing that "a general audience, in which sentiment would unduly interfere with intellect," might distort the discussion.²¹³ However, as he later explained in a letter to Francis Darwin dated 27 June 1891, he was eventually persuaded to respond:

The odd part of the business is that I should not have been present except for Robert Chambers. I had heard of the Bishop's intention to utilise the occasion. I knew he had the reputation of being a first-rate controversialist, and I was quite aware that if he played his cards properly, we should have little chance, with such an audience, of making an efficient defence. Moreover, I was very tired, and wanted to join my wife at her brother-in-law's country house near Reading, on the Saturday. On the Friday I met Chambers in the street, and in reply to some remark of his about the meeting, I said that I did not mean to attend it; did not see the good of giving up peace and quietness to be episcopally pounded. Chambers broke out into vehement remonstrances and talked about my deserting them. So I said, "Oh! if you take it that way, I'll come and have my share of what is going on."²¹⁴

According to John Hedley Brooke, a British historian of science specializing in the relationship between science and religion, Bishop Wilberforce took particular offense at Darwin's theory

²⁰⁹ Jensen, "Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate," 164.

²¹⁰ The details of Huxley's argument were later published in his seminal work *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*. See especially Chapter II, "On the Relations of Man to the Lower Animals," where Huxley offers an extensive comparison of human and ape anatomy, focusing on skeletal features and brain morphology (pp. 71–132). In this chapter, he challenges the prevailing assumption of a significant anatomical gulf between the species, arguing instead for their close physical affinity. Of particular note is the appendix to Chapter II, "A Succinct History of the Controversy Respecting the Cerebral Structure of Man and the Apes" (pp. 133–138), in which he engages directly with the "Great Hippocampus Question." Here, Huxley refutes the claim—advanced most notably by Richard Owen—that certain brain structures, such as the hippocampus minor, are exclusive to humans. By presenting detailed anatomical evidence showing these structures also appear in apes, Huxley further strengthens his broader argument regarding the relatively minor anatomical differences between humans and other primates.

²¹¹ Thomas Henry Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, with MBLWHOI Library (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1863), 71–138, <http://archive.org/details/evidenceastomans00huxl>.

²¹² "The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts," *The Athenaeum* (London) 1706, no. July to December 1860 (December 1860): 19, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009663854>.

²¹³ Jensen, "Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate," 164.

²¹⁴ Francis Darwin, *Charles Darwin: His Life in An Autobiographical Chapter, and in A Selected Series of His Published Letters*. (London: John Murray, 1908), 240, <http://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.201410>.

because it posited a continuity between humans and their animal ancestors.²¹⁵ In response to such objections, Huxley somewhat facetiously remarked that church leaders “had nothing to fear even should it be shown that apes were their ancestors.”²¹⁶ This pointed exchange foreshadowed the more famous confrontation two days later. As Jensen observes, “This Saturday impromptu exchange in the discussion period is the so-called ‘debate’ between Wilberforce and Huxley,” suggesting that the iconic encounter was less a formal debate than a spontaneous clash emblematic of the deeper cultural tensions between science and faith.²¹⁷

The audience estimated at between 400 and 700 attendees included a diverse mix of scientists, theologians, clergy, Oxford dons, students, and women. Contemporary accounts suggest that the majority were unsympathetic to Darwin’s views, reflecting the prevailing conservative sentiment within the university at the time.²¹⁸ Jensen explains that the confrontation was framed as a dramatic rhetorical encounter, cast in the mould of a moral and intellectual battle between heroes and villains, where one side would emerge victorious and the other defeated.²¹⁹ Importantly, the clash was not only between Darwinists and religious leaders but also between younger, progressive scientists and the older, conservative establishment, many of whom occupied dual roles as scientists and theologians.²²⁰ The Darwinists represented a vocal minority, while the majority of the audience and the institutional powers remained aligned with traditional theological positions.

²¹⁵ John Hedley Brooke, “Darwin and Religion: Correcting the Caricatures,” *Science & Education* 19, nos. 4–5 (May 2010): 400–401, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11191-009-9211-9>.

²¹⁶ Jensen, “Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate,” 164.

²¹⁷ Jensen, “Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate,” 164.

²¹⁸ Adrian Desmond and James Moore, *Darwin* (London: Michael Joseph, 1991), 485–87, <https://archive.org/details/darwin0000desm/page/n5/mode/2up?view=theater>.

²¹⁹ Jensen, “Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate,” 173–74.

²²⁰ Jensen, “Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate,” 174.

In this sense, the debate was as much about generational authority and cultural power as it was about scientific truth.

During the meeting, Huxley was publicly positioned as “the antagonist.”²²¹ Mrs. Eleanor Sidgwick (1845–1936), a supporter of Darwin and later Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge, vividly captured the charged atmosphere in a letter to Huxley’s son, Leonard Huxley. Reflecting years later, she wrote:

I never saw such a display of fierce party spirit, the looks of bitter hatred which the audience bestowed—(I mean the majority) on us who were on your father’s side—as we passed through the crowd we felt that we were expected to say “how abominably the Bishop was treated ”—or to be considered outcasts and detestable.²²²

Such recollections reveal not only the emotional intensity of the event but also the widespread and vehement opposition to Darwin’s theory, especially among ecclesiastical and academic authorities. Figures like Bishop Wilberforce, whose rhetorical prowess and theological influence made him a leading antagonist, exemplified the clerical resistance to the growing influence of scientific naturalism. Contrary to the common portrayal of science as the aggressor, it was often religious leaders who initiated confrontation, seeking to defend orthodoxy against what they perceived as an existential threat.

The motivation behind such opposition is aptly summarized by John William Draper (1811–1882) in the preface to his influential work *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*:

That a crisis is impending is shown by the attitude of the great powers toward the papacy. The papacy represents the ideas and aspirations of two-thirds of the population of Europe. It insists on a political supremacy in accordance with its claims to a divine origin and mission, and a restoration of the mediaeval order of things, loudly declaring that it will accept no reconciliation with modern

²²¹ Jensen, “Return to the Wilberforce - Huxley Debate,” 170.

²²² Leonard Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley, by His Son Leonard Huxley*, I (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1901), 203, <https://dn790003.ca.archive.org/0/items/lifelettersoftho0001unse/lifelettersoftho0001unse.pdf>.

civilization. The antagonism we thus witness between Religion and Science is the continuation of a struggle that commenced when Christianity began to attain political power. A divine revelation must necessarily be intolerant of contradiction; it must repudiate all improvement in itself, and view with disdain that arising from the progressive intellectual development of man.²²³

Amid the polarized and often antagonistic responses to Darwinian evolution, Henry Drummond emerged not as a partisan combatant but as one who "bridged the gap," aiming for constructive reconciliation rather than division.²²⁴ In a climate marked by cultural tension and intellectual upheaval, he articulated a distinctive vision that refused to pit science against faith. Instead, Drummond charted a third path: a deliberate and nuanced attempt to harmonize scientific discovery with the enduring truths of Christian theology, without collapsing one domain into the other. As Alexander Webster observed in *R. L. Stevenson and Henry Drummond* (1912), Drummond was neither a strict Biblicist nor a Higher Critic, but rather "an interpreter of Nature" and "an idealist in Science."²²⁵ Although his integrative approach drew criticism from both scientific naturalists and conservative theologians, it found a wide and receptive audience among lay Christians. *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* achieved remarkable popularity, going through multiple editions and reaching far beyond academic and ecclesiastical circles to attain international readership. Its widespread appeal is evident in the publication history, as documented by James Moore, who reports:

Within a year of publication in June 1883 *Natural Law* was selling at the rate of 1000 copies per month. Five years later almost 70,000 were in print and by 1900 a compact edition had pushed the total well above 120,000. To compete with the cheap reprints issued by C. A. Watts for the Rationalist Press Association after 1902, the publishers, Hodder and Stoughton, brought out their own six-penny paperbound edition. By 1905 over 72,000 had changed hands, while the hardback kept selling 1,000 copies per annum. Significantly, this occurred twenty years after *Natural Law* was first published, eight years after the author's death, and only in Great Britain. In the United States, where copyright laws did not apply (until Drummond himself won a precedent-setting case in 1894), *Natural Law* in

²²³ John William Draper, *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science*, The International Scientific Series (New York, 1875), v–iv, https://librarycollections.law.umn.edu/documents/darrow/Draper_History_Conflict_Religion_Science.pdf.

²²⁴ Henry Drummond, *Henry Drummond: An Anthology*, with Internet Archive (New York, Harper, 1953), 222, <http://archive.org/details/henrydrummondant0000drum>.

²²⁵ Alexander Webster, *R.L. Stevenson and Henry Drummond*, with Emmanuel - University of Toronto (London: Lindsey Press, 1912), 22, <http://archive.org/details/rlstevensonandhe00websuoft>.

the *Spiritual World* was pirated no less than fourteen times before the turn of the century. Untold numbers were sold — certainly no fewer than Hodder and Stoughton printed in England. This makes, say, roughly half-a-million copies in twenty-five years, not counting the foreign translations. By 1898 requests to translate *Natural Law* had come from every country in Europe except Greece and Turkey. At a minimum two German translations were made (1886, 1892) and one each into Dutch (1886), Norwegian (1886), French (1887), and Swedish (1888). Thus a German historian has remarked that Drummond was ‘possibly the most important among the Anglo-Saxon theologians of evolution’ in the Victorian period, as well as the only one ‘who had a certain, albeit moderate, effect on the continent of Europe.’²²⁶

Such remarkable dissemination and enduring sales, as Moore documents, reinforce Drummond’s status as arguably the most influential Anglo-Saxon theologian engaging evolutionary thought during the Victorian era. His success in reaching audiences well beyond the academy and the pulpit reflects the effectiveness of his integrative approach, even as it remained contested within more orthodox scientific and ecclesiastical circles.

In approaching Drummond’s selected works, two guiding principles are observed. First, the texts are deliberately selected and arranged in chronological order to trace the evolution of his distinctive perspective within its broader historical and intellectual milieu. Second, rather than offering critique or endorsement, the analysis seeks to engage critically yet empathetically with Drummond’s own articulation of the relationship between science and religion as it emerges from his writings.

4.2 Spiritual Diagnosis (1873)

Drummond’s earliest known address, *Spiritual Diagnosis* (1873), marks the beginning of his distinctive approach to the relationship between science and religion. Though early in his career,

²²⁶ James R Moore, “Evangelicals and Evolution: Henry Drummond, Herbert Spencer, and the Naturalisation of the Spiritual World,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 38, no. 3 (1985): 385–86.

this essay introduces conceptual foundations that anticipate his later works. The analysis that follows traces four key aspects of this formative address: Introducing a Spiritual Science, Observing the Soul, Diagnosing with Reverence, and Toward an Empirical Theology. Together, these themes reveal the early contours of Drummond’s integration of empirical method with theological reflection.

4.2.1 Introducing a Spiritual Science: A Bold Intellectual Premise

Henry Drummond’s essay, *Spiritual Diagnosis: An Argument for Placing the Study of the Soul on a Scientific Basis*, read before the Theological Society when he was just twenty-two, boldly proposed a methodologically rigorous study of the soul, modelled on the empirical standards of the physical sciences.²²⁷ At the time, Drummond lacked direct experience in ministerial work among adults, a point noted by the Free Church minister Mr. Barnetson of Roslin, who, as later quoted by Adam Smith in his account of Drummond’s early career, described the essay as “purely speculative.”²²⁸ Yet, despite such reservations, the paper electrified his fellow students, precisely because it challenged the prevailing boundaries between spiritual discourse and empirical inquiry.

While physiology and psychology were already attaining formal scientific legitimacy, Drummond lamented that “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.”²²⁹ This framing reveals his conviction that spiritual realities, such as conviction, conversion, and sanctification, were not merely

²²⁷ Henry Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, with Harvard University (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899), 255–84, <https://ia600609.us.archive.org/25/items/newevangelismoth00drum/newevangelismoth00drum.pdf>.

²²⁸ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 53.

²²⁹ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 257, 261.

theological abstractions but observable, traceable phenomena deserving of systematic and reverent attention.

Notably, Drummond's approach diverged sharply from prevalent theological thought, which often relegated spiritual experience to the realms of mysticism or authority. He argued that just as science had transformed knowledge into universal principles, so too could theology benefit from the same empirical discipline.²³⁰ His insistence that the soul could be diagnosed and treated as an active, responsive entity established the foundation of a genuinely "spiritual science", not to diminish the soul, but to honour it through thoughtful scrutiny.²³¹

Scholars have noted intellectual precursors who, to some extent, shared an interest in the relationship between science and religion, most notably Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), widely regarded as "a mathematician, a physicist, an inventor, a theologian, a philosopher, and the greatest prose stylist in the French language."²³² In his defence of Christian faith, Pascal famously remarked, "The heart has its reasons, which reason does not know," underscoring his conviction that the rationality of the heart operates on a different plane than scientific logic.²³³ While Pascal emphasized the limitations of reason and the mystery of divine truth, Drummond pursued a more constructive engagement with empirical method, treating spiritual phenomena as observable and diagnosable.²³⁴ At the same time, he rejected rigid spiritual schemes, such as those that framed

²³⁰ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 257, 264.

²³¹ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 265.

²³² Francis X. J. Coleman, *Neither Angel nor Beast: The Life and Work of Blaise Pascal* (London: Routledge, 2013), 1, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203431276>.

²³³ Blaise Pascal, *Pensées* (Québec: Samizdat, 2016), 57, https://www.samizdat.qc.ca/arts/lit/Pascal/Pensees_English.pdf.

²³⁴ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 166–67.

conversion as a mechanically formulaic process, deeming them inadequate to account for the nuanced dynamics of the soul.²³⁵

Ultimately, *Spiritual Diagnosis* stands as a formative work that crystallizes Drummond's early passion to reframe theology through the lens of scientific inquiry. His bold proposition of a spiritual science, grounded in empirical observation and sensitive to the complexities of the soul, foreshadows the methodological convictions that would shape his later writings. This foundational stance informs not only his theological vision but also the practical method by which he observed and interpreted the soul's inner workings, a theme to which we now turn.

4.2.2 Observing the Soul: A New Role for the Theologian

In *Spiritual Diagnosis*, Drummond offers a striking perspective of the theologian's vocation, not as a mere transmitter of doctrine to the crowd from the pulpit, but as a diagnostician of the soul, one by one.²³⁶ Drawing on an extended analogy with the medical profession, he argues that just as a physician must understand the body in health and disease, so must the spiritual adviser be intimately familiar with the full range of spiritual conditions. The minister, he contends, should "know every phase of the human soul, in health and disease, in the fullness of joy and the blackness of despair," thus elevating pastoral work to the level of a disciplined science.²³⁷ Here, the theologian becomes a careful observer, not a prescriber of rigid formulas for salvation.

²³⁵ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 266.

²³⁶ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 258–61.

²³⁷ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 266–67.

Drummond's emphasis on observation over prescription challenges the prevailing theological conventions of his time. He critiques what he himself terms "mechanical process" models of conversion, explicitly citing Doddridge's *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* as one illustrative example of an approach that risks reducing spiritual transformation to a fixed and stereotyped sequence.²³⁸ Such approaches, he argues, treat conversion as a predictable sequence akin to solving a geometric proof²³⁹ or developing a photograph,²⁴⁰ thereby stripping it of its existential and relational depth.^{241 242}

For Drummond, genuine spiritual insight cannot be systematized in this way; it must be approached inductively, through attention to the particularities of the soul's experience.²⁴³ This shift from prescription to discernment signals a departure from classical evangelical pastoral paradigms toward a more modern, diagnostic mode of theology.

²³⁸ Philip Doddridge, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, with The Library of Congress (New York: American Tract Society, 1849), <http://archive.org/details/risepro00dodd>. Philip Doddridge's *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* presents a structured sequence of spiritual development, beginning with awakening to sin, followed by self-condemnation, seeking mercy, believing in Christ, renewing one's vows, and culminating in growth in grace. Drummond critiques this approach as a "mechanical process," arguing that it risks misleading the inquiring soul into viewing conversion as a predetermined formula rather than a dynamic and deeply personal transformation. His objection lies not with the sincerity of Doddridge's piety, but with the rigid systematization of spiritual experience, which he sees as reductive and ill-suited to the complexity of the soul's journey.

²³⁹ John M. Lee, *Axiomatic Geometry* (American Mathematical Soc., 2013), 1, <https://sites.math.washington.edu/~lee/Books/AG/>.

²⁴⁰ Pia Skladnikiewitz, Dirk Hertel, and Irene Schmidt, "The Wet Collodion Process—A Scientific Approach," *Journal of Imaging Science and Technology* 42, no. 5 (October 1998): 450.

²⁴¹ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 266.

²⁴² Drummond's analogy contrasts authentic spiritual transformation with mechanical systems by invoking two images: a "proposition in Euclid" and a "sensitized plate in photography" (p. 266). A proposition in Euclid refers to a geometrical theorem demonstrated through a fixed sequence of logical steps, leaving no room for variation or ambiguity. Similarly, a sensitized photographic plate—common in nineteenth-century photography—produces an image through a predictable chemical process once exposed to light. By pairing these metaphors, Drummond critiques models of conversion that treat spiritual growth as a linear, passive sequence, rather than as an organic, experiential, and relational process unique to each soul.

²⁴³ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 267.

At the heart of this reorientation is Drummond's pastoral epistemology: the belief that spiritual knowledge is acquired through encounter, not abstraction. The theologian must observe the soul "with much delicacy," guiding the inquirer to see themselves not as they imagine, but as they truly are.²⁴⁴ Drummond writes of "lifting the mirror to [the] soul" so that both guide and seeker may discern the faint outlines of spiritual transformation emerging on its surface.²⁴⁵ Such spiritual diagnosis requires reverence, empathy, and psychological acuity. It also reflects a broader nineteenth-century interest in the inner life, not unlike contemporary developments in psychological and moral philosophy.

In this way, Drummond effectively fuses pastoral care with scientific observation. His proposed role for the theologian anticipates the modern integration of theology, psychology, and spiritual direction. By insisting that the soul be treated not as an abstraction but as a living subject of study rich with symptoms, stages, and signs, Drummond helped inaugurate a new model of spiritual leadership, one that neither dismisses empirical method nor violates the sanctity of the soul. It is this sensitive, diagnostic lens that underpins his larger ambition: to make theology intellectually credible without severing it from the deep mysteries of spiritual life.

4.2.3 Diagnosing with Reverence: Bridging Science and Holiness

In *Spiritual Diagnosis*, Drummond advances the possibility of applying scientific reasoning to the soul without compromising its sanctity. He insists that reverent inquiry and methodological discipline are not mutually exclusive, affirming, "We do wish a scientific treatment of the subject; and if there is anything to sadden and humble in the contemplation of the religious work of the

²⁴⁴ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 272.

²⁴⁵ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 273.

day, it is the thought of the crude and slipshod treatment of one of the most sacred subjects in the religious life.”²⁴⁶ Far from promoting cold rationalism, Drummond envisions a form of spiritual diagnosis that treats the soul with the same seriousness and care afforded to the body, one that integrates empirical attentiveness with theological reverence. Rather than reducing the spiritual realm to mechanistic analysis, he insists that sacred realities deserve as much intellectual discipline and careful observation as the physical world. In this view, the scientific method does not profane the soul but elevates its significance by making its conditions observable and its transformation traceable. Drummond’s theological perspective is thus grounded in a reverent empiricism, one that approaches the soul with as much care as a physician would approach the body. He contends that the “irreverence is only in the words,” challenging critics who mistake methodical inquiry for spiritual disrespect.²⁴⁷

This conviction is vividly illustrated in Drummond’s metaphor of “spectrum analysis,”²⁴⁸ a nineteenth-century scientific method for discerning the composition of stars by analysing light.²⁴⁹

²⁵⁰ He suggests that, just as scientists infer hidden truths through indirect yet disciplined observation, so too can theologians apprehend the invisible movements of the soul through diagnostic attentiveness.²⁵¹ The scientific lens, far from being reductionist, becomes a tool of sacred attentiveness. Such a claim reveals Drummond’s bold confidence that science and theology

²⁴⁶ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 277.

²⁴⁷ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 277.

²⁴⁸ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 277.

²⁴⁹ Nicholas C. Thomas, “The Early History of Spectroscopy,” *Journal of Chemical Education* 68, no. 8 (August 1991): 631, <https://doi.org/10.1021/ed068p631>.

²⁵⁰ Henry Drummond likens the disciplined study of the soul to spectrum analysis, a nineteenth-century scientific technique used to determine the composition of stars and chemical substances by analysing their light spectra. The metaphor underscores his conviction that spiritual realities, though invisible and sacred, can be approached through indirect but methodical observation, just as scientists infer elemental structures without direct contact.

²⁵¹ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 276.

can be reconciled not merely at the level of ideas but in method, both concerned with order, inference, and meaning. His analogical reasoning, while steeped in the language of science, refuses to collapse spiritual experience into physiological or psychological phenomena; instead, it elevates observation as a form of reverence.

This nuanced balance between empirical investigation and spiritual sensitivity constitutes a central pillar of Drummond's theological vision. He sought not to secularize religion but to redeem science by extending its scope to include the soul. As he wrote, "The whole subject, indeed, rests in the meantime only upon the merest individual empiricism; and it is a matter of profound regret that so sacred and important a subject should exist in such a dishevelled state when the scientific method, which is being applied to so many trivial matters, could be so easily applied to it."²⁵² His fusion of method and mystery anticipates later interdisciplinary movements in pastoral theology, psychology, and even spiritual direction. Most importantly, it affirms that the application of scientific tools to the domain of faith need not end in disenchantment; when wielded with humility and moral imagination, those tools can become instruments of awe. In Drummond's early work, we find a daring proposal: that the holiness of the soul is not compromised but clarified when approached through careful, even clinical, spiritual discernment.²⁵³

4.2.4 Toward an Empirical Theology: Early Traces of Integration

Drummond's *Spiritual Diagnosis* offers more than an ambitious student address; it serves as an early window into the theological paradigm he would later develop more fully. Even at twenty-two, Drummond articulates a method of religious inquiry grounded not in abstract dogma but in

²⁵² Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 276.

²⁵³ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 277.

careful spiritual observation. This emphasis on observation over abstraction, in contrast to the doctrinal formalism or mechanical processes of his day, marks an important epistemological move. His approach to formulaic models of conversion, insisting instead that “to fill up such an outline with all the exquisite tracery of thought and emotion and doubt... is a great and rare talent.”²⁵⁴ Theology, for Drummond, must begin not with metaphysical assertion, but with the attentive discernment of spiritual phenomena, akin to how the natural sciences operate.²⁵⁵ Though embryonic, this approach reveals Drummond’s confidence in empirical attentiveness as a means of understanding the life of the soul.

Embedded within this early essay are conceptual echoes of what would later become the “continuity of law”, the idea that natural and spiritual realities are not separate domains, but reflections of parallel laws.²⁵⁶ Drummond’s comparison between the treatment of the body and the treatment of the soul underscores this alignment: “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.”²⁵⁷ Though not yet formalized, this framing assumes that divine order animates both the natural and spiritual domains. The implication is not that spiritual life can be reduced to natural law, but that it can be approached with a similar respect for coherence, process, and discernible patterns.

Moreover, *Spiritual Diagnosis* subtly advances a vision of human responsibility under divine guidance. The spiritual guide is not merely a passive channel of revelation, but an attentive agent,

²⁵⁴ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 266-68.

²⁵⁵ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 261, 278.

²⁵⁶ Henry Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (New York: James Pott & Co, 1888), introduction, xiii, accessed November 6, 2017, <https://ia800204.us.archive.org/15/items/cu31924029058976/cu31924029058976.pdf>.

²⁵⁷ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 257.

a diagnostician who cooperates with divine grace by reading signs of spiritual health, disease, and growth.²⁵⁸

Drummond does not privilege science over theology, nor theology over lived experience; instead, he prepares the groundwork for an integrative approach in which empirical insight becomes a servant of spiritual discernment.²⁵⁹ These early gestures toward what he would later call “natural law in the spiritual world” do not fully anticipate the structure of that future work, but they do make clear that its foundational impulses, intellectual rigor, pastoral realism, and theological openness are already forming.

4.3 Natural Law in the Spiritual World (1884)

4.3.1 The Preface to *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*: Observation to Integration

As seen in *Spiritual Diagnosis*, Drummond’s early theological method was rooted in attentiveness to the spiritual condition, patterned after the observational humility of science. However, it was not until *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, and specifically its preface, that this foundational instinct developed into a comprehensive epistemological framework. The preface is therefore not merely a prefatory reflection but a programmatic text that offers rare access to Drummond’s method, motive, and mature theological stance. In what follows, this section critically analyses the preface as a conceptual bridge between his earliest methodological impulses and the full formulation of his theory of spiritual law.

²⁵⁸ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 266–67.

²⁵⁹ Drummond, *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, 261.

4.3.1.1 Window into Drummond's Intellectual Integration

The preface to *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883) serves not merely as an introductory note but as a theological and methodological overture. Here, Drummond offers his clearest reflection on the intellectual and spiritual trajectory that shaped his work. Rather than opposing the advance of modern science, he embraces it, not as a totalizing epistemology, but as a divinely permitted method for tracing the laws that undergird both nature and spirit. He states plainly in the opening of the preface, "Science is tired of reconciliations... Religion is offended by the patronage of an ally which it professes not to need."²⁶⁰ These opening words set the tone for his concern: reconciliation is not about diplomacy, but epistemological integrity.

Drummond insists that his aim is neither to collapse theology into science nor to defend faith with ad hoc natural metaphors. Instead, he appeals to a deeper unity grounded in the principle of law, an epistemic foundation that, he argues, belongs neither exclusively to science nor religion but to the Creator who sustains both. He affirms, "Certainly I never premeditated anything to myself so objectionable and so unwarrantable in itself, as either to read Theology into Science or Science into Theology."²⁶¹ What made Drummond unique among his Victorian peers was not a superficial harmonization of science and religion, but his methodological conviction. He believed, as James R. Moore explains, "that much of the content of traditional Christian theology, 'the laws of the spiritual world', arise directly from what had preceded it in the highly-organised realm of the psychological."²⁶² Far more than analogy, his use of scientific method was structured to reveal, rather than mask, spiritual order.

²⁶⁰ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, v.

²⁶¹ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, x.

²⁶² Moore, "Evangelicals and Evolution," 383–84.

In this light, Drummond's preface becomes a manifesto for theological realism. In a cultural climate fragmented by epistemological distrust, he argues that spiritual truth may be approached with the same confidence and objectivity afforded to natural truth, provided one approaches both with humility and fidelity to law.

4.3.1.2 From Observation to Integration: Continuity from *Spiritual Diagnosis*

The preface to *Natural Law* can be read as the theological outworking of an intuition first voiced in *Spiritual Diagnosis* (1873), where Drummond proposed that the theologian ought to take on a role similar to that of the physician: an observer, not an enforcer. While *Spiritual Diagnosis* bore a primarily pastoral tone, shaped by homiletical concerns, the *Natural Law* preface signals a clear shift toward epistemological rigor. "The wall of partition showed symptoms of giving way,"²⁶³ Drummond recalls, referring to the intellectual division he had maintained between his weekday lectures in science and his Sunday sermons.

This shift is less about conflating science with theology and more about acknowledging the integrity of both. During the Victorian period and before, theological resistance to science was often driven not solely by doctrinal loyalty, but by apprehension over methodological encroachment into the domain of theology.²⁶⁴ Drummond counters this by affirming that both domains, rightly understood, are governed by law, a unifying principle that reflects divine

²⁶³ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, vii.

²⁶⁴ Andrew Dickson White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, with Princeton Theological Seminary Library (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1897), 210, 214–25, <http://archive.org/details/historyofwarfare189701whit>.

consistency.²⁶⁵ Thus, the pastoral observer in *Spiritual Diagnosis* matures into the theological methodologist in *Natural Law*, each role animated by the same conviction: that truth, whether spiritual or natural, is discoverable, not invented.²⁶⁶

4.3.1.3 Law as Method: The Bridge between Science and Religion

Central to Drummond's project is the assertion that law is the only epistemically valid bridge between science and theology. "Nothing could be more false both to Science and to Religion," he warns, "than attempts to adjust the two spheres by making out ingenious points of contact in detail."²⁶⁷ In rejecting superficial harmonization, he elevates law from an explanatory tool to an ontological principle.

Drummond contrasts "parable," which compares "form by form," with "law," which unites "line by line."²⁶⁸ In doing so, he distances himself from mere typology or analogy and aligns with what Charles Taylor later described as the search for epistemological cross-pressures in modernity, points where different modes of knowing begin to echo each other.²⁶⁹ Law, for Drummond, offers more than an interpretive framework for coherence; it provides theological legitimacy to the structure of reality. By framing law as a divine order that spans both material and spiritual realms, Drummond invites theology to embrace methodological discipline without forfeiting transcendence.

²⁶⁵ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, xxii–xxiv.

²⁶⁶ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, xi.

²⁶⁷ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, xii.

²⁶⁸ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, ix.

²⁶⁹ Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 594–617.

4.3.1.4 The Widening Divide: Distrust between Science and Theology

Drummond's preface is deeply shaped by the cultural tensions of the late nineteenth century. His diagnosis of "the war of creeds" and "idle doubt" reflects a broader anxiety among theologians and laypeople alike, many of whom experienced the rise of Darwinian science as a threat to religious meaning.²⁷⁰ "Can we shut our eyes," Drummond asks, "to the fact that the religious opinions of mankind are in a state of flux?"²⁷¹ In this moment of upheaval, Drummond proposes that the reign of law, which had given science coherence, could likewise re-anchor theology. His vision mirrors that of Thomas Huxley, who famously asserted, "The man of science has learned to believe in justification, not by faith, but by verification."²⁷² While Huxley invoked the authority of scientific method to reinforce agnosticism and cast doubt on metaphysical claims, Drummond reappropriates this epistemological posture as a basis for theological seriousness. He does not reject the scientific demand for coherence and evidence; rather, he envisions a faith justified through the same principle of law that undergirds natural inquiry. "The Reign of Law," he writes, "will transform the whole Spiritual World as it has already transformed the Natural World."²⁷³

This statement is not naïvely optimistic. Rather, it reflects Drummond's pastoral and intellectual passion: to offer a theology that could survive modern scrutiny without abandoning its spiritual depth. As Alister McGrath observes, theology in the Victorian era and even beyond was increasingly compelled to compete in an epistemic environment dominated by scientific

²⁷⁰ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, ix.

²⁷¹ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, ix.

²⁷² Thomas Henry Huxley, *Collected Essays*, with Gerstein - University of Toronto (London: Macmillan, 1901), 1:41, <http://archive.org/details/collectedessays01huxluoft>.

²⁷³ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, ix.

authority.²⁷⁴ Drummond’s response is not retreat but recalibration. By adopting law as a methodological constant, he seeks to rebuild theology on intellectually stable ground.

4.3.1.5 A Method Born of Experience, Not Theory

A distinctive feature of Drummond’s preface is its autobiographical honesty. He asserts that his method was not theorized in abstraction but emerged from lived tension between his scientific training and theological vocation. “I found the truth running out to my audience on the Sundays by the weekday outlets,” he recalls.²⁷⁵ This metaphor is theologically rich: it suggests not leakage but convergence, a flowing together of insight.

He is careful, however, to guard against accusations of bias. “It might be charged... that I was... simply reading my Theology into my Science,” he concedes, “but... I must acquit myself at least of the intention.”²⁷⁶ His appeal to the “law of sterility” that false intellectual hybrids bear no fruit, acts as a safeguard for his method.²⁷⁷ If his work had been contrived, it would have failed. But the sustained resonance of his ideas—across lay and academic audiences—suggests otherwise.

In this, Drummond refuses to let disciplinary loyalty suppress legitimate insights from other fields. His method is not a hybridization of incompatible forms but a discernment of the lawful continuity underlying them. As Michael Polanyi contends, a genuine intellectual community must be grounded not in mere conformity, but in “moral conviction, stemming from devotion” to its

²⁷⁴ Alister E. McGrath, *The Territories of Human Reason: Science and Theology in an Age of Multiple Rationalities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 6–13.

²⁷⁵ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, vii.

²⁷⁶ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, xi.

²⁷⁷ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, xiii.

ideals;²⁷⁸ so too, Drummond's approach is marked not by capitulation to disciplinary norms but by fidelity to the deeper coherence he sees in divine law operating across both natural and spiritual realms.

4.3.1.6 Conclusion: Continuity as Theological and Methodological Principle

In conclusion, the preface to *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* marks the point of convergence between Henry Drummond's pastoral attentiveness and his theological innovation. What began in *Spiritual Diagnosis* as a call for deeper spiritual observation has matured into a method grounded in law, law not as a scientific instrument alone, but as a theological principle of divine order. Drummond's achievement is not merely in his insight, but in his restraint: he does not claim to explain away the mysteries of faith, but to approach them with the same rigidity and reverence demanded in natural inquiry.

In doing so, he responds to the scepticism of his age with intellectual humility and theological confidence. The preface thus stands not merely as a personal autobiographical rationale or an ideological overview, but as a pivotal moment in Victorian theology—a gesture of faith that does not seek to oppose science, but to allow the order of creation to reveal the consistency of the Creator.

4.3.2 The Introduction to the Law and the Law of Continuity

In the preface, Drummond sets the stage for his theological method by asserting that spiritual truth is governed by the same law observable in the natural world. The introduction of *Natural Law in*

²⁷⁸ Michael Polanyi, *Science Faith And Society*, with Osmania University and Digital Library Of India (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), 40, <http://archive.org/details/sciencefaithands032129mbp>.

the Spiritual World expands this assertion by redefining what law is and how it functions. Drummond emphasizes that law is not a force but a descriptive pattern, which allows him to argue for the lawful structure of the spiritual realm. This section culminates in his articulation of the Law of Continuity, which asserts a structural unity between the two domains. The following analysis outlines four key aspects of this foundational argument, highlighting the distinctive method by which Drummond bridges science and theology.

4.3.2.1 Framing Natural Law as Descriptive, Not Causal

Drummond begins the introduction by correcting a common misconception about the nature of natural law. He emphasizes that laws do not create or enforce events, but simply describe "the orderly condition of things in Nature" as observed by reliable witnesses.²⁷⁹ In his words, "Natural laws originate nothing, sustain nothing; they are merely responsible for uniformity in sustaining what has been originated and what is being sustained."²⁸⁰ By distancing law from agency, Drummond challenges both scientific determinism, which often treats law as a cause, and mystical theology, which tends to overlook the role of regularity and observable order.²⁸¹

This reframing aligns with his methodological aim introduced in the preface: to ground spiritual truth in the same law-like regularity that governs nature, thereby affirming a unified structure to reality without collapsing spiritual causality into mechanical determinism. This vision resonates with T.F. Torrance's critique of the epistemological foundations of modern science. Torrance

²⁷⁹ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 5.

²⁸⁰ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 5.

²⁸¹ John Hedley Brooke, *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives*, The Cambridge History of Science Series (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 226–38, <http://archive.org/details/sciencereligions0000broo>.

observes that “modern science began with the emergence of the empirical approach in which we start with interrogation of actuality and operate through observation and experiment,” and notes the resulting challenge: “since the interaction between the scientific observer and his object plays a necessary part in his knowledge, can we ever get beyond the observer to know things as they really are in themselves, independently of our observation?”²⁸² This dynamic, Torrance argues, has a striking parallel in theology, asserting that “this is the struggle that is now going on in the epistemology of modern science, and it is strangely parallel to the struggle going on in theological science.”²⁸³

The significance of this clarification cannot be overstated. By defining law as descriptive rather than generative, Drummond constructs a conceptual bridge between science and theology where spiritual laws are not imposed fictions, but inferred from the same structural consistency that underpins scientific knowledge. This methodological insight paves the way for Drummond’s deeper metaphysical claim that the regularities observed in nature disclose a unified ontological order encompassing both the natural and the spiritual.

4.3.2.2 Law of Continuity as a Theological Epistemology

Drummond’s articulation of the Law of Continuity represents a decisive departure from analogy as mere illustrative rhetoric toward its use as a metaphysical foundation for theological epistemology. In contrast to earlier theological figures such as Joseph Butler (1692–1752), who employed analogy primarily as a defensive strategy to demonstrate Christianity’s reasonableness

²⁸² Thomas F Torrance, *Theological Science*, with Internet Archive (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), Preface xv, <http://archive.org/details/theologicalscien0000torr>.

²⁸³ Torrance, *Theological Science*, Preface xiv.

in relation to nature,²⁸⁴ Drummond seeks more than evidential parity. He argues that the same laws that structure the physical world are operative, by extension, in the spiritual realm.²⁸⁵ Drummond contends that finding Law in the Spiritual World should not be surprising, as humanity is already prepared for it. This view rests on the belief that reality is unified, not divided into unrelated parts. As he puts it, “Nature has never taught us to expect such a catastrophe,” nor can man “be separated into two such incoherent halves.”²⁸⁶ Law is not confined to matter but reveals the divine order that binds all spheres of existence.

Drummond deepens this vision of continuity by grounding it in the metaphysical structure of the universe itself. He argues that the coherence we observe in nature must extend to the whole of human experience, including the spiritual. He writes, “It is altogether unlikely that man spiritual should be violently separated in all the conditions of growth, development, and life, from man physical.”²⁸⁷ Any division between natural and spiritual law, for Drummond, would rupture the essential unity of human being and divine governance. Thus, his appeal to continuity is not merely observational, but ontological. This stance anticipates later developments in epistemology, particularly T.F. Torrance’s insistence that theological knowledge must be rooted in the intrinsic intelligibility of reality and pursued through engagement with its actual structures.²⁸⁸ Torrance warns against both metaphysical dualism and idealist projection, urging instead a mode of inquiry faithful to reality’s internal coherence.²⁸⁹ In Drummond’s work, this becomes a theological

²⁸⁴ Joseph Butler, *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed to the Constitution and Course of Nature to Which Are Added, Two Brief Dissertations*, with Internet Archive (1736), http://archive.org/details/bim_eighteenth-century_the-analogy-of-religion-butler-joseph_1736.

²⁸⁵ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 35.

²⁸⁶ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 36.

²⁸⁷ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 35.

²⁸⁸ Torrance, *Theological Science*, Preface xiv.

²⁸⁹ Torrance, *Theological Science*, Preface xvi-xvii.

method: a refusal to treat the spiritual world as an exception to law, and a commitment to tracing divine order through continuity, rather than rupture. It is this conviction that allows him to present science and theology not as competing systems, but as mutually reinforcing modes of perceiving a divinely structured cosmos.

4.3.2.3 Hierarchy of Laws: Subordination Without Abolition

Drummond anticipates the objection that natural laws may be inapplicable or insufficient when applied to spiritual realities. Rather than dismissing this concern, he reframes it through a hierarchical conception of law. He argues that spiritual laws do not abolish natural laws but instead presuppose and subordinate them. He writes, “It is indeed difficult to conceive that one set of principles should guide the natural life, and these... suddenly give place to another set of principles altogether new and unrelated.”²⁹⁰ This perspective allows Drummond to affirm the uniqueness of the spiritual without abandoning the structural coherence of the natural. Just as gravity continues to function even when organic processes take precedence, lower laws persist within a framework governed by higher-order principles.²⁹¹ This view avoids a rupture between nature and spirit, and instead proposes a layered model of divine governance that sustains the lawful unity of all reality.

This strategy aligns closely with what later thinkers have described as a stratified or layered ontology, in which distinct levels of reality are governed by their internal principles but remain integrated within a unified order.²⁹² T. F. Torrance expands this insight within his theological

²⁹⁰ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 35–36.

²⁹¹ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 42–43.

²⁹² Roy Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science*, Classical Texts in Critical Realism (London; New York: Routledge, 2008), https://uberty.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Roy_Bhaskar_A_Realist_Theory_of_Science.pdf. Bhaskar explains that reality is both stratified and differentiated, composed of levels that exhibit emergent properties and causal powers irreducible to those of lower levels. This framework underpins his scientific realism, in which

epistemology by asserting that both scientific and theological inquiry must engage directly with the intelligible structures and intrinsic relations of reality, rather than rely on speculative projection or externally imposed metaphysical frameworks.²⁹³ Alister McGrath offers a complementary perspective, suggesting that Christian theology presupposes the coherence and intelligibility of the world as a reflection of the rationality of its Creator, and that human beings, bearing the image of God, are thus capable of meaningfully engaging with and understanding both divine and natural order.²⁹⁴ Within this broader intellectual context, Drummond's model of subordinated yet continuous law exemplifies an early theological framework that compellingly reconciles scientific integrity with spiritual transcendence.

4.3.2.4 The Originality of Drummond's Vision: Reversing the Hierarchy

In the introduction to *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, Henry Drummond lays the methodological groundwork for a theological vision that refuses to segregate science and faith into irreconcilable domains. Rather than opposing science or merely adopting its language, Drummond reconceives law as a descriptive principle that reveals, rather than obscures, divine order. Through his articulation of the Law of Continuity, he offers a metaphysical framework in which divine governance is traceable through the structural regularities of both nature and spirit. The spiritual realm, in his view, is not immune to rational inquiry, nor does empirical engagement threaten it. By asserting that the laws which govern natural phenomena extend, without distortion, into the spiritual domain, Drummond replaces the rhetorical analogy common to his time with a holistic theological epistemology grounded in ontological unity. His emphasis on hierarchical

mechanisms generate observable phenomena, and these mechanisms are considered real, even if they are unobservable.

²⁹³ Torrance, *Theological Science*, Preface xii-xvii.

²⁹⁴ McGrath, *The Territories of Human Reason*, 141–43.

subordination further preserves the distinctiveness of spiritual truth while affirming its lawful coherence with the natural world. As theologian James Orr (1844–1913) observed, faith and reason draw upon the same rational capacity and therefore cannot be meaningfully separated; a coherent Christian worldview must allow theology and science to converge through comparable reasoning within a unified account of reality.²⁹⁵

What ultimately marks the originality of Drummond’s method is his reversal of the assumed epistemic direction between nature and spirit. Whereas most thinkers of his era viewed the spiritual as a metaphorical extension of natural principles, Drummond contends that the natural is the embodied expression of a deeper spiritual order. This ontological inversion resists the dualism embedded in much Victorian naturalism and liberal theology. It posits the physical world as the outward expression of an underlying spiritual intelligibility, where natural laws serve as perceptible signs of deeper, divine realities. This metaphysical orientation reconfigures the relationship between empirical discovery and doctrinal theology, not through concession but by uncovering their shared foundation in divine rationality. Later interpreters such as George Matheson (1842-1906) reinforced this line of thought, arguing that genuine knowledge, whether of nature or God, requires a shared likeness between the knower and the known, and that such likeness is rooted in the conviction that all truth coheres in a common divine source.²⁹⁶ With this foundation in place, Drummond moves forward to apply his theological method to core Christian

²⁹⁵ James Orr, *The Christian View of God and the World: As Centring in the Incarnation*, with Princeton Theological Seminary Library (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1907), 29, http://archive.org/details/christianviewofg00orrj_1.

²⁹⁶ George Matheson, *Can the Old Faith Live with the New? Or, The Problem of Evolution and Revelation* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1885), 73, <http://archive.org/details/canoldfaithlive01mathgoog>.

doctrines, beginning with Biogenesis, demonstrating how spiritual truth can be grasped not by abandoning scientific reason, but by extending it into the deepest strata of divine reality.

4.3.3 Biogenesis: The Law of Life in the Spiritual World

Following his methodological articulation of the Law of Continuity, Drummond presents its first sustained application in *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* through the doctrine of Biogenesis. Thomas Huxley had earlier affirmed the principle of Biogenesis as “victorious along the whole line at the present day,” underscoring its scientific authority within nineteenth-century biology.²⁹⁷ In this transition from theory to practice, Drummond moves from a scientific-epistemological framework to a theological formulation. Biogenesis—the principle that life arises only from pre-existing life (*omne vivum ex vivo*)—is treated not as a metaphor or rhetorical device, but as a genuine law that governs both the natural and spiritual realms.

This chapter, therefore, functions as the first methodological application of Drummond’s integrative vision. It does not merely analogize spiritual truths through natural imagery; rather, it demonstrates how divine realities are perceived through the continuity of law observable in the created order. As Drummond himself explains, “There are not two laws of Biogenesis, one for the natural, the other for the Spiritual; one law is for both. Wherever there is Life, Life of any kind, this same law holds.”²⁹⁸ In this view, the continuity between the natural and spiritual is not simply a matter of illustrative similarity but a structural reflection of a unified ontological order grounded in divine governance.

²⁹⁷ Thomas Henry Huxley, *Critiques and Addresses* (London: London, Macmillan and Co., 1873), 239, <http://archive.org/details/critaddresses00huxlrich>.

²⁹⁸ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 75–76.

4.3.3.1 From Analogy to Ontological Law: Biogenesis as Method

Drummond's central aim in the Biogenesis chapter is to demonstrate that the same structural principle that rules out spontaneous generation in nature also governs the spiritual realm: life in the soul cannot arise apart from prior contact with divine life, namely Christ. The juxtaposition of 1 John 5:12, "He that hath the Son hath Life," with the biological maxim *omne vivum ex vivo* at the outset of the chapter exemplifies Drummond's methodological commitment.²⁹⁹ This pairing signals that spiritual regeneration, like biological life, is not the result of progressive development from non-life, but a generative act dependent on a pre-existing source. In this respect, Biogenesis functions not merely as an illustrative analogy but as a theological unfolding of the Law of Continuity. It marks the first sustained application of Drummond's distinctive approach to reconciling scientific insight with theological understanding. As James R. Moore explains, Drummond's "entire strategy rested upon the conviction that the spiritual world was as law-governed as the natural, and that scientific laws could be extended into theology without distortion."³⁰⁰

By positioning Biogenesis as a theological law rather than a metaphor, Drummond deliberately distances himself from the analogical methods of earlier natural theologians such as Joseph Butler (1692–1752). In *The Analogy of Religion*, Butler sought to demonstrate the reasonableness of Christianity by drawing typological parallels between the observable order of nature and the

²⁹⁹ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 61.

³⁰⁰ Moore, "Evangelicals and Evolution," 397.

structure of revealed religion.³⁰¹ His method remained probabilistic and illustrative, relying on analogy to defend faith rather than assert ontological identity between nature and grace. Drummond, by contrast, does not merely borrow from science to illustrate theological ideas; he asserts a unified ontological framework in which both natural and spiritual phenomena operate under the same divine logic. Thus, Biogenesis is best understood not as a symbolic gesture, but as a methodological enactment of his Law of Continuity—a hermeneutical approach that discloses spiritual realities through disciplined attention to natural law. In Drummond’s hands, continuity is not a rhetorical device but a theological conviction: that the world God created and the world God redeems are governed by one coherent and indivisible structure of divine law.

4.3.3.2 Denial of Spontaneous Generation: A Critique of Modern Theology

Having established Biogenesis as a theological law grounded in the Law of Continuity, Drummond turns to expose its implications for contemporary theology. He applies the principle not only to clarify spiritual regeneration, but also to diagnose what he perceives as a widespread error in modern preaching and literature: the unspoken belief that spiritual life can arise without prior contact with divine Life.³⁰² While the biological theory of spontaneous generation had been largely refuted by Louis Pasteur’s experiments in the 1860s,³⁰³ Drummond appropriates the discredited scientific concept of spontaneous generation to expose a parallel theological fallacy he calls spiritual spontaneous generation. Just as “there is no Spontaneous Generation in religion any more

³⁰¹ Joseph Butler, *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature: To Which Are Added Two Brief Dissertations*, Second (London: John and Paul Knapton, 1736), <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/b/butler/analogy/cache/analogy.pdf>.

³⁰² Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 61–88.

³⁰³ Alan L Gillen and Frank Sherwin, “Louis Pasteur’s Views on Creation, Evolution, and the Genesis of Germs,” *Answers Research Journal* 1 (2008): 45. See also James Edgar Strick, *Sparks of Life: Darwinism and the Victorian Debates over Spontaneous Generation*, with Internet Archive (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), <http://archive.org/details/sparksoflifedarw00stri>.

than in Nature,” he writes, so too “Life... depends upon contact with Life. It cannot spring up of itself... It cannot develop out of anything that is not Life.”³⁰⁴ For Drummond, spiritual vitality must proceed from “antecedent Life,” and this Life is found solely in Christ: “Christ is the source of Life in the Spiritual World; and he that hath the Son hath Life.”³⁰⁵ This polemic is not directed at theological liberalism alone, but at what Drummond considers a systemic theological drift that substitutes moral improvement, emotional experience, or religious culture for genuine regeneration. In one of his sharpest indictments, he writes, “A thousand modern pulpits every seventh day are preaching the doctrine of Spontaneous Generation,” lamenting that contemporary Christianity too often celebrates transformation without tracing it to divine origin.³⁰⁶ Drummond’s concern is that such preaching collapses the essential distinction between what is “born of the flesh” and what is “born of the Spirit” (John 3:6). This division, he insists, is not one of degree or development, but of generation—a categorical transition from spiritual death to spiritual life that cannot be self-initiated. “It is not a difference of development,” he warns, “but of generation.”³⁰⁷

In this light, Biogenesis becomes more than an apologetic gesture; it serves as both a doctrinal safeguard and a spiritual diagnostic tool. It protects the integrity of salvation by insisting that regeneration is not the gradual refinement of the natural man, but a qualitative transformation that depends entirely upon contact with Christ.³⁰⁸ It also functions diagnostically by exposing counterfeit forms of Christianity that fail to evidence this divine origin. As Drummond frames it,

³⁰⁴ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 74.

³⁰⁵ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 74.

³⁰⁶ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 67.

³⁰⁷ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 82.

³⁰⁸ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 74.

the test of spiritual authenticity is not outward religiosity but whether one's life has been generated by the indwelling presence of divine Life.

While not identical in all respects, Drummond's doctrine of Biogenesis resonates with key themes in contemporary evangelical theology. John Piper succinctly affirms, "You did not make yourself a Christian," emphasizing that spiritual rebirth is initiated by God's sovereign act.³⁰⁹ Echoing Drummond, he affirms that the natural world abides by the law *omne vivum ex vivo*, so the spiritual world requires direct contact with Christ to generate true life. Drummond shares this anxiety but anchors it within a framework of natural law: unless the soul has encountered and received the Life of the Son, "whatever else he may have, he hath not Life."³¹⁰ In this way, Drummond's rejection of spiritual spontaneous generation affirms a deeply evangelical and Christocentric anthropology. It is a theological call to recover the radical dependence of the soul on divine initiative. In both nature and grace, life always comes from life.

4.3.3.3 The Sealed Door: Biogenesis and the Border of Worlds

Drummond's theological application of Biogenesis culminates in the conviction that the boundary between the natural and spiritual realms is sealed, such that "no man can open it"—only divine intervention can initiate spiritual life.³¹¹ Drawing on nineteenth-century biological consensus—particularly following Louis Pasteur's experimental refutation of spontaneous generation³¹²—

³⁰⁹ John Piper, "You Did Not Make Yourself a Christian," *Desiring God*, March 28, 2018, <https://www.desiringgod.org/messages/the-word-of-god-is-at-work-in-you/excerpts/you-did-not-make-yourself-a-christian>.

³¹⁰ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 74.

³¹¹ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 71.

³¹² Rene Vallery-Radot, *The Life of Pasteur*, Popular Edition, trans. R. L. Devonshire (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1915), <https://ia801605.us.archive.org/29/items/lifeofpasteur00vallrich/lifeofpasteur00vallrich.pdf>.

Drummond observes that science acknowledges a point of silence at the origin of life: no natural process is known to account for the transition from inorganic to organic life. He appropriates this scientific humility to propose a theological axiom: spiritual life cannot arise from moral refinement, intellectual assent, or emotional experience alone. It must originate from prior contact with divine Life. Thus, the biological principle *omne vivum ex vivo* becomes, in Drummond's hands, a spiritual law: life begets life, and in the spiritual realm, that life is Christ. The "sealed door" between the natural and the spiritual is closed on the side of nature, rendering regeneration an act of divine initiative rather than human evolution.

This theological conviction resonates with a broader Christian tradition that affirms both the necessity and insufficiency of nature in the economy of grace. Blaise Pascal's insight that "nature is an image of grace" underscores the idea that creation gestures toward divine realities while simultaneously exposing human limitation.³¹³ Similarly, Drummond interprets the empirical boundary at the origin of biological life as a metaphor for the ontological gulf between natural man and spiritual rebirth. His vision aligns with the Johannine and Pauline anthropology in which the distinction between "flesh" and "spirit" is not developmental but categorical.^{314 315} Echoing Luke 16:26, where "a great gulf is fixed," Drummond insists that no ascent from below can span the divide; the initiative must come from above.³¹⁶ Within this theological architecture, Biogenesis functions not merely as a heuristic or apologetic tool but as a doctrinal boundary marker that

³¹³ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 70. See Pascal, *Pensées*, 138.

³¹⁴ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 74. See John 3:6 (ESV): "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

³¹⁵ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 78. See 1 Corinthians 2:14 (ESV): "The natural person does not accept the things of the Spirit of God, for they are folly to him, and he is not able to understand them because they are spiritually discerned."

³¹⁶ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 71. See Luke 16:26 (ESV): "And besides all this, between us and you a great chasm has been fixed, in order that those who would pass from here to you may not be able, and none may cross from there to us."

affirms the absolute necessity of new birth through Christ. It is, in fact, the Law of Continuity extended: not in that life naturally progresses to spiritual life, but that the same divine logic governing creation also governs regeneration, with Christ as the only thread of continuity between nature and grace.

4.3.3.4 Conclusion: Biogenesis as Theological Principle

Drummond's appropriation of the biological principle of Biogenesis marks a turning point in his theological method. No longer content with drawing loose analogies between natural and spiritual realities, he advances a bolder claim: that spiritual life, like biological life, is governed by a law of origin. Life must come from life. This principle becomes the keystone in his argument for regeneration—that genuine spiritual transformation cannot arise from within the natural man but must be initiated by contact with divine Life. In this way, Drummond uses the Law of Continuity not simply to affirm harmony between science and religion, but to defend the distinctiveness and necessity of supernatural grace.

By exposing the theological danger of spiritual spontaneous generation, Drummond offers more than a critique of modern preaching; he articulates a doctrine of salvation that is both theologically rigorous and epistemologically grounded. Biogenesis functions as both a doctrinal safeguard—protecting the boundary between flesh and spirit—and as a diagnostic tool, revealing where cultural Christianity may have substituted development for regeneration. For Drummond, the test of authentic faith is not moral enthusiasm or religious sentiment, but the unmistakable presence of divine Life. His insistence that “he that hath the Son hath Life” anchors his theology in Christ,

echoing the evangelical conviction that salvation is never self-generated, but always and only God-initiated.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined Henry Drummond's foundational theological method as articulated in *Spiritual Diagnosis* and developed more fully in *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. What emerges is a carefully constructed theological epistemology rooted in the principle of law—both natural and spiritual—and governed by the Law of Continuity. Rather than subordinating theology to science, Drummond sought a deeper integration, showing that the same divine rationality sustaining the natural world also undergirds spiritual life. His use of scientific categories was not cosmetic, but methodological, aimed at recovering the credibility of Christian doctrine in a modern intellectual climate. Through observation, reverence, and empirical attentiveness, Drummond argued that spiritual truth could be discerned with as much regularity and intelligibility as natural phenomena—provided that one approached both realms with humility and spiritual sensitivity.

The culmination of this method appears in Drummond's doctrine of Biogenesis, which functions as a theological axiom: just as in nature, so in grace, life only comes from life. This conviction safeguards the radical distinction between the natural and spiritual orders, while also grounding the process of regeneration in divine initiative. Drummond's critique of modern theology, especially its implicit belief in spiritual self-generation, reveals his concern for preserving the supernatural character of salvation. By insisting on the necessity of antecedent divine Life, he offers a Christocentric anthropology that resists both liberal reductionism and mere moralism. In

this way, Drummond's theological method stands not only as a bridge between science and faith but also as a critical resource for diagnosing the spiritual condition of modern Christianity.

Building on this foundation, the next chapter will examine how Drummond applies this method in two later writings: *The Contribution of Science to Christianity* (1884) and *The Ascent of Man* (1893). These works reveal how his theological vision matured in response to cultural and doctrinal questions—expanding his concern from personal regeneration to broader issues of biblical interpretation, human development, and the moral destiny of humanity.

Chapter V

Drummond's Application of the Law of Continuity

The previous chapter examined Henry Drummond's methodological approach to aligning science and theology through the law of continuity, showing how his appeal to natural law, such as the law of biogenesis, provided a framework for bridging scientific insight with spiritual truth.³¹⁷ Having established this methodological foundation, the present chapter investigates how Drummond applies this approach in his two significant works beyond *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*: the essays *The Contribution of Science to Christianity* (1884)³¹⁸ and his final book which he published at a time when he was beginning to suffer from the bone cancer that would eventually claim his life,³¹⁹ *The Ascent of Man* (1894).³²⁰

In these writings, Drummond advances beyond merely defending the possibility of law in religion to demonstrating his method in actual practice. He does so by engaging the central cultural and theological debates of his time—between science and revelation, biblical interpretation and evolutionary theory, and faith and modern culture.³²¹ This chapter, therefore, examines how Drummond employs his theology of continuity to negotiate these controversies, asking whether

³¹⁷ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 59–94.

³¹⁸ Henry Drummond, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," in *The New Evangelism and Other Addresses*, with Harvard University (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899), 205–53, <https://ia600609.us.archive.org/25/items/newevangelismoth00drum/newevangelismoth00drum.pdf>.

³¹⁹ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 499–503.

³²⁰ Henry Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904), <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/d/drummond/ascent/cache/ascent.pdf>.

³²¹ For broader accounts of these debates in the Victorian period, see James R. Moore, *The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*.

his method provides a consistent and persuasive framework for integrating scientific discovery into Christian theology. Accordingly, the assessment that follows does not aim to prove or disprove Drummond's attempt at reconciling science and religion, but to evaluate the consistency of his methodology of the law of continuity as applied in his later writings.

The analysis begins with *The Contribution of Science to Christianity*, where Drummond directly addresses the perceived conflict between scientific progress and religious belief. Written during Victorian debates over evolution and revelation, this essay offers an instance for observing how Drummond positions science not as a threat but as a potential ally of faith, and whether he succeeds in demonstrating that science can contribute to the enrichment of Christian theology by exalting its supreme conception—God.

5.1 The Contribution of Science to Christianity (1884)

Following the publication of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, Drummond continued to apply his theological method of continuity. According to Smith's biography of Drummond, shortly after returning from Africa, he published an essay titled *The Contribution of Science to Christianity*.³²² In this work, Drummond does not merely defend theology against scientific advance; he demonstrates how science may be meaningfully integrated into the Christian framework. His argument unfolds along three main lines: first, situating science within the Christian worldview and examining its relation to expanding secular knowledge; second, reframing science as an ally through the principle of continuity and the interpretation of natural law as divine operation; and

³²² Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, 244–56.

third, exploring science's theological contribution by showing how it magnifies Christianity's supreme conception-God, and calls for a more dynamic embrace by theology.

5.1.1 Science and Theology in the Victorian Worldview: Tension and Adaptation

The Victorian era was marked by profound cultural and intellectual turbulence, as advances in geology, biology, and cosmology posed unsettling challenges to traditional Christian interpretations of creation and the revelation of God.³²³ Against the already established backdrop of Victorian scientific and theological tension, Drummond argues in *The Contribution of Science to Christianity* that Christianity, for a time, had “ceased to adapt itself to the widening range of secular knowledge,” leaving “the thinking world” to drift away from its side.³²⁴ As Frank Turner has noted, within this Victorian climate, even leading scientists such as Charles Lyell and Charles Darwin voiced frustration at the impediments that metaphysics and theology appeared to place on scientific progress.³²⁵ Rather than treating this as a theological failure, Drummond frames it as a reflection of Christianity's cautious posture toward integrating new ideas. He understood that theological integrity requires more than reflexive assimilation; it demands critical engagement with emerging knowledge and discernment about its spiritual implications. This cautious stance, in his view, safeguarded theology from being shaped too quickly by what may prove to be transient or incomplete truths.

Building on this diagnosis of cultural dissension, Drummond argues that theology's slower pace of adaptation was not a deficiency but a methodological necessity. He contended that scientific

³²³ See Brooke, *Science and Religion*.

³²⁴ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 205.

³²⁵ Frank M. Turner, “The Victorian Conflict between Science and Religion: A Professional Dimension,” *The University of Chicago Press* 69, no. 3 (September 1978): 357, <https://doi.org/10.1086/352065>.

discoveries cannot be immediately assimilated into theology upon their arrival; instead, they require a period of testing, verification, and cultural consolidation.³²⁶ “The expansion of Christianity,” he writes, “can never be altogether contemporaneous with the growth of knowledge,” since “time is an essential factor in the assimilation of truth.”³²⁷ This conviction is grounded in his broader theology of continuity, where natural and spiritual realms mirror one another in their developmental rhythms. Just as in nature nothing matures instantly, so too in theology, truth must undergo seasons of scrutiny before being adopted as enduring insight.³²⁸ In this way, Drummond turned what many perceived as theology’s weakness into a methodological strength. This stance laid the foundation for his later reframing of science as a constructive ally of faith.

5.1.2 Reframing Science as an Ally through the Principle of Continuity

One of the most pressing issues Drummond addresses in *The Contribution of Science to Christianity* is the widespread misconception that science is inherently hostile to religion or Christian belief. He acknowledges that many within the Church had grown accustomed to meeting discoveries with suspicion, often assuming that every advance in geology or biology portended a “new menace” to the creed.³²⁹ Drummond, however, insists that such suspicion rests on a misunderstanding of both the nature of science and the character of Christian truth. By treating science as a menace, he argues that theologians risked ceding intellectual authority to secular thought and missing the deeper harmonies between natural discovery and divine revelation.³³⁰

³²⁶ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 207.

³²⁷ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 206-7.

³²⁸ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 205–6.

³²⁹ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 208.

³³⁰ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 209.

Rather than perceiving science as destructive, Drummond argues that it provides Christianity with an opportunity for renewal by enlarging its vision of God’s creation.³³¹ In this reframing, science becomes not an adversary to be feared but an instrument through which theology can encounter divine order more profoundly.

Drummond strengthens this argument by underscoring the openness and accessibility of scientific knowledge. “There is nothing esoteric about science,” he declares, emphasizing that its truths are not the possession of a privileged few but are “laid bare to all the world.”³³² This openness is rooted in science’s reliance on evidence rather than secrecy, which might justify theological distrust. Far from undermining its credibility, this accessibility enhances science’s authority, for transparency makes its claims more compelling and universally verifiable.³³³ In Drummond’s framework, such accessibility also carries theological significance: it mirrors the universality of divine revelation itself. This emphasis resonates with his broader principle of continuity: just as natural law operates universally, so too the pursuit of truth in science is open to all.³³⁴ For Drummond, both science and theology are domains where truth emerges through disciplined attentiveness to the structures of reality—whether natural or spiritual—and where openness rather than exclusivity is the hallmark of genuine knowledge.

³³¹ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 209–10.

³³² Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 210.

³³³ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 210.

³³⁴ For further discussion on science as an open, critical enterprise, see Hans Albert, “Science and the Search for Truth,” in *Progress and Rationality in Science*, ed. Robert S. Cohen and Marx W. Wartofsky, vol. 58, ed. Gerard Radnitzky and Gunnar Andersson, Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1978), 203–20, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-9866-7_9.

At the heart of Drummond’s reframing lies his conviction that scientific laws are best understood as modes of God’s continuous operation in the world.³³⁵ Drummond regarded natural law as more than mechanical necessity: the very transparency and universality of scientific facts testified to a divine regularity that scatters superstition and grounds human knowledge in coherence.³³⁶ By showing that science uncovers patterns of consistency and order, he contends that it affirms theology’s claim about the faithfulness of God’s governance. The very power of modern science, he observes, is so self-evident that it displaces error and superstition without argument, offering instead a clearer disclosure of the structure through which God sustains creation. Each new scientific advance, rather than undermining theology, deepens this affirmation by unveiling further aspects of divine order. To support this theological appropriation of science, Drummond identifies two principal instruments—the scientific method and the doctrine of evolution—through which the patterns of divine activity in nature may be most clearly discerned.³³⁷ In this way, his principle of continuity transforms science from an alleged enemy of faith into a vital ally, providing theology with a richer vocabulary for articulating divine order. This insight anticipates later voices, such as John Lennox, who similarly insists that science and faith are not hostile adversaries but “friendly allies.”³³⁸ Thus, by reframing science as part of God’s revelatory order, he anticipates a more integrated vision of truth. In this vision, theology can discern and assimilate scientific insight without capitulating to secularism.

³³⁵ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 44.

³³⁶ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 210.

³³⁷ Drummond, “The Contribution of Science to Christianity,” 211.

³³⁸ John Lennox, “Science and Faith: Friendly Allies, Not Hostile Enemies,” *Theofilos* 12, no. 1 (December 2020): 162–65, <https://doi.org/10.48032/theo/12/1/11>.

5.1.3 Science's Theological Contribution to Christian Thought

Drummond concludes his essay by identifying the ultimate theological contribution of science: its capacity to exalt Christianity's central conception of God. He asserts, "Science has nothing finer to offer Christianity than the exaltation of its supreme conception—God."³³⁹ As John Hedley Brooke has demonstrated, the historical record reveals that science has often served to enrich, rather than undermine, religious understanding. He notes that, rather than being contending forces, science and religion have frequently been understood as complementary, "each answering a different set of human needs."³⁴⁰ Echoing this, John Lennox insists that "far from science having buried God, not only do the results of science point towards his existence, but the scientific enterprise itself is validated by his existence."³⁴¹ For Drummond, science does not simply add to the store of human knowledge; it enlarges theology's central vision by lifting God to the forefront of modern thought. This contribution reorients the debate: science is not an adversary to be defended against, but a resource that intensifies worship and provides theology with renewed confidence in proclaiming divine sovereignty.

Yet Drummond warns that theology cannot respond to science with mere intellectual assent. To greet it with "assent," he observes, is "a cold word for theology to welcome it with."³⁴² Theological engagement must be more than grudging acknowledgment; it must involve a dynamic embrace that allows scientific insight to reshape the way faith conceives of God's activity in the world. Here Drummond's theology of continuity is decisive: just as natural processes disclose order through development, theology must allow new knowledge to be woven into its categories,

³³⁹ Drummond, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," 252.

³⁴⁰ Brooke, *Science and Religion*, 2.

³⁴¹ John Lennox, *God's Undertaker: Has Science Buried God?* (Chicago: Lion Hudson, 2007), 179.

³⁴² Drummond, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," 234.

enriching its vision rather than retreating behind defensive boundaries. In this way, science becomes an active instrument within theology itself, a partner in unfolding the depth of divine reality.

This constructive relationship comes to particular expression in Drummond's treatment of creation. He identifies evolution as science's doctrine of the method of creation, not as a rival explanation but as a framework that illuminates the progressive unfolding of divine intention.³⁴³ Though provisional as a hypothesis, evolution furnishes theology with a way of seeing creation as purposeful, coherent, and unfolding through time under God's direction. In this sense, scientific progress does not marginalize faith but extends it. It offers theology a richer vocabulary for articulating divine purpose and reinforces Drummond's principle of continuity, that divine life and natural law operate in harmony, each disclosing the same God through different yet complementary orders of reality.³⁴⁴

5.1.4 Conclusion

Drummond's essay *The Contribution of Science to Christianity* marks a significant expansion of his theology of continuity, positioning science not as a rival but as a theological ally that both challenges and enriches Christian understanding. By reframing science as part of God's revelatory order, he anticipates a more integrated vision of truth—one in which theology can discern and assimilate scientific insight without capitulating to secularism. His model urges a reorientation of Christian thought that welcomes science not as a threat but as a partner in revealing divine wisdom.

³⁴³ Drummond, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," 234–35.

³⁴⁴ Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 36.

This theological openness finds resonance with contemporary Christian reflections on the relationship between science and faith. As Valčo and Boehme observe, “Authentic scientific research contributes to a better understanding and appreciation of the Creator’s immeasurable wisdom and power in His works of creation. It can help in understanding how God’s creation works and is ordered, and how Christians can live in their calling as caretakers of the Earth so that God’s will is done, on Earth, as in Heaven!”³⁴⁵ Drummond’s theological vision aligns with this integrative stance, showing how theology can provide the metaphysical and moral framework that science alone cannot offer. Unlike more sceptical accounts that see theology and science as inherently in tension—such as Ian Barbour’s conflict model—Drummond proposes a vision of mutual clarification grounded in the shared logic of order.

His work challenges the Church to embrace science as a divinely ordained means of understanding both creation and the Creator more fully. While Drummond’s integration is compelling, its reception—and limits—must be understood within the theological boundaries of his time. This historical sensitivity does not diminish the significance of his vision; rather, it situates Drummond within the broader trajectory of the science–theology dialogue, where his contributions remain both provocative and constructive.

5.2 The Ascent of Man (1894)

The Ascent of Man was first delivered as the Lowell Lectures in Boston in 1893 and later published in book form. Conceived as a sequel to *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, it represents Drummond’s mature attempt to engage Darwinian evolution directly. In this work, Drummond

³⁴⁵ Michal Valčo and Armand J Boehme, “Christian Faith and Science - Can Science Enhance Theology?,” *European Journal of Science and Theology* 13, no. 3 (2017): 95.

applies his continuity methodology to the problem of evolution, interpreting scientific theory as a narrative of moral and spiritual ascent. Widely read in its time,³⁴⁶ the book aimed to demonstrate that evolutionary theory, when properly understood, could be integrated into a coherent divine order rather than being regarded as a threat to Christian faith.

In this work, Drummond applies his theological method of continuity to the central scientific controversy of his age. Evolution is presented not as a narrative of human descent from lower forms but as a drama of ascent in which natural processes disclose moral and spiritual order. His application emerges in four interrelated aspects: his framing of evolution as ascent rather than descent; his reformulation of Darwin's principle of the struggle for life through the complementary law of the struggle for the life of others; his account of altruism as the evolutionary foundation that matures into Christian love; and his doctrine of involution, which brings the ascent of nature into synthesis with divine revelation. Together, these aspects illustrate Drummond's mature effort to reconcile science and theology, revealing the consistency of his methodology when tested against the most pressing intellectual challenge of the Victorian era.

5.2.1 Framing Evolution as Ascent, Not Descent

Drummond begins *The Ascent of Man* by reframing evolution not as descent from lower forms but as a purposeful ascent, reorienting Victorian debates from decline toward progress. He clarifies the book's purpose and scope: against common perceptions that evolutionary theory diminishes human dignity by tracing humanity's descent from animal origins, he insists that the proper theme is ascent.³⁴⁷ Evolution is not a chronicle of degradation but a history of progress, a narrative in

³⁴⁶ Moore, "Evangelicals and Evolution," 386.

³⁴⁷ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 2.

which natural development discloses order and purpose.³⁴⁸ For Drummond, to speak of descent is to misread the evidence and to mistake the trajectory of nature's processes.³⁴⁹ In this respect, he stands in contrast to Darwin, who concluded that "organisation on the whole has advanced throughout the world by slow and interrupted steps... culminated in man."³⁵⁰ By reframing the discussion in terms of ascent, Drummond situates evolution within his broader theological conviction that the law of continuity governs both natural and spiritual realms.

This reframing also functions apologetically. In the Victorian debates, Darwinism was often received as corrosive to Christian faith, associated with atheism, immorality, and a sense of purposelessness that left many in "the mood of ennui and frustration."³⁵¹ Drummond counters this by portraying evolution as consistent with divine intention, a gradual unveiling of the order through which God has shaped creation. In his scheme, evolution is not a rival to theology but a narrative that theology itself must interpret and complete. As he argues, evolution acquires its full significance only when read from its culmination in humanity, for "the beginning must then be interpreted from the end, not the end from the beginning," and any attempt to separate science from theology yields either "an unnatural religion" or "an inhuman science."³⁵² In this way, evolution becomes a means by which science illuminates the unity of natural law and divine providence.

³⁴⁸ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 5–7.

³⁴⁹ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 2.

³⁵⁰ Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, 211–12.

³⁵¹ Moore, *The Post-Darwinian Controversies*, 102–3.

³⁵² Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 9.

By insisting on evolution as ascent, Drummond therefore lays the groundwork for the themes that follow. The concept of progress allows him to correct Darwin's narrow emphasis on competition by introducing altruism as a higher principle, to argue for the moral culmination of that principle in Christian love, and finally to bring the ascent of nature into harmony with divine revelation in his doctrine of involution. The introduction thus sets the stage for *The Ascent of Man* as a whole, revealing not only Drummond's originality as a theological interpreter of Darwin but also his consistency in applying the law of continuity to the most contested scientific theory of his time.

5.2.2 The Struggle for Life and the Struggle for the Life of Others

A central feature of *The Ascent of Man* is Drummond's reassessment of Darwin's principle of the struggle for life. While acknowledging its universality and explanatory power, he resists reducing all evolutionary development to competition and self-preservation. Darwin defined the "struggle for existence" in broad and metaphorical terms, not limited to direct combat but including dependence, competition, and, above all, reproductive success. As he explained, he used "for convenience sake the general term of Struggle for Existence."³⁵³ When applying this principle to humankind, Darwin argued that humanity reached its current condition only through the pressure of population growth and limited resources. Unless such pressures continue, he warned, human advancement would cease: "Man... has no doubt advanced to his present high condition through a struggle for existence... and if he is to advance still higher he must remain subject to a severe struggle."³⁵⁴

³⁵³ Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, 78–79.

³⁵⁴ Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, 403.

In line with his continuity method, Drummond expands Darwin's principle by introducing the complementary "struggle for the life of others," indicating that reproduction and care disclose an equally fundamental law of nature. Where Darwin emphasized competition, Drummond cautions that to elevate this single principle to governing status distorts the whole course of nature. As he observes, Darwin's "Struggle for Life became accepted by the scientific world as the governing factor in development," yet this focus "fixed upon a part which is not the most vital part," rendering the whole reconstruction of nature "wholly out of focus."³⁵⁵ For Darwin, competition was primary; for Drummond, it was only partial. For Drummond, evolution is indeed shaped by conflict, but this conflict is neither the whole story nor the most decisive factor in the history of life.

To counterbalance Darwin's emphasis, Drummond introduces the principle of the struggle for the life of others. Rooted in the biological function of reproduction and evident in the earliest expressions of parental care, this principle reveals an equally fundamental law of nature: the preservation of others rather than the self, a dynamic later named altruism.³⁵⁶ Whereas the struggle for life cultivates strength, resistance, and individual survival, the struggle for the life of others generates sympathy, sacrifice, and the rudiments of maternal instinct.³⁵⁷ Both principles arise from the same biological foundation, yet their outcomes diverge—the one tending toward competition, the other toward cooperation and moral development.

Drummond's innovation lies in treating altruism not as a late or anomalous intrusion into an otherwise selfish process, but as a force inscribed within the very structure of life from its

³⁵⁵ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 11.

³⁵⁶ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 11.

³⁵⁷ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 144–56.

beginnings. By locating the roots of self-sacrifice in the reproductive functions of plants and animals, he argues that altruism is as ancient and as essential as the instinct of survival itself.³⁵⁸ As evolutionary studies show, the survival of offspring in many species depends critically on parental care, with maternal investment being a major determinant of child survival.³⁵⁹ This demonstrates that nature cannot be adequately explained by self-preservation alone. Evolution, therefore, must be interpreted in the light of both struggles, with their interaction providing the true dynamic of progress.³⁶⁰

In this dual principle, Drummond extends his theology of continuity. Just as natural law reveals divine law in other domains, so here the processes of biology anticipate the higher realities of morality and religion. The struggle for the life of others, emerging from the depths of protoplasm, is not only a biological necessity but also a moral prophecy, pointing beyond competition to the law of love.³⁶¹ By retrieving this overlooked dimension of Darwinian theory, Drummond presents a more balanced vision of evolution, one that reconciles scientific observation with theological conviction and prepares the way for his account of altruism's culmination in Christian faith.

5.2.3 The Evolution of Altruism into Christian Love

Building on this natural law of care, Drummond traces its historical deepening into altruism and its theological consummation as Christian love, fulfilled in Christ. He advances from biology to ethics by arguing that altruism is not an accidental by-product of competition but a structural

³⁵⁸ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 151.

³⁵⁹ S. Pavard, A. Sibert, and E. Heyer, "The Effect of Maternal Care on Child Survival: A Demographic, Genetic, and Evolutionary Perspective," *The Society for the Study of Evolution* 61, no. 5 (2007): 1153, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1558-5646.2007.00086.x>.

³⁶⁰ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 14.

³⁶¹ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 16–17.

feature of life rooted in reproduction and parental care. As he observes, “There is the opportunity of Evolution. There is an opening appointed in the physical order for the introduction of a moral order.”³⁶² What begins as the provisioning and protection of offspring generates enduring dispositions—solicitude, restraint, sympathy—that extend beyond the immediate biological task and become permanent traits in the moral constitution of life. In evolutionary biology, altruism means behaviour that benefits other organisms at a cost to oneself—a concept defined in terms of reproductive fitness rather than motive.³⁶³ This biological definition aligns with Drummond’s insight, showing that altruism is not merely a higher ethical overlay but has roots deep in nature’s economy. From this foundation, it reaches its fulfilment in the Christian ethic of love, demonstrating how science anticipates and is completed by theological understanding. Drummond underscores the inevitability of this transition, insisting that “Sympathy, tenderness, unselfishness, and the long list of virtues which make up Altruism, are the direct outcome and essential accompaniment of the reproductive process.”³⁶⁴ Thus, the “struggle for the life of others” emerges not as an anomaly but as one of evolution’s most persistent tendencies, preparing the ground for wider moral and social development.

The extension occurs as intelligence, memory, and language enlarge the social horizon. As Drummond observes, evolution cannot be understood solely from its beginnings but must be traced through its “final product, Man,” where the higher faculties reveal their true significance.³⁶⁵ Later evolutionary thinkers, such as Julian Huxley—the grandson of T.H. Huxley, Darwin’s well-known

³⁶² Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 13.

³⁶³ Samir Okasha, “Biological Altruism,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Summer 2020, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2020), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/altruism-biological/>.

³⁶⁴ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 14.

³⁶⁵ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 9.

defender—echoed this view, describing the well-developed human personality as “the highest product of evolution, the fullest realization we know of in the universe.”³⁶⁶ From this perspective, familial obligations become habits, then norms; cooperation, once tied to offspring, becomes a principle of wider association. Drummond reinforces this continuity by noting that the emotions of the child appear in much the same order as in lower nature, so that the earliest experiences of infancy already contain the germs of social and moral development.³⁶⁷ As these impulses are consolidated, institutions—households, tribes, law, and custom—give them a durable and transmissible form. At this point, Drummond makes the striking claim that society itself is the outcome of altruism: “the Social Organism has grown and flowered and fruited in virtue of the continuous activities and inter-relations of the two co-related functions of Nutrition and Reproduction,” so that, in short, society emerges from altruism, which in turn arises from the fundamental conditions of life.³⁶⁸ In this way, the natural economy of care matures into social ethics: self-sacrifice is no longer confined to reproductive investment but becomes a rule of conduct, intelligible and commendable in its own right.

For Drummond, this moral trajectory culminates in his most integrative concept: involution. Love is not an alien force imposed upon creation but arises from the transformation of reproduction itself. Only when nature “caused fewer young to be produced,” made them helpless, and bound mother and offspring to one another did maternal instinct deepen into maternal love.³⁶⁹ As Woods

³⁶⁶ Julian Huxley, “Transhumanism,” *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 8, no. 1 (January 1968): 74, <https://doi.org/10.1177/002216786800800107>. Huxley describes humanity as evolution’s “highest product” in explicitly secular terms, linking it to the emergence of self-awareness and conceptual thought. His transhumanist vision, however, differs from Drummond’s theological teleology: for Huxley, humanity’s destiny lies in consciously guiding future evolution, whereas for Drummond it culminates in the law of love disclosed in Christ.

³⁶⁷ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 108–9.

³⁶⁸ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 142–43.

³⁶⁹ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 146–47.

Hutchinson argued in his classic essay *Love as a Factor in Evolution*, love and self-sacrifice are not incidental to the process but “next to Hunger the most powerful factor in it.”³⁷⁰ In this development, Drummond locates the fullest expression of the other-regarding impulse already traceable within nature. The miracle of evolution, he insists, lies not in the process but in the product: “Love is the final result of Evolution. This is what stands out in Nature as the supreme creation.”³⁷¹ Biologically, this finds embodiment in mothers; sociologically, in the family; morally, in the emergence of love itself. At the heart of nature’s work lies love, “the largest part of [Nature’s] task, begun with the first beginnings of life, and continuously developing quantitatively and qualitatively to the close.”³⁷² In Christianity, this natural trajectory is given universality and normativity, as Christ extends the principle into neighbour-love and enemy-love, grounding it not in advantage but in divine vocation. Theologically, this does not collapse evolution into moralism but reveals the telos toward which its nobler tendencies point, integrating natural history with a redemptive horizon.

Read in this light, altruism emerges as the hinge of Drummond’s continuity thesis. It secures coherence between biological process and moral vocation, countering the charge that evolution licenses only rivalry and self-assertion.³⁷³ By locating the seeds of self-giving within life’s earliest structures and tracing their consolidation into recognizably Christian charity, Drummond shows how the Darwinian principle of the “struggle for existence” can be reconciled with a Christocentric ethic.³⁷⁴ This trajectory, however, does not exhaust Drummond’s vision. For him, the ascent of

³⁷⁰ Woods Hutchinson, “Love as a Factor in Evolution,” *The Monist* 8, no. 2 (1898): 206.

³⁷¹ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 179.

³⁷² Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 179.

³⁷³ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 139–42.

³⁷⁴ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 145–47.

altruism into love already intimates a larger framework in which natural development and divine purpose are inseparably joined. The same law of continuity that secures coherence between biology and morality also requires that the upward movement of nature be read within the horizon of revelation.³⁷⁵ It is at this juncture that Drummond introduces his doctrine of involution, the counterpart to evolution, where the progress of life “from below” is interpreted in light of the ingress of divine life “from above.”

5.2.4 Involution: Evolution from Below, Revelation from Above

Finally, Drummond develops his doctrine of involution, where the ascent of nature is completed by divine revelation, uniting biology, ethics, and Christology within a single order of continuity. Drummond’s doctrine of involution refers to the complementary movement to evolution within a single, continuous order. If evolution describes the outward rise of forms “from below,” involution identifies the infusion of a higher life “from above”—the pressure of ideal, moral, and spiritual realities upon the process.³⁷⁶ As recent theological reflection also emphasizes, evolutionary science can describe adaptation but cannot by itself explain or justify moral obligation. A fuller grounding of moral life requires reference to a transcendent dimension that has already touched the core of human existence and progressively awakens moral responsibility.³⁷⁷ As Drummond puts it, when read “from the top,” the true term is not merely Involution but Revelation—the realization of the Ideal, the Ascent of Love.³⁷⁸ This higher dynamic is most clearly disclosed in Christianity, where human progress is “no longer driven from below by the Animal Struggle” but “drawn upward from

³⁷⁵ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 18, 181.

³⁷⁶ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 183.

³⁷⁷ John F. Haught, *Science and Faith: A New Introduction*, with Internet Archive (New York: Paulist Press, 2012), 112, <http://archive.org/details/sciencefaithnewi0000haug>.

³⁷⁸ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 181.

above ... impelled by Love” and “evolving through Ideals.”³⁷⁹ Far from being an interruption of nature, Christianity represents “the latest disclosure of Environment ... not an excrescence on Nature but its efflorescence.”³⁸⁰ Involution thus resists both material reduction and ethical dualism.

Against reductionism, Drummond insists that the “other-regarding” principle embedded in reproduction already foreshadows higher moral and spiritual forms, so that consciousness and morality are not late by-products of competition arising at a late stage.³⁸¹ Against Huxley’s partition of the “cosmic” and the “ethical,” as Huxley argued that “the practice of that which is ethically best ... involves a course of conduct which, in all respects, is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence,”³⁸² Drummond counters that the same continuity which links protoplasm to personality also links nature to spirit.³⁸³ For him, morality does not interrupt the cosmic order but discloses its telos. This insight culminates in a single, unifying formula: “Evolution is nothing but the Involution of Love, the revelation of Infinite Spirit, the Eternal Life returning to Itself.”³⁸⁴ This declaration crystallizes his theology of continuity at its highest point, preparing the way for the findings and conclusions that follow.

The Christological focus follows. If altruism traces a natural arc toward universality, Christ embodies and authorizes its final form as “Love.”³⁸⁵ As Calvin, writing three centuries earlier, observed, Christ is not only the teacher of love but its very fountain, setting Himself before us as

³⁷⁹ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 183.

³⁸⁰ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 183.

³⁸¹ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, VII, X.

³⁸² Thomas Henry Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics, and Other Essays*, with University of California Libraries (London: Macmillan, 1894), 81–82, <http://archive.org/details/evolutionethicso00huxl>.

³⁸³ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 15–18.

³⁸⁴ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 23.

³⁸⁵ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 179, 181–82.

the example and source of mutual love.³⁸⁶ Drummond builds on this Reformation insight, extending it into the evolutionary sphere: the law of self-giving, foreshadowed in nature, is not a temporary strategy but the abiding character of ultimate reality, for “Love is the final result of Evolution ... the supreme creation.”³⁸⁷ In this way, Drummond is not departing from Calvin but radicalizing his vision of Christ as the fountain of love by locating it within the cosmic drama of evolution.

Within the architecture of this thesis, involution is the keystone of Drummond’s reconciliation of science and theology. It preserves the explanatory gains of evolutionary theory while securing a moral and theological horizon in which those gains acquire purpose. By refusing both naturalistic closure and a supernatural rupture, Drummond advances a continuous account—biology to ethics to Christology—in which the ascent of nature and the disclosure of divine love converge. This synthesis provides the appropriate climax to his application of the continuity methodology and prepares the ground for the findings and conclusions that follow.

5.2.5 Conclusion

In *The Ascent of Man*, Drummond extends the methodological commitments of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* into direct engagement with evolutionary theory. Interpreting evolution as ascent rather than descent, he reorients the debate from degradation to purpose. By juxtaposing the struggle for life with the struggle for the life of others, he challenges Darwin’s emphasis on

³⁸⁶ John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1845), II.8.55, Christian Classics Ethereal Library (CCEL), <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/c/calvin/institutes/cache/institutes.pdf>; John Calvin, *Commentary on John - Volume 2*, vol. 2, trans. William Pringle (Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, n.d.), 15:12, Christian Classics Ethereal Library (CCEL), <https://www.biblestudyguide.org/ebooks/comment/calcom35.pdf>.

³⁸⁷ Drummond, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, 179.

competition as the primary driver and discloses altruism as an irreducible principle within nature. This insight enables him to trace a line from biological functions through social organization to ethical development, thereby sustaining the law of continuity across domains often held apart.

The trajectory reaches its climax in the doctrine of involution, where nature's ascent is read in concert with divine revelation. Here Drummond resists both reductionist accounts that sever morality from biology and dualist schemes that detach the ethical from the cosmic. He presents altruism fulfilled in Christian love as the telos of evolution, with Christ embodying the principle of self-giving latent in creation from the beginning. In this way, *The Ascent of Man* represents the mature application of his theology of continuity, integrating natural process and theological meaning in a Christocentric vision responsive to the intellectual and spiritual tensions of his age.

5.3 Findings and Conclusion

To clarify the study's results, the discussion is divided into four parts: findings, scholarly contributions, wider implications, and limitations with future directions, followed by the conclusion.

5.3.1 Findings

This thesis set out to address a specific gap in the scholarship on Henry Drummond: while previous studies have examined his influence as a popular preacher and writer, little sustained attention has been given to his theological perspective as both a theologian and science educator, particularly his engagement with Darwinian evolution. By focusing on Drummond's methodology—especially the *Law of Continuity*—and tracing its application in *The Contribution of Science to Christianity*

and *The Ascent of Man*, this thesis has reconstructed the intellectual architecture by which he sought to reconcile the claims of modern science with Christian theology.

The findings demonstrate that Drummond's originality lies not in denying evolutionary theory, nor in subordinating theology to science, but in developing a method of integration that preserved the integrity of both. His theology of continuity provided a conceptual bridge in which natural law and spiritual law were understood as expressions of the same divine order. In *The Ascent of Man*, this approach enabled him to reinterpret Darwinian categories, balancing the struggle for life with the struggle for the life of others, tracing the emergence of altruism into moral and social life, and culminating in the vision of Christian love as the telos of evolution. Through his doctrine of involution—understood as the “from-above” ingress of moral and spiritual life—Drummond further demonstrated that the ascent of nature finds its completion only when read in light of divine revelation.

5.3.2 Scholarly Contribution

This thesis has shown that Drummond's theology of continuity represents more than a popular adaptation of contemporary science; it constitutes a deliberate and systematic methodology for reconciling faith with evolutionary theory. By situating Drummond within the wider Victorian discourse yet highlighting his distinctive emphasis on altruism and love, the study clarifies how his thought diverged from the reductionist naturalism of Darwin and the ethical dualism of T. H. Huxley. It also demonstrates that Drummond cannot be reduced to the status of a scientific amateur or religious apologist, but must be taken seriously as a thinker whose integration of theology and science anticipated later efforts to overcome the conflict model in the science–religion debate.

5.3.3 Implications

The implications of these findings extend beyond the historical case. In contemporary discussions of science and religion, questions of continuity, altruism, and the moral interpretation of evolution remain pressing, as seen in continuing debates on evolutionary ethics and theological accounts of creation. Drummond's vision provides a resource for considering how scientific accounts of natural processes can be placed in dialogue with theological convictions without collapsing into reductionism or retreating into fideism. His work reminds us that reconciliation requires both conceptual clarity and pedagogical sharpness, addressing both the academy and the broader public.

5.3.4 Limitations and Further Research

The scope of this thesis has been limited to Drummond's published works and two principal texts. This leaves open avenues for further research into his unpublished correspondence, the reception of his ideas, and comparison with contemporaries such as James Orr or John Illingworth. Future studies could also explore the extent to which Drummond's doctrine of involution might illuminate or challenge late twentieth-century and early twenty-first-century integrative models of science and religion. These limitations do not undermine the present findings but mark the boundaries within which they should be interpreted. They also look forward to the concluding synthesis, where Drummond's project is seen in its fullest theological and intellectual significance.

5.3.5 Conclusion

This study set out to explore the life, worldview, and theological paradigm of Henry Drummond, examining how his personal formation, intellectual pursuits, and faith commitments shaped his

attempt to reconcile theology and science. Drawing on primary biographical sources, Drummond's own writings, and subsequent interpretations of his thought, the research has illuminated the interwoven dimensions of his spiritual life, scientific curiosity, and theological imagination. The findings demonstrate that Drummond's integrative vision remains a compelling model for contemporary Christians who seek to engage scientific and technological realities without abandoning the foundations of faith.

Addressing the Research Questions

1. Spiritual Formation and Early Influences

Drummond's formative years provided the moral and spiritual foundation for his later synthesis of faith and science. Raised within a devout Scottish household characterized by discipline, reverence for Scripture, and intellectual vigour, he inherited both a Calvinist moral seriousness and a curiosity that refused to separate revelation from reason. His early education in Stirling and Edinburgh nurtured in him a deep respect for natural observation, while family piety instilled a conviction that all truth ultimately proceeds from God. These twin influences—faith and intellect—would later converge in his theological reflections on the unity of the natural and spiritual worlds.

2. Science and Faith as Complementary Disciplines

Drummond's scientific education and his appointment as Professor of natural science at the Free Church College profoundly shaped his theological orientation. He approached the natural world not as a realm opposed to faith but as a field in which divine laws could be discerned. For Drummond, scientific investigation was itself an act of worship, revealing the rational order of God's creation.

His intellectual method was empirical yet reverent; his theology drew analogies from biological and physical principles to illustrate spiritual realities. This reciprocal relationship between science and faith became the hallmark of his thought and teaching.

3. The Natural and the Spiritual Realms

Central to Drummond's worldview was the conviction that the laws governing nature find their ultimate fulfilment in the spiritual domain. In *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, he argued that divine consistency unites both spheres under one Creator. Concepts such as growth, reproduction, and continuity served as metaphors for spiritual regeneration and sanctification. By adopting the language of science, Drummond sought to demonstrate that spiritual life operates according to principles as real and orderly as those of nature—a bold claim that enabled many Christians to affirm faith without rejecting modern scientific knowledge.

4. Reconciling Faith and Evolution

At the height of the Darwinian controversy, Drummond offered an alternative to both rigid literalism and secular materialism. He interpreted evolution as “God’s method of creation,” viewing natural development as a revelation of divine purpose rather than a denial of it. This theological re-reading of evolution allowed him to affirm the creative sovereignty of God while embracing the scientific insights of his age. Drummond’s synthesis provided a middle path that preserved doctrinal integrity and intellectual honesty, helping believers navigate the crisis of faith provoked by the rise of evolutionary thought.

5. Personality and Theological Expression

Drummond's personality exerted a decisive influence on his theology. His warmth, humility, and optimism infused both his preaching and his writing with accessibility and compassion. Possessing the rhetorical gifts of a communicator and the insight of a scholar, he spoke to the intellect and the heart alike. His ethical sensitivity and emphasis on personal transformation reflected his own experience of faith as dynamic and relational. These traits explain his extraordinary popularity among students and lay audiences, whose confidence in Christianity he helped restore during a period of intellectual turbulence.

6. Drummond's Theological Paradigm

The study identifies several features that define Drummond's paradigm:

1. The unity of natural and spiritual law, grounded in divine consistency.
2. An evolutionary view of progress, interpreted through a Christ-centred teleology; and
3. A commitment to engagement, asserting that theology must converse with science rather than retreat from it.

This framework positioned Drummond between the extremes of conservative dogmatism and liberal accommodation. His theology affirmed revelation yet welcomed inquiry, expressing a confidence that the truths of faith and the facts of science ultimately converge in the mind of God.

7. Impact and Legacy

Drummond's influence was felt across continents through his lectures, sermons, and books. Among university students, ministers, and laypeople, he became a symbol of intelligent faith—a Christianity able to think critically and live compassionately. His integration of natural science with spiritual insight inspired confidence that belief could withstand the scrutiny of modernity. The

durability of his writings testifies to the continuing relevance of his message in bridging intellectual and spiritual life.

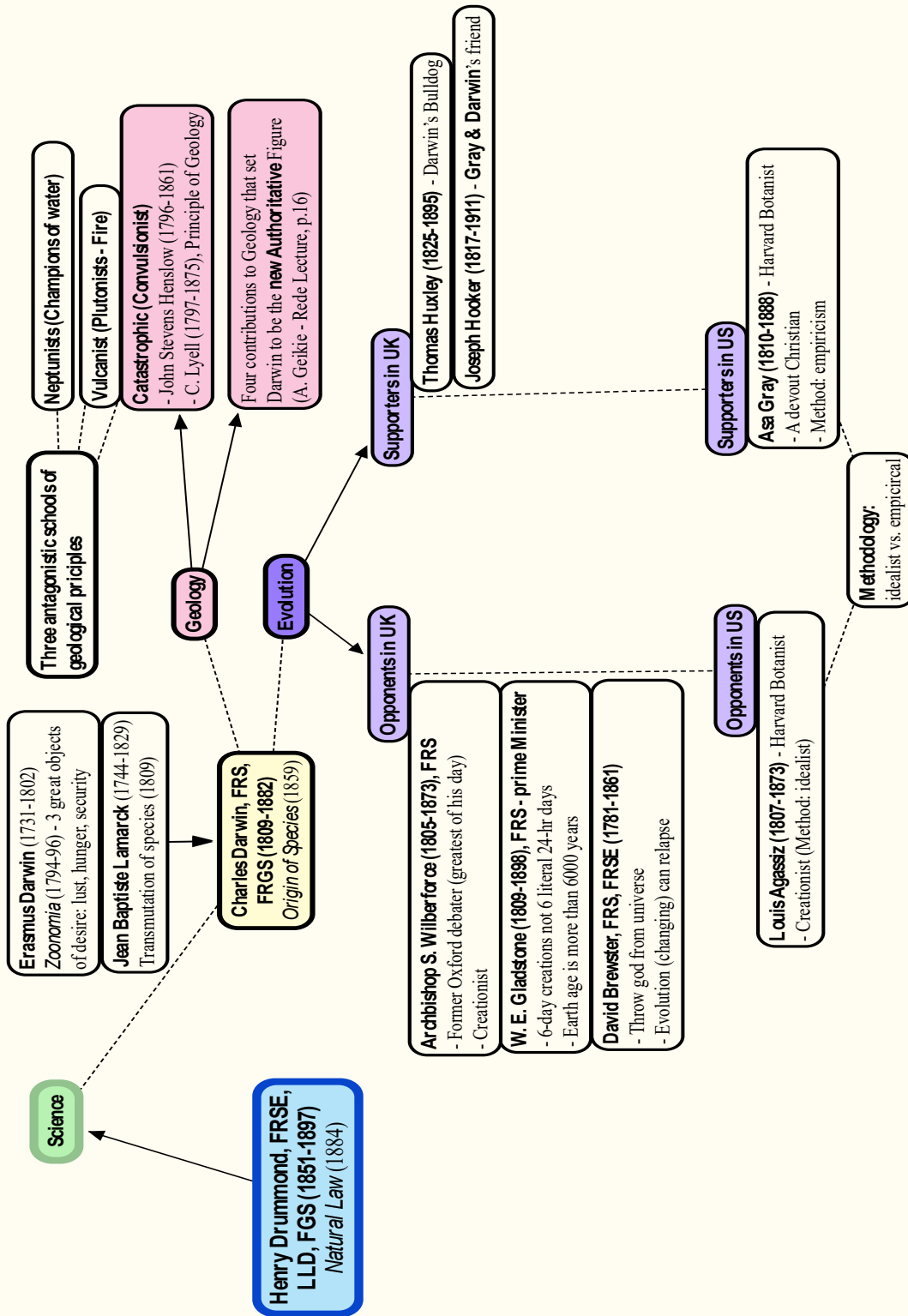
8. Contemporary Relevance

The issues Drummond confronted in the nineteenth century find new expression in today's technologically driven world. As artificial intelligence, digital media, and scientific innovation reshape human experience, Christians again face the tension between faith and secular culture. Drummond's integrative model offers a valuable framework for engagement: to approach technology not as a threat to faith but as a sphere through which divine wisdom and creativity may be discerned. His example calls for a theology that is both intellectually credible and spiritually transformative—one that speaks meaningfully within a culture increasingly defined by science and technology.

Concluding Reflection

Henry Drummond emerges from this study as a theologian of continuity—a thinker who united the moral earnestness of evangelical faith with the intellectual openness of scientific inquiry. His life and work illustrate that genuine theology must neither fear scientific discovery nor surrender to secular reductionism. Instead, it must affirm the coherence of creation under God's sovereignty and the capacity of the human mind to perceive divine order within it. In recovering Drummond's integrative vision, the Christian community gains a model for faithful engagement with modern thought—one that invites both awe before the Creator and responsibility toward creation.

Appendix 1. Theological-Scientific Debates in the Nineteenth Century



Appendix 2. Timeline of Henry Drummond's Life and Works

Year	Mo/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
1851	17 Aug		Born in Stirling to Henry Drummond Sr. and Jane Blackwood of Kilmarnock (brother: James Blackwood of Gillsburn).	Siblings: James, Henry, Frederick (died), Patrick, Agnes, and Jessie.	Live in No.1 Park Place, Stirling.
1857		6	Sent to High School Stirling (Grammar School of Scotland).	Age six/seven till twelve.	
1862		11	Drummond: "Malachi, third chapter, seventeenth verse. Rev. Robertson: I hope one day you will be a minister.	Rev. James Robertson of Edinburgh addressing the United Sunday Schools of Stirling in the Erskine Church. Likening the Bible to a tree: thirty-ninth branch, the third twig, and the seventeenth leaf.	
1863		12	Sent to Morison's Academy at Crieff.	Attending some mission services at Cambusbarron; profoundly impressed by the addresses he heard - told his father he wished to enter the ministry.	
1866	July		Left Crieff w/ prizes for Latin, English & wrote essay. Essay: War and Peace.		
1866	Oct	15	Matriculated at Edinburgh University.	Met divinity students, ministers, and evangelists — counselled by Dr. Binnie of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.	
1867		16	Joined the Philomathic Society.	Made first speech.	
1868		17	Started a monthly manuscript, The Philomathic: A Literary Magazine by Alumni of Edinburgh University. Drummond was the editor & contributor.		
1869	Jan	18	Contributed essay: Mesmerism and Animal Magnetism.		
	Spring		Passed the degree examinations in Mathematics and Physics, earning an M.A. degree. Took Senior Greek, Senior Humanity, and Moral Philosophy with Prof. Calderwood.	Wrote 3 essays. Essays: 1. Reliability of Consciousness; 2. The Moral Faculty; 3. The Dictum of Comte: that causes are inaccessible; we must therefore substitute the study of laws.	
1870			Delivered his valedictory (farewell address) as President of the Philomathic.	Address: Expounded the advantages of debate, contrasting it with lecture, conversation, and reading as means of gaining knowledge.	
			Paper sent to <i>Cassell's Magazine</i>	Cassell's Magazine, titled: <i>The Abuse of the Adjective</i> .	
			Tried twice, failed to pass the first part of the Bachelor of Science examination		
	April		Completed Arts course — passed Mental Philosophy.	Left Edinburgh University.	
	15 May		Began studying Hebrew by himself.		
	26 July		Passed the Board Test.		
1870	17 Aug	19	Spent his 19th birthday with a family in Kincardineshire, acting as a tutor — his first time away from home. Reflected on God's kindness and mercy; felt he had nothing to render to God for His gift.		
	7 Oct		Wrote to James (brother), reporting that he passed the Presbytery on Tuesday (4 Oct) with John Watson.		
	17 Nov		Entered New College, Edinburgh. Drummond excelled and was chiefly devoted to Natural Science.		
1871	6 Feb		Wrote to James (brother), Reported that he chose the subject which suited his liking and capacity best — Essay: <i>The Six Days of Creation</i> .		
1871	Summer	20	Wrote an account of political feeling.		

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
1872	Mar		Wrote a paper titled <i>The Person of Christ: His Divinity Sketched from Certain Aspects of Atonement</i> .		
1872	Nov	21	Prof. Archibald Geikie offered him a geological tutorship.		
1873			Was elected one of the three Presidents, with Stalker and Paterson.	Read Ruskin, George Eliot, Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, much poetry, and The Eclipse of Faith.	Taught a class of boys in the College Mission (Sabbath School).
	April		Went to Tübingen (Germany) for the summer semester. Went with John Ewing and D. M. Ross		
	28 May		Wrote to his sisters from Tübingen.	Upon returning from Germany, HD postpone his fourth session at New College to study Natural Science & Mission work.	Essay: Spiritual Diagnosis — first awakened his fellow students to a recognition of his peculiar powers.
1873	Summer	22	Started ministry as missionary	In Riego Street Mission of St. Cuthbert's Free Church, then under the collegiate ministry of Sir Henry Moncreiff, Bart., and Mr. Gavin Anderson.	
D. L. Moody and Ira Sankey came from America (27 June 1873)					
	Nov		Near the commencement of 1873–74, wrote an essay.	Contrasted the clinical work of medical students with the theological curriculum, noting the total absence of any direct dealing with men.	Drummond had a sense of law and definite order in all religious experience, insisting on tenderness and courtesy.
	Summer - Nov		While ministering at Riego Street Mission, Drummond heard of Moody's evangelistic work in Edinburgh. Soon, the students of New College joined as a body, including Drummond.	D. L. Moody and Ira Sankey landed in Liverpool and found that the friends who had suggested their visit had died. Their methods were considered strange and aggressive. Liverpool–York (small success), Sunderland (better), Newcastle (ice broke). Met Rev. John Kelman, who invited them to Edinburgh. Their determination was appreciated, and their methods of work were approved.	
	Nov		Moody visited Edinburgh. Drummond, Stalker, and others were among those who arranged Moody's first meeting for young men in the city. He threw himself, heart and soul, into the work, convinced that the Spirit of God worked distinctly through the evangelists. In the "inquiry room," Drummond had the chance to put into practice his "spiritual diagnosis."		
			Drummond was seen in Princes Street, at the Register House corner, the busiest part of the city centre, distributing tracts and seminar literature. There was nothing he would not do to help spread the evangelistic work among his friends at the University. Stalker wrote: "I was with Drummond at that time. He was very earnest, quiet, simple, and possessed an indescribable charm which never failed to hold the audience spellbound from the first word to the last." Moody was quick to discern Drummond's gift, persuaded him to suspend his college course, and encouraged him to devote his full attention to cooperating with him in their tour throughout Great Britain.		
1874	Spring		Moody had sent to Edinburgh for a deputation of students, among whom were Henry and G. A. S.	Moody was in Glasgow and other towns in the west.	

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	24 Apr		From Sunderland, Drummond wrote to his father and mother.	Wrote weekly letters, telling that the work was flourishing.	Drummond went to Elgin for evangelistic work, where he met Moody personally. He observed Moody's methods and was later sent by him to Sunderland to continue the work among young men in the places they had visited together.
	6 May		From Hartlepool, Drummond wrote to his father and mother.	There was great demand, pressing him to travel and hold more meetings, and Drummond agreed.	
	12 May		From Sunderland HD wrote to his father & mother.	Working Newcastle and Bishop Auckland	
	16 May		From Hartlepool HD wrote to his mother.	Reporting how busy he was with the work	
	18 Jun		From Hexham HD wrote to his father & mother.	The work grew: Henry, Smith & Ewing visited Newcastle, South Shields, Bishop Auckland,	
	26 Jun		From South Shields HD wrote to his father & mother.	Hartlepool, Morpeth, and Hexham.	
1874	24 Aug	23	From Kirkwall HD wrote to his father. In reply to his father's urging him to return to school, he refused. He confessed that he had finally found his true passion: evangelism.		
	Oct		Drummond crossed to Ireland with Moody. The Times described it as "the most remarkable ever witnessed in Ireland." First in Belfast, then in Dublin.		
	19 Oct		From Londonderry HD wrote to his father & mother.	Summer–Autumn: Moody was in Stirling, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, Inverness, Oban, Campbeltown, and Rothesay.	
	8 Nov		Went to Dublin for a meeting for men on Sunday.		
	Dec		From Manchester HD wrote to his father & mother. Reaching 600,000 people in his mission work.		
	31 Dec		From Manchester HD wrote to his father & mother. Reporting that he witnessed Moody being sent off at the station.		
1875	6 Jan		From Manchester HD wrote to his father & mother.		
	7 Jan		Through a telegram, Moody inquired of Drummond to rush to Sheffield for a great men's meeting (staying until 28 January).		
	8 Jan		From Sheffield HD wrote to his father & mother. Reporting that Moody went to Manchester "to-day."		
	12 Jan		From Sheffield HD wrote to his father & mother.	Reginald Radcliffe came to help Drummond with the men's meeting.	
	29 Jan		From Birmingham HD wrote to his father & mother.	By telegram, Moody sent Drummond here.	
	15 Feb		From Liverpool HD wrote to his father & mother.	Five thousand came to Moody's meeting — Moody told him the story of his life until 1 a.m.	
	14 Mar		Moody's London mission began with 15,000 participants.		
	19 Mar		From Liverpool HD wrote to his father & mother.	Started a young men's meeting, 15 miles off by sea.	
	1st-w Apr		From Liverpool HD wrote to his father & mother.	Drummond's last week in Liverpool, giving farewell addresses in many places, with never fewer than 1,000 each night.	
	23 Apr		From London HD wrote to John F. Ewing, reporting the work in Liverpool & London.		
	24 Apr		From London HD wrote to John F. Ewing, reporting of Moody's reaction upon Ewing's arrival in London — meetings were set up.		

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	11 May		From London HD wrote to his father, Reporting of Moody's audience in East London — an acre of people — and Moody's schedules.		
	14 May		From London HD wrote to his father, Reporting that via James, he had received a huge remittance from his father.		
	27 May		From London HD wrote to his mother. Admitting that he was homesick.		
	23 Jun		From London HD wrote to his father.	Reported that 12 July was Moody's last day. Drummond joined Moody's Bible study series every morning for a full two hours.	
	9 Jul		From London HD wrote to his father.	July: started a mission at Epsom.	
From April 1874 to July 1875, Drummond followed up the work of Moody in the cities of Ireland and England, and he laboured alongside them in London. The discourses published after HD's death, titled: The Ideal Life					
	24 Jul		From Holt, near Wrexham, Drummond replied to his father's letter. Appreciated his father's encouragement. Reflected that to live is greater than to work.		
	3 Aug		From Manchester HD wrote to his father. Expressed that he was still waiting for the Lord's calling. He would rather work in his father's business than be an evangelist.		
	Aug		Attending Perth Conference.		
1875	Aug	24	HD spent his holiday with his friend Robert W. Barbour at Bonskeid in Perthshire. They discussed their future at some length with Barbour's mother, Mrs. George Freeland Barbour. It was she who changed his mind and inspired the thought that sent him back to his final year at college. Mrs. George Barbour showed him how an evangelist's career was apt to be a failure — a few years of enthusiasm and blessing, then carelessness, no study, no spiritual fruit, and too often a sad collapse. Barbour had just finished a brilliant course at Edinburgh University.		
	23 Oct		From Stirling, Drummond wrote to Robert Barbour, reporting that he had decided to go to Edinburgh the next winter. Drummond's sore leg made him rethink his future.		
	16 Nov		HD matriculated at New College for his fourth and last year.		
	4 Dec		Letter from Moody requesting him to go to America.	Temptation to withdraw from college.	
	Winter		Engaged the "Gaiety" Music Hall — later forming the Gaiety Club, which met every spring from Monday to Saturday at some country inn. The meetings continued for 22 years and gradually became less formal, simply gatherings of close friends. Each man discussed his own work, planned or achieved. Members: James Stalker, James Brown, John F. Ewing, John Watson, Henry Drummond, David Morison Ross, Frank Gordon, Robert William Barbour, and George Adam Smith. Alexander Kinnear joined later (possibly Alexander Hugh Freeland Barbour?).		
1876	Apr		Drummond finished his four-year course in Divinity and passed the exit examination.		
1876	21 Sep	25	From Glen Elm Lodge, Drummond wrote to R. W. Barbour in reply to the invitation to Bonskeid.	Counted his sore leg as one of the best things that ever happened to him. He had time to look into all sorts of things and even made an attempt to write his first sermon.	
	Sept		Preaching and evangelising in various parts of Scotland.		
	Dec		At the end of the year, accepted an invitation from Dr. Hood Wilson of the Barclay Church to assist him for some months until the end of April. Most of the addresses of the Ideal Life were delivered from the Barclay pulpit.		

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
1877	1 Feb		From Edinburgh HD wrote: Busy with the work. Preached a series of <i>Will of God</i> . During the year of uncertainty and painful waiting for the issue of his life, Drummond had been much sustained by the study of the Bible upon the Will of God. He put the results into three sermons which he preached from the Barclay pulpit, and which now form the last of his volume <i>The Ideal Life: 'What is God's Will?', 'The Relation of the Will of God to Sanctification,' and 'How to Know the Will of God.'</i>		
	Mar		HD wrote that he could not come to Bonskeid.		
	Summer		Wrote a letter to Mr. and Mrs. James C. Stuart in Manchester — he stayed there for six weeks in 1874.	In early summer, he went to New College to find out in the Calendar what subjects were required for the licensing examination, although he did not wish to be licensed. In a day or two, he noticed from a journal the death of Mr. Keddie, lecturer on Natural Science in the Free Church College, Glasgow, and wrote to Principal Douglas to ask for the lectureship. He received a commendatory testimonial from Prof. Archibald Geikie, whom he thought had got him the post over his most serious rival.	
	Jun		Went to north to address a meeting of the Pitlochrie Young Men's Association.		
	28 Jun		HD wrote to Mrs. Stuart. Reporting that he stayed with Mr. Wilson till 1st May. Felt his presence no longer a necessity.		
	July		Went to Norway with Robert Barbour.		
1877	21 Aug	26	HD wrote from Glen Elm Lodge, Stirling, reporting that he was reading lots of books: <i>The Ring and the Book, The Poetic Interpretation of Nature, Enigmas of Life's brother, A Layman's Legacy.</i>	Drummond, still uncertain of his future, was not happy. He called this year the most miserable time of his life, not seeing what definite work he could do to earn his bread, and not yet getting time to preach.	
	17 Sept		The General Assembly's College Committee appointed him to the lectureship for one session. Later, HD secured the temporary appointment for the 1877–78 session. He lectured to the first-year students, numbering from twelve to twenty-four. No lines were prescribed to him, and he chose to instruct the students in the rudiments of geology and botany, as well as the general method of modern science, from the beginning of November to the end of March.		
1878	20 Apr		From Stirling HD wrote.	In status quo. Session ended well.	
	Jun		HD wrote to his mother, reporting that the Smith and Dods case was very well over. He spent time at an evangelistic meeting in Grove Street with Willie Ferguson and MacGill.	HD was appointed to another session of the lectureship; the summer was free, and eager for some religious work, he accepted an invitation to take charge of the Free Church of Scotland's station at Malta in the absence of the chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Wisely.	
	4 Jul		From Malta HD wrote to Ross, Not forgetting Ross' ordination day and reporting about work situation in Malta. To Malta from Paris, Italy, and Sardinia, then to Africa to stay for one week.		
	4 Jul		From Malta HD wrote to Barbour. Reporting how interesting Tunis was.		
1878	Sep		HD settled down again in Glasgow, happy in his lectureship. He was very happy with his colleagues, with whom he worked for nineteen years: Principal Douglas, Prof. T. M. Lindsay, Prof. James Candlish, and Prof. A. B. Bruce. Drummond's few lectures gave him leisure for other work, and he had not forgotten his calling as an evangelist.		

Year	M/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
1878	17 Sept	27	From Stirling HD wrote to Robert Barbour, reporting his arrival on Friday from Malta. From Malta to Etna, Sicily, Naples, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Vesuvius, the Island of Capri, Pozzuoli, Rome, Florence, Milan, the Italian Lakes, and the St. Gotthard Pass into Switzerland, then by way of Basle, Paris, and Calais.		
	17 Sept		HD wrote to Robert Barbour, reporting that he had been introduced to his new flock in Glasgow by Dods and had begun work at once.	Rainfield Free Church, under Dr. Marcus Dods, ordained HD as an elder and sent him to the mission station in Possilpark, Glasgow.	Drummond ministered for four years in Possilpark Church, until Spring 1882.
	22 Nov		From Possilpark HD wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Stuart. Reporting his busy weekly schedule in Glasgow after returning from Malta.		
1879	21 Mar		From Possilpark HD wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Stuart, responding to their letter that they had been to America and seen Moody. Confirming that he was not yet ordained as a minister, nor had he any desire or prospect of being one. His old desires and aims were still unchanged. People thought that HD had fallen from the calling to be a minister. No one could understand him.		
	Jun		HD received an invitation from Prof. Geikie to go to America for a geological expedition. Had one month for preparation.		
	3 Jul		From Possilpark, HD wrote to Prof. Geikie, discussing the political situation in Yellowstone.	Undated paper: How to Conduct a Young Men's Meeting.	
	25 Jul		From Possilpark, HD wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Stuart, responding to their letter and telling them of his plan to go with Professor Geikie to the Rocky Mountains for three months.	Drummond was appointed a permanent lecturer at Glasgow College.	
	31 Jul		HD sailed to America with Professor Geikie for three months, joining the American Geological Expedition. Geological expedition in Rocky Mountains.		
1879	21 Aug	28	From Fort Bridger, Rocky Mountains, HD wrote to his mother. Reporting meeting Judge Carter and giving details of his expedition. From Fort Bridger, Rocky Mountains, HD wrote to his mother. Reporting meeting Judge Carter and giving details of his expedition.		
			On the eve of his return to Scotland, he found time to visit Moody and to conduct mission work at Cleveland, Ohio.		
Returned from America's expedition in Rocky Mountains					
1880		29	Immerse in teaching and missionary in Possilpark.		
	April		Elected a Fellow of Royal Society of Edinburgh, sponsored by Professor Geiki, Sir William Thomson, Professor M'Kendrick, and Sir Robert Christison.		
1881	2 Jan		Drummond stayed as pastor of the Possilpark Church. The first worship service was held in the new church building at Possilpark, Glasgow.		
	21 May		From Possilpark, HD wrote to Mrs. Robert W. Barbour, asking her permission for her husband to go to the annual reunion.		
1881	28 Sep	30	HD published a paper titled <i>Degeneration — If We Neglect</i> .		
	Oct		Moody and Sankey landed in Great Britain for their second campaign.		
	22 Nov		From Possilpark, Drummond wrote to Professor Archibald Geikie, thanking him.	Professor Geikie appreciated Drummond's beautiful character: "He looked on everything with the eye of a poet first, and of a man of science afterwards."	

Year	M/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	30 Nov		HD published paper: Biogenesis.		
1882			Moody and Sankey began a new mission in Scotland.		
	Jan		Submitted a rough thesis of Natural Law in the Spiritual World to the Glasgow Theological Club.	Marcus Dods pronounced unfavourably on the thesis.	
	23 Feb		HD published a paper titled <i>Semi-Parasitism</i> .		
	13 Mar		From Possilpark, HD wrote to Robert Barbour (then Free Church minister at Cults), wishing that Robert could join them, as Brown and Ewing had. He confessed that he believed in personal dealing more and more every day, and in the inadequacy of mere preaching.		
	20 May		From Possilpark, HD wrote to his father, confessing that he didn't think he was called to be an ordained minister, while his father wanted him to be.		
	24 May		HD published an article on Parasitism, first part.		
	8 Jun		From Possilpark, HD wrote to Robert Barbour, reporting that Moody had made him promise to "hitch on to him."	HD's first book was a collection of his addresses given in the Possilpark Church, some of them during the Moody campaign. The main idea had occurred to him in his college days. HD's Possilpark mission had prospered for four years. He then resigned.	
	28 Jun		Published an article on Parasitism, second part.		
1882	Oct	31	Returned to Glasgow for his lectureship.		
	20 Dec		From Possilpark, HD wrote to Mrs. Stuart, reporting that he had been with Moody all summer in Scotland, Wales, and England, and had also been writing a book.	A month before his death, Drummond said to one of his doctors, "Moody was the biggest human I ever met."	
1883	15 Mar		HD was listed as an elder from 13 March 1883 to 3 October 1886.		
	31 Mar		From Possilpark HD wrote to Mrs. Stuart. HD was listed as an elder from 13 March 1883 to 3 October 1886.	His first book would be published in two or three weeks' time.	
	5 April		The first edition of 1,000 copies of Natural Law was offered to the public.		
	Jun		HD went to Crieff to meet Mr. Stevenson to discuss the plan of the expedition to the Lake Nyasa and Tanganyika region in Africa for a scientific examination.	Leave of absence had been granted to HD by the College Committee.	
	14 Jun		From Glen Elm Lodge, HD wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Stuart, reporting that he would be leaving for Africa next Wednesday, for a year or more.	HD's trip was accompanied by Rev. James Bain of the Free Church Livingstonia Mission.	
	July		First book published: Natural Law in the Spiritual World.		
			Leaving for Africa on a geological expedition to the Lake Nyasa and Tanganyika region.		
	2 Jul		From S.S. Ravenna, Red Sea, HD wrote to his brother, telling him about his situation in Africa.	At Aden, Bain and Drummond were joined by Dr. and Mrs. Scott of Livingstonia Mission, and Messrs Hedderwich and Henderson of Blantyre.	

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
1883	5 Sep	32	HD wrote to his mother, reporting his activities in Africa.		
	10 Sep		HD wrote to his father, expressing strong praise for the Blantyre Mission.		
	28 Sep		HD wrote to his father, reporting his activities in Africa.		
1884	15 Jan		HD started downstream for Katunga's, where his journal closes, and he was on his way home to Scotland.		
	21 Feb		HD reach East London for missionary work.	Central Africa left a deep mark upon HD. From 1884 onwards, there was a certain tinge of sadness in him.	
Returned from the African expedition.					
	April		University of Edinburgh celebrated the tercentenary of its foundation. 1200 students present. Principal Rainy addresses the crowd, sounded an earnest call to the acknowledgment of God.		
	May		rummond's popularity had risen to fame. Seven thousand copies of his book <i>Natural Law</i> had been sold by the end of the eighth month.	Found new friends: Lord and Lady Aberdeen.	
	31 May		HD was unanimously elected to the new Chair of Professor of Natural Science upon the motion of the Rev. Dr. Melville, seconded by the Rev. Dr. J. Hood Wilson.		
	Mid's June		At the recreation house of T. E. Denny, at Moody's request, Drummond talked about 1 Corinthians 13 (<i>The Greatest Thing in the World</i>).		
Enf of June Moody and Sankey ended their second campaign in Great Britain.					
1884	17 Aug	33	From Aberdeen Robert W. Barbour wrote.	Celebrating HD's 33rd birthday, HD spoke about Paul's hymn of heavenly love in 1 Corinthians 13.	
	Beginning of Oct		Principal Sir Alexander Grant gave an opening address, claimed for his University, founded by the Reformers, that it always had a distinctively Christian character, and called the students to recognise and sustain this reputation.		
	Nov		Medical Students' Christian Association held their annual meeting. The Arts Students' Prayer Meeting also set out, aided by a stimulating address from Professor Calderwood.	Outside the University some students and resident surgeons at the infirmary had been roused to an earnest faith by the work of Dr. Moxey, the Lecturer on Elocution at New College.	
	4 Nov		The Free Church College ordained HD as Professor of the Chair of Natural Science by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. Public confession and signing formula: Declares belief in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God and the only rule of faith and manners; accepts the Westminster Confession of Faith; adheres to the Presbyterian form of Church government; is loyal to the spirituality and freedom of the Church, affirming the separation of Church and State in 1843; shows zeal for God, love for Christ, and a desire for the saving of souls. Note: This confession is not interpreted according to the Declaratory Act passed by the General Assembly in 1893.		
	13 Nov		From Kelvinside, Glasgow, HD wrote to James Stevenson, the donor of the new Chair, thanking Mr. Stevenson for his note on his induction day.		
	4 Dec		HD was inducted to the Chair, and from this day was given the title Professor HD in preference to Reverend.	Giving address: The Contribution of Science to Christianity.	

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	9 or 10 Dec		Messrs. Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd, the two Cambridge graduates who had given themselves to the work of the CIM, held a meeting for students in Edinburgh, attended by 700 students. The addresses were so impressive that the greater proportion remained to a second meeting, after which a crowd of students singing hymns accompanied the two young evangelists to the railway station.		
	Dec		HD made his first appearance before his own university as a teacher by giving the annual lecture of its Christian Medical Association. He was immediately urged to return and lead the movement that had just started. HD agreed to give one address every Sunday evening at the Oddfellows' Hall, the nearest to the University building, with the simple announcement: "Prof. Drummond will give an address," and the hall was nearly filled (900+ participants).		
1885	28 Jan		Messrs. Smith and Studd held three more meetings in Edinburgh.	Under the presidency of Profs. Charteris, Butcher, and Grainger Stewart, the meetings were attended by increasing numbers of students. Almost 2,000 seats in the hall were filled.	
			At the Royal Society of Edinburgh, at the Geological Section of the British Association, at the Royal Dublin Society, and elsewhere, HD's lectures on the white ant, on the geology of British Central Africa, on the mimicry of African insects, and on other cognate topics—afterwards brought together and published in Tropical Africa—were received as valuable contributions to the reserve of those data for which science is ever in search.		
	Feb		HD wrote of his feeling of awe at the work of God in the student movement: "The responsibility I feel almost more than anything in my life. I do not think I would exchange that audience for anything else in the world."		
	5 Mar		From Glasgow HD wrote to Mr. Aberdeen, responding to Mr. Aberdeen's request.		
	7 Mar		From Glasgow, HD wrote to Mr. Aberdeen, agreeing to give three addresses in the ballroom of Grosvenor House, the Duke of Westminster's residence, on the last Sunday in April and the first two in May.		
	10 Mar		HD wrote concerning the last Sabbath evening meeting (8 March).	HD wrote that the meeting was very impressive, and the after-meeting was a fruitful one. Dr. M'Kendrick was quite convinced that it was a work of God and not of man.	
	16 Mar		James M. Macphail wrote to HD, expressing amazement at the meeting HD had addressed and saying that he continued to pray for the movement.		
	24 Mar		HD wrote that the last Sabbath meeting (22 March) was a most successful one. Those who participated in it were Dr. M'Gregor Robertson, Dr. Barbour, and Dr. Woodhead.		
	24 Mar		From 3 Carlton Gardens, HD wrote about the student movement, reporting that the fire for Christ among students had been lit in many places.		
	30 Mar		HD wrote that the last Sabbath meeting (29 March) was the most impressive one. The hall, which seated 900, was packed, with about thirty to forty people having to stand. Prof. Jeff presided. Dr. Williamson of China gave an address, followed by Dr. Yellowlees, lecturer on Insanity, and Dr. Hay of Aberdeen.		
	9 Apr		From 3 Carlton Gardens HD wrote to Mr. P. Mackinnon, reporting about the student movement.		
	25 Apr		From Eastbourne HD wrote to Professor Greenfield.	HD met deputations of the student movement in Brighton for a holiday mission. His heart was in Edinburgh, but the dreadful business at Grosvenor House was in full swing, and he was tied up with that.	

Year	M/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	25 April		HD gave an address in Grosvenor House, London — the 500-seat room was completely filled with prominent and distinguished people. Drummond applied the principle of evolution, the law of the survival of the fittest, to spiritual existence.		
	3 May				
	10 May				
	End of May		HD was a guest at Holyrood Palace of Lord and Lady Aberdeen.		
	Jul		Back in London, he held meetings and organised the Associated Workers' League.		
	10 Jul		From 37 Grosvenor Square, London, HD wrote to Mrs. Simpson in Edinburgh, reporting the latest development of the Workers' League.		
	10 Jul		From London, HD wrote to Professor Greenfield, reporting that he had met a man from Bradford the previous day who had attended all the students' meetings there. The deputation they had sent, he said, had made a deep and enduring impression.		
1885	Aug	34	Spent time at home in Stirling and went fishing at Lairg in Sutherland.		
	Sep-Oct		HD spent several weeks at Haddo House (with Lord Aberdeen).		
	17 Sept		HD wrote from Haddo House, stating that he was resting there.		
	25 Sep		HD wrote from Haddo House.		
	Oct		Henry spent a week geologising in preparation for a case in the Court of Session, to which he was summoned as an expert witness.		
	End-Oct		HD started his short mission to the undergraduates of Oxford.		
	Oct		In Edinburgh, the movement continued and increased throughout the 1885–1886 session. In October, there was a meeting of fifteen hundred people, even without HD's presence to draw them. The students urgently pressed him to return, and he went back for another series of meetings in February and March.		
	25 Oct		HD wrote to various friends.	When I shall get to Edinburgh, I know not. I have to begin the Glasgow meetings on Nov 8th, but my heart is in Edinburgh.	
	25 Oct		HD gave his first lecture in the Hall of Trinity College.	Advertised: Hall of Trinity College on Sunday, October 25th, at 9 P.M., open to undergraduate members of the University.	
	26 Oct		From All Souls College, Oxford, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting on the student movement at Oxford and New College. The Trinity Hall was filled with students, every inch of space occupied.		
	27 Oct		From All Souls College, Oxford HD wrote to Professor Greenfield, reporting that Oxford was ripe.		
	28 Oct		HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that he had a very large gathering at Wycliffe Hall on Monday, attended by all the Low Church workers. He gave them a sketch of the Edinburgh Movement and explained at length his theological views and methods of work.		
	8 Nov		HD held a very large meeting for students in Glasgow. The movement in Glasgow was not as big as in Edinburgh. In Glasgow, there was not the large body of English, colonial and foreign students who frequented the meetings in Edinburgh. In Edinburgh the bulk of the students reside in a small area; in Glasgow they are scattered over an enormous city and other small towns.		
	12 Dec		HD wrote the article for January: Nineteenth Century.		
1886	Feb		The Earl of Aberdeen was appointed Viceroy of Ireland and offered HD a post on his staff.	Mr. Gladstone returned to power.	
	Feb		HD published the article Mr. Gladstone and Genesis.		
	12 Feb		HD replied to Mr. Gladstone's offer of a political position and turned it down.		
	26 Feb		HD wrote a reply, reporting that the students' work was still very wide and deep.		

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	13 Mar		HD wrote, reporting that the Edinburgh work went on with unabated interest. He began to organise the Summer Holiday Mission.		
	27 Mar		The student meeting included a communion service, served by Dr. Whyte and Dr. Charteris.		
	Apr		In the midst of working for the student movement at Edinburgh, Aberystwyth, and elsewhere, HD visited Ireland to lecture before the Royal Dublin Society on Africa and to prepare for a student deputation to Trinity College.	Wrote a political article entitled Liberalism: The Christianity of Politics, published by The British Weekly and reprinted on 25 March 1897, two weeks after Drummond passed away.	
	12 Apr		HD wrote, informing that he had visited Arran and Ayr, where six Edinburgh students were making their debut in deputation work.		
	1 May		From Aberystwyth, HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, reporting that he had arrived and found the place ripe for action. The student deputation from Edinburgh had secured the whole university for Wednesday's meeting.		
	Spring		In Killin, the Gaiety Club met together for the last time. After the meeting, Ewing left for Melbourne.		
			The diminished Liberal Party was in sore need of candidates for the election. They persuaded HD to take the post, but he turned down the offer.		
	Summer		Prof. Christlieb wrote from Bonn to Prof. Charteris of Edinburgh, inviting a deputation of students to come over to the German University. It was ultimately arranged that HD should go, along with Mr. G. P. Smith., a medical student, who had taken from the first a leading part in the Edinburgh Movement. <i>Natural Law</i> had by that time been translated into German, and HD's name was well known.		
	7 Jun		HD wrote from 3 Park Circus, Glasgow.	Talked for three hours with a deputation from the Partick Division of Lanarkshire, refusing the post in Parliament.	
	15 Jun		HD wrote to W. E. Gladstone, replying to decline the post offered and suggesting several Liberal candidates.		
	Jul		HD went fishing in Sutherlandshire.		
	Aug		Came back to Glasgow.		
1886	2 Sep	35	From Hotel Axenstein, Lake of Lucerne, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting on the beautiful scenery of Axenstein.		
	12 Sep		From Hotel Riffel-Alp, Zermatt, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, praising her position as president of the girls' movement.		
	15 Sep		From Vallourmanche HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen.		
	16 Oct		HD left for Tübingen.		
	26 Oct		From Bonn, HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, reporting on the work of the Student Movement there.		
	Nov		When HD returned to Scotland in the beginning of November, the Edinburgh work occupied his attention.		
	2 Nov		HD was in Glasgow, in a whirl of work.		
	6 Nov		From Glasgow HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, reporting that the work in Bonn was a strange experience.		
	13 Nov		HD ran in to Edinburgh that week to see the students but absolutely refused to go there meantime, as they have scores of men among themselves perfectly able to run the things.		
	16 Dec		HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that he had begun <i>The Ascent of Man</i> .		
1887	6 Jan		From Glasgow HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen who was in India.		

Year	M/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	20 Jan		From Glasgow, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that Mr. Barbour senior had died and that he would go to Bonskeid on Saturday for the funeral.		
	27 Jan		From Edinburgh, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that Edinburgh was splendid last Sunday.		
	3 Mar		HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, reporting the meeting in Edinburgh.		
	10 Mar		In his letter, he reported that he had gathered sixty to eighty students to start a "Holiday Mission" the following month.		
	24 Mar		In his letter, he reported on the last great meeting of the winter, which closed with the Sacrament. Sir William Muir, Principal of Edinburgh University, was present.		
	31 Mar		From the steamer Brodick Castle, HD wrote that he had taken his students for a week of geology.		
	10 May		Moody wrote urgently to him about going to America for a students' gathering.		
	11 Jun		From Liverpool HD sailed to America.		
	18 Jun		HD arrived in New York, America. Scarcely had he landed when requests for lectures and addresses poured in from all sides: the American Association for the Advancement of Science; the presidents of many universities and colleges—beginning with Dr. M'Cosh of Princeton, Dr. Dwight of Yale, Dr. Gilman of Johns Hopkins, Dr. Grant of Kingston, and Sir Daniel Wilson of Montreal; scholars like Dr. Bissell of Hartford and Dr. Rendel Harris of Haverford; literary men such as Mr. George Cable; the Christian Associations of many universities; the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association; as well as a host of Lecturing Bureaus, Societies of Inquiry, the Institute of Christian Philosophy, Women's Clubs, Pastors' Associations, and Societies of Teachers—all begged him to give them either single lectures or a series of addresses.		
	28 Jun		From Northfield, Massachusetts, HD wrote, addressing five hundred students from over eighty different colleges.		
	1 Jul		HD was advancing with American speed and had already been asked to become the principal of a college, to write for various papers, and to lecture in half the states of the Union, etc. But HD refused all. He preferred to go with Moody.		
	Jul		After his work at Northfield, HD spent a few days at Niagara (3rd visit) with Lord and Lady Aberdeen on their way home from India.	In the Student Conference, he delivered an address titled The Greatest Thing in the World.	
	21 Jul		From South Framingham, Massachusetts, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, saying he could not believe he had seen them there and telling her about his next plan.		
	28 Jul		From Chautauqua, HD wrote to his father and mother, reporting that all had gone well and that he had a lot of work and long, long journeys.		
	3 Aug		From Clifton Springs, New York, HD wrote to his father and mother, reporting that he had spent two glorious days at Niagara, followed by a week of endless meetings at Chautauqua. Marvellous opportunities had opened on every side.		
	5 Aug		From Greenfield, Massachusetts, HD wrote to his father and mother, reporting that he had been offered a lot of money to lecture on science but refused to charge for religion.	In the Student Conference (2nd to 12th August), he delivered several addresses that formed a prominent feature of the event. On the eighth day, he spoke on the subject of sanctification.	
	12 Aug		From Greenfield, Massachusetts, HD wrote to his father and mother, reporting that he had been offered a lot of money to lecture on science but refused to charge for religion.		

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	26 Aug		From Montreal, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that he had met Captain Sinclair and Greenfield, who had come to Chautauqua to see him. After Chautauqua, they went to Niagara (HD's fourth visit). His lecture to the American Association was mostly about African insects.		
	8 Sep		From the White Mountains, New Hampshire, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that he was on holiday. Captain Sinclair and he went to Quebec and spent two days fishing in one of the tributaries of the St. Lawrence.		
	16 Sep		From Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that the college work had begun well at Dartmouth College.		
	23 Sep		From Hartford, Connecticut, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen that the college work had gone splendidly, far surpassing their expectations. Simpson, Greenfield, and Smith were with him.		
	30 Sep		From Hartford, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen that since his last letter, he had been to Princeton and Philadelphia. Simpson, Greenfield, Webster, and Smith were all with him. The next day, he went to Yale and then to Harvard.		
	30 Sep		From Yale College, New Haven, Connecticut, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen that very careful preparation had been made for his mission by students of the university who had met him at the Northfield Conference. Consequently, the work there was very deep and, in the testimony of many, permanent. He was very busy and that the college had given them the most generous reception, allowing them to hold meetings as often and at whatever hours they liked. HD testified that the Princeton, Amherst, and Yale students were equal to the English undergraduates on average, while the best of them, in brainpower and scholarship, compared well.	At Northfield, during his second time joining the Student Conference, he delivered the following addresses: Life on the Top Floor, The Kingdom of God and Your Part in It, and The Three Elements of a Complete Life.	
	3 Oct		He wrote, reporting that he was with President New Smyth of Yale University and Dr T. T. Munger.		
	7 Oct		From Yale, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen. He wrote from the Yale graveyard, the only uninhabited spot he could find. It had been one of the best and busiest weeks of his life. They had reached the very greatest minds of that college.		
	18 Oct		From the Union League Club, New York, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that all had gone merrily. He was busy with the medical students of New York. After visiting Harvard, he spent a couple of days at the American Girton, Wellesley College. He was the sole male among six hundred "girl graduates," so, as he wrote, "you can imagine the terror of the first meetings I had."		
	21 Oct		From Albany, New York, HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that he had been having meetings after meetings. He was then on his way to a convention of students for the State of New York at a place called Schenectady. He returned to New York on Saturday.		
	29 Oct		HD sailed in the Umbria for England due to his father's illness.		
	10 Nov		From Stirling, HD wrote to a friend who was watching beside her mother's bed, replying to her telegram with sad news.		
	14 Nov		HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, reporting that his father was dying, but he had been asked to go to Edinburgh for a students' meeting.		
	24 Nov		HD wrote, reporting that his father was dying, but he was hesitant to go to Edinburgh.		
	10 Dec		HD wrote, reporting that he had held a big meeting with the students on Saturday and Sunday. He had also started the schoolboys' meeting yesterday afternoon.		
1888	1 Jan		From Glen Elm, Stirling, HD wrote, reporting that his father had begun the New Year by passing away that morning at five o'clock.		

Year	M/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	28 Jan		HD wrote, complaining about an accusation by a medical student that his teaching was heresy, and that a small clique had issued a printed circular to the Edinburgh ministers, urging them to suppress him and his views.		
	16 Apr		From 3 Park Circus, Glasgow, HD wrote, reporting that the following Tuesday he was going to London as part of a deputation to Parliament concerning the African slave trade.		
	May		HD received a remarkable request to deliver another series of religious addresses at Grosvenor House during the London season.		
	3, 10, 17 Jun		HD delivered three addresses to politicians, clergymen, authors, artists, critics, soldiers, and barristers—smart young men—titled Evolution and Christianity, Natural Selection in Reference to Christianity, and Programme of Christianity.	Besides the meetings for men at Grosvenor House, Drummond addressed a large gathering of young women from the West End of London.	
			Starting in 1886, HD began to emphasise the social aspects of religion and gave several addresses on the Kingdom of God, based on Ecce Homo; his Programme of Christianity from Isaiah lxi; and his address, or parts of it, on 1 Corinthians xiii. While preparing his lectures on The Ascent of Man, he explored the relationship between science and religion and illustrated the naturalness of Christianity as the crown of all human evolution, while always driving home to the individual his place and duty in the process.		
	3 Jul		HD wrote from Lairg.		
1888	16 Sep	37	From the Schweizerhof, Lucerne, Switzerland, HD wrote, reporting that he was with the First Lord of the Admiralty, his wife, and their two Harrow boys. He used to visit Grosvenor House.		
	19 Aug		HD wrote from Engelberg, reporting that he was enjoying Switzerland from the Sonnenberg Hotel.		
	23 Sep		HD wrote from Andermatt.		
	27 Sep		HD wrote from Venice.		
	4 Oct		HD wrote from Monte Generoso, reporting how he had been blessed by Ruskin's book, which helped him to "see."		
	12 Nov		HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, reporting that there had been a really fine students' meeting the previous day.		
	Winter		Work went on as usual—college lectures, addresses in Edinburgh, and endless meetings of philanthropic societies.		
1889			Two hundred and thirty members of Melbourne University invited HD to come the following year.		
	21 Jan		The first public meeting of the Boys' Brigade was held in Glasgow, where HD gave an address titled The Brigade as a New Field for Young Men.		
	Feb		HD wrote that part of his work was the founding of a University Settlement in Glasgow.		
	27 Mar		HD wrote that he was busy with university men, planning a settlement in a poor district.		
	Early Apr		Dr Smeaton, Professor of New Testament Exegesis at New College, Edinburgh, died.	HD threw himself with ardour into the work of securing the election of Dr. Dods to the vacant chair.	
	25 Apr		HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting that the younger men were rallying and voting: Liberalism versus Toryism.		
	10 Jun		HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen.		
	19 Jul		HD wrote from Glasgow to a friend, comforting him in his difficulties.		
	1 Aug		HD wrote from Kilmelfor, Argyllshire.		
	14 Aug		HD wrote that he was trying to get things done before the Bonskeid Gathering.		
1889	3 Sep	38	HD wrote from Bonskeid in August, reporting that the Students' Conference there had been very active and very successful.		

Year	M/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	5 Oct		HD wrote a replied		
	14 Oct		From 3 Park Circus, Glasgow, HD wrote a reply to someone who had sent him <i>Foreshadowing of the Coming Faith</i> .		
	12 Nov		HD wrote a reply.		
	16 Nov		HD wrote a reply.		
	20 Nov		HD wrote a reply.		
	28 Nov		From Glasgow, HD wrote, "Tonight I preside at the opening of our University Settlement here."		
	Christmas		Book published: <i>The Greatest Things in the World</i> .		
1890	2 Jan		HD wrote to the editor of <i>The Nineteenth Century</i> .		
	6 Jan		HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, reporting that for the next two months or so he would be in Edinburgh, beginning on Saturday night with a conversazione in the new Students' Union Building. He was also accompanying his mother to a few places in Edinburgh and Glasgow.		
	11 Jan		From Glasgow, HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, reporting that he had been busy with the work in Edinburgh—meetings after meetings.		
	17 Jan		HD wrote that <i>The Greatest Thing</i> had an order of 50,000 copies but had not yet been approved by the printers. He chose the paper, type, and binding, and dealt with the printers himself. He enjoyed it.		
	21 Jan		HD wrote that he was busy with meetings every day.		
	6 Feb		From 3 Park Circus, Glasgow, HD wrote to Mrs P. Mackinnon, thanking her for her support.		
	26 Jan		HD's address to the students of Edinburgh University at Oddfellows' Hall was titled <i>Evolution and Religion</i> .		
	2 Feb		HD's address to the students of Edinburgh University at Oddfellows' Hall was titled <i>Evolution and Christianity</i> .		
	9 Feb		HD's address to the students of Edinburgh University at Oddfellows' Hall was titled <i>Sn</i> .		
	16 Feb		HD's address to the students of Edinburgh University at Oddfellows' Hall was titled <i>Temptation</i> .		
	23 Feb		HD's address to the students of Edinburgh University at Oddfellows' Hall was titled <i>The New Nature</i> .		
	28 Feb		HD wrote a reply, stating that during the autumn he had received invitations from Australian colleges to come and tell them about the Edinburgh Student Movement, as well as from America. He agreed to go to Australia this time, planning to stop in Japan on his way home.		
	2 Mar		HD's address to the students of Edinburgh University at Oddfellows' Hall was titled <i>What it is to be a Christian</i> .		
	6 Mar		HD's address to the students of Edinburgh University at Oddfellows' Hall was titled <i>Evolution of Natives</i> .		
	9 Mar		HD's address to the students of Edinburgh University at Oddfellows' Hall was titled <i>The Bread of Life</i> . (Address before Communion)		
	14 Mar		HD left London and embarked for Australia on the P. & O. steamer Carthage at Brindisi.		
			In Australia, HD spent a good deal of time introducing the Boys' Brigade to the Christian public, and it was established in several places.		
	19 Mar		From the S.S. Carthage, off Port Said, HD wrote that he was enjoying the trip with perfect sky, sea, weather, and ship.		

Year	M/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	24 Mar		From off Aden, HD wrote, reporting that they were turning toward Aden and recalling the time he had been there on his way to Africa with Bain, whose grave lay by Lake Nyassa. On Sunday evening, he gave an address to sixty or seventy people in the saloon.		
	12 Apr		From the Carthage, nearing Albany, Australia, HD wrote that he was enjoying George MacDonald's book <i>Robert Falconer</i> .		
	13 Apr		On the last Sabbath at sea, with Australia exactly 300 yards away, he reported being very thankful for a voyage of absolute rest, quietness, happiness, and health.		
	21 Apr		From Toorak Manse, Melbourne, HD wrote, reporting that a group of students had met him at the pier on Saturday morning and evening to plan the campaign. He stayed with John Ewing.		
	29 Apr		From Toorak Manse, Melbourne, HD wrote, reporting that the meetings with the students had gone well.		
	6 May		From Toorak Manse, Melbourne, HD wrote, reporting that he was with Ewing, who was very ill and dying.		
	11 May		Ewing was down by influenza, on 2nd of May got typhoid. He saw his lawyer, gave HD a message for his wife who had gone on a visit to Scotland. After that spoke little, slept most of the time for eight days more, then Ewing died on May 11th with HD on his side.		
	12 May		From Toorak Manse, HD wrote to D. M. Ross, reporting how Ewing had died—the first loss among their club members.		
	13 May		From Toorak Manse, Melbourne, HD wrote, reporting that he now understood one reason why he had been sent to Australia—to be beside his friend when he passed away. He had held a few good meetings and went to Adelaide the next day for ten days, 550 miles away.		
	18 May		HD was interviewed by a representative of the Pall Mall Gazette, and his opinions about the South Sea Islands were published.		
	27 May		From Melbourne, HD wrote, reporting that he had been asked to go to the New Hebrides for a month to help resolve the political situation between France and Britain regarding that colony.		
	7 Jun		From Sydney, HD wrote, reporting on his work there with the Young Australian Club men. Everyone was very anxious for him to go, believing that he could help matters politically.		
	8 Jun		From Sydney, HD wrote, reporting that the student movement was working well. He had been asked to give an address to doctors—140 attended—and he spoke from the standpoint of evolution. Immediately, twenty of them agreed to contribute £50 a year each to start a church for doctors.		
	9 Jun		From Sydney, HD wrote, reporting that he had finished his work in Melbourne. All had gone very well, and the Boys' Brigade had been launched.		
	18 Jun		From Sydney, HD wrote at 3:00 a.m., reporting on the students' movement and the doctors' meeting.		
	19 Jun		From Sydney, HD sailed to the New Hebrides.	Visiting the islands to investigate their political value, as requested by the Australian statesmen; also to study primitive man in his proper environment and to adjust his evolutionary views in the light of hard facts and first-hand information.	
	21 Jul		From the New Hebrides, HD sailed back to Sydney.		
	21 Jul		From the New South Wales Club, Sydney, HD wrote that he had just stepped off the steamer from Noumea to find the English mail on the point of leaving. He reported having had a wonderful time among the New Hebrides.		

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	27 Jul		From Armidale, HD wrote, reporting that Armidale was halfway between Sydney and Brisbane. He described the scene there and outlined his travel route: Taroba, Java, Hong Kong, and Yokohama.		
	21 Aug		From the R.M.S. Taroba, off Java, HD wrote, reporting on his voyage and the perfect climate. He was writing a memoir of Ewing for <i>The Unsearchable Riches of Christ and Other Sermons</i> by John F. Ewing, M.A., which included a biographical sketch by HD.		
	10 Sept		From the Messageries Irrawaddy, entering Hong Kong, HD wrote, reporting on his terrible journey caused by a typhoon.		
			From Australia, HD voyaged slowly via Java to Singapore. He spent two days in Annam at Saigon, then travelled on to Hong Kong and Shanghai, where he visited the missions. From China, he went on to Japan, where in Tokyo he responded to an invitation sent to him a year earlier and addressed about five hundred people. From Japan, he returned home through Canada.		
1890	Nov	39	HD opened the college session with an address on missions, which he repeated on several occasions during the next month or two. The address, <i>The Problem of Foreign Missions</i> , was delivered in 1890 upon his return to Scotland (no specific date).		
	Winter		The attack on HD began with the address with which he opened the winter session, titled <i>The Christian Evolution of the World</i> .		
	20 Nov		HD wrote, 'I am catching it for my "attack on missionaries" all the result of a one-sided newspaper report. The redeeming feature is that when I re-delivered the address last Sunday night in Edinburgh, it bagged several really first-rate men for the mission-field.'	The little book <i>Pax Vobiscum</i> had been published for nine years by then.	
1890-1891			The session of 1890-91 was spent in HD's college work, his weekly visits, after the New Year, to the Edinburgh students, and other duties.		
1891	4 Jan		HD's uncle, Mr. David Drummond of Dublin wrote him a very kind letter, expressing his disappointment at finding that in 'all your writings and addresses you all but ignore the Atonement,' and deploring this 'in view of the great influence you exert over young men.'		
	6 Jan		From 3 Park Circus, Glasgow, HD replied to his uncle's letter, thanking him for his concern and explaining his point of view.		
	16 Jan		HD's uncle replied, feeling relieved after reading his explanation of the issue that had troubled him.		
	22 Jan		From 3 Park Circus, Glasgow, HD wrote, reporting how stressed he was because he could not find a theme suitable for giving an annual address to a large and appreciative audience.		
	April		Robert Barbour became very sick.		
	6 May		From the Hotel Splendid, Aix-les-Bains, HD wrote that he was very anxious and sorrowful, with much heavy nursing, as Barbour had allowed no one near him all last week except his wife and HD. He recalled that at the same time the previous year, he had been standing by Ewing as he was passing away.		
	27 May		Robert Barbour died.		

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	18 Jun		HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, thanking him for his letter, which had touched him. HD confessed that it was hard to watch Barbour die.		
1891	Jul-Aug	40	Drummond spent time in Sutherlandshire, fishing at Loch Stack and driving about the country.		
	21 Sep		From 3 Park Circus, Glasgow, HD wrote a reply, responding to a request about books and his position.		
	Sept-Oct		HD worked steadily at home, was at Haddo House, fishing and holding services for part of October.		
	End-Oct		He went fishing at Loch Stack and drove about the country.	The booklet <i>The Programme of Christianity</i> was published.	
	25 Nov		From 3 Park Circus, Glasgow HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen.		
	Dec		HD was one of the principal speakers at a large Boys' Brigade public meeting in Dundee.		
	Winter		The time passed in the usual alternation of labours between his classes and other interests in Glasgow, and his meetings with students on Sunday evenings in Edinburgh.		
1892	3 Apr		From 3 Park Circus, Glasgow HD wrote to Ira Sankey:... If you ask me why I do not write whole books on these themes, I reply that I believe one's only excuse for writing a book is that he has something to say <i>that is not being said</i> My message lies among the forgotten truths, the false emphasis, and the wrong accent. To every man his work.		
	28 April		From 68 Bath Street, Drummond wrote to the Boys' Brigade, acting as Fred Baxter, to whom all the boys addressed their letters.		
	20 May		The first public meeting of the Boys' Brigade was held in London, where HD repeated the address he had given in Glasgow.		
	12 Jun		HD wrote that he had received a visit from John Burns and Cunningham Graham, who were mourning over their lost cause.		
	11 Jul		HD wrote that he and Captain Sinclair went to speak at Helensburgh that night, spent the night there, and then went over the whole county of Dumbarton from dawn to dark, visiting the polling booths.		
	Nov		G.A.S. joined the Glasgow College and lived for the first month of the session with Drummond. It was then that he became aware of the extensive correspondence and large number of daily visits to which Drummond was subject, and learned to admire his constant patience and the time he made for those who had the least claim upon him, even while he was preparing his American lectures.		
	Autumn		Book published: <i>The City Without A Church</i> .		
	1892-1893		By the end of the session of 1892-93 he had written his lectures on <i>The Ascent of Man</i> .		
1893	22 Mar		HD sailed on the Teutonic for America to deliver the Lowell Institute Lectures in Boston.		
			HD aroused the most vivid interest in the Lowell Institute Lectures. He also gave a number of addresses upon the Boys' Brigade, and to the students of Harvard University.	Lowell Lectures: <i>The Ascent of Man</i> . Boys' Brigade: <i>For Turning Out Boys</i> .	
	Apr		From Boston, HD wrote to his mother, describing the scenery there.		
	May		HD spoke to the students of Amherst University on <i>Temptation</i> . It was Amherst that conferred upon him the only degree he ever possessed, LL.D.		

Year	M o/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	End-May		HD went to Chicago to see the 'World's Columbian Exposition'. There he gave lectures on Evolution, and addresses in connection with the Boys' Brigade at Minneapolis and Duluth.		
	July		HD repeated his Boston lectures at Chautauqua, and went on to a Conference, under Moody at Northfield where he delivered three addresses. It was there that he encountered the inevitable attack upon his teaching.	Three addresses: 1. A Life for a Life, 2. Lessons from the <i>Angelus</i> , 3. The Ideal Man.	
	13 Jul		From Montreal, HD wrote to his mother, reporting that he had received Mrs Moody's hospitality.		
	15 Jul		From the Ristigouche Salmon Club, Matapedia, Quebec, HD wrote to his mother, reporting on his fishing holiday with his friend Mr W. E. Dodge of New York.		
	End-July		HD went on holiday to Canada.		
	27 Jul		From Quebec, HD wrote to Lord Aberdeen, thanking him for the facilities provided for him at the Restigouche Salmon Club.		
	31 Jul		From Quebec HD wrote to Lady Aberdeen, reporting his activities there.	Article: <i>The Monkey that Wouldn't Kill</i> —first published in <i>Wee Willie Winkie</i> and later issued separately in 1898 by Messrs Hodder and Stoughton.	
1893	Sep	42	HD stayed with Their Excellencies, the Governor-General of Canada and Lady Aberdeen, at the Citadel, Quebec. He gave his beautiful address from the text: <i>There is a River</i> .		
	1st w-Oct		HD was back in Chicago for the opening of the university.		
	2 Oct		HD was back in Chicago for the opening of the University, reporting his busy schedule in Chicago.		
	1 Sun-Oct		HD gave his religious address on Millet's <i>Angelus</i> , and two days later the convocation Lecture on 'Some Higher Aspects of Evolution.' HD addressed the Congress of the Evangelical Alliance, and on his way home in New York, he addressed another meeting for the Boys' Brigade.		
	8-14 Oct		International Christian Conference - The World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition.	Address: <i>Christianity and the Evolution of Society</i> —a section of <i>The Programme of Christianity</i> .	
			HD sailed back home from America to UK.		
	Nov		Back to Glasgow and resumed the duties of his chair.		
1893-94	Winter		The winter session was spent in work harder than usual. He was preparing his Boston discourses for the press and gave a number of lectures outside the college.		
1894	5 Feb		HD began his last series of addresses to the Edinburgh students. About this time he was offered the Principalship of McGill University, Montreal, and he did not refuse it till after long consideration.		
	Spring		HD felt the pain of his disease for the first time.		
	17 Apr		The <i>Evolution of Man</i> published.		
	May		Last Meeting of Gaiety club meeting attended by HD in St. Mary's Loch. His friends noticed that of an evening he would sit in the warm sitting-room with his topcoat on. During the summer holiday fishing, he was sometimes so stiff that he could hardly cast a line.		

Year	M/d	Age	Remark-1	Remark-2	Remark-3
	May		The Ascent of Man was published.		
	Jun		HD visited Boys' Club in Edinburgh.	Boys' Brigade booklets were published: <i>First!</i> and <i>Baxter's Second Innings</i> .	
	Summer		Summer was spent in fishing-holidays, hardly enjoyed under the first pains of his last illness, in addressing various clubs, and in writing some articles, among them two for M'Clure's Magazine, on Mr. Moody.		
1894	Nov	43	The summer was spent on fishing holidays, which were hardly enjoyed due to the first pains of his last illness, while addressing various clubs and writing some articles, including two for McClure's Magazine on Mr Moody.		
	Dec		HD had some sharp attacks of sickness, but held to his college work without complaint.		
1895	Jan		It was planned that on 20 January HD would give an address to the "Pleasant Sunday Afternoon" movement, but he was too ill to stand.		
	31 Jan		HD wrote that he had not decided whether he would go to Edinburgh that winter, depending on how ill he was.		
			HD intended to go to Edinburgh as usual for some of the student meetings in February and March, but he had to abandon his plan.		
	5 Feb		From 3 Park Circus, Glasgow, HD wrote to Professor Simpson, reporting that he had suffered a second health breakdown since Christmas and had allowed the committee to fill his position with other preachers.		
			He was getting weaker and the doctor forbade more lectures. He left Glasgow - for the last time. His work was done.		
	End-Mar		HD was taken from Glasgow to Edinburgh.		
	Apr		HD travelled to the south of France for sunshine and the hot baths of Dax in the Pyrenees on the advice of his Edinburgh physicians.		
	May		HD was moved to Biarritz.		
	July		After spending three months without improvement in his health, HD returned to Scotland.		
	July		HD was taken to London for further medical advice, and from there to Tunbridge Wells under the care of an old friend, Dr Claude Wilson.		
	Sep '95 - Mar '97		HD stayed in Tunbridge Wells until the end of his life.		
1896	Apr		HD said, "The doctors say that I am getting better, but the truth is, I am steadily going down-hill."		
1897	11 Mar	46	On Thursday, at 11 a.m., HD passed away.		
	15 Mar		HD was buried beside his father amid words of prayer.		
1898	Sept		Biography by George Adam Smith: <i>The Life of Henry Drummond</i> .		
1901	April		Biography by Cuthbert Lennox: <i>The Practical Life of Henry Drummond</i> .		
1901	Oct		Biography by J. Y. Simpson: <i>Henry Drummond</i> .		

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