

EVANGELICALISM IN TRANSITION:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE WORK AND THEOLOGY OF
D. L. MOODY
AND HIS PROTEGES,
HENRY DRUMMOND AND R. A. TORREY

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ABSTRACT

By the turn of the twentieth century, British and American evangelical Christianity was sharply divided over, among other things, the issues of biblical authority, the nature of the person and work of Christ and the validity of modern scientific thought. Dwight L. Moody, the major evangelical figure of the late nineteenth century, found himself in the centre of this controversy. As a man of conservative theology yet ecumenical spirit, both the Fundamentalists and the liberal evangelicals 'claimed' him for their cause. The tension which developed between these two sides is well illustrated in the lives and ministries of Moody's protégés, R. A. Torrey and Henry Drummond, who ended up on opposite sides of the modernist/Fundamentalist debate, one perpetuating Moody's theological beliefs and the other his broad, irenic spirit.

Having examined the religious historical context in both Scotland and America, this study will consider Moody's development as an ecumenically minded evangelist. Furthermore, both in the Scottish and in the American settings, it will consider the work of Drummond and Torrey, examining Moody's influence upon them and tracing the development of each man's thought and career from the time of their early contacts with the great evangelist. It will explore the nature of the modernist/Fundamentalist controversy within late nineteenth century evangelicalism as illustrated in the lives of these three men: Moody the mentor-father figure and Torrey and Drummond as unlikely stepbrothers. In addition to the theological issues, it will be concerned to investigate the spirit in which this debate was carried on. Most importantly, it will argue that, contrary to the claims of Fundamentalists to the present day, their movement did not perpetuate the work of D. L. Moody because it lost the warm catholicity which was integral to Moody's ministry.

PREFACE

I certify that Mark James Toone has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended), and is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signature of supervisor

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance 350 (General No. 12) on 1st October, 1985 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D under Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended) 8th October, 1986.

The following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, is my own composition, and has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out in the University of St Andrews under the supervision of Dr. Lovegrove.

Signature of candidate

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The opportunity to do research in Scotland is a long-standing dream which I never expected to realize. Many people have contributed to the successful completion of this project and to them I am deeply indebted. I was most fortunate to have been assigned a supervisor as conscientious as Dr. Deryck Lovegrove. His astute analysis of my work and laborious attention to detail were of immeasurable assistance. He wielded his editorial pen ruthlessly and painstakingly, for which I am grateful; his suggestions inevitably strengthened the study. Whatever merit this work possesses is due, in large measure, to his responsible oversight. Additionally, he and his family were friends to an innocent abroad; their support and encouragement went far beyond the call of duty.

My research took me to the Scottish National Library, Edinburgh University, Haddo House in Aberdeenshire, Glasgow University, Oxford University, Princeton University, University of Maryland, Yale Divinity School, Library of Congress in Washington D. C., Harvard University and Fuller Theological Seminary. I found, almost without exception, the library staffs of these institutions to be extremely helpful. Special thanks are due to the staffs of St. Andrews University library and New College library, who were particularly accommodating. The courteous and capable assistance of Mr. Walter Osborne of Moody Bible Institute was invaluable.

Two of Henry Drummond's descendants, Mr. H. J. H. Drummond and Mr. A. Irvine Robertson, kindly opened their homes and libraries to me during my research. Another Drummond relative, Mr. Kenneth Macrae, graciously allowed me to borrow Henry Drummond's study bible. To all three I express my appreciation. I doubt that there are two people living who are more devoted to the study and perpetuation of Henry Drummond's work than the Reverend and Mrs. Finlay J. Stewart. Their interest, encouragement, suggestions and friendship were most appreciated.

Above all, I owe an inexpressible debt to my family. Their loving support and unfailing confidence carried me along during the times when I wavered. This is nothing new; they have undergirded all my endeavours with similar constancy. No one laboured more diligently in this cause than my mother, who invested hundreds of hours in proofreading and typing. Without her assistance the outcome of this project would have been questionable and to her I dedicate this dissertation.

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INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century was a period of difficult transition for both British and American evangelical Christianity.¹ An ever widening breach separated the traditionalists from the modernists²; several issues were at stake. For one, confidence in the bible as the verbally inspired, inerrant word of God was eroding. As one evangelist of the time put it:

Thirty years ago pretty much everybody believed that the Bible was true. They did not attack it or question it. They believed that the Lord Jesus Christ by dying on the cross had done something for them, and that if they received him they would be saved. And my work was to bring them to a decision to do what they already knew they ought to do. But all is different now. The question mark is raised everywhere, and there is need for teachers who shall teach and show the people what the gospel is.³

The work of biblical critics such as Ferdinand C. Baur(b.1792) and Julius

Wellhausen(b.1844) challenged traditional beliefs about the authorship, dating and unity of biblical material. Secondly, Darwinism and the resultant scientific inquiry cast increasing doubt on the reliability of the Genesis account of creation. And the proximity of these threats seemed to grow nearer as the century progressed. Names like Baur and Wellhausen and places like Tubingen and Marburg had seemed, to the English speaking world, rather remote, mysterious and, consequently, not very threatening. But when men with names like W. Robertson Smith(b.1846), George Adam Smith(b.1856) and Henry Preserved Smith(b.1847) began to propound the same ideas, the changes seemed suddenly more menacing. Thirdly, a growing number of thinkers both within and outwith the

¹ John Kent, Holding the Fort-Studies in Victorian Revivalism, Epworth Press, London, 1978, p. 9.

² The term 'modernist' was used extensively by early twentieth century American Fundamentalists as a pejorative for a liberal. This study will use the two terms interchangeably.

³ Dwight L. Moody as quoted in Winthrop S. Hudson, The Great Tradition of the American Churches, Harper Torch Books, Harper and Row, New York, 1953, p. 145.

Church were increasingly dissatisfied with what they considered to be brutal and unjust aspects of Calvinistic doctrine, a system of thought which had held sway over a significant portion of American and British Christianity since the early 1600s.

These new thinkers were stimulated by their discoveries, undeterred by the inevitable errors that accompanied the investigative process and merely spurred on by the sense of martyrdom that heresy trials inevitably produced. They found themselves in opposition to a significant segment of Christianity which, for the first time, perceived itself as being on the defensive, a position it did not enjoy. Faced with this new spirit of criticism the orthodox party had three choices. It could ignore the problem, which the vast majority of non-thinking people did and a large percentage of the thinking population undoubtedly wished they could have done; it could seek some sort of conciliation; or, it could go on the offensive. For the last option, there was no shortage of able and willing volunteers. The deposition in Scotland of John McLeod Campbell in 1831 and W. Robertson Smith in 1881, for example, and the suspension of the American Presbyterian Charles Augustus Briggs in 1893, demonstrated clearly that the old school of thought would not go down without a fight.

By the turn of the twentieth century, British/American evangelical Christianity was divided. It was a painful and angry rending which resulted in two camps: the liberal evangelicals on the one side and the Fundamentalists⁴ on the other. Both parties were

⁴ It is recognized that the term Fundamentalism did not come into use, strictly speaking, until after the publication of The Fundamentals in 1910. For the sake of simplicity, however, the term will be used throughout this work to represent the entire movement, both in its nascent and mature stages. Deciding upon a convention for capitalisation in this study has been difficult. The following standards will be observed: Fundamentalism, Fundamentalists, etc., will always be capitalised since it has come to represent a particular party. On the other hand, modernist, evangelical, liberal, orthodox, conservatives, etc., will not be

committed to the cause of evangelism which urged a 'personal relationship' with Christ. But they were in bitter disagreement over, among other things, the issues of biblical authority, the nature of the person and work of Christ and the validity of modern scientific thought.

It is an interesting irony of history that Dwight L. Moody, perhaps the least contentious of all the great evangelical leaders, should have found himself in the very centre of this controversy. Moody stood as a major figure in British/American evangelicalism in the late nineteenth century, a fact few will dispute although assessments of his contribution run the gamut from Richard Day's sycophantic eulogy to John Kent's severe criticism.⁵ Moody preached to millions in a surprisingly short career, his 'heyday' lasting little more than a decade beginning in 1873.⁶ Little that he did was original to him. George Whitefield had preached to huge crowds in the 1730's, Jonathan Edwards'(b.1703) anxious seat was a precursor to the inquiry room, Lorenzo Dow(b.1777) had recognized the value of special music in evangelistic work and Charles Finney's theories on 'worked up revivals', published in his famous Lectures on Revivals of Religion (1835), were a long time off the press before Edinburgh had ever heard the name Moody.⁷ Moody made the

capitalised unless they are referring to a specific party called by that name, such as the Moderates in the early 19th century Scottish Church. Presbyterian and episcopalian will be capitalised when referring to a denomination but not when speaking of a form of ecclesiastical government. For the sake of brevity, the Westminster Confession will sometimes be referred to simply as 'the Confession'; it will be obvious in the context and, in this situation, the word will be capitalised. Bible and scriptures will not be capitalised.

⁵ Richard Ellsworth Day, Bush Aglow-Life of D. L. Moody, Judson Press, Philadelphia, 1936, p. 206; Kent previously cited.

⁶ James Findlay, Dwight L. Moody-American Evangelist, 1837-1899, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1969.

⁷ The late J. Edwin Orr objected strenuously to the inexact use of the term 'revival' common among many who write on the subject. Richard Carwardine's book Trans-atlantic Revivalism-Popular Evangelicalism in

most of his revivalist inheritance. Picking and choosing with the shrewdness of the salesman he was, fired with earnest conviction and motivated by an incredible singularity of purpose, he fashioned a brand of mass evangelism which became the standard for a century of aspiring evangelists. Moody also bequeathed to his successors an educational empire, leaving behind the Northfield Schools in Massachusetts and the Moody Bible Institute (MBI) in Chicago, from its inception a model for the scores of bible institutes which sprang up across America in the early years of the twentieth century. Furthermore, Moody's influence continued to be felt for many decades in the mission field, not least through the work of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) under John Mott which was born out of one of Moody's Northfield student conferences.

Moody's extensive involvement in these varied interests assured him a position of unparalleled influence in the evangelical world of his day. It also ensured that he made a significant contribution to the impending battle between the liberals and the Fundamentalists, albeit unwittingly. The creed which Fundamentalism would fight so vigorously to promote was virtually the same theology he had preached and popularized for over a quarter century. The Moody Bible Institute, which rose out of Moody's own Chicago Evangelization Society, became the Mecca of American Fundamentalism, championing that cause through its faculty, students, publications and conferences. Even more significantly, many of Moody's personal lieutenants, chosen by him to carry on his

Britain and America, 1790-1865 (Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut and London, England, 1978) is one of the most important works done on the subject in recent years. Both he and Kent deal with this issue in some detail. See Carwardine, p. xv and Kent, pp. 12-19. Dr. Orr discussed his protests with this author during two interviews in August and November 1986. Through common usage, however, the word has come to be understood in two ways: firstly, its more correct definition as wide-spread, apparently spontaneous, spiritual awakening; secondly, as being synonymous with 'mass evangelism'. It will be used in both senses in this study and the appropriate meaning will be apparent from the context.

work, in time became the leading men in the Fundamentalist movement. Confident of their cause and equally confident of a benediction from their mentor, now departed but looking on undoubtedly with approval, Moody's successors did battle under his banner.⁸ All of the above considered, their invocation of his name may not appear unreasonable.

This assumption, that Fundamentalism perpetuated faithfully the work that Moody began, an assumption which is shared by most present day members of the movement as well as some opponents, needs to be challenged.⁹ The present study will seek to show that, however sympathetic Moody might have been to the theology of nascent Fundamentalism, he would not have been a Fundamentalist. In part this had to do with his own lack of theological education. When asked by one reporter what he thought of the current Briggs heresy trial, Moody responded, 'I'm not up to that sort of thing. You see, I never studied theology, and I'm precious glad I didn't.'¹⁰ This statement must be set in its context. Moody worked within a Christian sub-culture which emphasized the adequacy and perspicuity of the bible as God's revelation to man. The bible and the bible alone was the point around which conservative evangelicals rallied in opposition to the critical schools which were applying literary and scientific analytical processes to the scriptures. Moody's comment should be recognized for what it was; a hyperbolic, tongue in cheek endorsement of the party line. He was fully aware of his 'country bumpkin'

⁸ L. W. Munhall, 'An attack upon the Moody Bible Institute', Eastern Methodist, 19 July 1923, p. 5, 'Dwight L. Moody papers, Yale', hereinafter cited as Yale.

⁹ See for instance George Sweeting, 'Talking it over', Moody Monthly, February, 1986, p. 4; also 'Where would Mr. Moody stand', The Christian Century, 12 July 1923, p. 870.

¹⁰ George Perry Morris, 'Dwight L. Moody: A character sketch.', The American Monthly Review of Reviews, n.d., Yale (28,III,15,7).

image and undoubtedly capitalised on it. It is unlikely, however, that he was as ignorant of current theological developments as he led people to believe. Nevertheless, it is true that his educational limitations would have rendered him ill equipped to enter into the theological fray which was brewing in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

But there is an even more important reason why Moody would not have been a Fundamentalist. He simply did not have the stomach for church battles. He despised schism and sectarianism. His entire ministry was marked by repeated attempts, often extremely naive, to smooth over differences between parties with whom he was working. He had an innate hatred for division, an irenic nature that sought peace, sometimes at almost any price. Even more, Moody possessed a genuinely ecumenical breadth, a largeness of spirit that reached out beyond the dictates of utilitarian peacemaking, an aspect that was integral to his character and one that has not been sufficiently explored.

The liberal party perceived this breadth. They too claimed Moody as their own, but he no more 'belonged' to them than he did to the Fundamentalists. A budding historian's career would be made if he could prove that Moody accommodated his theology in any significant way to the pressures of liberalism. But that historian will search in vain for such evidence. Moody's sermons in 1899, the year he died, were much the same sermons he had preached twenty years earlier. If there had been any change, it was stylistic, certainly not theological. Moody was neither liberal nor Fundamentalist. Yet he was, in some ways, representative of both views. George Adam Smith's comment that Moody, had he lived, would have been a 'man who was more able than any other to act as a reconciler of our present division' was overly optimistic, perhaps, but indicative of

the spirit of the man.¹¹ Moody managed somehow to transcend the lines of demarcation that separated the two camps, something no one else seemed capable of doing. However tenuous were the strands with which Moody held together the disparate members of his coterie, while he lived he managed to fill, in a superficial way at any rate, the role which Smith had described. But with his passing, the cords were severed and whatever pretense of comity and deference had existed between the opposing factions evaporated. For the conservative side, they were not about to inter-marry with the Canaanites. Most of the liberals felt the same way and the few who seemed interested in some sort of accommodation were viewed with suspicion from across the fence and sniffed at disdainfully from among their own ranks. This tension, which existed in bridled form while Moody held the reins and which passed into undisguised warfare with his death, is well illustrated in the lives and ministries of Henry Drummond and R. A. Torrey.

For Drummond's part, he tried to maintain a dual citizenship in both worlds. His success in that endeavour was limited, as will be seen. Anyone who wished to play the role of mediator probably would have had to come from the ranks of the Fundamentalists who were the more defensive of the two parties, feeling as they did that they were under attack. Moody filled that role, but then he was 'one of them'. His Scottish disciple Drummond had been 'one of them' as well, in his early days. But by the time he was in a position to build bridges, the evolution of his own religious thought had rendered him theologically 'unsound' in the eyes of the conservatives and thus untrustworthy as an

¹¹ 'Dwight L Moody: A personal tribute', The Outlook, 20 January 1900, p. 162.

ambassador of good will. As for Torrey, he was interested not so much in detente as in total victory. For him there could be no peace talks, only battle.

A study of these two men as representative of wider movements is instructive for several reasons. First, it can be reasonably argued that each was Moody's protégé in his respective country. No one comes close to claiming that title from Drummond in Great Britain. Though there were several very important men among Moody's American line officers, Torrey was the dominant figure there. Drummond and Torrey shared similar backgrounds. Both came from affluent homes and enjoyed the best educational opportunities in their own lands. Both travelled to Germany to enhance their theological studies. Both men were educators, evangelists and world travellers. Each went through a spiritual transformation, though moving towards opposing ends of the theological spectrum. Besides being an associate of Moody's, each shared his genuine intimacy, among the populous ranks of those who laid claim to Moody as a close friend. Yet Drummond and Torrey ended up on opposite sides of the modernist/ Fundamentalist debate, one perpetuating Moody's broad, irenic spirit and the other his theological beliefs.

Books on Moody are legion. The most recent and most scholarly is James Findlay's Dwight L Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899 (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1969). It will be the definitive work on Moody for a long time to come. A new, long needed and very helpful companion is Stanley Gundry's Love Them In--The Life and Theology of D L Moody (Baker Book House, Grand Rapids Michigan, 1976), the first thorough study of Moody's theology. W. R. Moody's authorized biography of his father, The Life of Dwight L Moody (London, 1903, 1st ed.; MacMillan, New York,

1931, 2nd ed.), published in two separate and different editions, will always be the standard. Paul Moody's My Father, An Intimate Portrait of Dwight Moody (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1937) is also a very important work because it reveals the breadth of spirit discussed earlier in a way none of the other works, especially the early ones, do. It is also instructive for the light it sheds on the discontent that existed between the later Moody Bible Institute administration and Moody's family.

A new biography on Henry Drummond is needed though it will be critically limited by the destruction of many of the papers to which George Adam Smith had access when he wrote the authorized and by far most important The Life of Henry Drummond (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1899). Most recent work has taken the form of anthologies, inspirational books based on Drummond writings and biographical sketches heavily indebted to Smith.¹² It must be remembered that Smith was under the same kind of attack that Drummond himself had experienced. His book is very political and probably says as much about George Adam Smith in a subtle and vicarious way as it does about Henry Drummond.

A study of Drummond's theology has long been needed. Malcolm McIver produced a New College, Edinburgh PhD dissertation in 1959, entitled 'The preaching of Henry Drummond with special reference to his work among students'. Obviously sympathetic to Drummond, its particular concern is with his student work. Though he does attempt a discussion of Drummond's theology, it is non-critical and hampered by an

¹² See for example James W. Kennedy, Henry Drummond: An Anthology, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953. This devotional work was the first reconsideration of Drummond since J. Y. Simpson's biography in 1901.

almost exclusive dependence upon secondary sources. Dr. Joan Wysong has done the most recent scholarly analysis of Henry Drummond in her dissertation 'The "new" evangelical theology of Henry Drummond 1851-97. An historical analysis' (PhD dissertation, University of Maryland, 1977). Her focus on his theology and some new insights which she offers are valuable contributions to Drummond studies but the work is flawed by her own too apparent theological prejudice. Furthermore, Wysong fails to emphasize the evolutionary nature of Drummond's theology. She tends to represent him as consistently holding to a liberal theology (which she abhors) from the beginning of his ministry to the last, which is a fundamental error.¹³ When she does concede the developmental nature of Drummond's theology, she exhibits an inadequate understanding of that development.¹⁴ Drummond came from and held to conservative evangelicalism in his early stages of ministry. That his theology underwent a gradual transformation is apparent when one considers the changing nature of his writings over the years. The clarification of this fact is important, not only for a more accurate representation of the man and his work but also as a vivid illustration of the kinds of changes that were taking place in the religious milieu within which Drummond worked. The present study will attempt to correct this element of Wysong's work by considering writings from early, transitional and later periods of Drummond's life.

Considering the stature of the man in the role he played in the twentieth century American evangelical scene, there has been surprisingly little scholarly work done on

13 For examples of this see Wysong, pp. 2-5, 35 and 100.

14 See Wysong, p. 86.

Torrey. William G. McLoughlin has a helpful but brief section on him in his Modern Revivalism.¹⁵ Gundry deals more specifically and usefully with the contrast between Moody and Torrey's eventual position.¹⁶ The most complete biographical work is the recent book entitled R. A. Torrey, Apostle of Certainty by Roger Martin. The author was hampered, however, by the destruction of many of Torrey's papers, an act which took place according to the subject's own wishes.¹⁷ Martin himself comes from a Fundamentalist background and tends to gloss over the negative aspects of Torrey's life and work. Nonetheless, his interviews with since deceased relatives of Torrey provide irreplaceable material and his book will be relied upon, though not uncritically, for the majority of the biographical details of Torrey's life.

This study will consider the developing modernist/Fundamentalist controversy within late nineteenth century evangelicalism as it can be illustrated in the lives of these three men: Moody the mentor-father figure and Torrey and Drummond as unlikely stepbrothers. It is not a study of the early stages of either Fundamentalism or liberal evangelicalism. The former has been dealt with, most recently in George Marsden's valuable work, Fundamentalism in American Culture-The Shaping of Twentieth Century

15 Modern Revivalism, Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham, Ronald Press, New York, 1959; pp. 364-374.

16 See Gundry, Love Them In, chapter 10.

17 Sword of the Lord Publishers, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 1976; Oscar E. Sanden, 'Reuben Archer Torrey[sic]: a biographical memoir', unpublished, 1975, Moody Institute, p. 3; see also letter from G. Michael Corcoris, pastor of Church of the Open Door, to author, Glendora, California, 2 July 1987. This absence of any new material will limit the biographical segment on Torrey in this present study.

Evangelicalism-1870-1925.¹⁸ Though there is room for work in the latter, it is beyond the intention of this particular study. One helpful consideration of the subject is William Gerald Enright's PhD thesis entitled 'Preaching and theology in the nineteenth century: a study of the context and content of the evangelical sermon'.¹⁹ Nor will this be a biographical study, although sufficient material will be provided to allow the reader to become familiar with the subjects, and special attention will be drawn to any new material that might contribute in some small way to a broader understanding of them.

This study will seek to address the following tasks: it will examine the historical background both in America and in Great Britain, particularly Scotland, which prepared the way for Moody's evangelistic work, as well as that of Drummond and Torrey later on. This will be necessary for establishing the context out of which the modernist/Fundamentalist debate arose. It will consider those factors in Moody's early life which contributed to the development of his ecumenical spirit. It will examine in some detail his early evangelistic work, particularly in Scotland since it was in his Edinburgh and Glasgow missions that he first achieved prominence as an evangelist and where he came into contact with Henry Drummond. And it will briefly consider Moody's return to the United States and the establishment of his educational institutions which would play such a large part in the continuing controversy.

Furthermore, both in the Scottish and in the American settings, this study will consider the work of Drummond and Torrey, examining Moody's influence upon them. It

¹⁸ Oxford Press, New York and Oxford, 1980; see also Norman F. Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy-1918-1931, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1954; Stewart G. Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, Richard R. Smith Publishing, New York, 1931 for discussions of this debate.

¹⁹ Edinburgh University, 1968.

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will seek to trace the development of each man's thought and career from the time of their early contacts with Moody. It will also seek to set the modernist/Fundamentalist debate in its broader context, considering the theological issues at stake and illustrating the dynamics of that controversy in the lives of Drummond and Torrey. But beyond the theological issues, it will be concerned to investigate the spirit in which this debate was carried on. Most importantly, it will argue that, contrary to the claims of Fundamentalists to the present day, their movement did not perpetuate the work of D. L. Moody because it lost the warm catholicity which was integral to Moody's ministry.

Chapter 1. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN RELIGIOUS SETTING

Dwight L. Moody stood at the zenith of his profession in a century not unfamiliar with revivals. Since the turn of the nineteenth century in America, all but two decades had seen significant spiritual awakenings. Moody played the finale to a series of evangelistic performances which, even at their greatest, in the work of Whitefield or Finney, probably did not match the scope of the impact he made. This impact was not limited to large crowds at revival meetings. Moody and his organizations helped shape a religious ethos which has played a dominant role, particularly in American Christianity, to the present day. Many tried to duplicate Moody's format: the organization, the singer, the choir and the style. As will be seen, Moody himself had borrowed these devices from the evangelistic repertoire of the Second Great Awakening. He put his own stamp on these and passed them on to subsequent generations of revivalists, but their efforts and impact, though significant, were limited by comparison. The names J. Wilbur Chapman, R. A. Torrey, and 'Gypsy' Smith, for instance, renowned evangelists in their eras, are all but forgotten save by the student of that period. When mourners laid to rest the 'last of the great revivalists' on Round Top at Northfield that cold December day in 1899, they buried not only Moody's consummate skills as an evangelist but also, and just as important, the broad minded, catholic spirit which usually chose to ignore petty sectarian differences, a spirit for which the religious players in the American scenes of the early 1900s were not well known.

Moody possessed a 'sunshiny sanity', an ebullient common sense that did as much to further his cause as did his preaching and organising. This attitude apparently came

naturally to him, though some critics perceived it as calculated. If he wanted a large revival movement in Scotland, this reasoning suggested, he was wise to alienate as few of the local clergymen as possible.²⁰ This criticism is easier to accept for the earlier days of his ministry when it would have been to his particular advantage to display on his platform a large showing of local clerical support. It becomes more difficult to justify in the later days when his insistence on standing by friends of more liberal theological persuasion brought him incessant grief at the hands of his watchdog assistants.

Whatever innate ecumenicity Moody possessed, it must be remembered that he was raised in an era of unprecedented and subsequently unmatched interdenominational cooperation in America. Moody inherited many of the practical skills he would employ as a revivalist. He also inherited his age's ecumenical spirit. It would serve him well as an evangelist to all faiths and equip him as an ambassador between the factions that were developing within the Christian camp by the eighties. But that same spirit would put him in an increasingly difficult position in the last decade of his life.²¹ It is somehow fitting that Moody died in the twilight days of 1899, for he belonged to the nineteenth century. If, as one writer has suggested, Moody was 'somewhat ill at ease in the new religious climate' of the nineties, he would have been completely miserable had he lived to see the kind of dissension the twentieth century would bring.²² This chapter will seek to examine

²⁰ Kent, Holding The Fort, p. 134.

²¹ William G. McLoughlin, The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900: An Anthology, Peter Smith, Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1976, p. 25.

²² Winthrop S. Hudson, The Great Tradition of the American Churches, Harper and Row, New York, 1963, P. 159.

the various elements of the American religious milieu which set the stage not only for Dwight Moody's evangelistic ministry but also for the attitude of tolerance which he would subsequently exhibit, particularly in the difficult years towards the end of his career.

The modernist/Fundamentalist debate of the early twentieth century tends to draw attention to itself because of the acrimony with which it was waged. It must not be assumed that the same sharp dichotomy existed between the liberals and conservatives of the nineteenth century. By the 1920s battlelines had been clearly drawn and the fracas was raging at full force. But the lines were not nearly so clear nor the battles so virulent in the closing decades of the 1800s. Certainly a healthy debate was taking place and foretastes of the rancour to follow were provided by the suspension of the Baptist C. H. Toy in 1879 for teachings that undermined the authority of scripture and by the similar treatment accorded his more famous Presbyterian counterpart, Charles Briggs, in 1893. The advance of biblical criticism and the discoveries of modern science,²³ coupled with the ethical problems arising out of the Industrial Revolution to which men like Washington Gladden and William H. Carwardine were addressing themselves, gave birth to the 'social gospel' movement. But the debate that arose out of these circumstances between the liberal and conservative factions of American Protestantism was carried on in a surprisingly cordial atmosphere right up to the turn of the century. An example of this is the 1887 meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, held in Washington D.C., at which

²³ For a helpful analysis of the growing conflict between the religious and scientific community in nineteenth century America see Herbert Hovenkamp's *Science and Religion in America 1800-1860*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978; especially pp. 57-78 and 165-186.

representatives of widely varying theological positions dealt with current issues facing the church in a stimulating yet harmonious fashion.²⁴

Moody had passed his prime as an evangelist by this time but was far from being a spent force in American evangelicalism. Though such conferences were not really Moody's style, he would undoubtedly have been in favour of the tolerant spirit in which it was conducted. It must be remembered that Moody was a generation older than most of his successors who were to be involved in the debate of the early decades of the twentieth century. Moody was born in 1837, James Gray and Benjamin B. Warfield in 1851, Anzi C. Dixon in 1854, Reuben A. Torrey in 1856, J. Wilbur Chapman in 1859 and Edgar Y. Mullins in 1860. America had experienced difficult growing pains in the mid nineteenth century, not the least of which was the traumatic Civil War. These experiences were merely dim memories to those born during the middle and later decades of the century but they were still sharp in the mind of Moody and others who were adults at the time. Nor would the younger men have experienced the spirit of cooperation which evolved into a movement that came to be known as the 'Benevolent Empire', a spirit which enabled various and diverse Christian sects to work for common goals with impressive results for several decades during the early 1800's.²⁵

²⁴ Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America--An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1981, third edition, pp. 283, 281 ff; Grant Wacker, 'The Holy Spirit and the spirit of the age in American Protestantism, 1880-1910', Journal of American History, Vol 72, No. 1, June 1985, pp. 45 ff.

²⁵ John W. Kuykendall, Southern Enterprise, The Work of National Evangelical Societies in the Antebellum South, Greenwood Press, West Port, Connecticut, London, 1982, p. xiv; 9; also Hudson, Great Tradition, pp. 71-74.

Though many elements worked together to shape the religious environment of nineteenth century America, perhaps none stand out as distinctly as the principle of voluntarism. 'Of all the differences between the Old World and the New this is perhaps the most salient', said Lord James Bryce.²⁶ By the mid nineteenth century voluntarism in America was taken for granted. But when the concept was being hammered out in the late 1700's it was a break with fifteen hundred years of Christian tradition. Aside from ideological reasons, there were at least two important factors which led to the separation of Church and State. The first was practical. The early colonists brought with them a variety of Christian religious traditions which took hold in various parts of the young land as the new settlements flourished. Following the European example, most early settlements initially moved towards establishmentarianism. By the time Thomas Jefferson penned the words in 1786 which would become the Bill of Rights, ensuring freedom of religion from State interference,²⁷ Congregationalism was the ruling church power in New England, Presbyterianism was the major strength to the south and the Anglicans, Baptists and Quakers were also represented, in smaller but not inconsequential numbers, throughout the colonies. Following the War for Independence, America's political leaders were faced with developing a policy to deal with this multi-faceted religious environment. No single denomination was powerful enough to enter a claim for establishment; it could not have prevailed against the other opposing churches. The young republic could ill

²⁶ James Bryce, The American Commonwealth, Macmillan, New York, 1927, Vol II, p. 763, 766.

²⁷ Willard L. Sperry, Religion in America, Cambridge University Press, 1945, pp.44-45.

afford the inevitable schism that would have resulted from setting one denomination against the rest. Voluntaryism was a pragmatic solution to this dilemma.

Secondly, the effect of eighteenth century Rationalism was being felt in America. Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and others were Deists. The absence of pietistic and biblical language in the early American documents and safeguards against unchecked and unchallenged ecclesiastical power may have had as much to do with their philosophical and theological disinclinations towards the now entrenched orthodoxy of Westminster as it did with a fervent commitment to religious liberty.²⁸ Though the constitutional amendment was not binding on individual states, by 1833 the last of them had fallen into line and voluntaryism had become an American fact of life. Thus deprived of any concessions or support they might have received or hoped to receive from the State, churches were faced with the challenge of surviving on their individual merit alone. As it became more and more clear that they had been thrust into a 'free market', churches began to explore different means of competing for the finite number of unclaimed souls in America, drawing them into their body and, in the process, ensuring their own survival.²⁹

Voluntaryism and the resultant competition for members was important, but it was not the only factor in the moulding of religious life as America entered the nineteenth century. Deism, once the possession of a relatively small number of the aristocratic elite, was being promoted in a more militant fashion in the 1790's. In addition, following the

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 46, 50-2, 56-8.

²⁹ Hudson, *Great Tradition*, p. 19; also Jay P. Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism-The American Experience 1830-1900*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame/London, 1978, p. 23.

French Revolution, the Church was frequently represented as an obstacle to progress in society.³⁰ Also, the rapid expansion to the west was posing difficulties for the various denominations who were having trouble keeping pace with the growing migration to unchurched areas. The answer to all of these challenges was 'the tried and proved expedient of revivalistic preaching', an adaptation of the earlier eighteenth century model of Edwards and Whitefield.³¹ As Sperry puts it, 'In all the more evangelical churches the revival became the recognized means for recruiting church members.'³² This renewed emphasis along revivalistic lines brought about the most important religious phenomenon in America in the nineteenth century, the Second Great Awakening. Not only did this awakening shape and promote a style of evangelism that would hold sway over much of America for the next hundred years, it also served to establish evangelicalism as the characteristic expression of Christianity until well into the twentieth century.³³

A precedent for this new form of religious experience had been set during the First Great Awakening of the 1730's and 40's. Jonathan Edwards, deeply concerned by what he perceived as the flagging zeal of New England Congregationalism, set his hand to the task of correcting that deficiency. The 'Half-way Covenant' of 1662 was symptomatic of a

³⁰ Dolan, Catholic Revivalism, p. 14.

³¹ Hudson, Religion in America, p. 134; also pp. 131-133.

³² Sperry, p. 159.

³³ Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 131-4; Sperry, p. 159. Though evangelical revivalism in America is identified primarily with Protestantism, it was by no means exclusively so as Jay P. Dolan has demonstrated in his valuable book, Catholic Revivalism. The 'parish mission', a Catholic revival meeting, was a significant force in the shaping of American Roman Catholic identity during the nineteenth century and has been argued by some to have preceded its Protestant counterpart. See pp. 11-12, 68-79, 82, 93 ff., 139 and 185-203 for description of this phenomenon.

shift towards intellectualism and anti-emotionalism among the churches. It permitted children of church members who had not demonstrated evidence of a personal conversion experience to become partial members, thus allowing baptism of their own children and participation in most congregational activities.³⁴ Edwards set out to restore vitality and discipline to his congregation in Northampton, Massachusetts, during his ministry there from 1724-1750. The revival stirrings began in 1734 when Edwards preached five sermons on justification by faith entitled 'Discourses on Various Important Subjects, Nearly Concerning the Great Affair of the Soul's Eternal Salvation'.³⁵ These sermons were an attack on the doctrinal system known as Arminianism. This system, named after the Dutch theologian, Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), affirmed, amongst other things, that salvation was available for all who believed in Christ, that God's grace was not irresistible and that Christians could fall from grace, all points in sharp opposition to strict Calvinist dogma.³⁶ By contrast, Edwards was a staunch Calvinist who adamantly opposed the idea that revival was something other than an unexpected work of God. Thus, when his rather reserved preaching resulted in a localized revival, he seemed

³⁴ Harold P. Simonson, Jonathan Edwards: Theologian of the Heart, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1974, pp.34-35.

³⁵ Jonathan Edwards, The Great Awakening, ed. C. C. Goen, Yale, New Haven, 1972, pp. 19-20; see also Edward H. Davidson, Jonathan Edwards-The Narrative of a Puritan Mind, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 115-146.

³⁶ See Stanley N. Gundry, Love Them In--The Life and Theology of D. L. Moody, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1976, pp. 29-31 for a helpful introductory discussion on Arminianism.

genuinely surprised at its advent.³⁷ Word spread and he was invited to speak in other churches within the surrounding area. By 1736, religious revival had found its way into most of the Connecticut valley and then, in 1737, just as suddenly as it had appeared, the revival ceased.

Others were involved in similar awakenings during this period including William and Gilbert Tennent and Theodore Frelinghuysen. But it was the arrival of the Englishman George Whitefield in 1740 and his subsequent tireless preaching that fanned the embers which had apparently died out three years earlier into a nation-wide revival which lasted until about 1760. Whitefield, more than any other, was responsible for drawing together regionalized movements into the 'Great Awakening' which laid a firm basis for evangelical Christianity in America. Like Edwards, Whitefield was a Calvinist, a fact which resulted in the separation between him and his Arminian friend and co-founder of Methodism, John Wesley.³⁸ One indication of the overwhelmingly Calvinistic nature of the Great Awakening can be found in Whitefield's letter to the Arminian Wesley where he says, 'I dread your coming over to America; because the work of God is carried on here...by doctrines quite opposite of those you hold'.³⁹

³⁷ Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River--The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact Upon Religion in America, Quadrangle, New York, third edition, 1958, pp. 53-4.

³⁸ See letter from Whitefield to Wesley, Savannah, 25 June 1740; in George Whitefield's Letters, Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh, 1976, p. 189; see also letters to Wesley, 26 March 1740, 24 May 1740 and 25 August 1740, pp. 155, 181, 204. See also 'A letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley in answer to his sermon entitled "Free Grace"', George Whitefield's Journals, Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh, 1978, pp. 563-588. They remained friends but their divergence in these areas of doctrine resulted in their organizational divergence.

³⁹ Whitefield to Wesley, 24 May 1740, Whitefield's Letters, p. 181.

Though Whitefield and Edwards shared a common Calvinistic foundation, the Englishman tended to avoid dealing with the more controversial aspects of that system and employed fervent preaching, believing that God had appointed 'the preaching of the word...as a means to bring [his listeners] to' salvation. 'Since we know not who are elect, and who reprobate, we are to preach promiscuously to all.'⁴⁰ It should be noted then, that even though the doctrinal foundation of the Great Awakening was strict Calvinism, Whitefield represents an early move towards increased emphasis on human means in contrast to Edwards, an emphasis which would be carried to much greater lengths during the next great revival movement.

The names First and Second Great Awakenings are somewhat misleading in that they suggest a greater similarity than actually existed between the two movements. There was, of course, some resemblance. Both resulted in a heightened sense of spirituality and deeper conviction of sin thanks to fervent and inspired preaching.⁴¹ They were also similar in that they started spontaneously and concurrently, sometimes with the participants having no knowledge of similar movements elsewhere until after they had begun. They both also resulted in heightened emotionalism in some of the services, although to a lesser extent in the earlier movement. But in many other ways the Second Great Awakening was quite different from the First. There was a different theology, a different methodology and it produced different responses. The two movements

⁴⁰ Letter to Wesley as cited in Whitefield's Journals, p. 575. For an indication of Edwards' attitude towards Whitefield's doctrinal emphases and oratorical style, see letter written by his wife, David S. Lovejoy, Religious Enthusiasm and the Great Awakening, Prentice Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1969, p. 33.

⁴¹ Charles G. Finney, Lectures on Revivals of Religion, ed. William G. McLoughlin, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960.

represented 'the difference between the medieval and the modern temper. One saw God as the center of the universe, the other saw man. One believed that revivals were "prayed down" and the other that they were "worked up."⁴² Indeed, Jonathan Edwards would not have recognized much of that which took place after 1800, nor would he have approved.

Like its earlier counterpart, the Second Awakening started in several places as rather localized revivals. In the west it apparently began in Logan County, Kentucky, where a minister of three Presbyterian churches, James McGready, held a large outdoor communion service in the summer of 1800.⁴³ From this type of service developed the camp meeting, a series of services held out of doors for several days in a row, attracting as many as 20,000 people from miles around. These meetings were often accompanied by unusual physical manifestations including

the "jerks", a spasmodic twitching of the entire body of the transported penitent...[in which] the victim bounced about like a ball, or hopped from place to place with head, limbs and trunk shaking "as if they must...fly asunder"...the "laughing exercise", when uncontrollable guffaws exploded in the congregation...and the "barking exercise", when the smitten gathered on their knees at the foot of a tree, barking and snapping in order to "tree the Devil."⁴⁴

The First Great Awakening had produced heightened emotionalism but nothing to this degree.

⁴² McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 11.

⁴³ Similar Roman Catholic meetings were also held in Kentucky as early as 1826. See Dolan, p. 18.

⁴⁴ Weisberger, Gathered at the River, pp. 34-5, 58. See a similar account of a Catholic revivalist preacher in Catholic Revivalism, p. 70. See also Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-over District-The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1950, p. 163.

Carwardine has shown that the theology of the Kentucky segment of this awakening was a moderate Calvinism in contrast to the high Calvinism espoused by Edwards and Whitefield seventy years earlier. On the east coast, evangelist Asahel Nettleton preached a more stringent Calvinism than that of the camp meetings but even he endorsed the appropriate use of 'human instrumentality'.⁴⁵ Nettleton began his evangelistic work in 1811. By the early 1830's, his strict Calvinism was a 'spent force' on the east coast, eclipsed by another strain of modified Calvinism which had arisen. This east coast movement started among the colleges and coastal towns, most noticeably at Yale under the presidency and preaching of Timothy Dwight. Dwight, Jonathan Edwards' grandson, put forward a theology which, though still basically Calvinistic, began to modify certain aspects of that system. He urged the use of 'means';⁴⁶ that is, deliberately calculated methods designed and intended to encourage immediate repentance. This system also placed greater confidence in man's part in the process of salvation. The Calvinistic doctrine of depravity insisted that degenerate man could not choose to repent and, if he did, his repentance could not be real nor the salvation which he claimed, effectual. The influence of Arminianism, however, was beginning to be felt. Although the initiative still rested with God, it was now felt that man had the capability to respond; indeed this was a

⁴⁵ Carwardine, pp. 9, 3-10.

⁴⁶ Hudson, Great Tradition, p. 69.

necessity. These subtle modifications of basic Calvinism were taken to a much greater extreme by Lyman Beecher.⁴⁷

If Timothy Dwight 'standardized' revivalistic 'technique', it was Lyman Beecher who became the real organizer of the new type of religious experience. Even Dwight appeared restrained compared to Beecher's claim that the clergy could 'no longer trust Providence, and expect God will vindicate his cause while we neglect the use of appropriate means'. Beecher

rallied the ministers and pushed revivals; he launched a periodical, he encouraged the publication of tracts, and he organized voluntary societies for the reformation of morals and the promotion of missionary activity in the 'waste places'.⁴⁸

Charles Finney's great contribution to this awakening was that of systematizer and apologist, building upon much of the foundation laid by Dwight and Beecher. Born in 1792, he was a lawyer in western New York state when he was dramatically converted at the age of 29 and started to prepare for the ministry. He began his career as a revivalist in the late twenties in a series of popular and well-received preaching stops throughout Jefferson County, New York and its environs. But the most famous series of revivals with which he was associated took place in Rochester, New York over a six month period in 1830-31, thirty years after the first stirrings on the east coast campuses and in the backwoods of Kentucky.⁴⁹ Despite the numerical success of Finney's campaigns, he was

⁴⁷ McLoughlin, introduction to Finney's Lectures, p. xiii. and ff.; also Hovencamp, Science and Religion in America 1800-1860, p. 50.

⁴⁸ Hudson, Great Tradition, p. 69.

⁴⁹ Cross, Burned-over District, pp. 151-169; Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 140-144.

not without his detractors. Many objected to the apparently anthropocentric, coolly calculated 'New Measures' which he endorsed. These were the most controversial feature of Finney's revivalism. It has already been shown that Dwight, and to an even greater extent, Beecher, had deliberately employed 'means' to achieve their desired results. Finney, with the benefit of thirty years' hindsight and a lawyer's analytical mind, retained many of these means. Others he fashioned into a more appropriate expression for the urban setting. The results of these assimilations he published in his famous work, Lectures on Revivals of Religion (1835). The impact of this book upon revivalists who would follow him can scarcely be overstated. A collection of lectures which he delivered to his own church, drawn together for publication, it stated in the clearest terms yet enunciated the philosophy of the new revivalism. As has been suggested, most of the ideas were not original to him; the majority of the 'New Measures' had been used by others, including most notably the Methodists.⁵⁰ But Finney drew them together into what would become a handbook for nineteenth century revivalist preachers.

The starting premise for Finney was that, in spite of long held Calvinistic presuppositions to the contrary, revivals were not a miraculous work of God. A revival, Finney said

is not a miracle, or dependent on a miracle, in any sense. It is a purely philosophical⁵¹ result of the right use of the constituted means--as much as any other effect produced by the application of means.⁵²

⁵⁰ See Carwardine, pp. 10 ff.

⁵¹ The modern term for the equivalent of this word would be scientific.

Finney outlined the 'New Measures' in Chapter XIV of his book. These included the use of vigorous, extemporaneous preaching; frequent and lengthy prayer meetings, sometimes 'mixed' in which women were allowed to pray publicly; and the use of 'anxious meetings' which were held after revival services for those who wished to discuss their salvation or other spiritual matters.⁵³ Other 'measures' included the 'protracted meeting', an adaptation of the earlier camp meetings into a form appropriate for an urban setting; the employment of special music intended to produce an atmosphere most conducive to eliciting the desired response from the audience; and the most controversial measure of all, the 'anxious seat'.⁵⁴ This device was a 'front pew roughly analogous to the witness stand' to which sinners desiring repentance and salvation repaired in their struggle to make a personal commitment to Christ, to be prayed over and to experience the support, or pressure, of the rest of the assembled guests.⁵⁵ With its advocacy of these and the other 'New Measures' outlined above, William McLoughlin argues that Finney's book made two significant contributions:

In the realm of theology it clearly [marked] the end of two centuries of Calvinism and the acceptance of pietistic evangelicalism as the predominant faith of the nation. In the realm of applied religion, as a textbook on how to promote revivals of religion, this book [was] the perennial classic to which all

⁵² Finney, Lectures, p. 13. Finney goes on in the next paragraph to say 'but means will not produce a revival, we all know, without the blessing of God.' This aspect of Finney's teaching on the matter is often slighted in the interest of portraying Finney as calculatedly utilitarian. Nonetheless, his belief that revivals could be produced by proper use of the right means was foundational to his thinking.

⁵³ Cross, Burned-over District, pp. 174, 177.

⁵⁴ Hudson, Religion in America, p. 143; Finney, Lectures, pp. 255-56.

⁵⁵ Finney, Lectures, pp. 267-69.

succeeding generations of revivalists have turned for authority and inspiration.⁵⁶

Two years before Finney's great successes in Rochester, Andrew Jackson entered the White House. Popular history has tended to romanticise Jacksonian democracy as a victory of the ordinary man's political will over vestigial aristocratic federalism. Though this is an exaggeration, Jackson's ascendancy did represent an encroachment of the frontier into the hitherto eastern American controlled corridors of national power. The famous image of Jackson's cronies tramping through the White House with mud covered boots is a caricature but it suggests the shift in power that Jackson's election represented. There was a certain mystique about the frontier, that indefinable western border which continued to extend as far as courageous explorers and settlers were willing to push it. Frederick Jackson Turner's famous book, The Frontier in American History,⁵⁷ suggested that the American frontier was the determinative factor which made the country distinctive. It promoted and developed a sense of rugged individualism and, consequently, transformed 'the democracy of Jefferson into the national republicanism of Monroe and the democracy of Andrew Jackson...' and shaped the personality of the land.⁵⁸ Though such perceptions of the frontier and of Jacksonian democracy may be fanciful, they do represent a mood of optimistic, individualistic self-reliance which was dominant at the turn of the nineteenth century. In this sense the 'New Revivalism' of the Second Great Awakening fell right into step with the prevailing mood. The Arminianized

⁵⁶ McLoughlin in introduction to Finney's Lectures, p. vii.

⁵⁷ Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1920.

⁵⁸ Turner, pp. 22-37.

theology of the awakening, still wrapped in many of its Calvinistic trappings, which had been handed down from Edwards and Whitefield to Dwight, Beecher and Finney, a theology which emphasized the need for each man to make a personal decision for his own salvation, dependent on the vows or actions of no one else, was in its very essence, democratic. As Winthrop Hudson put it, 'Revivalism in religion...[was] the "counterpart [of] republicanism in politics"'.⁵⁹

Finney and the other leaders of the Second Awakening caught and promoted the spirit of the time which spilled back and forth between self confident nationalism and a growing national religious identity.⁶⁰ His Lectures on Revivals of Religion tolled the death knell of the 'hyper-Calvinism' which had slowly been losing its grip on American consciousness since Whitefield's fervent preaching for conversion. Charles Hodge, probably the greatest figure in the Calvinistic ranks of American presbyterianism, and Albert Dod, his lieutenant, would do battle with Finney.⁶¹ So too would others following in the line of that eminent Princeton theologian. But they were in recession, in a minority and viewed by most as anachronistic.

It might be expected that, given the 'free market' competitiveness which resulted from voluntarism and the resultant proliferation of various denominations, a sense of

⁵⁹ Hudson, Great Tradition, p. 75; see also Sperry, Religion in America, p. 9. See McLoughlin in Finney's Lectures, xl-xli ff. for Finney's thoughts on democracy as the 'form of government most approved by God.'

⁶⁰ See McLoughlin's introduction to Finney's Lectures, p.vii; also William G. McLoughlin, ed., The American Evangelicals 1800-1900, Harper and Row, New York, 1968, p. 26, where he describes American evangelicalism as the 'temper of American life in the nineteenth century'.

⁶¹ See Albert Dod's reviews on 'Finney's Sermons' and 'Finney's Lectures', Biblical Repertory and Theological Review, 7: 482-527, 626-674 (July and Oct 1835) as quoted by McLoughlin in Finney, Lectures, pp. xxii ff.

defensive insularity would have developed among the various churches comprising American evangelicalism. Quite the reverse is true. With some exceptions, notably the non-Trinitarians and the Old School Calvinists mentioned above,⁶² a surprising spirit of comity and cooperation prevailed throughout the last part of the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century.⁶³ This ecumenicity manifested itself in the revival movements described above and, particularly in the west, in the assimilation of new converts into particular churches. In some ways, this catholic spirit was mandated by the limitations of resources. Each denomination could not possibly meet the challenge of planting a new church in every location where a revival had claimed new adherents. A spirit of cooperation was very practical on the frontier. Sometimes the first church building in an area was erected by 'general subscription and shared on alternate Sundays by at least two sects.' Frequently, two or more denominations would cooperate on a revival campaign and, if afterwards they competed for the new converts, it was a 'friendly rivalry'.⁶⁴ This cooperation extended beyond the isolated event. The Plan of Union of 1801 between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists was designed to combine resources and avoid duplication in the missionary work on the frontier. Since both denominations claimed

⁶² For detailed consideration of this dissension see Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 159 ff.

⁶³ Bryce, American Commonwealth, pp. 779-81; also Weisberger, Gathered at the River, p. 153.

⁶⁴ Hudson, Great Tradition, p. 87.

allegiance to the Westminster Confession and Edwardsean theology, it seemed a prudent and efficient policy. Finney himself was a Plan of Union minister.⁶⁵

This frontier movement also confirmed and strengthened a trend in American Protestantism prevalent since the days when the colonists had been left to fend for themselves regarding pastoral leadership. The Anglican church, for instance, had been reluctant to send bishops to the New World, the remoteness of which bred independence and a consequent loss of control. So from the earliest days of American religion, the laity had played a larger and larger role in church leadership. The dictates of the frontier produced the same needs and the same response. If an educated, ordained clergyman was not available to provide ministerial oversight, colonists made do with what they had. This 'pro-laity' attitude evolved into a more overtly 'anti-clerical' position as revivalist preachers discovered that rhetoric critical of 'the educated ministry' made evocative and popular fodder for their oratorical cannons. Finney perpetuated this mood; he was, as one described him, an 'ordained layman'. The 'Revival of 1857' would take this whole process one step further. It was virtually a 'revival without a revivalist', lay or otherwise.⁶⁶

Interdenominational cooperation extended into another area of nineteenth century America, the voluntary society. An organization of this type could be started for any cause: temperance, suffrage, abolition and every other social issue that someone felt deserved special attention. These too had the flavour of democracy. If a small group of people were not satisfied at the way a particular concern was being dealt with by church

⁶⁵ McLoughlin in Finney, Lectures, pp. xv-xvi.

⁶⁶ Weisberger, Gathered by the River, pp. 94, 149.

or government officials, through these societies they were able to take issues into their own hands and, presumably, get something done. Many of these local groups grew into national movements such as the American Bible Society, the American Education Society, the American Colonization Society, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday School Society, the American Temperance Society and the American Home Mission Society. A great measure of reform and religious work in the United States during the nineteenth century, which the churches could not or would not do alone, was accomplished by means of this important institution.⁶⁷

The two hundred years after the first colonists arrived brought considerable change to the varieties of Christianity which they had carried over with them. Initially, the heterogeneous nature of the various colonies, coupled with the vast distances from ecclesiastical supervision, had conspired to produce an increasingly individualistic brand of Calvinistic Christianity. The initial trend towards religious uniformity within most colonies eventually, and for some, reluctantly, gave way to disestablishment. The competitive requirements of this situation, combined with the threat of Deism and the challenges of the expanding frontier, led to a reclamation of the institution of the revival, first seen in the Great Awakening of the 1730s. A surprisingly cooperative spirit developed among the various sects. Though there was some ongoing opposition, both from Rationalists and hard line Calvinists, these revivals led to shared ministries, an increased involvement of laity, a strengthening of voluntary societies, a standardizing of

⁶⁷ See Kuykendall, Southern Enterprise, pp. 1-18 for a helpful discussion of this movement; also Hudson, Great Tradition, p. 77; Religion in America, pp. 149-152.

revivalistic methods and a fading of theological clarity. Protestant revivalist theology underwent considerable change from the time of the Great Awakening.⁶⁸ The strict but evangelical Calvinism of Edwards and Whitefield found its last significant proponent in Nettleton. By 1830 it had been replaced by a modified Calvinism with strong Arminian influence, perpetuated most notably by Charles Finney. The pragmatic dictates of revivalistic preaching, coupled with the influence of Deism, Unitarianism and Universalism, had forced concessions from the old theology. Deism had not 'won out', as early American intellectuals had hoped and expected, but then neither had Calvinism. It had to concede

that God was benevolent and not wrathful, merciful not stern, reasonable not mysterious; that he worked by means and not by miracles, that man was active not passive in his salvation, that grace was not arbitrarily or capriciously dispensed like the royal prerogative of a sovereign but offered freely to all men as the gift of a loving Father to his children; that God wants men to help themselves not to wait on Him, and that He is a God of love not a God to be feared. In short, the clergy of America virtually had to abandon the Calvinistic conception of God's relationship to man, which had dominated American thought through the Colonial era, and to supplant it with an Arminian conception.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Dolan, p. 188.

⁶⁹ McLoughlin, *The American Evangelicals*, pp. 4-5; also Hudson, *Great Tradition*, pp. 147, 160; McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 12.

Chapter 2. D. L. MOODY: EVANGELICAL, ORTHODOX AND ECUMENICAL

On 5 February 1837, Edwin and Betsy Moody gave birth to their sixth child and fifth son, Dwight Lyman Ryther Moody.⁷⁰ Moody's father, a brick layer, died within four years and Betsy was left to raise nine children by herself. The kindly assistance of the local Unitarian minister resulted in their association with that church.⁷¹

Moody's parents both had strong Puritan ties which carried over into his upbringing. Regular family devotions were held each morning, the Sabbath was kept inviolate, the boys were 'taken to the altar' at which they were made to 'swear vengeance on Whiskey'⁷² and traditional virtues of hard work and honesty were strictly enforced. These wholesome and rather generic early spiritual experiences undoubtedly laid a foundation for his later, more overtly evangelical, Christian response. In addition, Moody's Unitarian exposure during his young and impressionable years probably provided a point of reference for his later ecumenical tendencies. For one thing, Moody's deep devotion to his mother would have tended to cause him to look upon 'her' denomination with kindness. Moody wrote

⁷⁰ The brief biographical segments which connect the various elements of Moody's development particularly germane to our study have been gleaned primarily from Findlay and W. R. Moody, The Life of Dwight L. Moody, Morgan and Scott, London, c., 1900. Endless footnotes for general material well documented in many different volumes would be redundant. Footnotes will be reserved for unusual or new evidence, for items of special importance and for other sources which may be cited which are helpful to this study.

⁷¹ J. C. Pollock, Moody Without Sankey..A New Biographical Portrait, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1963, p. 17; Gundry, Love Them In, pp. 18-19; also letter from W. E. Dodge, 262 Madison Ave., New York, 20 November 1875, Moody papers, group 28, series I, box 1, Yale University, hereinafter cited as Yale, (28,I,1).

⁷² J. Wilbur Chapman, The Life and Work of Dwight Lyman Moody, James Nisbet and Co., London, c. 1900, p. 71.

to his mother faithfully and kept her portrait on his study wall. The tribute which he paid at her funeral was further indication of the esteem in which he held her.⁷³

There is one particularly important piece of evidence to support the contention that Moody's love for his mother coloured his perception of her Unitarianism. Moody's fiancée, Emma Revell, who would later write much of Dwight's correspondence on his behalf and can be counted on to express feelings with which he would be in agreement, sent a note to his mother a year before their marriage. In it she indicated that Moody had asked her to read one of Betsy's letters to him. In so doing she had

learned the false impression you had in regard to me because of our different views on religion. I thought by what you wrote that you had the idea that because I was a baptist and you was of a different sect, that I would not esteem you as much, but please do not think so a moment longer for I assure you that it makes no difference in regard to my feelings. I think that it makes very little difference to what sect we belong to here on earth, as long as our hearts are right in the sight of God. I thought also that you might have thought that because Mr. Moody was of a different denomination to what he had been trained in youth, that his love and respect for his mother had abated, but I know that such is not the case. Besides some of Mr. Moody's warmest friends are unitarians.⁷⁴

Betsy would later make a profession of faith under Moody's own ministry but, until she did, he would undoubtedly have shown the same kind of tolerance and purposeful ignorance to the elements of his mother's faith with which he could not agree as he later would to Henry Drummond in a similar situation. Moody would never have suggested that Unitarianism was an acceptable or adequate expression of Christianity. His early letters home following his own conversion are full of references to his concern for his

⁷³ Chapman, *Moody*, pp. 64-73.

⁷⁴ Letter to Mrs. Moody from Emma Revell, 26 October 1861, Yale, (28,I,8).

family's salvation.⁷⁵ But this early experience with a faith outside the one he would later embrace would be the first of many experiences which would serve to prepare him for a ministry that transcended sectarian lines and which allowed him to play a conciliatory role between less forbearing associates.

Moody's sporadic schooling during his childhood was interrupted by his own disinterest, by his indomitable energy and by the requirements of the small farm Betsy had been able to retain.⁷⁶ Throughout these childhood experiences, Moody displayed the playful good humour which would characterize his later years. To his rendition of Mark Antony's funeral oration over Julius Caesar for the closing exercises at school, Moody brought a presumably empty shoe box as a visual aid to augment his performance. This 'coffin' went on the teacher's desk which became the 'bier'. At the end of the speech, with a flourish he whipped off the lid of the box from which leapt a frazzled old tom cat, to the delight of the boys, the horror of the girls and the consternation of the teacher. This side of Moody never left him. Later, when boys at his Northfield school invited him to a tug of war, he consented, joining at one end of the rope. The opposite team pulled valiantly but vainly since Moody had tied his end to an oak tree. And Moody's suggestion to a little girl, who was playing hide and seek in his house with the other children, that she sneak down to a bathroom, which was in darkness, and slide into the bathtub without turning on

⁷⁵ See for instance his letter to Mother from Chicago 13 October 1856, bound Moody letters, volume 1, Moodyana Collection, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, Illinois, hereinafter cited as MBI; to George, 17 March 1857 and 28 April 1860; Moody letters, volume 1, MBI.

⁷⁶ Findlay estimates that Moody attained the equivalent of an American fifth grade education. See his *Moody*, pp. 40-41. This is a perhaps generous assessment when one wades through Moody's cumbersome correspondence. In all fairness, however, his spelling improved considerably in later years although he never developed much of an appreciation for punctuation marks.

the lights, was revealed to be less helpful than she expected; her screams from the darkened room betrayed her discovery that she had slipped into a tub full of water which Moody had drawn in anticipation of a good joke.⁷⁷ Gamaliel Bradford's portrayal of Moody's world as one that had no place for 'the wit of Mercutio, or for the riotous laughter of Falstaff and Sir Toby Belch' is a gross injustice to him.⁷⁸

Far from being incidental, these examples are vital for gaining an insight into the kind of person Moody was. They are but a few of scores of similar events. Moody's joking, fun-loving personality always stood out, especially in the later years when he was surrounded by so many people of whom one never reads any similar accounts.⁷⁹ Moody believed wholeheartedly in evangelistic Christianity and the bible and in all the other issues which would later be at stake in the Fundamentalist debates of the early twentieth century. But he carried to all such situations a personality which possessed a happy, lighter side that balanced out any undue fervency on doctrinal matters, a balance which, seemingly, was in short supply among his successors.

The limitations of farm life evidently weighed heavily upon Moody. At seventeen, against the wishes of his family, Moody set out for Boston where he secured a job working in his uncle's shoe store. If Moody's Northfield religious experiences laid a solid

⁷⁷ W. R. Moody, *Moody*, pp. 29-30; letter from Clara C. Richmond to Moody Institute friends, St. Elgin, Illinois, 17 February 1960, Yale letters, (28,I,1); interview with Mrs. W. R. Moody, file entitled 'Mrs WRM file', p. 2, n.d., MBI; see also letter to 'My dearly beloved Purcy [sic], the Hallet, n.d., Yale letters, (28,I,1); also letter to 'My dear grandfather', Mt. Hermon, Mass., 22 November 1895, Moody letters, volume 6, MBI.

⁷⁸ Gamaliel Bradford, *D. L. Moody: A Worker in Souls*, Doubleday, New York, 1928, p. 38.

⁷⁹ The only person who seems to have shared this facet of Moody's disposition was Charles 'Charlie' Alexander, who was educated in the music programme at MBI and later involved in the Torrey and Chapman evangelistic crusades. In contrast to the dour and intense Torrey and the very proper Chapman, Alexander was almost out of place.

though benign spiritual basis, his Boston years built upon that foundation. Among the conditions under which Moody entered into the employ of his uncle, he agreed to attend church and Sunday school faithfully. The church which he chose, Mount Vernon Congregational church, placed him not only in the mainstream of American evangelicalism but also that of revivalism. The minister, Edward N. Kirk, having established his reputation as a successful 'New Measures' revivalist, paid two visits to Great Britain in 1837 and a third in 1846. While there he was involved in several successful evangelistic campaigns. There is no evidence that Moody ever heard Kirk speak specifically of these periods in England, but it is difficult to believe that the minister of a church which prided itself on being established as a 'revival church' would not have exploited these experiences somewhere in the course of his preaching at Mt. Vernon or that his parishioners would not have had at least a general awareness of their minister's earlier work. Moody himself would later make several trips to England for the purpose of study and for meeting leading evangelical leaders there before returning in 1873 for the Great Mission. This being Moody's first exposure to a traditional church setting outside Northfield, it is not too much to assume that the influence of this eminent American evangelical with his revivalist background might have planted the idea of some sort of overseas experience in Moody's young and adventurous mind.⁸⁰

While at Mt. Vernon Church, in April 1855, Moody made a definite Christian commitment under the ministry of his Sunday school teacher, Edward Kimball. W. R. Moody asserts that 'from the moment that Moody accepted Christ, his whole life changed'.

⁸⁰ Carwardine, Trans-atlantic Revivalism, pp. 74-77, 135; Findlay, Moody, p. 49.

This seems overstated; even Moody's own testimony indicates that his conversion experience was the continuation of a long process that had begun with the obligatory devotional readings at home, a fact which struck some critics as rather incongruous considering his later evangelistic expectation of immediate 'decisions for Christ'.⁸¹ Moreover, as important as this experience was for Moody, it seems not to have carried with it a profound theological understanding of what he had done. Following his conversion, Moody described his feelings: 'I thought the old sun shone a good deal brighter...it was just smiling upon me...I fell in love with the birds', hardly profound testimony to a regenerative conversion experience.⁸²

Nevertheless, that it was a turning point of some sort for Moody is apparent from the almost immediate appearance of pious rhetoric in his letters home. The nature of this post-conversion correspondence would be evidence enough, if none other existed, of Moody's continued religious training following his back room experience with Kimball. The composition of these letters, coming from the pen of a young man who had little to say of a spiritual nature in his letters prior to this time nor any previous training in the ways of his new found Christian niche, clearly reflect the continued influence of some evangelical source; they sound affected and uncharacteristic of him at this point in his life. An example of a letter full of Christian catch-phrases is a note to his mother, speaking of his concern for his missing elder brother who had run away. Seeking to provide some solace he offers his hope that:

⁸¹ One person said, 'It's remarkable that he should be looking so much for immediate conversion[s] when he was brought so gradually himself.' Revival, 16, (11 July 1867, p. 86) as quoted by Findlay, Moody, p. 51.

⁸² W. R. Moody, Moody, p. 40.

God mite keep you and help you to brave up under the blow we do not know but that it is Gods way in taking him from us to drive us closer to him to let us know whare we should place ower affections I am willing for one to comit it all with him trusting to him I have faith in my Grate Lord I know he will do thing rite that is what I have to comfort me to know he does all things well and he also says that (Blessed are thay that mourn for thay shall be comforted) so let us look to God for his strength and guidance he has bin with us so far and we cannot belive he will forsake us now I have wep but when I think what Christ doss for us and how he suffered and think how he intreats us to come to him and we shall find pice and happiness I look a way to the Cross and hope I may meet my Dear Brother a gane beyond this life hoping you find pice in Christ I am yours...⁸³

The clumsiness of the attempt is offset by Moody's obvious desire for his mother's peace of mind. It is significant because many other letters like this provide the first and earliest evidence of Moody's growing concern for the salvation of souls, understandable considering his evangelical surroundings. These first crude, and perhaps slightly insulting, attempts at familial evangelisation would grow into the consuming force which would govern his life.

Following his conversion, on 16 May 1855, Moody appeared before the deacons of the Mt. Vernon Church pursuant to becoming a member. His responses to their questions were apparently inadequate for Moody failed his examination and was refused membership.⁸⁴ He was placed under the tutelage of two men assigned to the task but, even after a year with this assistance, his follow-up interview was not satisfactory⁸⁵; his

⁸³ Letter to Mother, 13 October 1856, Moody letters, volume 2, MBI.

⁸⁴ Minutes kept by Langdon S. Ward, Yale letters, (28,I,8).

⁸⁵ Ibid.

membership was postponed yet another two terms. Finally Moody was accepted in light of his apparent 'sincerity and earnest determination to be a Christian.'⁸⁶

This process, whereby church leaders would seek to determine the spiritual readiness and sincerity of a convert, was the sort of thing for which Jonathan Edwards had been lobbying in the eighteenth century in response to the laxity of the 'Half-way Covenant'. The restoration of church discipline was seen as a necessary and vital element of the awakening which followed and the deacons of Mt. Vernon church seemed to have carried on the Edwardsean cause with a vengeance. That Moody was somewhat traumatized by these youthful inquisitorial experiences is suggested by a hypothetical situation which he posed to Henry Ward Beecher thirteen years later in 1868, a scenario which had a strikingly autobiographical flavour to it. During that year, Moody attended an examination at Plymouth Congregational Church, New York, similar to the one to which he had been subjected as a boy. In the course of this examination, he vigorously questioned the minister, Beecher, whose fame was nation wide. 'Suppose', said Moody, 'that I should come here, a timid young man, scared nearly to death with the idea of being publicly examined before all these people, what would you do with me?' Beecher's response was, 'I cannot conceive that you could possibly come here under such circumstances.' But of course these were precisely the circumstances in which Moody had appeared before the Boston church board in 1855 and 1856. Findlay notes:

the earlier event had been a moment when Moody's ignorance and religious uncertainty stood nakedly revealed. Moreover, the church elders had

⁸⁶ Findlay, *Moody*, pp. 50-51; W. R. Moody, pp. 41-43.

rebuked him then for his inadequacies. The event remained a vivid memory for Moody fifteen years later.⁸⁷

This event is too lightly passed over by all of Moody's biographers, except perhaps Findlay, who only deals with it as an afterthought later in his book. But the intimidating terror of appearing as an earnest but ignorant new believer before an imposing panel of examiners, failing, being called back in a year and essentially failing again, must be appreciated. In the sequence of events leading to the development of Moody as a non-sectarian, sympathetic, sensitive person, this most uncomfortable event at that age when the effects of public humiliation are particularly painful, must be seen as a salient and formative experience.

One further Boston experience adds to the body of evidence illustrating Moody's non-sectarian upbringing. In addition to his involvement with Mt. Vernon Church, Moody's other important association was with the local YMCA, which was the charter chapter of the American branch of this organization.⁸⁸ At this time its evangelical ties were very strong and membership with an evangelical church was requisite for full membership in the YMCA. Moody's motives for joining had undoubtedly as much to do with the social opportunities it afforded as with the spiritual emphases.

Though not a voluntary society in precisely the sense of those institutions discussed earlier, the YMCA followed along the same lines. It was established by evangelicals as an evangelistic tool for converting the many homeless young men of the city. These narrow purposes were soon broadened as those who had been influenced by

⁸⁷ Findlay, *Moody*, pp. 94-5.

⁸⁸ The YMCA was first established in London by George Williams in 1884.

the ministry of the Boston YMCA began to involve themselves, in turn, in various local social services. Moody's involvement in the YMCA was vitally important. In the first place it provided a social diversion for this young boy virtually alone in a big city. It was also a training ground for Moody as he began to participate in varying and increasing capacities of leadership. Thirdly, it was out of prayer meetings in the New York YMCA that the Revival of 1857 began, a movement which would have a profound impact on Moody during his later days in Chicago. Finally, and again particularly important to our study, the interdenominational nature of the organization undoubtedly made an impact on Moody's growing understanding of Christianity. He would continue to be involved with the YMCA in some capacity for much of his life, an influence which would encourage his breadth and ecumenicity.⁸⁹

Limited possibility of advancement in his uncle's shop, coupled with personality conflicts with the family there, led Moody to move to Chicago in 1856.⁹⁰ He secured employment within two days and, almost as quickly, became a member of the Plymouth Congregational church. On the business front Moody met with admirable success, progressing from clerk to travelling salesman. In three years he had moved to a new company and, through special commissions, earned \$5000 above his regular salary, well on his way to the \$100,000 fortune which he had long hoped to amass. At the same time he enjoyed equally impressive results in his Christian activity. Upon his arrival in Chicago he had hired a pew at the Plymouth church and set about filling it each Sunday

⁸⁹ Findlay, *Moody*, pp. 46-8; Hudson, *Great Tradition*, pp. 77-8, 115-118.

⁹⁰ Hudson, *Great Tradition*, p. 111; Paul Moody, *My Father: An Intimate Portrait of Dwight Moody*, Hodder and Stoughton, n.d., p. 160.

through an aggressive street recruiting campaign. His pew allotment soon grew to four, all of which were filled. It was not long after this that he offered his services as a Sunday school teacher in a little mission Sunday school on North Wells Street. He was promised a room if he could provide a class; the following Sunday he arrived with eighteen boys.

Moody's ambition outgrew this class and, obtaining a dilapidated building on North Market Hall, he began his own Sunday school in the autumn of 1858. With the zeal that was a trademark of all his endeavours, he quickly built this enterprise into the largest Sunday school west of New York, attracting up to 1500 students. With this success, Moody decided to abandon his business aspirations. He moved into the YMCA in order to save money and became extensively involved there, ultimately advancing through the chairs of the administration, achieving the presidency in 1866 and retaining that position for a total of four years. Under his leadership, the association undertook a major building campaign and completed the first fully equipped YMCA structure in the United States in 1868. Three months later fire destroyed the building; within a year a new structure was completed, again under Moody's leadership.⁹¹

Under the auspices of the YMCA, Moody visited Civil War battlefields at least four times, led temperance and revival meetings, distributed bibles and tracts and visited prisoner-of-war camps. He also led extensive relief work in Chicago. In the course of these labours, Moody was called on to speak more and more frequently. His conviction of the need for a personal conversion was heightened by the greater urgency that accompanied the life and death struggles of battle. These war experiences had an impact

⁹¹ W. R. Moody *Moody*, p. 112, 108. The second structure was destroyed in the Chicago Fire of 1871. Moody played a part in the financing of the third building which was completed while Moody was in Britain, 1873-5.

on the methods that would later become his standard operating procedure. As his son said,

The peculiar surroundings and impressive conditions under which the work was conducted made it necessary to urge his hearers to accept immediate salvation, and this was ever afterwards a conspicuous feature of his manner of address. With wounded men, hovering between life and death, or with men on the march, resting in some place which they would have to leave the next day, it was, at least as far as he was concerned, the alternative of 'now or never'.⁹²

Moody's evangelistic work on the battlefield probably reinforced what seems to have been an almost morbid preoccupation with death which continued throughout his life. The following extracts from his correspondence illustrate well this fascination with the subject:

13 October 1856--Dear Mother, I have bin thinking to day that today prhaps my Dear brother was being beared [buried] I hope not I hope he still lives...28 April--1860, Dear George, [Moody's brother who had lost a wife]...I have thought offten how I should like to have the death mesenjer come for me whin I think thare is rest on the other side of Joden for the weary in the sweet fields of Eden whare the trea of life is bloomin oh what a butiful thought to contemplitate the world has no charms for me...4 March--1876, Dear Mother...I trust your last days on earth will be days of peace, joy, and the Holy Spirit. I am thankful God has spared you to us so long. Northfield would be lonesome without you, and I do not know what we will all do when you are gone...[taken from edited notes] 5 February 1888--Dear Mother...I hope you will be spared to us years to come, that is, if you do not suffer, although I think it will be much better in the next world for all of us...⁹³[taken from edited notes]

Where this obsession with death began is uncertain but it seems to coincide approximately with the time of his conversion. This timing would partly explain it since much of revivalist rhetoric centred on the joys of the heavenly hereafter. Moody's interest in the subject seemed, however, to exceed even the degree of emphasis that was

⁹² W. R. Moody, *Moody*, p.79.

⁹³ First three citations from Moody letters, volumes 1 and 2, MBI; last from Yale letters, (28,I,8).

characteristic of the evangelicalism of the time. His experiences during the war only served to heighten this emphasis. In this setting, the simplicity and assurance offered by an evangelical doctrine of immediate conversion would only be confirmed and strengthened. Boys preparing themselves for possible death on the battlefield would cling to the promises Moody could offer in his simple gospel; and even more so would the soldiers facing certain death in the hospital wards.⁹⁴ Not only would the already prevalent theology of immediate conversion be strengthened in such a setting, again, denominational and sectarian differences would tend to diminish and disappear. Furthermore, Moody's war experiences contributed many of the stories he would later use as sermon illustrations. Even the terminology he used reflected a military flavour: '...he would call upon some worker to "reinforce" another, and would urge his associates to "press the fight all along the line"'.⁹⁵

Several other events occurred during the sixties that would help shape the man who would later visit Scotland. In 1862, Moody married nineteen year old Emma Revell whom he had met in the course of his Sunday school work. Emma was Moody's antithesis. She was quiet, unimpulsive, inclined to play a supporting role and physically quite weak. She was, however, of the same mind as her husband insofar as his work was concerned and proved to be a significant influence and support to him. Two years later Moody established the Illinois Street church to minister to those who had been drawn to Christianity through the North Market Street Sunday school. In the course of founding

⁹⁴ See Stan Nussbaum, 'D. L. Moody and the church: A study of the ecclesiological implications of extra-ecclesiastical evangelism', M.A. thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Ill., June 1973, p. 46 for similar thoughts on this subject.

⁹⁵ W. R. Moody, Moody, p. 79.

this church, Moody assisted in the drawing up of the bylaws, including a declaration of faith. More will be said on Moody's theology later but it is sufficient at this point to note that the church, while congregationalist in polity, though not officially affiliated with that body, ratified a document in which the 'articles of faith were clearly evangelical but strictly nondenominational'.⁹⁶ More and more Moody was solidifying his position as a nonsectarian evangelical.

Upon Moody's return from the war he set himself with renewed vigour to his Sunday school work. He became involved with Sunday school conventions, firstly on the state level and later throughout the midwest and nationally. In addition to supplementing his already considerable interdenominational experience, these conventions offered him increasingly widespread exposure. Moody's convention work was not limited to Sunday school ministries. The YMCA had state and international conventions, at least three of which Moody attended. It was at the Indianapolis convention of 1870 that Moody met Ira Sankey and ultimately persuaded him to leave his position with the U. S. Internal Revenue Service and join him in his work at Chicago. Sankey was born in 1840 in Edinburgh, Pennsylvania of devout Methodist parents. After his conversion at sixteen, the Sankeys moved to Newcastle where he joined a church, taught and eventually superintended Sunday school. An important element in this work included group singing which the musical Sankey led with great enthusiasm. He organized youth choirs in which he 'insisted on Christian character and deportment, and also on the clear enunciation of the

⁹⁶ Gundry, Love Them In, p. 39.

words sung.⁹⁷ He fought in the war, using the opportunity to lead a group of 'musical soldiers'. Upon his return from battle he resumed his Sunday school duties in 1863. It was as the Newcastle delegate to the Indianapolis Sunday school convention that Sankey met Moody and began the famous partnership.

Following the tragic Chicago fire of 1871, Sankey returned to his home, having informed Moody to send for him when he was needed. Moody set his hand to the task of rebuilding, sending out subscription letters such as the following:

Fifty Churches and Missions are in ashes, and the thousands of men, women and children are without any Sabbath home...The Grog shops are already rebuilding and some are doing business. The theatres are helping the theatres. The infidel Turner Hall which desecrated the Sabbath so many years is to be promptly rebuilt. Will you help us?...⁹⁸

One of the first buildings to appear amid the ruins and ashes two and a half months after the conflagration was Moody's North Side Tabernacle. It proved to be a vital centre for relief work as well as a continuation of the ministries of the North Market Hall Sunday School and the Illinois Street church, both of which had been destroyed in the fire. Within two weeks, Moody sent for Sankey, who returned as he had promised, carrying on the work of the Tabernacle while Moody made his third trip to Great Britain in 1872. It was upon his return from this journey that plans were laid to go back and reap a harvest of '10,000 souls' in Britain.⁹⁹

Moody's earlier journeys to Great Britain, including one in 1867, had afforded him the opportunity to meet several prominent churchmen in both Scotland and England,

⁹⁷ E. J. Goodspeed, A Full History of the Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey in Great Britain and America, Henry Goodspeed and Co., New York, 1876, p. 47.

⁹⁸ Letters dating 24 November 1871 and 20 March 1872, Moody letters, volume 1, MBI.

⁹⁹ Goodspeed, Moody and Sankey, pp. 45-58.

including Charles Spurgeon¹⁰⁰ and George MÜller. MÜller's Brethrenism endorsed inerrancy, premillennialism, simplicity, and the role of the laity, all of them notable Moody tenets. Moody's later theological developments along Arminian lines would eventually put him at odds with the more militantly Calvinistic Brethren, but the impact of MÜller as well as Henry Moorhouse, who had preached for Moody in the United States and later shared his pulpit during the Great Britain campaigns, was substantial.¹⁰¹ Also of importance, Moody made the acquaintance of R. C. Morgan whose weekly religious periodical, The Revival, (later The Christian) would become the chief organ of propaganda for Moody when he commenced his work in Britain. There is, however, no indication that Moody intended to return to Britain. His closing remarks to a YMCA breakfast in London indicated this: 'I do not know that I shall ever have this privilege [of returning to London] again; it is not likely that I shall...'.¹⁰²

The Great Chicago Fire of 1871 had as much to do with changing his mind about returning to Britain as anything did. In it he lost, for the second time in three years, the great Farwell Hall (the YMCA building), his beloved North Market Hall, the new Illinois Street church, his own home and all of his belongings except for his bible and an oil painting of himself which Mrs. Moody saved. Undoubtedly the immensity of these losses took their toll emotionally. With the Chicago work back on its feet and in the capable hands of Sankey, Moody's unexpected third visit to Great Britain in June 1872 probably

¹⁰⁰ Findlay, Moody, p. 145; Letter from Westwood, Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood, 15 May 1884, file entitled 'Misc. DLM files', MBI.

¹⁰¹ Gundry, Love Them In, pp. 44-6, 165-6, 177-81.

¹⁰² W. R. Moody, Moody, p. 123.

had as much to do with the need to recuperate as it did with visiting 'English Bible students' as his son suggests.¹⁰³

Unlike the first visits, this journey to Britain seemed to be specifically testing the waters for possible future work there. It was during this time that Moody made contacts with men whose encouragement planted the seeds for the great revival work which was to come, including William Pennefather, founder of the Mildmay Conference, and Cuthbert Bainbridge of Newcastle-on-Tyne, two rather influential English evangelicals. Invited to speak at several locations, Moody enjoyed some modest evangelistic successes. On the strength of what was evidently a rather flimsy return invitation from Pennefather and Bainbridge, he returned to America with a new vision forming.

Once home, Moody announced his intention to return to Britain, invited Sankey to join him and, with little more than the vaguely promised support of two sponsors, they docked in Liverpool on 17 June 1873. Upon their arrival they discovered that both potential British benefactors had died in the interim since Moody's previous trip. They determined to wait and see if any 'doors would be opened'; otherwise they would return home. An opportunity presented itself in York and Moody snatched it. The initial response did not bode well for them; four people attended the first evening's meeting.¹⁰⁴ The two evangelists moved on to Sunderland where they seem to have enjoyed more success, hiring the Victorian Hall to seat 'the thousands' admittedly attracted, in part, by

¹⁰³ Findlay, Moody, p. 130, 133-4; W. R. Moody, Moody, p. 138.

¹⁰⁴ John MacPherson, Revivals and Revival Work--A Record of the Labours of D.L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey and Other Evangelists, London, no date, p. 98.

the novelty of Sankey's 'singing the gospel'.¹⁰⁵ It was then on to Newcastle where their fortunes continued to improve. Nevertheless Moody was aware of the criticism levelled at him; he was not ordained and therefore unacceptable to the Anglicans, he was crude in his preaching and Sankey sang 'mere human hymns' accompanied on his harmonium, a matter of suspicion to most churchmen. He intended to remain in Newcastle until the doubters had been won over but did not do so.

Even while in York, Moody had been dropping hints, courtesy of Mr. Morgan's Christian, that he would be open to work in Scotland. The Reverend John Kelman of the port town of Leith, at the urging of his brother in Sunderland, visited Newcastle to hear Moody for himself.¹⁰⁶ He was evidently impressed and extended an invitation to the evangelist, having rallied the support of the local clergy for a Moody visit to Edinburgh. At that time, Moody had already received an invitation to Dundee. A slightly piqued contemporary pastor from Dundee, John MacPherson, grudgingly admitted later that the choice of Edinburgh as first stop in Scotland was probably the wisest although 'long before Edinburgh had dreamt of the matter, the evangelists had promised their services for Dundee'.¹⁰⁷

Whatever the eventual successes in the early English efforts, it is clear that Moody and Sankey were still feeling their way along. W. R. Moody paints a much rosier picture

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 61. Initial response portended an equally poor showing there; only one minister supported them in Sunderland at first. W. R. Moody, Moody, p.149.

¹⁰⁶ W. J. Couper, Scottish Revivals, James P. Mathew and Co., Dundee, 1918, p. 143.

¹⁰⁷ MacPherson, Labours, p. 65.

of the first weeks than the evidence suggests. MacPherson, who acknowledges great progress between York and Newcastle, still portrays these endeavours as anticipatory:

'The more striking circumstance of the work at Newcastle was that it seemed to ring the great bell of heaven by calling the attention of the Godly throughout the land, summoning Christians to prayers in a spirit of awakened expectancy, and a feeling as of something remarkable about to happen.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 64-65.

Chapter 3. RELIGION IN VICTORIAN SCOTLAND

Much has been written about Moody's work in Great Britain. There is a particular element of that work, however, which deserves far greater attention than it has received and that is his work in Scotland. Many accounts describe the Scottish mission, mostly written during or shortly after it. But there has been no work yet written which sets the Scottish mission in its particular historical context. There seems to be a tacit assumption among modern historians that speaking of the England mission, and particularly the London mission, the size of which automatically draws attention to itself, is tantamount to speaking about the rest of Great Britain. With the exception of McLoughlin who does deal with some elements of the Scottish historical context, every scholarly attempt to consider Moody's work in Great Britain directs attention primarily at England and deals inadequately with the Scottish aspect.¹⁰⁹

This is an unfortunate deficiency which the present study will seek to redress. Moody's work in Scotland deserves to be considered in its own right for several reasons. Firstly, the religious settings in Victorian England and Scotland were considerably different. In 1690, following a century of vacillating fortunes, presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland under William and Mary and by the time of the Great Mission in 1873 it was firmly entrenched as the Scottish national religious consciousness, albeit

¹⁰⁹ See McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 185-197; Findlay, Moody, pp. 153-162; Kent, Holding the Fort, pp. 134 ff.; Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, p. 200.

compulsively schismatic.¹¹⁰ England, of course, remained an episcopalian realm.

Evangelists in England prior to Moody rapidly discovered that revivalism did not readily commend itself to Anglicanism. The prominence in the Church of England of a priestly class, elaborate liturgies and a sacramental theology placed the revivalist at an immediate disadvantage. Carwardine argues that 'the most powerful and conspicuous... institutional check on revivalism [in England] was the Established Church, regarded...as an "incubus resting on the nation to a great extent, so far as revivals and piety are concerned."' The church 'did possess an evangelical wing...but it was neither strong nor enthusiastic enough to shift the Established Church from its broadly anti-revival stance.'¹¹¹ In contrast, Scotland maintained a low church tradition with its emphasis on the bible and preaching. It also affirmed the priesthood of all believers, inherent in a presbyterian system which ordained both clerics and laymen to ministry. This milieu immediately provided a much more congenial atmosphere for a revivalist, particularly for the layman Moody whose chief weapons were his simple sermons and Sankey's far from sophisticated music.

There was, moreover, a far greater similarity between the Scottish religious milieu and that in America as contrasted with the English/ American similarities.

Presbyterianism was a leading denomination not only in American religious life but also, as has been seen in an earlier chapter, in the entire history of American revivalism.¹¹² The

¹¹⁰ George M. Tuttle, *So Rich a Soil--John McLeod Campbell on Christian Atonement*, Handsel Press, Edinburgh, 1986, p. 33; J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, Oxford University Press, London, 1960, pp. 253 ff.

¹¹¹ Carwardine, p. 152; see also pp. 136, 139 for example of Church of England opposition to Finney.

¹¹² Ronald G. Cant has dealt briefly with this relationship in his article entitled, 'Scottish and American Presbyterianism--Their Relation in the Revolutionary Age', *Scotland, Europe and the American Revolution*, eds.

Scottish presbyterian church was much more representative of the typical American religious setting in which Moody was used to working than was conventional Anglicanism. He would undoubtedly have felt more comfortable with such a system than with the hierarchical, liturgical Anglican Church. In fact, it was almost exclusively the non-conformist churches that were to support him during his later work in England.¹¹³

There were, of course, dissimilarities between American protestantism, even American presbyterianism, and the Scottish church, but Moody found in Scotland a relatively more comfortable and familiar venue than he did in England. The Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church and the other splinter presbyterian groups which supported Moody, as well as the minority of the Established Church which shared the same positive attitude, together represented a Scottish support which was predominantly presbyterian. In this way, the Moody mission in Scotland became uniquely nationalistic. In England, he would always be supported by churches and churchmen on the periphery of 'official' national religious life; never inconsequential in number, these were nonetheless peripheral and unable to tap into a unified English religious identity.¹¹⁴

Another way in which the Scottish religious atmosphere was very different from that in England and therefore has to be considered independently is the pronounced theological and philosophical insularity which existed north of the border for the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. England was alive with speculative thought in every

Owen Dudley Edwards and George Shepperson, Edinburgh, 1976, pp. 89-91; see also Hudson, Religion in America, p. 118.

¹¹³ For examples of high church Anglican opposition to Moody see W. R. Moody, p. 211-12; Kent, Holding the Fort, pp. 138-9, 132, 141-3.

¹¹⁴ See for instance letter of support from Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York, Times of Blessing, 18 June 1874, p. 156; Kent, Holding the Fort, pp. 136, 155.

field, a tendency which had begun by the early 1800s to encroach upon the previously sacrosanct ground of theology. Thinkers like Samuel Taylor Coleridge(1772-1834), content to work within the church they still loved, were beginning to propound Romanticism in contrast to the Christian Rationalism which had been dominant. For Coleridge, the strength of Christianity lay not in proofs nor in dogmas nor in an inspired scripture but in its ability to meet the needs of mankind.¹¹⁵ Agnostic thinkers like the novelist George Eliot(1819-1880) went further, endorsing religions as valuable for promoting morality in society, but personally rejecting her own evangelical upbringing because of what she considered to be inhumane doctrines such as predestination and damnation. Eliot espoused the idea of 'one comprehensive Church where fellowship consists in the desire to purify and ennoble human life.'¹¹⁶ Still other thinkers like John Stuart Mill(1806-1872), Francis Newman(1805-1897) and poet A. C. Swinburne(1837-1909) shared neither Coleridge's commitment to the faith nor Eliot's tolerance towards the religious beliefs of others. They were prepared to throw off most of Christianity as not only useless but even damaging because of the bondage and guilt which it imposed upon

¹¹⁵ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Aids to Reflection and the Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, new edition, George Bell and Sons, London 1884, pp. 143, 272-3, 126, xvi; Basil Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies--Coleridge to Matthew Arnold, London, 1949, pp. 1-9, 27-43; Bernard M. G. Reardon, Religious Thought in the Victorian Age--A Survey From Coleridge to Gore, Longman, London, 1980, pp. 69-89; also Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church--An Ecclesiastical History of England, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1970, (vols. I and II), vol. I, pp. 534-5.

¹¹⁶ See Gordon S. Haight, The George Eliot Letters, Oxford Press, London, 1956, letter to H. B. Stowe, 11 November 1874 vol. VI, pp. 89, 338-9; also vol. I, pp. 124, 330, 143-4, 151; vol. II, pp. 126, 139-40; vol. IV, pp. 64-5, 104; vol. V, p. 31. Also Chadwick, vol. II, pp. 119-20; Reardon, p. 258.

its adherents.¹¹⁷ These various thinkers represented a slow but inexorable trend in England away from what they perceived as effete Calvinism towards a positivistic, meliorist humanism. The authority of the bible was rejected or diminished, Christianity was perceived as one of several equally valid attempts to reach God, and Christ was reduced to the status of exemplar.¹¹⁸

English speculation was not limited to the arenas of theology or philosophy. In 1859 Charles Darwin published On The Origin of Species,¹¹⁹ providing for the first time a mass of data to support the theory of natural selection as the means of the evolutionary process. In a comparatively short period of time his theories gained widespread acceptance even among the more intellectual sections of the Churches' membership. Though he denied to Tennyson that these ideas 'told against Christianity', they were perceived by many conservative churchmen as doing just that. Natural selection attacked the authority of scripture by refuting the biblical account of creation. Even more insidiously, it included mankind with the rest of the organisms which were seen as benefiting from continued and progressive improvement, thus striking at a basic Christian tenet, the uniqueness and supremacy of man in God's creative scheme, a man made in God's own image. It struck at the concept of man as the apogee and steward of creation, a being specially designed for fellowship with God, and it hacked at the

¹¹⁷ H. J. McCloskey, John Stuart Mill: A Critical Study, MacMillan, London, 1971, pp. 162-3, 168-9; Eugene August, John Stuart Mill--A Mind at Large, Vision Press, London, 1976, pp. 246-7; Willey, pp. 114, 183, 141-9, 176-86.

¹¹⁸ Francis Newman even cast doubt upon the validity of this approach. See his Phases of Faith, Trubner, London, 1874, ninth edition, pp. 139-163.

¹¹⁹ Sixth edition, John Murray, London, 1890.

traditional doctrine of the atonement which insisted upon a humanity, tainted by Adam's fall, which was irredeemably evil and in need of a saviour.¹²⁰

A third area of ferment south of the border centred upon the study of scripture. The result of German critical scholarship had begun to make its way across the Channel by the 1840s. George Eliot was one of its first disseminators, translating David Strauss' Leben Jesu into English in the mid 1840's a few years after its publication in 1835. The publication in 1860 of Essays and Reviews, a collection of writings by seven liberal Anglicans, including Benjamin Jowett, Master of Baliol College and regius professor of Greek at Oxford, was a pivotal point in the acceptance of more liberal methods of biblical interpretation.¹²¹ Following shortly after, in 1863, Bishop John William Colenso of Natal in South Africa was deposed for publishing his work The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined, which expressed doubts as to the historicity of both Moses and Joshua and pointed out incompatible accounts of creation within Genesis.

While England was thus embroiled, Scotland remained amazingly insulated from the results of these intellectual forays. The major reason for this state was the continuing custodial oversight provided by the Westminster Confession.¹²² In Scotland, unlike

¹²⁰ John Kent, From Darwin to Blatchford--The Role of Darwinism in Christian Apologetic, 1875-1910, Dr. Williams Trust, London, 1966, pp. 7-10; also Michael Ruse, The Darwinian Revolution, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1979; Ian G. Barbour, Issues in Science and Religion, S. C. M. Press, London, 1966; J. S. Wilkie, 'Buffon, Lamarck and Darwin: The originality of Darwin's theory of evolution', Darwin's Biological Work, ed. P. R. Bell, 1965, reprinted in Science and Religious Belief--A Selection of Recent Historical Studies, ed. B. A. Russell, Hodder and Stoughton, Guildford, 1979.

¹²¹ Essays and Reviews, John W. Parker and Son Pub., London, 1860, pp. 337, 330-381; Chadwick, II, pp. 78-83.

¹²² Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, The Scottish Church, 1688-1843, Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1973, p. 104. The Westminster Confession of Faith, publication committee of the Free Presbyterian

England, the Confession had enjoyed unchallenged prominence from the date of its ratification in 1647.¹²³ Subscription to it was required almost immediately of the clergy and soon after of all university teachers. Though it was putatively a subordinate standard, it had become in reality the litmus test for orthodoxy.¹²⁴ Any deviation from the Westminster document resulted in swift reprisals, thus effectively stifling much of the sort of speculative thought that was taking place in England. At about the time Eliot was translating Strauss' work, for instance, a work which postulated a 'myth theory' regarding the life of Christ and denied the historicity of the biblical miracles, John McLeod Campbell (1800-1872), parish minister of Rhu, was being deposed in Scotland as a heretic for daring to espouse the idea of an unlimited universal atonement. The Confession's stranglehold on Scotland continued late into the nineteenth century.¹²⁵

In short, though there was some innovative thinking in Scotland, it was severely limited by the constraints which the Confession imposed. The ratification of Declaratory Acts which modified subscription vows in the various denominations, beginning shortly after the first Moody mission was completed in 1875, came as a relief to those of scrupulous integrity who were finding it increasingly difficult to affirm in toto Christian

Church of Scotland, 1958. See The Scotsman, 6 January 1847, 16 September 1848, for examples of controversy over the confession. Also 1888 May, August, September, October, and November issues of The Signal.

¹²³ John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, Oxford Press, New York, 1954, p. 326.

¹²⁴ Drummond and Bulloch, 1688-1843, p. 206; Burleigh, p. 287.

¹²⁵ An example of the volatile nature of this issue can be found in the pages of The Signal, a thoroughly Calvinistic and presbyterian 'magazine devoted to the maintenance of sound doctrine and pure worship'. Contributors and supporters included the irrepressible John Kennedy of Dingwall and R. S. Candlish, both prominent members of the most truculent and pugnacious cabal within Scottish presbyterianism, the Highlanders. Conceived and initially edited by James Begg, it was a vociferous defender of an untainted, unexpurgated Confession and represented strident, dogmatic Calvinism at its most indignant. See The Signal, March 1882, pp. 1-2; November 1883, pp. 169-172; 1 October 1882, pp. 18-19; 1 May 1884, p. 159; 1 July 1884, pp. 201-1; 1 August 1882, p. 2 and August 1888.

dogma as set down in the Confession. Only with the growth of Scottish liberal evangelicalism in the last two decades of the nineteenth century would theological minds begin to consider, on a broad scale, the kinds of questions which had been asked fifty years earlier in England. The Scotland to which Moody came in 1873 was, unlike England, still steeped in Calvinism, and relatively untouched by the controversial theories which were by that time fairly widespread south of the border.¹²⁶

Besides the differences between the Scottish and English religious scenes, there is a second reason that the Scottish mission deserves individual attention. As Findlay put it, 'In Scotland Moody probably came closer than at any other time in his career to igniting a revival in the classic sense in which Christians had viewed that phenomenon up to the nineteenth century.'¹²⁷ Prior to this time, revival was seen as an entirely unorchestrated, sovereign work of God. A movement would begin in one place and word travelled to other communities, sometimes resulting in similar awakenings there. Normally there was a note of surprised spontaneity, not only towards the original revival but also towards the others which sprang up in sympathetic response. Such an occurrence followed the Cambuslang Revival in 1742, when ministers from Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Irvine and elsewhere, having witnessed the event, returned to their home parishes to lead similar awakenings there.¹²⁸ With the advent of 'professional revivalism' and the accompanying theories on 'worked up revivals', awakenings usually centred on the individual evangelist.

¹²⁶ Reardon, pp. 396-7.

¹²⁷ Findlay, pp. 156-57.

¹²⁸ W. J. Couper, Scottish Revivals, p. 46.

This would tend to be the case for Moody in England, but there was an indigenous element to the Scottish revival of 1873-74 which was unique.

In a presentation to the Free Church General Assembly of 1874, an elder from Overtown, Campbell White, reported that in 'Dumbartonshire where he lived, showers of blessings had descended not in connection with the visit, but before the visit of Mr. Moody and Mr. Sankey'. Similar reports were offered by Mr. Henderson of Crieff, Mr. Campbell of Ayr, The Reverend G. H. Knight of Dollar and representatives from Elie and Dalkeith.¹²⁹ Archibald Charteris, the indefatigable voice of support within the Church of Scotland, described the happenings as a 'real revival of religion'.¹³⁰ His enthusiasm for the movement must be considered in weighing his testimony but his 'dislike' of the earlier '59 Revival lends credibility to his approbation of the later work.¹³¹ Andrew Bonar described it in similar fashion as a 'tide of real revival'.¹³² McLoughlin in his more circumspect style admitted that Moody's greatest success in the British Isles was in Glasgow and Edinburgh.¹³³ The British and Foreign Evangelical Review said that

it is quite possible to give to Mr. Moody and Mr. Sankey the fullest and heartiest acknowledgments of invaluable service, and yet to hold that the causes of revival lay much deeper than with them or their visit. The truth is, that in many parts of Scotland where they have never been, there has been a

¹²⁹ Ibid.; Scotsman, 27 May 1874; Times of Blessing, 18 April 1874, pp. 13-16; 25 April 1874, p. 30.

¹³⁰ Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Mission Record, 1 April 1874.

¹³¹ Church of Scotland Record, 1 April 1874, p. 18.

¹³² Marjory Bonar, Andrew A. Bonar, D.D.--Diary and Letters, Hodder and Stoughton, London.

¹³³ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 200.

work of grace more extensive in proportion to the population than in any place which they have visited.¹³⁴

The strength of this evidence and a lack of the same signs in England suggest a uniqueness to the Scottish mission reminiscent of earlier revival experiences there. Moody's two later missions were spent almost entirely in what he must have considered to be the hospitable environment of Scotland, suggestive of his own assessment of the relative impact of his evangelistic work in the two countries.

A third reason to consider Scotland on its own is of particular interest to this study. It allows us to consider the changing nature of evangelicalism from its Scottish beginnings in the early 1700s to its point of division in the late nineteenth century.

King William's message to the 1690 Scottish Assembly suggested that 'moderation is what religion enjoins, neighboring churches expect from you and we recommend to you.'¹³⁵ From this admonition had stemmed the 'Moderate' tradition and the ecclesiastical party which came to be associated with co-operation and submission to the State. In addition to this attachment to the State, the Moderates tended to be sympathetic to the developments of the Enlightenment and less concerned about the perpetuation of strict Calvinism and the defence of the Westminster Confession. Though in a minority numerically, its members gained control over the government of the Church.¹³⁶ In opposition there stood the group known as the 'Evangelicals'. They tended to be less well educated than their Moderate counterparts and were disdainful of the literary and

¹³⁴ Volume 23 1874. p. 480. See similar report in the report on the State of Religion and Morals to the Free Church General Assembly, May 1874.

¹³⁵ McNeill, p. 354.

¹³⁶ Ibid.; Carwardine, p. 99; Burleigh, pp. 328-29.

intellectual fruit of the Enlightenment of which they thought their more liberal brethren partook with all too much alacrity. The Evangelicals also stood against what they perceived as the Moderate party's inadequate defence of Calvinism as expressed in the Westminster Confession. Two incidents particularly illustrate this conflict.

In 1717 the Presbytery of Auchterarder formulated a subscription to which all of its licentiates for the ministry were required to accede.¹³⁷ One of its clauses read 'I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God.' The statement was intended as a reaffirmation of the Confession's doctrine of unconditional grace but was badly worded. When one ministerial candidate challenged the statement, the Assembly ruled in his favour, declaring the statement to be 'unsound and most detestable'. Those who endorsed the statement and opposed the General Assembly's denunciation of it came to be known as Evangelicals; thus they stood for a more rigorous adherence to the Westminster Confession.

The conflict which was brewing as a result of this situation grew more heated when a book entitled The Marrow of Divinity was circulated among some of the ministers. The Marrow of Divinity was a strong restatement of the unconditional grace of God in salvation, so much so that when the book was brought before the General Assembly in 1720, its advocates were charged with Antinomianism, a common charge

¹³⁷ For information on both the Auchterarder incident and the Marrow of Divinity controversy, see James K. Cameron, 'Theological controversy: a factor in the origins of the Scottish Enlightenment', in R. H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner (eds.), The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1982, pp. 120-122; M. Charles Bell, Calvin and Scottish Theology-The Doctrine of Assurance, The Handsel Press, Edinburgh, 1985, pp. 151-153; also Burleigh, pp. 288-91.

levelled at high Calvinists who averred that man could do nothing to merit God's grace, including repenting of sin.¹³⁸ The General Assembly condemned the book and, when twelve men appealed that decision in 1722, not only was the decision upheld, the men were censured for their continued defiance. The 'Marrow men', including Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, eventually became the leaders of the Secession of 1733, taking many of the Evangelicals with them.¹³⁹

The nature of the Evangelical party began to change during the eighteenth century. Educational accomplishments among them improved over the decades. John Erskine (b.1721) of Greyfriars Edinburgh, Andrew Thomson (b.1778) of St. Georges Edinburgh and Thomas Chalmers were three eminent scholars among their ranks.¹⁴⁰ Theologically they still held to the Westminster Confession and agreed with most of its doctrinal statements. For that matter, so did the Moderates. The differences between the two parties had as much to do with emphasis, temperament and politics as they did with theological disagreements. The continuing issue of patronage and the Evangelicals' disgruntlement with what they perceived to be the Moderates' obsequious deference to the State tainted every nominally theological battle that arose.¹⁴¹ In general, however,

¹³⁸ Bell, pp. 151-153.

¹³⁹ Ibid; The Assembly justified its condemnation on the basis of alleged variances with the Westminster Confession including charges that they taught that assurance was not essential (as opposed to the Confession's position of 'infallible assurance') and that they affirmed universal atonement (which the defendants denied). In fact, the Marrow men were stronger exponents of the high Calvinism found in the Westminster Confession than their accusers, ironical since the Confession was used against them. See Donald Beaton, "'The Marrow of Modern Divinity' and the Marrow controversy', Scottish Church History Society Records, volume 1, 1926, pp. 112-134; especially pp. 126, 129.

¹⁴⁰ Burleigh, pp. 313-317.

¹⁴¹ McNeill, p. 355.

Moderates were content to teach the commonplaces of natural or rational theology and to inculcate the prudential virtues. Evangelicals laid emphasis on the great Christian doctrines of sin, grace and redemption, and their aim was to awaken in their hearers a deep personal religious experience.¹⁴²

But by the turn of the nineteenth century there was a softening of some of the stricter Calvinistic doctrines among the Evangelicals, particularly those which pertained to the individual's salvation. As early as 1742 with the Cambuslang and Kilsyth revivals there was evidence of greater emphasis on preaching for conversion and on man's ability to respond to the gospel and a diminution of the Calvinistic principles of predestination and election. By the early 1800's, more and more Evangelicals were embracing such a modified Calvinism. Nevertheless, the Westminster Confession was still the rule and measure of orthodoxy. And even though a large percentage of its members secretly did not hold to it in its entirety, when the Church felt threatened, as it did by John McLeod Campbell, it was prepared to employ the Confession as a means of beating down heresy.¹⁴³

Campbell, a young Church of Scotland minister in the parish of Rhu, Dumbartonshire, was tried and deposed in 1831 for views which were perceived to run counter to Westminster theology.¹⁴⁴ Sharing the emphasis of his contemporary and friend, John Irving, on the fatherhood of God and the incarnation, Campbell's own study of scripture led him to repudiate the doctrine of limited atonement. In an attempt to alleviate the uncertainty of his congregation, Campbell began to preach the universal atonement.

¹⁴² Burleigh, p. 328; Tuttle, pp. 33-34.

¹⁴³ Tuttle, p. 34.

¹⁴⁴ For James B. Torrance's estimate of Campbell's importance see, 'The contribution of McLeod Campbell to Scottish theology', Scottish Journal of Theology, vol. 26, 1973, p. 295.

This fact was brought to the attention of his presbytery and ultimately the General Assembly which deposed him on the charges that he had taught 'the doctrine of universal atonement and pardon through the death of Christ, and also the doctrine that assurance is of the essence of faith and necessary to salvation'.¹⁴⁵ The flood gates were opened. Campbell's trial was followed by a rash of other similar cases which deposed both licentiates who could not subscribe to the Confession as well as clergymen who shared Campbell's position.¹⁴⁶

The Campbell case was important for several reasons. Firstly, it illustrated the strait-jacketed nature of a seventeenth century creed forced upon nineteenth century churchmen and continued attempts to break free from that strait-jacket.¹⁴⁷ Secondly, Campbell and his contemporaries John Irving and Thomas Erskine of Linlathen¹⁴⁸ represented early Scottish attempts to reply to the moral dilemmas inherent in Calvinistic Christianity in terms far more sensitive and conciliatory than those which would later come from critics such as Swinburne, Mill and Newman. Campbell's suggestion that Christ had died for all men, dangerously heretical in 1831, would scarcely have merited attention forty years later; much larger issues were at stake. The conservatives of the seventies would gladly have exchanged what had become, by then, a theological nuance,

¹⁴⁵ Drummond and Bulloch, 1688-1843, pp. 202-4; Tuttle, p. 23; D. Chambers, 'Doctrinal attitudes in the Church of Scotland in the pre-Disruption era: the age of John McLeod Campbell and Edward Irving', Journal of Religious History, vol 8, 1974-5, p. 164. Campbell was, in fact, charged with contravening the Act of the General Assembly of 1720 which had condemned the teaching of Marrow of Modern Divinity, Torrance, p. 296.

¹⁴⁶ Drummond and Bulloch, 1688-1843, pp. 204-6; Burleigh, pp. 329-333.

¹⁴⁷ See John Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century, Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1885, p. 152.

¹⁴⁸ For discussion of Erskine, considering briefly his influence on Campbell, see John B. Logan, 'Thomas Erskine of Linlathen--lay theologian of the inner light', Scottish Journal of Theology, 1984, volume 37, pp. 23-40.

for the battle in which they found themselves defending what Campbell's inquisitors would have considered unassailable Christian truths.

Thirdly, Campbell was able to hold together in tension two theological elements which would tend to separate in subsequent developments among evangelicals, namely the incarnation and the atonement. Perhaps this was due partially to his ignorance of the scientific, biblical and philosophical changes yet to come. The incarnational aspect of his theology would later be taken to greater extremes by others less interested in perpetuating conservative Christianity. Campbell's intent was to emphasize God's love shown to the world in Christ and Christ's identification with the plight of mankind. But with others this strand of thought would later evolve into a Christology which regarded Christ as exemplar and brother and which tended to rob him of divinity, something Campbell would not have agreed to. Furthermore, as incarnational Christology gained strength, there was a concomitant decline in emphasis on the atonement. The thinkers who tended to 'lower' Christ to man's level also tended to 'raise' man from the ranks of depravity to which Calvinism had consigned him. With such a positive view of mankind, untainted by original sin, the question of the atonement was, at the most, philosophical and secondary in importance. In other words, later thinkers tended to disregard or downplay one or the other of these elements. Those who emphasized Christ's humanity, normally the theological liberals, usually did not consider humanity to be fallen. Thus it was not atonement that was needed but an example set by one with whom mankind could identify. On the other hand, those who approached the subject with the presupposition of man's sinfulness declared that man needed a saviour, not an exemplar. Christ's atoning work

was therefore emphasized and his humanity played down. In Campbell, however, we see a theologian who held a high view of scripture and inspiration, gleaning from its study a new, compassionate understanding of God's soteriological purpose in Christ while clinging to a traditional understanding of man's sinfulness.¹⁴⁹ It should be noted that Moody would later strike the same kind of balance. Moody's biblicism dictated an emphasis on the sacrificial nature of Christ's work and the 'blood', but his genial breadth and earthy humanity lent to his message a strong element of merciful compassion.

Lastly, the result of the Campbell case and the years of heresy trials which followed announced clearly that, despite growing apprehension of the inadequacies of the Westminster Confession for a new age, the majority of churchmen were, as yet, unwilling to relinquish officially the stability and continuity which the document provided. Stringent Calvinism was still the order of the day.¹⁵⁰ The severity with which any attempts at testing the boundary lines of the Westminster Confession were crushed effectively exterminated, or at least suppressed, any 'innovative spirit' for twenty-five years. But by the sixties, fuelled by the discoveries in science and biblical studies, the Confession was again put to the test. The rigid adherence to it which had quashed all inquisitiveness in the thirties was seen increasingly as anachronistic.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Tuttle, pp. 89-96.

¹⁵⁰ For a biting parody of this brand of scholastic Calvinism see James Hogg's The Suicides Grave Being the Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner Written by Himself, J. Shiells and Co., London, 1895, p. 126.

¹⁵¹ Cheyne, A. C., The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution, St. Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1983, p. 62. See also Drummond and Bulloch, 1688-1843, pp. 214-16.

Tuttle argues that the theological and intellectual differences which had characterized the Moderates and the Evangelicals in the eighteenth century began to diminish in the nineteenth.¹⁵² The issue of patronage, however, continued to be a bugbear and led before long to the most violent rending of Scottish ecclesiastical life since the Reformation. The battle over the right of a congregation to have a voice in the selection of its own minister, a storm which had been brewing during the Ten Years Conflict, finally led to the departure of one third of the Church of Scotland ministers from the Assembly Hall in the Great Disruption of 1843.¹⁵³ Contrary to the expectations of the fledgling Free Church, its defection in 1843 did not desiccate the Church by Law Established; in fact, it had a revivifying effect. As the Free Church set about duplicating divinity halls, mission boards and parish churches, building for building, the Established Church with new found zeal, set itself to the task of securing endowments for the churches vacated by the Disruption.¹⁵⁴

The result was two churches, both stimulated by the challenges that lay before them, both rising to the occasion, and both still, to a greater or lesser extent, Calvinistic. The Free Church was evangelical but not yet evangelistic,¹⁵⁵ a word that smacked of the emotionalism of revivals and the heresy of the Rhu controversy, the two elements which had led to McLeod Campbell's downfall. Even less inclined in that direction was the Established Church. This was due more to its disdain of the excesses of revivalism than to

¹⁵² Tuttle, pp. 34-5.

¹⁵³ Findlay, p. 161.

¹⁵⁴ Burleigh, p. 376.

¹⁵⁵ MacRae, pp. 15-16.

a strong allegiance to the Confession. Yet by 1873, the majority of the Free Church endorsed and participated in Moody's work as did a much smaller but still influential segment of the Church of Scotland. By this point, high Calvinism had reached its peak and begun to decline. As the first generation of Free Churchmen had begun to die out, a new strain of softened evangelicalism similar to that for which Campbell had been deposed began to reassert itself. It is difficult to date this change precisely but the wide popularity of Campbell's book The Nature of the Atonement when it finally appeared in print in 1854, a work which expressed fundamentally the same views as those which had brought him so much trouble twenty years earlier, should be seen as a milestone in the process. Old school Calvinism would continue to have its champions, primarily among the Highland ministers, but the up and coming breed of evangelicalism, though still essentially Calvinistic and orthodox, was informed by the new views on morality prevalent among freethinkers both within and outwith the church.¹⁵⁶

Moody's arrival in Scotland also coincided with the period in which Scottish theologians began to grapple seriously with critical questions of biblical interpretation, issues which their English brethren had begun to consider a generation earlier. By the 1860s, the work of German biblical scholars such as F. C. Baur and Julius Wellhausen was casting increasingly lengthy shadows of doubt on long held and treasured confidence in scripture.¹⁵⁷ Generally, these critics argued that the bible could no longer be taken on special terms. It needed to be subjected to the same kind of rigorous scientific

¹⁵⁶ Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874, St. Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1975, p. 302.

¹⁵⁷ Chadwick, II, pp. 68-9.

examination as any other piece of literature. The general result was that traditional authorship was called into question, dates of individual books were set much later, the historicity of various Old Testament figures was placed in doubt, and the unity of many larger books, Genesis and Isaiah for instance, was disputed; in short, the bible was seen as a non-miraculous collection of writings from more and different authors than had previously been believed, containing errors and contradictions, and not to be relied upon in factual matters of an historical or scientific nature.

W. Robertson Smith was one of the shining lights of Scottish theology. He was offered the chair of Old Testament in the Aberdeen Free Church college in 1870 at the young age of 23. His Wellhausian sympathies became apparent in the article on 'the Bible' which he contributed to the 1875 edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica.¹⁵⁸

Evangelicals were outraged and brought pressure to bear on the 1878 Free Church General Assembly. The case dragged out for three years and was finally disposed of in 1880 when the Assembly, by a narrow majority, voted to withdraw the libel but found Smith's statements to be 'unguarded and incomplete'.¹⁵⁹ This rebuke might have been the end of it had not another volume of the Encyclopaedia Britannica appeared within ten days in which was found another Smith article even less 'guarded' than the previous one.¹⁶⁰ The

¹⁵⁸ Smith studied under Wellhausen and wrote the preface for the English translation of his *Prolegomena*; Richard A. Riesen, 'Criticism and Faith: William Robertson Smith on the Atonement', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, vol. 37, 1984, p. 171.

¹⁵⁹ For the most exhaustive treatment of the Smith case see J. S. Black and G. W. Crystal, *The Life of William Robertson Smith*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1912, pp. 179-451; John MacPherson, *A History of the Church in Scotland--From the Earliest Days Down to the Present Day*, Alexander Gardner, London, 1901, p. 417.

¹⁶⁰ Alfred Caves, 'Professor Robertson Smith and the Pentateuch', *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, vol. 29, number 112, April 1881, pp. 220-247; also *The Signal*, March 1886.

fact that it had obviously been written before the trial's outcome did not seem to matter.

In the face of what his enemies construed as a contemptuous disregard for church authority, he was brought up on charges in 1881 and dismissed from his teaching position.¹⁶¹

The Smith case is interesting in that the strings which connect various aspects of this study begin to tighten at this point. The Smith controversy took place near the end of Moody's first mission. Moody was strongly supported by many of the liberal evangelicals who were also Smith supporters. The list included Alexander Whyte, George Adam Smith and Henry Drummond.¹⁶² Equally significant, Smith's prosecution came about as a result of a review of his articles written by the conservative Archibald H. Charteris, professor of biblical criticism at Edinburgh University, who was also a strong Moody supporter.

The ranks of the Smith antagonists also included keen Moody men such as Horatius and Andrew Bonar.¹⁶³ The split personality of the Evangelical contingent within the Scottish church is thus clearly illustrated in this event. Those supporting Smith were not broad churchmen or Unitarians or deists. Many of them were strongly evangelical, believing as fervently as did Charteris and his conservative cohort, in the need for a 'personal

¹⁶¹ Riesen, pp. 171-2; Cheyne, pp. 44-52.

¹⁶² In a letter dated 21 May 1881, Drummond said, 'We are all much dejected here by the suicidal policy of the majority in their recent determination to lynch Smith. It will be a serious blow to the Church, and I fear nothing can avert it now.' Smith, Drummond, pp. 130-1; also G. F. Barbour, The Life of Alexander Whyte, D.D., Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1923, pp. 201-226.

¹⁶³ Black/Crystal, pp. 189-190; Donald Carswell, Brother Scots, Constable and Company, London, 1927, pp. 72, 90, 98.

commitment' to Christ. Smith himself, writing in 1878 in response to the accusations levelled at him, said

If I am asked why I receive Scripture as the Word of God, and as the only perfect rule of faith and life, I answer with all the fathers of the Protestant Church, 'Because the Bible is the only record of the redeeming love of God, because in the Bible alone I find God drawing near to men in Christ Jesus and declaring to us in Him His will for our salvation. And this record I know to be true by the witness of His Spirit in my heart, whereby I am assured that none other than God himself is able to speak such words to my soul.'¹⁶⁴

Many of Smith's supporters were actively involved in the Moody mission and in evangelistic work elsewhere as well.

His case illustrates three important facts: Firstly, the Evangelical party in the Scottish church was in the midst of transition. Men who shared an equally fervent and pious belief in evangelical principles, and even a reverence for scripture, found themselves in heated conflict over the question of the inspiration of scripture. The English had experienced this debate since the turn of the century. For the Scots, the Smith case was the first clear enunciation of the issue. It is also important as it exemplifies the role that Moody played early in his evangelistic career. The Smith trial would not take place until 1878 and finally be disposed of until 1881, just as Moody was returning for his second mission. In fact, the issue did not come to light until after Moody had left in 1875. But when the case did come before the ecclesiastical courts and the lines were drawn, it only served to illustrate more clearly what had been evident during Moody's ministry in Scotland: that he was able to find support from men on both sides of the argument. The true nature of Moody's ecumenical appeal and the complications which he would face as

¹⁶⁴ Riesen, pp. 172-3; Cheyne, p. 50; see also Carswell, p. 70. Though Riesen acknowledges Smith's evangelical affinities, he finds aspects of his theology, particularly his atonement theories, inadequate to support such a position.

reconciler of these two factions show themselves clearly and at an early stage in this incident.¹⁶⁵

Finally, the relatively mild censure which the pugnacious Smith received in contrast to the harshness of the treatment meted out to the more 'noble' McLeod Campbell fifty years earlier concerning charges which would never have been brought in Smith's day indicates the change that was taking place. In 1831 there was an eagerness to prosecute heresy. That policy, by 1881, had become far less appealing. Campbell's confidence in an unlimited universal atonement, heretical in his own time, was a received truth by the late 1870s when Moody's brand of evangelism was so widely supported, except by a few recalcitrant Highland Calvinists. There would be a handful more feeble attempts at inquisition, most notably against the figures of Marcus Dods and Henry Drummond, but these came to nothing.¹⁶⁶

As the spirit of Scottish evangelicalism grew and changed from the early decades of the 1700s to the end of the nineteenth century, it manifested itself in a number of spiritual awakenings. Initially these took the form of more or less localized revivals beginning in the 1740s, the most noteworthy of which took place at Cambuslang in 1742.¹⁶⁷ W. J. Couper, in his valuable but rare volume, offers a sampling of Scottish revivals, from the Reformation to the Moody/ Sankey campaign of 1873-4.¹⁶⁸ Perhaps most instructive is the vivid contrast between the earliest and latest of the revival events. In the 17th and

¹⁶⁵ Burleigh, pp. 359-60; MacPherson, pp. 418-9.

¹⁶⁶ Carswell, *Brother Scots*, pp. 55-6; Burleigh, p. 360.

¹⁶⁷ Couper, *Scottish Revivals*, p. 4.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; only 37 copies of the work were published.

18th century in Scotland, as in the United States, a revival was viewed entirely as the work of God visited upon his people at divine discretion. Revivals during this time tended to come to particular parishes as a result of prolonged prayer and fervent preaching. Often, the 'Communion seasons' were times of especial responsiveness, very similar to the way in which revival 'frequently accompanied the sacramental services in America'.¹⁶⁹

The Cambuslang Revival of 1742 marked the initial impact of American revivalism on Scotland.¹⁷⁰ Whitefield, fresh from the successes of his first tour in the United States, visited Cambuslang at this time. The revival did not begin until four months after his departure and it continued for almost five months in total. Consequently, the extent of Whitefield's contribution to the work is debatable. But this is one of the earliest 'trans-atlantic' revival events in which a person extensively involved in the American revival contributed to Scottish revivalism, and as such it marked the beginning of a century of reciprocity between Britain and America in this field. The theology, as in the First Great Awakening in America (1725-1760), though still predominantly Calvinistic, was experiencing a slow metamorphosis, moderating some of the harsher elements which were less conducive to evangelistic preaching. Furthermore, as early as 1737, publications such as Jonathan Edwards' A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversions of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton and the Neighbouring

¹⁶⁹ Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, pp. 25, 31; also John Macinnes, Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland-1688-1800, Aberdeen University Press, 1951, p. 5. See also Drummond and Bulloch, 1688-1843, p. 49.

¹⁷⁰ For fullest account of this event see Arthur Fawcett, The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century, London, 1971; also T. C. Smout, 'Born again at Cambuslang: New evidence on popular religion and literacy in eighteenth century Scotland', Past and Present, vol. 97, pp. 114-127. See also Tuttle, pp. 37, 147-48.

Towns and Villages had become available in Scotland.¹⁷¹ These accounts informed the Scottish people of revivals in America and urged them to pray for and expect similar visitations in their own country. Within a generation American revivalist preachers began to visit Britain.

The movement spread to Kilsyth during the same year and Whitefield, upon his return later in 1742, preached to large crowds in Edinburgh. Parts of Ayrshire, Glasgow, Stirling and, to a lesser degree, Aberdeen, Dundee and Coldingham in Berwickshire, experienced some element of awakening during this period though it did not last much beyond 1745. It drew most of its support from the Evangelical party within the Established Church and Couper contends that the 'Moderate party [was] hostile to it from the beginning'.¹⁷² It met with strong opposition from the Cameronian and Secession churches, antagonized particularly by Whitefield's lack of emphasis on sin and repentance and by the 'bodily agitations and commotions, as crying out aloud, tremblings, faintings, swoonings, falling down as dead, etc.'¹⁷³ Undoubtedly such emotion would have been repugnant to them, and their Calvinist sensitivities may have been offended by theological elements in the revival. But the political aspect of their opposition must not be ignored.

¹⁷¹ G. D. Henderson, The Burning Bush--Studies in Scottish Church History, St. Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1957, p. 151; Couper, p. 41.

¹⁷² Couper, p. 72; A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, disagreed with this assessment. In a series of lectures which he was invited to present in Edinburgh on the 'History of the Church of Scotland', he argued that the Moderates had been supportive of Whitefield in his Edinburgh mission during the 1740s. The Scotsman, 12 January 1872. One prominent example was Thomas Somerville of Jedburgh. In his My Own Life and Times 1741-1814, (Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh, pp. 65 ff.), Somerville observed that 'The extirpation of...narrow prejudices so prevalent among the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the introduction, and the more rapid progress of a catholic spirit, were promoted in a great degree by the conversation and preaching of the celebrated George Whitefield.'

¹⁷³ Couper, pp. 71-72.

That the Established Church thought the work a good thing was reason enough for the Seceders to oppose it. That the 'prelatic priest of the Church of England', Whitefield, would not renounce his ordination or limit his preaching to their meeting houses only piqued them further.¹⁷⁴

Though pivotal in Scottish revivalistic history, the immediate impact of this mid eighteenth century movement was limited. Fifty years passed before another significant if still localized revival occurred, this time in Moulin, Perthshire in 1799.¹⁷⁵ It is here that the names of Robert and James Haldane first begin to appear in the history of Scottish revivalism, marking yet another development beyond the early transitional stages of Cambuslang. To the influence of the Haldanes, who were both laymen during the early years of their itinerancies,¹⁷⁶ can be traced a number of revivals which occurred at the turn of the nineteenth century including movements on Arran and Skye in 1812, in Breadalbane in 1816, Kilsyth in 1839 and many remote sites to the west and north as well as the already mentioned Moulin revival of 1799.¹⁷⁷ Born of a well-to-do presbyterian family, the Haldanes left seafaring careers to pursue their interest in ministry. They turned their attention to their own country, founding the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home(1797), with the intention of bringing the Christian message to those areas where, in their estimation, the parish minister was neglecting to do so. With his own money, Robert built large preaching 'tabernacles' in the more important and strategic

¹⁷⁴ Burleigh, p. 293.

¹⁷⁵ Alexander MacRae, Revivals in the Highlands in the 19th Century, MacKay, Stirling, n.d., p. 131-3.

¹⁷⁶ James was ordained as the first Congregational minister in Scotland in 1799, by which time his reputation as a lay preacher was well established.

¹⁷⁷ Couper, pp. 12-13, 88, 96, 100, 124; also MacRae, pp. 14, 21-2, 37.

Scottish towns and cities, buildings reminiscent of the earlier Whitefieldite structures.¹⁷⁸

The response of the General Assembly of 1799 was an Act which forbade lay preaching and, more specifically, deplored the activities of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home.¹⁷⁹ A large majority of Scottish churchmen were still opposed to evangelistic activities outwith the jurisdiction and means of the traditional ecclesiastical establishment.¹⁸⁰ In spite of this unpromising reaction, however, the Evangelical party within the Established Church rapidly gained in power during the first three decades of the nineteenth century and its theological emphases and evangelical practices did much to redress the deficiencies which the Haldanes had been seeking to rectify. In consequence the most explicitly evangelical church bodies, the infant Baptist and Congregationalist denominations, 'of which the Haldanes may be said to be the founders', remained relatively small.¹⁸¹

In 1859 these localized Scottish revivals gave way to a spiritual awakening which touched most of Britain, 'adding a million accessions to the evangelical churches, accomplishing a tremendous amount of social uplift, and giving an effective impulse to home and foreign missionary activity.'¹⁸² In Scotland alone, there were an estimated

¹⁷⁸ Macinnes, p. 7. For a personal account of their itinerancy see James Alexander Haldane, Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles in Autumn 1797, J. Ritchie, Edinburgh, 1798, particularly pp. 38-40 where they were especially critical of the parish minister at Kirriemuir.

¹⁷⁹ 'Declaratory act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, respecting unqualified ministers and preachers', 28 May 1799, Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842, Edinburgh.

¹⁸⁰ Macinnes, p. 150.

¹⁸¹ Burleigh, p. 311-313; Couper, pp. 13-14. See also T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1860, sixth edition, Fontana Press, London, 1985, p. 436.

¹⁸² J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, Marshall, Morgan and Scott Ltd., London and Edinburgh, 1949, p. 5.

300,000 converts. Among those affected by this revival were Tom Barnardo, founder of Barnardo's Homes, Evan Hopkins, founder of the Keswick Convention; the later bishops of Durham and Liverpool, Handley Moule and Francis James Chavasse; Alexander Whyte, the eminent Scottish preacher, and James Chalmers, pioneer missionary to New Guinea. Movements which arose out of the awakening included the Children's Special Service Mission, The Salvation Army¹⁸³ and China Inland Mission. J. Edwin Orr maintains that the '59 Revival must be understood in order to appreciate the later Moody Mission.¹⁸⁴

The origin of the '59 Revival in Great Britain can be traced to a similar movement two years earlier which arose out of YMCA prayer meetings begun in New York. The expansion of this American movement known as the '57-8 Revival was stimulated by the 'unprecedented press coverage' and the national telegraph service which provided more rapid dissemination of news than the land-bound post at the time of the earlier movements. Another new facet was the use of special interest groups, meetings held specially for firemen, businessmen, policemen and other sectors of society.¹⁸⁵ Perhaps most significant, however, was the total lack of any one individual with whom the movement could be identified: it was a revival without a revivalist, a grassroots

¹⁸³ Robert Sandall, The History of the Salvation Army, Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, 1947, vol. 1, pp. 2, 11.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with the author, Amsterdam, July, 1986. Orr's claims for the revival are probably overstated; the impact seems to have been strongest in Ireland, next strongest in Scotland and less so, though still significant, in England. John Kent responds antithetically to Orr's contention, entitling the chapter in his book which deals with this period '1859: The Failure of English Revivalism'. See pp. 71, 87, 111-12, 123-5 for his refutation of Orr.

¹⁸⁵ Carwardine, p. 27.

movement, an awakening of, by and for the layman.¹⁸⁶ Finney was still alive, though growing older, and was struck by the predominance of lay leadership which almost threw 'the ministers into the shade'.¹⁸⁷

Moody found himself in the middle of the nascent stages of this awakening during his early days in Chicago, as his letters home reflect: 'I have nothing to write that will interest you unless it is that there is a great revival of religion in this city...I go to meeting every night. Oh, how I do enjoy it! It seems as if God was here Himself.'¹⁸⁸ Of the '57-58 Revival, he would later say, shortly before his death, 'I would like, before I go hence, to see the whole Church of God quickened as it was in '57, and a wave going from Maine to California that will sweep thousands into the kingdom of God'.¹⁸⁹

Word of this American awakening spread to Ireland which seems to have been the most strongly affected area of the British Isles. From there it travelled to Scotland with similarly impressive results.¹⁹⁰ The movement, particularly in Ireland, exhibited some of the hysteria typical of earlier awakenings in America, including 'shakings down', although the phenomena tended toward displays of prostration including 'sleeps', 'trances', and 'marks' as opposed to the frenetic gyrations of the Kentucky camp meetings. This element would be noticeably absent in Moody's later meetings, much to the relief of most of the

¹⁸⁶ This is one of the reasons Kent describes the 1859 Revival as failing. See Holding the Fort, p. 125.

¹⁸⁷ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 182-3.

¹⁸⁸ W. R. Moody, Moody, p. 46.

¹⁸⁹ Syllabus from lecture, 'Revival and Evangelism', delivered by Orr at Billy Graham Conference for Itinerant Evangelists, 20 July 1986, Amsterdam, Netherlands, p. 1. See also Carwardine, Trans-atlantic Revivalism, p. 159, for his impression of the importance of this movement.

¹⁹⁰ It is interesting that McLoughlin sees the '59-60 Revival in Great Britain as important in preparing for Moody and Sankey though he considers the '57-8 Revival in America, out of which the former sprang, as relatively unimportant.

Scottish clergy and many of the people.¹⁹¹ Horatius Bonar, no friend of fanaticism but a strong supporter of Moody in later years, admitted to charges of extravagance being levelled against the 1859-60 movement. Yet he pronounced as 'unjust' the tendency of 'the world' to focus attention upon the extremes, presenting the 'weak parts as specimens of the whole.' In fact, argued Bonar, the emotional element was peripheral and insignificant compared to the thousands of souls that had turned 'to God'.¹⁹²

Unlike earlier movements which had usually been centred in a particular parish under an established clergyman employing accepted and traditional elements of worship, the '59 Revival broke new ground in its use of personnel. In the first place, like the '57-8 movement in America which had inspired it, it was very much a work of laymen, although American revivalists were not entirely absent from the scene. Charles Finney and James Caughey, for instance, both ministered in Britain during this period. Another American evangelistic team took advantage of the tide of revivalistic enthusiasm: the married couple, Walter and Phoebe Palmer. The presence of Phoebe Palmer in the forefront of the work portended the growing part that women would play in such movements. Moody's use of women in his inquiry rooms, though it met with some opposition, was largely

¹⁹¹ McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, pp. 183, 185; Olive Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914*, Edward Arnold, London, 1984, pp. 124-5; Carwardine, *Trans-atlantic Revivalism*, p. 172. See also Orr, *Second Awakening*, p.65.

¹⁹² William Reid, *Authentic Records of Revival, Now in Progress in the United Kingdom*, Richard Owen Roberts, Wheaton, 1980, originally published in 1860, James Nisbet and Co., London, pp. 3, 6-10; Carwardine, p. 172.

possible because of the role Phoebe Palmer had played in British revivalism fifteen years earlier.¹⁹³

Despite these not inconsequential 'professional' contributions to the '59 Revival, the movement belonged primarily to the laity, a significant advance considering the substantial suspicion and mistrust which had greeted the Haldanes only a few years earlier. The leading men in Scottish revival were all laymen, including Brownlow North of Aberdeen(b.1810) and a stonecutter named Duncan Mathieson(b.1824). Barbour notes that 'in an age when various Presbyterian Churches were only beginning to overcome their suspicions of lay preaching, this element of lay leadership, drawn from the most various ranks of society, brought its own freshness and stimulus'.¹⁹⁴ The growing acceptance of laymen in the Christian ministry which resulted from the 1859 Revival did much to prepare the way for Moody's coming in 1873, he who was the layman par excellence. Moody, following in the Haldane footsteps, used the largest buildings available and, in the case of London, erected purpose-built tabernacles for his services. The '59 Revival also laid much of the groundwork for the interdenominational cooperation which so distinguished Moody's mission. Principal Rainy believed that it brought 'evangelical men of the two churches (Free Church and United Presbyterian Church) into warmer spiritual

¹⁹³ Carwardine, pp. 187, 174-182; see also Andrew Thomson letter to Daily Review, 9 December 1873, regarding Moody's use of 'Christian matrons and Bible-women'; also Moody's defence of this practice in a question/answer period taken from the diary of Daniel Webster Whittle, 2 October 1883 in Yale letters, (28,I,8).

¹⁹⁴ Barbour, Whyte, p. 95; Orr, pp. 234-237.

contact' thereby serving, so he claimed, the cause of the union that finally came about in 1900.¹⁹⁵

Another important facet of the 1859 Revival which was to have a direct bearing on the success of Moody's mission was the introduction of hymn singing amongst a people used only to the psalter. These hymns, including such favourites as 'Just As I Am', 'What's the News?' and 'I Can, I Will, I Do Believe', which were thoroughly criticized by many who considered the use of 'mere human hymns' a form of sacrilege, drew off much of the venom that otherwise might have been present in 1873, making Sankey's use of the same medium and his even more scandalous use of the harmonium, less offensive.¹⁹⁶ It was to be, by no means, smooth sailing for him; the issue of hymns and instrumental music was still very much to the fore in church deliberations of the day. The hymnody of the '59 Revival, however, with its indigenous leadership certainly made Sankey's later, even more radical musical innovations seem less the mere manoeuvrings of a presumptuous Yankee.

A further unique element of the '59 awakening was its broadly based geographical distribution. Though the cities seem to have been less strongly affected than the outlying areas, almost no part of Scotland remained untouched. The exception was provided by parts of the Highlands where, despite the prominence of lay leaders such as Haldanite preachers and those known as the 'Men', some suspicion of lay preachers continued.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ P. Carnegie Simpson, The Life of Principal Rainy, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1909, Vol. 1, p. 151.

¹⁹⁶ Couper, p. 130; Barbour, p. 95.

¹⁹⁷ Couper, p. 130. The 'Men' normally assisted in prayer and question/answer periods during congregational meetings and would be 'Friday Speakers' at communion seasons. Though they wielded considerable power and

Thus, when Moody arrived in 1873, he had the advantage of a populace familiar with revivalist methods, many of them having expressed a Christian commitment during the earlier revival. With fifteen years of Bible training and earlier experiences fresh in mind, here was a reserve of thousands of potential workers and counsellors ready-made for evangelistic meetings and inquiry rooms.¹⁹⁸

Like its American counterpart, the theology which emerged as the predominant expression of the '59 Revival tended to be an indistinct melange of Calvinism and Arminianism. The staunch Calvinists still remained, as would be evidenced by the vitriol of John Kennedy's diatribes against Moody's doctrines.¹⁹⁹ But the type of collaboration that took place between denominations during such awakenings tended to push doctrinal differences regarding election and grace into the background.²⁰⁰ The transition from the strong Calvinistic nature of the Evangelical party in the early eighteenth century to its evangelistic, softened Calvinism 150 years later was well under way. It set the stage for Moody, a man whose biblical orthodoxy accorded well with the views of the majority of Scottish evangelicals who still held dear most of the tenets of the Westminster Confession, albeit shorn of some of their rigidity. Largely ignorant of most of the issues whether social, political or theological, or of the battles raging within and outwith the Church, he

were highly respected, they did not normally preach in the church. The appellation 'Men' was particularly chosen to distinguish them from ordained clergy. See Macinnes, pp. 211-219 for a helpful description of their work.

¹⁹⁸ MacPherson, A History of the Church in Scotland, p. 433; Couper, p. 130; MacRae, pp. 12-13.

¹⁹⁹ J. Kennedy, Hyper Evangelism--'Another' Gospel, Though a Mighty Power--A Review of the Recent Religious Movement in Scotland, Duncan Grant, Edinburgh, 1874.

²⁰⁰ Orr, Second Awakening, p. 251.

was an innocent abroad who managed, for more than two years, to divert attention, focus energy and bring an element of unity to a profoundly disunited religious setting.²⁰¹

The transition was not complete, however. A new branch of evangelicalism was sprouting, still strongly committed to the need for a personal conversion experience but discarding even more of traditional Christian doctrine as outdated and unnecessary. A prime example of this offshoot tradition of liberal evangelicalism in Scotland is Henry Drummond; this is a fourth reason that Scotland deserves particular attention. His eventual diversion along lines of Christian thought far removed from those of his mentor Moody will provide an interesting contrast to Moody's American protégé, R. A. Torrey, who carried Moody's brand of theology to a point he himself never envisioned.

²⁰¹ The Signal, 1 May 1884, p. 145; Burleigh, p. 382.

Chapter 4. THE SCOTTISH MISSION OF MOODY AND SANKEY 1873-4

As the nineteenth century moved into its final decades the Scottish Church, aware of its weakening grip on the religious life of the country, particularly in the burgeoning cities, sought to rectify this problem. In the December 1872 meeting of the Edinburgh Presbytery of the Free Church, James Gall, 'an evangelist', presented a report lamenting the fact that evangelical religion was losing ground in Edinburgh 'and that the agencies at present in operation were altogether inadequate' to render the necessary care.

Drunkenness, infidelity, and Sabbath-breaking were all on the increase...All these disasters were due, not to any want of power in the Gospel, nor...to any withholding of the blessing on the part of the Spirit, nor even to any lukewarmness or want of liberality on the part of the people; but purely to bad generalship and an unreflecting adherence to old forms of organization, which were no longer suited to the altered circumstances and perilous times in which they lived.

Gall was convinced that 'it was within their power at once to turn the tide of the battle and, within twenty years, thoroughly to evangelize Edinburgh, simply by a change of tactics or method'.²⁰² The report was not well received but the protestations by various speakers, including James Begg, had a ring of defensiveness and did little to refute the claim that 'some new agencies ought to be employed to prevent Christianity from being [put down] in the Scottish metropolis'.²⁰³

To be fair, the Free Church was already encouraging new methods of outreach prior to the testimony of Gall. In the 1872 Free Church General Assembly, the Committee on Religion and Morals reported that The labours of evangelists outside the state ministry

²⁰² The Scotsman, 26 December 1872.

²⁰³ The Scotsman, 30 January 1873.

have been carried on during the year as formerly in various parts of the country, and in many instances, these evangelists have been received by our ministers and have had countenance and encouragement from them.²⁰⁴

The Free Church was not alone in its endeavours to stem the growing secularization of society. In 1869, under the direction of Archibald Charteris,²⁰⁵ the Church of Scotland's General Assembly appointed a committee on Christian Life and Work, 'to inquire as to the progress of Christian work throughout the country and the best means of promoting evangelical efforts under the aegis of the ministers and office-bearers of the Church.'²⁰⁶ Despite these efforts, concern for discovering new and more effective evangelistic methods continued to grow. Neither Charteris nor Gall nor any of their brother presbyters could have imagined just how drastically 'new' an agency they would indeed employ within that very year, for Moody and Sankey arrived in Edinburgh late in November 1873.

Moody was initially reluctant to consider Scotland. He was overwhelmed by the reputation of Scottish theologians and well aware of the Scot's abhorrence of instrumental music. John Kelman of Leith, who had found two allies in James H. Wilson and Horatius Bonar, visited Moody in Newcastle and allayed his fears. Ministers from Dundee had already invited him to their town, but Moody heeded Kelman's counsel which suggested that Edinburgh would be strategically the wisest starting point for an evangelistic assault

²⁰⁴ The Scotsman, 25 May 1872.

²⁰⁵ His review of W. R. Smith's Encyclopaedia Britannica would later lead to Smith's trial.

²⁰⁶ Burleigh, p. 391.

on Scotland. The advertisements for Moody and Sankey's meetings began to appear in Edinburgh newspapers. With the benefit of several months trial and error in England, the system which was implemented in Edinburgh, with few changes, was that which Moody would employ throughout the rest of his Great Britain Mission which concluded in August 1875.

It is beyond the scope and interest of this study to deal extensively with each stop in Moody's itinerary. This has been done in an exhaustive four volume thesis by P. B. Morgan which traces in detail every step of each of Moody's three Great Britain campaigns.²⁰⁷ Briefly, Moody's work in Scotland extended over nine months from November 1873 to August 1874. After almost exactly two months in Edinburgh, making frequent short trips to nearby towns such as Leith during that time, Moody commenced his postponed work in Dundee from 21 January to 7 February 1874. On 8 February he began work in Glasgow, again making side trips to neighbouring smaller towns, concluding what was numerically the most successful leg of the Scottish work early in April. Besides two campaigns in Perth in early June and Aberdeen beginning 14 June, the rest of the '73 Mission was comprised of brief one, two and at the most, four day stops throughout the length and breadth of Scotland, totalling well over fifty different locations.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ P. B. Morgan, 'A study of the work of American Revivalists in Britain from 1870-1914, and of the effect upon organized Christianity of their work there.' B. Litt., Oxford, 23 February 1961; also Findlay, pp. 151-2.

²⁰⁸ '...there is not a town in Scotland from which they have not received an invitation'. Free Church Missionary Record, 1 October, 1874, p. 199. This itinerary is compiled from a reading of Morgan's thesis, as mentioned an exceedingly exhaustive work, quite valuable as a resource for its drawing together of records which are not readily accessible at any single site except, perhaps, for Oxford, but limited by its almost exclusive reliance on sympathetic accounts of the Moody work and a basically uncritical, descriptive approach to the subject.

MESSRS MOODY AND SANKEY

Mr. Moody will (D.V.) Preach the Gospel, and Mr. Sankey will SING THE GOSPEL, in the Music Hall, George St. Edinburgh, On the Evening of Sabbath First, the 23rd inst., at Half past Six o'clock. On the following week-day Evenings (beginning with Monday the 24th) meetings for the same purpose will be held in the Barclay Church at seven o'clock.

So read the front page classified advertisement in the Friday, 21 November 1873 edition of the Edinburgh Courant. As it happened, Moody's ill health prevented his participation on the first evening as announced. An entry in Mrs. Moody's travel diary reads: 'D. L. very hoarse. Prof. Simpson sent for.'²⁰⁹ Sankey had his share of misfortune the following evening when an overzealous drayman's uncontrolled turn threw his harmonium out of the wagon rendering it useless for that evening's service, perceived, no doubt, as divine judgment by those who considered the 'kist-o-whistles' a tool of the Devil. With this rather inauspicious beginning, the Scottish portion of the Great Mission of 1873 had commenced.

Whatever contribution D. L. Moody made to Scotland, Scotland made a significant contribution to D. L. Moody. He said as much: '...you do not know how much I owe to Scotland.'²¹⁰ It is a matter for conjecture whether he would have met with the same success had he continued south from Newcastle instead of turning north. He had been gathering momentum at each successive stop in England. The final campaign in Newcastle had met with reasonable success, certainly far more encouraging than the earlier stages portended. Perhaps he had worked the bugs out of the system in these early

²⁰⁹ 22 November 1873, filed under 'Mrs. Moody's diary', Moodyana, MBI.

²¹⁰ James Wells, The Life of James Hood Wilson of Barclay Church Edinburgh, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1905, p. 15.

English meetings. Perhaps his failure in York had instilled in him an appreciation of the need for more thorough preparation which would become the trademark of his later campaigns. Certainly the anticipatory excitement mounted as rumours of an awakening to the south began to reach the ears of Lowland clergymen.²¹¹ As has been mentioned, there was a growing alertness among both of the largest Scottish churches for any indication of a spiritual awakening, hopefully reminiscent of the '59 Revival which had left Edinburgh, that 'proud city', largely untouched.²¹² Whatever the reasons, it was Moody's initial and immediate success in Scotland which thrust him forward from the ranks of the many American revivalists who had visited Britain in the nineteenth century into the elite of the master evangelists.

Those first newspaper advertisements set the pattern for the effective use which Moody would continue to make of the media throughout the Scottish mission and for the rest of his career.²¹³ He cultivated a relationship with the press; even those who disparaged him found in him such a delightfully colourful victim that their scathing attacks only served to direct even more attention to his ministry. In Edinburgh advertisements appeared nearly every day in both the Courant and the Scotsman, as well as full length reports in the Daily Review with the same frequency. In addition to the newspapers, and this pattern repeated itself in every town, Moody also benefited from the interest and support of R. C. Morgan whose periodical The Christian chronicled favourably every detail of his work. Of a similar genre was the periodical Times of

²¹¹ Charteris in Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record, 1 April 1874, p. 16.

²¹² MacPherson, Revival and Revival Work, p. 39.

²¹³ Kent, Holding the Fort, p. 136.

Blessing, established exclusively to cover the work of the Moody mission shortly after its start in Edinburgh. The editorial staff conspicuously included representatives from each major presbyterian denomination: W. G. Blaikie, and Horatius and Andrew Bonar of the Free Church, Archibald Charteris and Marshall Lang of the Established Church and Andrew Thomson of the United Presbyterian Church.²¹⁴ The British Messenger, a magazine founded by Henry Drummond's uncle, Peter Drummond, in 1853, was said to have done 'more than any other periodical to prepare the way for Moody'.²¹⁵ There were other similar journals such as The British Evangelist, The Methodist Recorder and The Scottish Congregational Magazine which, during a time when religious news was quite popular, capitalised on the biggest religious news in two decades, increased their readerships and, in the process, provided the kind of nation-wide coverage Moody could never have purchased.²¹⁶

When word reached the Edinburgh clergymen of the two Americans in northern England, a prayer group was started, the purpose of which was to entreat God for Moody's coming to Scotland.²¹⁷ These prayer groups came to form a conspicuous and regular element of Moody's ministry. His own exposure to such gatherings dated back to his Boston and Chicago days, particularly to the period of the '57-8 Revival which arose out of New York YMCA meetings. One of the few surviving products of Moody's earlier visits to England, the primary purpose of which had been his own education, was a noon

²¹⁴ Times of Blessing, 25 April 1874, p. 32.

²¹⁵ The British Messenger, May 1947, vol. 95, number 5, p. 2.

²¹⁶ Courant 22 January 1874; Times of Blessing, 18 April 1874. The Christian was started as Revival, dedicated to following the developments of the 1859 awakening. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 185.

²¹⁷ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 192.

prayer meeting which he had started in London in 1867 and which was still functioning in 1873.²¹⁸ Participants in this and other awakenings believed these groups to be an essential preliminary to the coming of revival and a necessary sustaining power during its course. Nearly every invitation to Moody for a campaign in a particular town was accompanied by an assurance that the people had been and continued to be praying fervently for revival in their community.²¹⁹

These meetings were of additional value to the potential success of an evangelistic campaign. The very act of hundreds of people gathering at noon on a daily basis, praying particularly for a revival in their town, had a unifying effect on those who had committed their time, energy and emotions to the cause, raised the level of expectancy for an awakening and drew the attention of non-participants to the hoped for revival. The usually non-denominational aspect of these meetings also set a precedent for inter-denominational cooperation in the campaigns, a conspicuous element in Moody's missions and one that he took great pains to groom and promote as will be seen.

As with every facet of the campaign, Moody had strong feelings on how these prayer meetings should be conducted. When asked how to attract frequenters of public houses to these groups, the typically common sense Moody response was 'by making the prayer group meetings as attractive as the public house instead of having them in dirty, nasty rooms with hard benches, poor light, bad atmosphere and uninteresting exercises'. What of the man who, thinking he has a 'gift of prayer', throws a wet blanket on the

²¹⁸ W. R. Moody, p. 120-21.

²¹⁹ MacPherson, Revival and Revival Work, p. 107.

meeting every time he gets up? 'Go to such a man and tell him that he had better take no more part in it, that if he had a gift for prayer he must pray at home...a great many meetings are spoiled because they are afraid to hurt one man's feelings'.²²⁰ Moody's advice was profitable; daily meetings met with enthusiastic support. Within a week of the first advertisement, a notice in the Courant declared that 'In consequence of the Queen St. Hall being too small for the attendance, the Daily Noon Prayer Meeting will (D.V.) be held today...in the Free Church Assembly Hall.'²²¹

Surprisingly, even these prayer groups had their element of controversy. The practice of 'open' prayer, in which any who wanted to pray (including women) were allowed to do so, was unusual and unsettling. Regarding these innovations, one commentator remarked that the Scots and 'especially Scottish ministers, are a very cautious people, and very much afraid of the peace of the church being disturbed'.²²²

Another standard practice was Moody's demand for a central committee of clergymen and lay leaders who would promote the crusade, implement the administrative details and oversee the finances.²²³ Like the prayer meetings, these committees accomplished several other things not on their specific agenda. Firstly, they lent credence to Moody's non-sectarian claims. As has been shown, he deplored denominational schism. Kent has correctly suggested that this was a natural ploy for one who wanted to

²²⁰ Daily Review, 15 January 1874.

²²¹ 29 November 1873; Times of Blessing, 25 April 1874, p. 23; 7 May 1874, pp. 55-6; W. R. Moody, p. 166. These meetings continued for many years although a visitor in 1886 found '400 present, 7/8 of them women' and declared the meeting 'dreary' with prayers 'uttered in the most melancholy and whining tone'. British Weekly, 3 December 1886; Morgan, p. 309.

²²² Daily Review, 15 and 16 January 1874.

²²³ Morgan, p. 3.

reach the widest audience possible, as Moody most certainly did. His argument, however, that Moody's desire for unity was a 'means to an end only' does justice neither to him nor to the evidence. Naturally Moody wanted success, and the broader the ecclesiastical representation, the greater the likelihood of that. But he sincerely abhorred sectarianism, as has been extensively discussed already and as is further demonstrated by his later unwillingness to minister in London until a truly representative central committee had been formed.²²⁴

Secondly, these committees established Moody from the outset as a 'company man'. A frequently used and disreputable technique among many revivalists was to hold the local ministers up to ridicule and then present themselves and their message as a more acceptable alternative. Finney practiced such methods.²²⁵ Moody never resorted to this practice and was always scrupulously supportive of the local clergy. Said one, '...he is the steady friend of the regular ministry...Mr. Moody is delighted to obtain the cooperation of the clergy...from the very first he has been received most readily by the ministers, and obtained from all denominations very cordial support.'²²⁶ Not only did this approach eliminate much initial opposition to his work, particularly as this reputation spread, it served to broaden his ministry. Every meeting found various clergy representatives on the dais with Moody, assisting in worship. Soon they led at different venues, multiplying the number of services and thus fanning the enthusiasm for the movement as a whole and ensuring growing attendance at every meeting which was held. Naturally, as Kent

²²⁴ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p. 134; W. R. Moody, p. 201.

²²⁵ Cross, p. 174.

²²⁶ *Daily Review*, 6 January 1874.

suggests, it also provided a built in audience; every minister's own congregation would be inclined to come and see what their pastor was supporting. Moody constantly encouraged ministers who were 'holding back' to 'pitch in...'It's hard work fighting with Satan but harder work to fight with ministers'".²²⁷

The issue of unity is important enough to warrant further attention. The Free Church denomination was by far the largest body proportionally in the Moody campaign. James Kennedy says that the first few years of the Free Church

were filled with enthusiasm and power under such great leaders as Chalmers and Cunningham...But gradually these early years of stimulation and zeal passed, leaving the preachers stranded on the barren shore of Calvinistic discourse spiced with the abuse of Establishmentarianism. The Free Church was ready for a spiritual revival and literally 'grabbed' at the fresh message of Moody...she co-operated wholeheartedly with the 'Great Mission', furnishing many of the meeting places, much of the machinery and a large supply of man power, especially young men from her colleges.²²⁸

This support is further evidenced by the prominent attention which the '73 Mission and its subsequent developments received from the Free Church, both at a political level among its judicatories, as well as in its official publication, The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record.

The Church of Scotland, in contrast, was far more circumspect in its pronouncements. Much less was said about the revival in its official organ, The Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record, and nothing at all in the minutes of the 1874 Assembly. Those who did support the movement, however, were vocal and tireless.

²²⁷ Daily Review, 17 February 1874.

²²⁸ James W. Kennedy, Henry Drummond: An Anthology, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953, pp. 26-7; letter from Rev. Charles A. Smith, Principal Clerk pro-tem, Church of Scotland, to Mr. Powell, 2 August 1968, Yale letters, (28,I,7).

The leading Church of Scotland proponent was Archibald Charteris, professor of biblical criticism in the University of Edinburgh.²²⁹ This should come as no great surprise when it is remembered that it was he who chaired the Life and Work committee formed in 1869, the specific purpose of which was to explore new means of evangelism within Scotland. His theological predisposition was evangelical and the Moody mission would certainly have appeared timely as concerning the interests of his committee. It seems the work of his organization had been hampered somewhat by unsympathetic fellow clergymen. A questionnaire, for instance, was devised and sent out by the committee to determine, with the aid of specific information provided by each parish minister, precisely what the spiritual condition of the country was. It met with apathy and even opposition from a minority of recalcitrants who objected to it on various grounds. Every year, the renewed plea to return the questionnaire fell on deaf ears. Ranald Macpherson of St. Lukes, Edinburgh, sent in his questionnaire with as few answers as possible and said he would continue this practice 'so long as the present committee existed'.²³⁰ When the opportunity came, then, to turn his attention to something more productive and undoubtedly more gratifying, Charteris seized it, probably with no small sigh of relief.²³¹

In addition to the two largest churches, the United Presbyterian Church was also admirably represented by John Cairns and Andrew Thomson whose letter to the Daily Review in the early stages of the Edinburgh mission was an eloquent and convincing

²²⁹ The Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record, 1 April 1874, pp. 15-19.

²³⁰ Courant, 26 May 1875.

²³¹ Burleigh, p. 391.

apologetic for its work.²³² There was also support, as might be expected, from the much smaller Baptist, Congregational and Independent components of Scottish Christianity. Scottish Episcopal support was negligible; the occasional supportive Episcopalian was, however, used and paraded with much gusto, presumably lending further credence to the claims of broad inter-denominational support for Moody.²³³

The silence of the majority of the Church of Scotland probably expressed the ever present suspicion of 'enthusiasm, that deadly sin', of which Moody was wrongly but not infrequently accused.²³⁴ Chambers has suggested that much of McLeod Campbell's trouble stemmed, not only from his heretical views on the atonement, but also from his perceived associations with early Scottish Pentecostalism, particularly John Irving.²³⁵ Later emotional excesses during the '59 Revival were also well known. The depth of concern over this issue can be surmised from the abundance of Moody endorsements which declared ardently that such things were not taking place in his meetings. Horatius Bonar offered such an assurance:

I must say...that I have not seen or heard any impropriety or extravagance. I have heard sound doctrine, sober, though sometimes fervent and tearful speech, the utterance of full hearts yearning over the wretched, and beseeching men to be reconciled to God...Yet I will say that I have not witnessed anything sensational or repulsive. During the spiritual movement which took place in Scotland about thirty years ago, in most of which I had part, I saw more of what was extreme, both in statement and proceeding, than

²³² 9 December 1873.

²³³ Morgan, p. 346; Daily Record, 15 December 1873. St. Silas congregation, Kelvinside, Glasgow was an English Episcopalian church which provided energetic support for Moody's work.

²³⁴ Burleigh, p. 291.

²³⁵ D. Chambers, 'Doctrinal attitudes in the Church of Scotland in the pre-disruption era; the age of John McLeod Campbell and Edward Irving', Journal of Religious History, vol. 8, 1974-75', pp. 159-164.

I have done of late. There was far more of excitement then than there is now.²³⁶

Said another, 'There has been no sensationalism, no undue excitement, no prostrations, no screaming, no fondness for late meetings, no waiting till two in the morning for the illapse of the Spirit, no hysterics and no ecstasies'.²³⁷ Such pronouncements were plentiful but concern over this issue still remained, particularly among the more 'cautious' Established Churchmen.

Another element may have entered into the Church of Scotland's reticence. Though forty years had managed to dull some of the pain and bitterness of the Disruption, the two largest Presbyterian churches were still fifty years away from reunion and were about to enter their period of greatest antagonism over the issue of disestablishment. Moody was undoubtedly a welcome diversion from the political infighting which seemed to continue ceaselessly at one level or another. In this, the fortuity of Moody's timing is again asserted. He set about his work long enough after the Disruption that at least some members of both churches could labour together but soon enough after that it represents one of the earliest, if not the earliest major interdenominational effort between the two. The Church of Scotland, immediately upon the departure of their colleagues in 1843, had published a remarkably conciliatory 'pastoral letter' seeking to dissuade its remaining adherents from reprisals or rancour towards their departed brethren.²³⁸ Despite this, the Disruption had dealt the deepest gash ever in a country not unused to sectarian divisions.

²³⁶ E. J. Goodspeed, A Full History of the Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey in Great Britain and America, Henry S. Goodspeed and Co., New York, 1876.

²³⁷ William Blaikie, British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. 23, 1874, p. 482.

²³⁸ Drummond and Bulloch, 1843-1874, pp. 10, 12.

Even in 1873, the wound was still quite tender, particularly in some circles. As a result of the schism, the Church of Scotland had been forced to see itself as a denomination for the first time, a perception which rankled. An offhand remark by one Church of Scotland minister about the too close proximity of the two churches' Assembly Halls indicates the bitterness that still existed even forty years later.²³⁹ It is reasonable to suggest that, for many Church of Scotland clergy, the wholehearted endorsement of Moody's work by the Free Churchmen would have been cause enough to stand aloof from the campaign, regardless of its own merits.

This was not the only Scottish schism in need of attention at the time. Discussions over the possibility of union between the Free Church and the United Presbyterians²⁴⁰, for instance, had been under way for ten years. Though they would remain snagged for almost thirty more, this was not because the majority on both sides did not desire union. Rather the majority did not wish to press union at the cost of yet another schism in their ranks, a division which was sure to come from the perennially critical high Calvinist element in the U. P. C. which condemned the Free Church's failure to embrace voluntaryism as heartily as it had.²⁴¹

But it was the fallout from the Disruption which represented the greatest source of disunity in Scotland and it must be said that the evidence does not sustain Findlay's contention of a nearly instantaneous closing of the breach with the coming of Moody.²⁴²

²³⁹ The Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record, 1 April 1874, p. 16.

²⁴⁰ Hereinafter referred to as U. P. C.

²⁴¹ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 188-90.

²⁴² Findlay, p. 160.

The most significant conciliatory steps which did take place between the Free Church and the Established Church occurred at the individual level involving particular pastors and their parishes. The conspicuously high profile which Charteris assumed as the unofficial cheerleader for the revival within the Church of Scotland is the more noticeable because of the apparently solitary nature of his effort, largely unsupported by any other prominent ministers within that body. The official Church of Scotland position seems to have been one of aloof reticence. While both the U. P. C. and the Free Church dealt extensively with the revival in their 1874 General Assemblies, the issue was not high enough on the agenda to warrant attention from the Church of Scotland General Assembly. It was assigned to a committee which met, for the first time the day immediately after the Assembly had risen, thus ensuring that an official pronouncement from the Established Church's highest judicial body would not be forthcoming for at least another year. In fact, a declaration placed in the minutes of that same Assembly appealed to

all ministers and members of the Church to make it a subject of importunate prayer, that a deeper and more lively interest in religion may be diffused over the land, and that the institutions and services of the National Church may be in a growing measure the means of promoting spiritual life.²⁴³

This was a rather blinkered and provincial prayer considering Moody had returned that very month to Edinburgh as a follow up to his earlier work in the capital city. In contrast to the enthusiastic monthly accounts in the Free Church Record, continuing almost unbroken from the first mention of Moody in February 1874, and including reports from Ireland and England as well, the official organ of the Established Church addressed the issue only four times. One was an expanded reprint of an earlier article, and one a letter to

²⁴³ Acts of the General Assembly of 1873, Abridgement, p. 53; Times of Blessing, 11 June 1874, p. 142.

the editor. The only extensive article on the subject came from the pen of the ubiquitous Charteris.²⁴⁴

Anyone who might wish to argue for the unifying effect of the Moody revival between the two main Scottish churches would be compelled to reassess the half century delay before reunion finally came in 1929. Moody undoubtedly favored unity, both for reasons which might appear self-serving as well as for his disposition which was genuinely inclined towards peacemaking. But as capable an irenicist as he was, the historical division was greater still. His mission was widespread, representative and ecumenical in that it drew workers from all denominations. This was the first time that individuals from the two largest churches had worked together on a project of this magnitude since the Disruption. But this unifying impact tended to be at the non-partisan, individual level. One letter spoke of a 'spirit of fraternity which [had] taken place among ministers of different denominations'.²⁴⁵ P. B. Morgan relates an account where the moderators elect of both the Free Church and the Church of Scotland, Principal Rainy and Archibald Charteris, had to squeeze together on one chair on the podium because of an overcrowded meeting in March 1874.²⁴⁶ Morgan's interpretation of the event, however, as parabolic of the new found unity of their corresponding churches is more wishful than accurate. The Moody/Sankey mission was not unifying in any real denominational sense and cannot be shown to have hastened significantly the healing of the 1843 wound.

²⁴⁴ Free Church Record, February, March, April, May, July, August and October issues, 1874; The Church of Scotland Home and Missionary Record, April, May, August and September issues, 1874.

²⁴⁵ Daily Review, 26 December 1873.

²⁴⁶ Morgan, p. 325.

The most noticeable lack of support, indeed opposition, came from the high Calvinist Secession remnants and, particularly, from the redoubtable Free Church Highland party led by John Kennedy of Dingwall. The cause for the Highlanders' opposition to the movement hardly needs to be reiterated. Moody's theology was a modified form of Arminianism. Universal atonement, the very heart of his evangelistic method, was anathema to staunch Calvinists. Despite protests to the contrary, the supporters of the Moody mission continued to push Westminster dogmatism into the background. Said one, 'My growing experience has led me to make even Catechism teaching subordinate, and to concentrate attention and study upon the Word of God.'²⁴⁷

The central feature of each Moody campaign was the mass evangelistic meeting. In the early days of the mission these meetings were held in various large churches. As numbers increased, large non-church buildings were employed if possible, both because the seating in even the largest churches was inadequate and because it lent, again, a non-denominational air to the gathering. It became apparent early on that space would be a problem. It was not uncommon, even when the largest buildings available were used, to have to turn away thousands. The greatest percentage of these were repeat attenders, caught up in the enthusiasm of the event and, at a time when recreational diversions were limited, they enjoyed the entertainment of the colourful preacher and the singer with his little harmonium. Moody was aware of this pattern of repeated attendance and frequently urged those in the front seats who had been there before to 'get up and go out and leave

²⁴⁷ Dr. Cairns writing in Times of Blessing, 14 May 1874, pp. 65; also 77; 28 March 1874, p. 107.

room' so that others could take their places.²⁴⁸ This was inadequate however to solve the dilemma and several devices were employed as a remedy. Concurrent meetings were held, sometimes with Sankey appearing at one place with a prominent local minister and Moody at another. More often, the indefatigable Moody would schedule two, three or more meetings at the same time and move from one to the other. On 4 January, for instance, Moody and Sankey attended six different meetings, two each at 5 and 6 p.m., one at 8 p.m. and one at 9:30 p.m.²⁴⁹ If Moody was tireless, Sankey was not. Sankey retired from singing after returning home early from their second British campaign in 1883, weakened by the demands of Moody's relentless pace.²⁵⁰

Another technique for dealing with overcrowding was the distribution of tickets, without charge, at various retail outlets owned by sympathetic businessmen. In addition to offering what was presumably sincere assistance to the cause, this practice had the added benefit of focussing publicity upon the businessmen who supported Moody. This undoubtedly was of financial benefit to them and probably served to raise Moody even further in the esteem of the business community. Another innovation was the introduction of speciality meetings, attendance at which was limited to specific groups. There were special meetings for men, for women, for youth, for Christian education workers, for secretaries of young men's groups (particularly the YMCA), for the blind and even for young mothers who were required to bring their babies with them in order to gain

²⁴⁸ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 203.

²⁴⁹ Courant, 5 January 1874.

²⁵⁰ Courant, 13 and 18 December 1873; Morgan, p. 363.

admission.²⁵¹ Two of these special meetings were held when, in the first instance only women were allowed and only men in the second. Following these meetings a letter to the editor wondered if the evangelists 'profess to have discovered at this Christmas season some new gospel which is not fit to be preached to a mixed audience'.²⁵² One of the striking characteristics of the movement was the response of young men to Moody's message. It was to work particularly with the young men's meetings that Moody recruited Henry Drummond upon his arrival in Edinburgh in 1873.²⁵³

These speciality groups were yet another principle to which Moody had been introduced during the American revival in 1857-8 in which various professional groups, such as firemen, and policemen, were encouraged to meet in prayer groups. The shrewdness of this concept may escape first notice. The psychological benefits of being surrounded by others of a closely similar outlook made the meetings more inviting and more conducive to spiritual influences. This concept encouraged attendance, particularly where the distinction had social implications, such as the young mother whose crying baby was an embarrassment in a normal religious gathering or the labourer who might not feel comfortable in a meeting which included a large number of middle class members of the community. Finally, the sense of exclusiveness as one of a special group that might

²⁵¹ Courant 14 and 29 December 1873; Dundee Courier, 26 January 1874.

²⁵² Courant, 29 December 1873.

²⁵³ For examples of the reports regarding the impact on young men see Times of Blessing, 18 April 1874, pp. 7, 15; 25 April 1874, pp. 21-22; 30 April 1874, p. 34; 7 May 1874, p. 54; etc.

attend such a meeting would certainly appeal, especially to a segment of the society which did not have many opportunities to feel special or distinguished.²⁵⁴

Nowhere was the technique of segregation more important than when it was employed in meetings of 'converts and anxious enquirers'. Not to be confused with the inquiry room, these were gatherings specifically for those who had made a Christian commitment or were considering doing so as a result of a previous Moody mass meeting. The content of the meetings was expressly geared for those who were assumed to have no extensive religious background. Such meetings provided the kind of nurture which would strengthen new believers in a setting free of the circus-like atmosphere which could prevail at a regular mass meeting. They also reinforced the earlier commitment with a conscious decision to attend the second meeting, ensuring better chances of the new convert continuing in the Christian faith.²⁵⁵

Mass gatherings conducted by Moody, whether open to the general public or limited to a specific group, were almost always short. They were usually between sixty and ninety minutes in length, a remarkable feature in a field which specialized in prolonged gatherings of several hours duration, often extending into the early hours of the morning. Moody, who 'abominated ruts' knew that interminable prayers and endless sermons were disastrous, especially when the audience included many who were not used to the disciplines of regular worship attendance. Perhaps Moody's own penchant for an occasional nap during the dronings of a particularly boring speaker made him sympathetic

²⁵⁴ This anticipates the modern day concept of ministry to 'homogeneous units', as perpetuated by Peter Wagner at the School of World Missions, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California.

²⁵⁵ Courant 29 November, 1 December 1873; Times of Blessing, 18 April 1874, p. 5.

to the limitations of his listeners. The principle of his three minute bell in prayer meetings which, when rung, signalled the end of the speaker's time, whether finished or not, applied in the large meetings as well. One reporter noted approvingly that it 'used to be objected to revival meetings that they were so very late, but all the present meetings [have] been dismissed in good time'.²⁵⁶ It was important enough to Moody that he even made it a selling point in his advertisements. In an all day convention it was promised that the three lecturers would 'be allowed fifteen minutes' and in the discussion to follow, 'no speaker was to exceed five minutes'.²⁵⁷

The agenda of these large meetings usually included prayer, bible reading, much singing, both congregational selections as well as solos by Sankey, sometimes testimonies and Moody's message. The latter was followed by the call to decision, always accompanied with an appropriate and carefully chosen Sankey solo in the background, urging in music what Moody was calling for in his invitation. A typical mass gathering was described in the Dundee Courier. Prayer meetings having preceded the evening gathering, thousands vied for tickets. When the hour arrived, the auditorium was packed. As the audience looked to the front they saw a large platform covered with crimson cloth and the organ, near the front and to the side. Precisely at 7:30 p.m., Moody and Sankey entered along with the president of the local YMCA and eleven other local ministers who impressively filled the platform. Sankey encouraged all to 'join heartily in the singing of ...that good old song', the hundredth Psalm. This was followed by prayer requests and a

²⁵⁶ Daily Review, 5, 15 and 17 January 1874; Findlay, p. 115.

²⁵⁷ Courant, 9 January 1874.

period of prayer. Then Sankey, following a few typical introductory remarks about his selection, sang the solo 'Your Mission'. A reading of Matthew 25 followed after which Sankey sang the requested and perennial favourite 'Jesus of Nazareth Passeth By'. Then came Moody's address followed by another Sankey solo, a prayer and the dismissal by 9:15 p.m. As this was a special gathering for Christian workers, it lacked the evangelistic appeal and the invitation to the inquiry room. Otherwise it was a typical Moody meeting.²⁵⁸ The most successful, numerically, of these Scottish meetings was that held in Glasgow's Kibble Crystal Palace in May 1874. Between six and seven thousand filled the Palace while another 15-30,000, depending on whose estimates one accepts, gathered along the great West Road. Sankey barely got inside. Moody, blocked by the crowd, did not get in at all. The local ministers already inside commenced a service and Moody, standing on the coachman's box of his carriage, preached to the crowd gathered outside.²⁵⁹

Perhaps the most controversial feature of a typical evening was the inquiry room. As with the prayer meetings, the special group meetings, the musical assistant and nearly every other facet of Moody's technique, this was also a feature borrowed and adapted from earlier revival movements. The precursor to the inquiry room was the anxious bench of the First Great Awakening in America(1725-1760). The purpose of both was similar; to segregate those who had been spiritually awakened from those who were either already Christians or who had not been influenced by the service. Like the anxious seat, the inquiry room brought pressure to bear on the subjects, encouraging them to 'make a

²⁵⁸ Dundee Courier, 22 January 1874.

²⁵⁹ Andrew Bonar as cited in Morgan, p. 340; Times of Blessing, 21 May 1874 p. 95; 4 June 1874, p. 120.

decision for Christ', the ultimate aim of evangelistic preaching. As one writer put it, 'Mr. Moody's mode of dealing with the anxious is marked by great urgency. He shuts them up to a decision and will hardly let them out of his hands till they have announced their purpose to give themselves to Christ.'²⁶⁰ This pressure in the inquiry room, however, was applied in a considerably more compassionate fashion than its earlier American counterpart. Unlike the hapless occupants of the anxious seat, the inquirers were not harangued mercilessly by the preacher; the counsellor with whom they spoke was just as likely to be a layman, equipped with appropriate bible verses and Horatius Bonar's booklet 'God's Way of Peace'.²⁶¹ A special room provided a retreat from the confusion and from spectators. 'Mr. Moody [had] observed that numbers remained at the close of the meetings not wishing to be spoken to but merely looking on. This gave annoyance to the anxious, who disliked being made a show of...'.²⁶² The inquiry room also had the obvious advantage of greater capacity than a single bench. As in the speciality group meetings, and here even to a greater degree, there was a sense of solidarity and singularity of purpose among those who, having been moved by the same message in the same service, made their way together into the same room to receive words of spiritual counsel.

The most important distinction between the two is found, however, in the very words used to describe the participants. The 'anxious' person was so described presumably because, as he sat on the bench, in front of the preacher and the congregation,

²⁶⁰ Daily Review, 6 January 1874.

²⁶¹ J. M., Recollections of D. L. Moody and His Work in Britain, 1874-1892, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1905, p. 25. Other literature for inquirers included Hints for Reading the Bible (Tweedie), An Address to Those Newly Converted, Learning to Float, Learning to Walk; Times of Blessing, p. 6.

²⁶² Daily Review, 17 February 1874.

he had an increasingly uncomfortable and growing awareness of his own sinful unworthiness, precisely what was expected of him. Anything less than that would have been an insufficient indication of genuine repentance. In Moody's meetings, however, the emphasis was far less on sin and signs of conviction and much more on the 'inquirer's' asking and seeking after a loving God who was, himself, 'anxious' to forgive and receive. It is precisely at this point that the dichotomy in a changing evangelicalism, between the older Calvinistic theology and the new evangelicalism, can be seen. The Calvinist preached man's sinfulness, his unworthiness of God's love and God's uninfluenced sovereignty in the calling and saving of the elect. Great importance was placed on searching for signs of one's election, a heartfelt and emotional recognition of one's sinfulness and a resultant and appropriately grateful acceptance of God's proffered forgiveness. With Moody, as shall be seen, though sin was a definite element in his message, it had not the foreboding prominence which it enjoyed in high Calvinism. He talked of sin but then moved quickly to a loving and accepting Father whose arms were open to receive all who would come. It was altogether fitting, then, that the 'anxious seat' had given way to the 'inquiry room'.²⁶³

It was the perceived confessional nature of the inquiry room to which many of its critics objected. Low churchmen disliked its 'papist' implications and Anglicans, most clearly represented in a letter from Archbishop Tait, distrusted the qualifications of the counsellors performing what was perceived to be a priestly function.²⁶⁴ The presence of

²⁶³ MacPherson, Revival and Revival Work, pp. 148-9.

²⁶⁴ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 197-8.

women as counsellors in the inquiry room was also cause for dispute although Phoebe Palmer's evangelistic work in the late fifties had set a precedent for women in ministry which took some of the edge off the offense.²⁶⁵ Andrew Thomson defended the inquiry room vigorously against these objections:

I wish to give prominence to the statement that the persons who conversed with the perplexed and inquiring were ministers, elders, and deacons, and qualified private members of our various churches; and also Christian matrons and Bible- women, as far as their valuable services could be secured... I witnessed no excesses in the inquiry rooms, but there was often deep and melting solemnity, sometimes the sob of sorrow, and the whispered prayer of contrition or gratitude.

Thomson admitted that there were excesses in 'even the best works' but argued that 'cold criticism...in search of faults...[was] not the temper in which to regard such events'. John MacPherson responded to similar fears: 'There is no priest, no confession of sin, and no absolution. There is no secrecy, no mystery, and nothing in the conversation that might not be proclaimed from the housetop.'²⁶⁶ In an effort to minimize those 'excesses' and maintain a standard of quality among the counsellors, Moody even distributed worker's tickets for admission into the rooms.²⁶⁷

In addition to the main evangelistic meetings, Moody offered bible readings, in which sections of scripture would be read and then expounded, either by Moody or another teacher. These were normally less formal, if any of Moody's meetings could be described as formal, and they allowed for group interaction. So, too, did the question

²⁶⁵ Carwardine, p. 182.

²⁶⁶ Daily Review, 9 December 1873; MacPherson, Revivals and Revival Work, p. 148; also Times of Blessing, 25 April 1874, p. 36.

²⁶⁷ J. M., Recollections, pp. 11-12. Even Charteris was initially suspicious of the institution 'partly because I had disliked the way I had seen them conducted in 1859-60'. The Church of Scotland Home and Missionary Record, 1 April 1874, p. 18.

drawer, a device used both in the course of other meetings and on its own. As the name implies, members of the audience placed their queries in a box; Moody would then read these queries and answer them.²⁶⁸ Other special meetings included conferences for leadership training, children's meetings on Saturdays, weekly free breakfasts, all day meetings and even a watchnight service on New Year's Eve in Edinburgh.²⁶⁹ This cornucopia of gatherings reveals Moody's insight into people. He recognized varying needs which could not be met in a single type of service. He understood that if his evangelistic message was to be well received it had to be presented in new and imaginative ways and he employed various devices, organizational, spiritual and musical to accomplish this.

The single most important musical innovation was Ira David Sankey himself. With his harmonium, 'human hymns' and stupendous mutton chops, he was a colourful musical counterpart to Moody. Kent and McLoughlin agree that the way in which Sankey was incorporated was one of the most original elements in the Moody mission.²⁷⁰ He had been working with the Internal Revenue Service in America when Moody coerced him into joining his work in Chicago. Only after attempts at securing the services of other singers had failed did Moody invite Sankey to join him in Great Britain. As Kent says, it is difficult to imagine the 'kind of spell which Sankey cast' over audiences. He laments the

²⁶⁸ Daily Review, 15 January 1874; Times of Blessing, 25 April 1874, pp. 22-3.

²⁶⁹ Daily Review, 2 January 1874; Courant, 13 December 1873; Times of Blessing, 18 April 1874, pp. 5-6; W. R. Moody, p. 174.

²⁷⁰ Kent, Holding the Fort, pp. 153-4; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 233. For biographical details on Sankey see Charles Ludwig, Sankey Still Sings, Warner Press, Indiana, 1947. Kent has done the most complete criticism of Sankey's role and music in the Moody mission. See Holding the Fort, pp. 52-54; 215-35.

fact that there is not 'even a scrambled gramophone record' of Sankey singing²⁷¹ but there is such a recording.²⁷² Unfortunately, it was made in 1899, long after Sankey had passed his prime and retired from the musical ministry. Even in his elderly state, his rendition of 'God Be With You' conveys to the modern listener some appreciation of the impact of a Sankey solo sung in its prime to thousands of eager Victorians.

The most noticeable feature of the recording is the clarity of his enunciation. Even with the poor technical quality, the lyrics to the hymn are much easier to understand than the spoken bible reading which Moody recorded at about the same time. This corresponds with descriptions of the pains which he took to project each word carefully, on many occasions seeming almost to speak the words to the accompaniment. Said MacPherson, '[Sankey's effectiveness] lies not so much in compass, strength, or richness of voice, as in a matchless distinction of articulation, by which he can convey to an audience of many thousands every word sung...'.²⁷³

The second thing that is noticed is the mediocre quality of his voice. Again, even granting the effects of age and disuse, his delivery is not that of a trained musician. Particularly when he approaches high notes, the listener is never very confident that he will arrive at them. The placement of the tone seems to be set improperly high in the throat in this upper register, yet it is swallowed, almost choked and garbled, at times, in the lower register. It is not a beautiful voice. But it is lusty and bold. He seems to sing

²⁷¹ Kent, p. 152.

²⁷² Listened to at Moodyana Collection, MBI.

²⁷³ MacPherson, Revival and Revival Work, p. 57.

with the confidence and vigour that would have been necessary to hold an audience in an era without microphones and amplifiers.

The small organ which he employed was useless for much else than accompaniment. It would not have had the strength to provide anything like the volume one would expect from modern concert organs. Its diminutive size seems to have been one of the factors that earned Sankey a hearing in a land manifestly suspicious of musical instruments. As Horatius Bonar said in his defense, 'I have little to say as to the organ. I do not desire it, and I see no advantage in it. But after all, it was a mere appendage to the proceedings,--and a very small one.'²⁷⁴ Sankey used a clever combination of musical selections, the majority of which were emotional gospel songs, interspersed with familiar Psalms, undoubtedly to appease the suspicious. His solos seem to have been just as advertised, a 'singing of the gospel'. Like Moody he told stories, many of them just as maudlin as those of the great evangelist, only set to music.²⁷⁵ He was a singing preacher:

Abhorring the notion of providing a musical entertainment merely to please those who are not in the Kingdom of God, he seeks to move their hearts and win them to Christ by truth expressed in the most winning tones...At public meetings, Mr. Sankey seldom goes beyond the singing, except to say a few words connected with his hymns, or give some little incident fitted to encourage and stimulate. The feeling thrown into his singing and the beauty of the singing itself are his great charms.²⁷⁶

It is to Moody's credit that he realized the value of the effective use of music and teamed up with someone as capable as Sankey, for he was himself hopelessly tone deaf.

When asked in an interview about Moody's singing ability, his daughter-in-law responded:

²⁷⁴ Pamphlet entitled 'The Old Gospel: Not "another gospel", but the power of God unto salvation. A reply to Dr. Kennedy's pamphlet, "Hyper-Evangelism."', Andrew Elliot, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 65.

²⁷⁵ For an analysis of Sankey's hymnody see Kent, pp. 215-35.

²⁷⁶ Daily Review, 6 January 1874.

Oh he couldn't. He'd grunt and groan and that was the way he sang, he never sang in tune...one time he asked me if I wouldn't play Nearer My God to Thee, he said that's my mother's favorite hymn so I sat down and I played Yankee Doodle with many chords, impressive chords and then he did have some tears running down his face...he didn't know what I was playing...yet he studied people, he saw what the hymn did to the audience, how they were impressed and he's [sic] have that hymn sung over and over again.²⁷⁷

Kent credits Sankey rather than Moody with forging the unique 'ethos' during the mission in Great Britain and subsequently.²⁷⁸ There is no doubt that Sankey made a considerable contribution but this contention is not supported by the evidence. Nearly every report of the work begins with a description of Moody. This could be explained by a natural deference to him as the preacher but Moody's dominance in every field of his endeavours can be discerned throughout his life. When Sankey was unable to join Moody later, the evangelist conscripted other musicians to fill Sankey's shoes and carried on. Sankey did virtually nothing on his own and, in the end, died in relative obscurity. Moody on the other hand expanded his influence into other areas, particularly education, as well as continuing his evangelistic ministry. He died following a heart attack suffered while on yet another mission in Kansas City and, though it cannot be said that his later missions had the impact of the earlier ones, it must be said that it was Moody, from beginning to end, who dominated the scene.

Physically he was quite impressive. At a relatively short 5'6", his great bulk was emphasized. He was always large but began to put on more weight in his late twenties. The one letter in which he speaks of the matter is directed to Sankey. He had lost fifteen

²⁷⁷ Transcription of interview with Mrs. W. R. Moody, pp. 3-4, 'Mrs. WRM Interview' file, MBI.

²⁷⁸ Kent, Holding the Fort , p. 153.

pounds since coming home by walking 'about 5 miles a day...'.²⁷⁹ Tipping the scale at anywhere from 260 to close on 300 pounds, he was an enormous figure on stage. Pictures show that when he was sitting, his girth caused his legs to sprawl apart. With his full beard and bull neck, his head appeared to rise straight out of his shoulders. As he spoke, he waved, pointed and punched the air, moving back and forth, punctuating his endless streams of anecdotes with these gestures. Clad only in ordinary clothes, spewing 'Americanisms', he was the antithesis of the Scottish clergyman. One reporter said, 'He is not a man of much education or culture; his manner is abrupt and blunt...his voice is sharp, rapid, and colloquial, and he never attempts anything like finished or elaborate composition.' Lord Shaftesbury was impressed 'because of the imperfection of the whole thing'. One described his oratory as being like that used to 'sell wheat in our market'.²⁸⁰ Moody constantly received notes correcting his grammar. To the end, he was embarrassed concerning his inadequacies in this area. Despite repeated requests for transcripts of his sermons by readers of the journal Times of Blessing, he refused, in part because of his self-consciousness over having his mistakes repeated in print.²⁸¹ The first official edition of Moody's sermons finally came out of his London campaign, and then only after coming under the meticulous editorial knife of his trusted colleague Henry Drummond.²⁸² To a later request for Moody's letters, his son wrote 'On further

²⁷⁹ Uncatalogued letter, 15 January 1894, Billy Graham Center for Evangelism, Wheaton, Illinois.

²⁸⁰ Daily Review, 6 January 1874; British Weekly, 26 November 1886; Courant, 12 January 1874.

²⁸¹ Times of Blessing, 30 April 1874, p. 44.

²⁸² The London Discourses of Mr. D. L. Moody as Delivered in the Agricultural Hall and Her Majesty's Opera House, James Clarke and Co., London, 1875; letter from James Moore to Mark Toone, 11 September 1986.

consideration I am a little concerned as to whether it is wise to use these letters. You remember how sensitive Father was in regard to his spelling, and I should not wish to have any letters reproduced in which there were mistakes of this kind.²⁸³

Kent argues that Moody capitalised on these deficiencies. Moody, he says, 'implied that ignorance and a lack of education were an advantage in matters of faith...'.²⁸⁴ This statement indicates a consideration of only part of the evidence. It is true, for instance, that Moody boasted, 'I have one rule about books. I do not read any book, unless it will help me to understand the book.'²⁸⁵ He did brag about his ignorance of modern biblical critical studies.²⁸⁶ This is the sort of thing he would have been expected to say given the milieu out of which he arose and the simple, non-dogmatic biblicism which he came to represent. But, though Moody had little use for the products of more liberal scholarship, he handled these problems as he did so many other potential points of tension. He ignored them. This will be seen to be a characteristic method of Moody's, one of the keys to his continuing success as a peacemaker. It will also be seen to be in stark contrast to his later American protege, R. A. Torrey.²⁸⁷

There is much evidence, however, on the other side of this issue which must be considered. Moody developed a regular regimen of daily personal study in the early morning hours which he continued for the rest of his life. Furthermore, Gundry argues

²⁸³ W. R. Moody to Fitt, 7 January 1907, W. R. Moody file, Moody Institute.

²⁸⁴ Kent, Holding the Fort, p. 151.

²⁸⁵ Bradford, D. L. Moody--A Worker in Souls, p. 37.

²⁸⁶ The American Monthly Review of Reviews, n.d., p. 168, Yale (28,III,17,7)

²⁸⁷ See The Presbyterian Tribune, 13 May 1937, p. 16, for discussion of this tendency in Moody.

that he sought to redress some of his own educational shortcomings by spending time with eminent clerical scholars.²⁸⁸ Moody's son, Paul, recounts a story which supports this.

Dr. Henry Weston of Crozier Theological Seminary...had never heard my father and had been a little prejudiced against him. But shortly before my father's death he was persuaded to come to Northfield. Father invited him to speak and he replied he was no preacher, only an expositor. So Father immediately asked him to give a series of expositions. This he reluctantly consented to do. It was Father's frequent custom, after introducing a speaker, to carry a chair down off the platform and sit at the speaker's feet. The first time Dr. Weston spoke Father did this, and, unconventional as usual, remarked early in the talk, "There goes one of my sermons." Just a little at a loss over the interruption, Dr. Weston looked down and asked what he meant. My father replied that he had always used that text as though it meant this or that, and Dr. Weston's exposition had shown him he was wrong and he could not use that sermon again. A few minutes later he exclaimed, "There goes another." Dr. Weston's delight knew no bounds. For years he had found fault with the erroneous exegeses of his students in the theological seminary and they had defended their mistakes by quoting sermons of my father's. "Now," said Dr. Weston, "I can answer them" ...²⁸⁹

Henry Drummond also spoke on this subject:

There is no stronger proof of Mr. Moody's breadth of mind...than that the greatest evangelist of his day, not when his powers were failing, but in the prime of life and in the zenith of success, should divert so great a measure of his strength into educational channels. Mr. Moody realized the value of character, of a sound mind and disciplined judgement. He found the converts without these weak-kneed and useless, and as Christian workers inefficient if not dangerous.²⁹⁰

Moody did value education, testified so repeatedly, continued to study for the rest of his days and devoted the greatest part of his later life energies to the development of his

²⁸⁸ Gundry, p. 41.

²⁸⁹ Paul D. Moody, My Father--An Intimate Portrait of Dwight Moody, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1937, pp. 196-7.

²⁹⁰ John McDowell, Dwight L. Moody, Fleming Revell, New York, 1915, p. 19.

educational institutions which he called the 'best work of my life'.²⁹¹ Kent's implication of Moody's militant arrogance regarding his lack of education is not borne out. In this area, once again, Moody can be argued to have played a mediating role. To the thousands for whom the regular educated clergy seemed daunting and overwhelming, his simple, homespun messages came as a relief. Yet he never carried favour with the crowds at the expense of the educated ministry. Another reason that Moody had a broad appeal among the clergy is that he paid deference to their education rather than putting them on the defensive for it.

Moody was, by his own admission, a sensationalist although presumably this fell short of being an 'enthusiast'.²⁹² His voice was the voice of a performer and his script chosen carefully for its ability to hold an audience. Unlike the stilted, multi-point theological sermons frequently heard from Scottish pulpits of the day, Moody told stories. It was often objected to that his sermons were an unending string of emotion-laden, heartrending anecdotes. His favourite theme was the home and family, particularly the poor Christian mother who longed for the conversion of her wayward child who either died before she saw that happen--leaving the son guilt-ridden for the grief that he had caused her--or who accomplished that conversion while on her sickbed. Many of the stories were taken from Moody's Civil War experiences. There is a recurring preoccupation with death and dying, seemingly excessive even in a ministry where the

²⁹¹ Letter to Mr. McKinnon, 2 January 1888, Yale (28,I), Times of Blessing, 25 April 1874, p. 23; 7 May 1874, p. 80.

²⁹² See Henry Wellington Stough, Evangelism From the Death of Mr. Moody, collection number (106,I,3), Billy Graham Center for Evangelism, p. 29; also Stan Nussbaum, 'D. L. Moody and the Church: A study of the ecclesiological implications of extra ecclesiastical evangelism', MA thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, June 1973, p. 19.

threat of death was often used to urge a person to make an immediate decision. One hardened miner said to have attended a Moody meeting in Edinburgh ignored his friends' urgings to 'come awa' hame', staying to talk and make a tearful confession of faith. The next day there was a cave-in which killed the miner, his last words being, 'I'm thankful I settled it last night.'²⁹³ Similar stories with a variation on characters and themes followed the mission wherever it went.

Some of Moody's stories were downright morbid. He told of a shipwreck where there were too many survivors for the number of life boats. One man, swimming about, desperately seized one of the overcrowded boats with his hand and had it cut off with a sword. He seized with the other hand; it too was cut off. Finally in desperation he grasped on to the boat with his teeth and the man with the sword, unwilling to cut off his head, 'took him in and saved his life'. In the same way, the earnest seeker would find salvation. Then there was the story of the child run over by the train, his remains 'so mangled that the superintendent had to take off his coat to tie up the mangled corpse'. It was an awful thing to break this news to the family but 'what is that in comparison with the loss of the soul'. Though mawkishly distasteful to modern readers, Moody's natural spontaneity and timing and his innate ability to choose just the right story for the moment was the central feature of a ministry which brought people in by the thousands.²⁹⁴ Randal Macpherson of St Luke's Edinburgh, who has already been mentioned regarding his obstinacy about completing Charteris' questionnaire, was particularly critical of this

²⁹³ Times of Blessing, 21 May 1874, pp. 84-5.

²⁹⁴ The Christian World Pulpit, 1 December 1875, p. 340; London Discourses, pp. 21, 8, 17; Moody's Arrows and Anecdotes, John Lobb, ed., Christian Age, London, 1879, pp. 38-9, 40, 41, 43, 53-4, 63-4.

preaching style. Moody was 'producing a state of excitement', supposedly converting 'immense numbers by the mere repetition of exciting anecdotes'. Suspicious that the movement would have no permanence, 'Macpherson testified that he, personally, would very much prefer to continue to the end of his career to preach to empty benches, or to leave the church altogether, than to attract multitudes, however great, in the same way as the others were attracting people at the present moment.'²⁹⁵

The predominantly anecdotal nature of Moody's preaching has led many to the hasty conclusion that he had no theology.²⁹⁶ Gundry has shown this to be untrue in his long needed, detailed consideration of the subject. It is pointless to repeat Gundry's line of inquiry. It will suffice to sketch out Moody's theology as he describes it, dealing in greater detail with those elements of particular interest to the Scotland mission and considering the Scottish criticism which arose in response to his work there.

Gundry states that various recent scholars have attempted to portray Moody as an evangelist who was intent upon securing the largest possible number of conversions. He took Finney's 'man oriented' revivalist theology and, applying business techniques to it, turned revivalism into big business. Moody's end, conversions, justified and determined the means, his technique and theology. Gundry repudiates this thesis, arguing that it was Moody's theology, a sincere belief in the gospel of salvation in Christ, which determined his methods, and not the reverse.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Scotsman, 12 January 1874.

²⁹⁶ Nussbaum is a typical proponent of this bald generalization. See 'Moody and the Church', pp. 15-17. See also Gundry, pp. 66-67.

²⁹⁷ McLoughlin, pp. 166-7; Kent, p. 133; Weisberger, pp. 220-223; Gundry, pp. 72-86.

Gundry describes this theology as ruin, redemption and regeneration. Man is seen as fallen, tainted by the original sin of an historical Adam and Eve, doomed to eternal separation from a God who loves him but whose righteous perfection cannot have fellowship with sin.²⁹⁸ God is depicted as being on the horns of a dilemma, desiring fellowship with his creation but unable and unwilling by virtue of his righteousness to compromise his requirement of perfection. The solution is the sending of his son Jesus whose death and resurrection after a sinless life satisfies God's penal requirement for mankind's sinfulness.[102-120] The atonement, the mysterious washing away of sins by the blood of Christ who was the perfect and permanent expression of Old Testament animal sacrifice, is central to Moody's doctrine of redemption. Regeneration is the process which is begun at the point of redemption where the Holy Spirit begins to change the new believer's sinful nature from within. This is a life long process unlike redemption which occurs instantaneously.[121-130]

This was the theological framework upon which Moody built for the rest of his life. In his chapter 'Taking the Remedy', Gundry discusses how Moody employed these basic theological presuppositions in his evangelistic work. He sees faith as being central to Moody's theology of conversion, describing it as 'trust in God and His provision; it is the hand that takes the gift [of salvation] offered'. Repentance was a 'subsidiary' element of the process of conversion. Moody dealt less often with the subject and, when he did, he spoke of it in terms of a 'turning around and facing God', that is, the 'negative side of faith'. Moody emphasized the will of the individual. 'What...determines who will be

²⁹⁸ Gundry, p. 87-101. All further citations from Gundry in this section will be bracketed within the text.

saved?... "If you will, you will; if you won't, you won't... Every creature can be saved if he will." [131-135] He 'insisted that God does not command what man cannot do, and he asked if God would offer the Gospel to everyone and not give the power to take it.' [136] Obviously, Moody's theology of election enters at this point. Though Gundry repudiates Findlay's claim that Moody denied the doctrine, he admits that he did not emphasize it. When he did address the issue he dealt with it in two ways. Negatively, he asserted that election had nothing to do with unbelievers. Positively, he merely recapitulated earlier statements concerning man's will, affirming the "'whosoever will'", the freedom of all who would respond to the gospel so to do. Assurance of one's salvation was a natural result of Moody's theology. 'Although assurance was not necessary to salvation, it was clearly the privilege of every believer who would simply take God at His word.' [138-39]

One other facet of Moody's theology with which Gundry deals is his premillennialism.²⁹⁹ In holding this doctrine, he broke rank with most previous evangelists who were postmillennialists. Premillennialism taught that Christ's second coming would precede his literal thousand year reign on earth. At that time, Christ would take back to heaven all who were members of his church. In contrast postmillennialism taught that the thousand year period would precede Christ's return.³⁰⁰ Premillennialism was essentially pessimistic. It asserted that the world was fallen and that it was incapable of improving whereas postmillennialism taught that Christ's return would come only when

²⁹⁹ William G. McLoughlin, The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900: An Anthology, Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass., 1976, p. 184.

³⁰⁰ See James H. Moorhead, 'Between progress and apocalypse: A reassessment of millennialism in American religious thought, 1800-1880', Journal of American History, December 1984, vol. 71, No. 3, pp. 524-542.

the world had been perfected. Moody's acceptance of premillennialism probably dates to his exposure to the ideas of the Plymouth Brethren whose leader, J. N. Darby, was one of those responsible for the renaissance of the view in Britain during the nineteenth century. Moody spent a great deal of time with Brethren during his early trips to England and was closely associated with Henry Moorhouse, a Brethren preacher who spoke for Moody in Chicago and to whom Gundry credits much of Moody's theological development.³⁰¹

This is a necessarily meagre skeleton of Moody's theology. Authority for this position he found in the bible. He virtually ignored credal statements as an expression of his faith, relying almost entirely upon the use of a verbally inerrant scripture in the form of theological proof texts.³⁰² Inscribed inside the bible which he gave to his grand-daughter, Irene, were the following words: 'The bible for the last forty years has been the dearest thing on earth to me and now I give a copy as my first gift to my first grandchild Irene Moody...'.³⁰³ Gamaliel Bradford regretted that Moody's 'intellectual effort was--shall I say fatally?--concentrated upon one thing, the Bible...'.³⁰⁴ Moody affirmed the verbal inerrancy of scripture and its complete historical reliability. "I notice", said Moody, "if a man goes to cut up the Bible and comes to you with one truth and says, 'I don't believe this and I don't believe that'--I notice when he begins to doubt portions of the Word of God he soon doubts it all."³⁰⁵ It is a mistake, however, to accept this simplistic biblicism as

³⁰¹ Gundry, pp. 175-193.

³⁰² Times of Blessing, 4 June 1874, p. 121.

³⁰³ Seen at Library of Congress, Washington D. C., D. L. Moody papers, number 2614, boxes 1 and 2.

³⁰⁴ Bradford, Worker in Souls, p. 27.

³⁰⁵ Gundry, p. 203.

Moody's position without some qualification. His son Paul said that Moody '[toppled] over the theory of verbal inspiration in his stride...not [knowing] or [caring] what he had done'.³⁰⁶ This question will be dealt with in detail when we come to consider whether Moody was a 'liberal' or not. Suffice it to say at this point that Moody seems to have held to a literal interpretation of scripture and simply ignored the difficulties which this position raised.

As can be seen, several facets of Moody's theology harmonized adequately with the still prevailing but changing attitude towards the Westminster Confession. No Calvinist could have disagreed with his views on the fallen state of man. Nor could they have taken issue with his emphasis on the atonement as something necessary for the redemption of man in that state. Moody's doctrine of election contained a clear restatement of the Calvinistic doctrine of perseverance of the saints.³⁰⁷ Certainly his high view of scripture would not have elicited criticism. As one writer put it, Moody 'was orthodox in all his doctrines "with the single exception of his views as to the millennium."³⁰⁸ Yet there were many who disagreed with such an assessment. Though Moody was criticized by some Moderates, normally over matters of style or method,³⁰⁹ his most virulent and calculated opposition inevitably came from high Calvinists. His English mission was attacked by J. K. Popham, minister of the Particular Baptist Chapel, Liverpool, in his pamphlet entitled

³⁰⁶ Paul Moody, *Advance*, 1 February 1937, p. 53.

³⁰⁷ Gundry, pp. 139-40.

³⁰⁸ McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 360.

³⁰⁹ See, for example, letter from 'A Clergyman' to *Glasgow Herald*, 27 February 1874.

'Moody and Sankey's Errors vs. the Word of Truth'.³¹⁰ In Scotland, it was a Free Church minister from Dingwall, John Kennedy, who presented the most concerted Calvinistic broadside against Moody. Kennedy, whose vitriolic tendencies were recognised in obituary by the British Weekly which described him as 'to put it mildly, not a man of wide sympathies or culture...';³¹¹ published a derogatory pamphlet entitled 'Hyper-Evangelism--"Another gospel", though a mighty power. A review of the recent religious movement in Scotland.'³¹² A consideration of his points of contention provides a helpful analysis of the aspects of Moody's theology and methodology which represented the continuing shift away from high Calvinism in Scotland.

Kennedy was vexed by the devices being employed in Moody's services. Any reader of the aforementioned Signal would not have been surprised to discover Kennedy's strong objections to hymn-singing. 'Singing ought to be to the Lord; for singing is worship. But singing the gospel to men has taken the place of singing praise to God.'^[26] In the same way he found the use of instrumental music objectionable. It catered to the baser desires of the flesh. 'The organ sounds effectively touch chords which nothing else would thrill...They could be at the concert and in church at the same time.'^[26] The inquiry room was where men who were 'anxious to keep the awakened in their own hands...' acted as if 'conversion was all their own work'.^[29] 'Even prayer-meetings [were]

³¹⁰ Published by the author; seen at Scottish National Library, Edinburgh.

³¹¹ 13 May 1887.

³¹² Duncan Grant and Company, Edinburgh, 1874. All page references in this section will be included in brackets following the quotation.

converted into factories of sensation...' whereas Christ had enjoined his followers to 'enter their closet and shut the door'.^[29-30]

It was with Moody's theological errors that Kennedy was most deeply concerned. These fell under four headings. His first complaint was that 'No pains are taken to present the character and claims of God as Lawgiver and Judge, and no indication given of a desire to bring souls in self-condemnation, to accept the punishment of their iniquity'.^[8] As has been said, Moody affirmed the fall of man and his inherent sinfulness and need for salvation. But it was often complained, as here, that Moody did not deal enough with sin. This grievance came from more than just strictly Calvinistic circles. There was a strongly pietistic element to the evangelical movement in Scotland during this period. Temperance, sabbatarianism, condemnation of theatre-going, dancing and card playing were all frequent fodder for pulpit cannons. Moody was strongly entrenched personally in the same pietistic tradition. Late in his ministry in a letter to A. P. Fitt, Moody said, 'I found that one of the railroads had advertised to run a Moody train on Sunday and I sent them word if they did I would leave town for the Sabbath and preach in some other place'.³¹³ Frequently, the question drawer time included queries on these issues. In one, Moody condemned smoking as 'injurious to the health', and crippling to the influence of Christian workers. In the same meeting he denounced dancing, asking if they could 'think of St. Paul...or of Noah' dancing.³¹⁴ Moody did not, however, make these matters a

³¹³ Letter, 2 November 1898, Denver, Colorado; Yale (28,I,8). On a piece of paper in Moody's papers regarding this event was typed 'In deference to Mr. Moody's objections to Sunday excursions, no special train will be run on Nov. 6th on account of his revivals.' Moody had written across the bottom 'Free advertising in all the papers and up and down the road'. Yale, (28,I,8)

³¹⁴ Times of Blessing, 22 October 1874, pp. 436-7.

conspicuous subject of his sermons. His son said, 'Mr. Moody preached very little against superficial things like smoking, card playing, theatre-going, racegoing, drinking, gambling.'³¹⁵ In another question time Moody suggested that, though 'every church should be a temperance society', it was not an issue that should always be to the fore; 'some temperance men make the greatest mistake by lugging the question in on every occasion'.³¹⁶ Again, Moody walked a middle line, endorsing personally the prevailing pietism among evangelicals while not raising the issue to the level of extreme importance. Undoubtedly, some objected that he did not say more on these matters, perhaps thereby resulting in some of the accusations concerning his alleged leniency towards sin.

Kennedy's complaint was made on different grounds. He objected to the fact that there was no recognized period of agonizing over sinfulness. There was no 'call to repentance'[10]; sinners were not urged to reflect on their sin 'so that they [might] know that their hearts [were] desperately wicked'.[9] Instead, they were offered the 'favourite doctrine' of evangelists, 'sudden conversion'. 'If a hearty, intelligent turning to God in Christ be the result of conversion, it is utterly unwarrantable to expect that, as a rule, conversion [should] be sudden'.[10-11]

Kennedy's second concern was that the movement ignored 'the sovereignty and power of God in the dispensation of His grace'.[13] In other words, Moody did not preach sufficiently concerning election and predestination. Salvation and even the faith to believe in Christ were gifts from God. To say that 'faith regenerates' ignores the fact that

³¹⁵ Paul Moody, *My Father*, p. 176.

³¹⁶ *Times of Blessing*, 25 April 1874, p. 23.

man is incapable of responding in faith due to his terminally sinful nature. 'If [faith does regenerate], as the act of a living soul, then the soul could not have been dead in sins. If it was, whence came the life put forth in believing?'[16]

A third criticism advanced was that 'No care is taken to show, in the light of the doctrine of the cross, how God is glorified in the salvation of a sinner.'[19] Moody's handling of the atonement was inadequate because Christ's substitutionary death became the object of faith instead of Christ himself. The process of conversion thus focused attention on man rather than glorifying God.

His fourth objection was that 'No precaution is offered against a tendency to antinomianism in those who profess to have believed.'[20] Moody's teaching presented sin 'as a great calamity, rather than as a heinous crime...'.[21] He never offered confession of sin during his prayers and the cheapness of the salvation he proclaimed made it 'easy for [the convert] to ignore the law of God'. Moody's doctrine of assurance was thus defective in that it relied only on a 'consciousness of faith' and had 'no place at all allowed to an attestation of faith by works'.[22] The 'convert' which such a theology produced was

A molluscous, flabby creature, without pith or symmetry, breathing freely only in the heated air of meetings, craving to be pampered with vapid sentiment, and so puffed up by foolish flattery, as to be in a state of chronic flatulency, requiring relief in frequent bursts of hymn singing, in spouting addresses as void of scripture truth as of common sense, and in belching flippant questions in the face of all he meets.[21-2]

Kennedy raised, then, the perennial Calvinistic complaints against revivalist theology: Universal atonement offered to all who would have faith in Christ, lack of emphasis on sin and repentance and a cheap doctrine of assurance which did not serve to encourage continuing works of righteousness. Though others also expressed similar

criticisms,³¹⁷ Kennedy and this group constituted a dwindling minority. Moody had tapped into a religious culture that wished to retain its orthodox and conservative tradition while, at the same time, desiring to divest itself of any of the harsh Calvinistic elements which remained. The prevailing sentiment among the evangelicals who supported Moody was expressed by MacPherson:

Ultra-Calvinism keeps scowling watch at the gate of mercy, lest sinners, hearing a rumour that the gospel is for every creature, should make too free of entrance. Some people seem to be afraid lest too many sinners should get saved. There is no need to be alarmed; their own views of predestination should keep them calm on that score. In connection with ultra-Calvinism there is usually a certain hyper-subjectivity, a perpetual looking into the heart for evidence instead of looking but to Christ for all.³¹⁸

Moody influenced a reasonably wide spectrum of Scottish religious life. Certainly the majority of theological conservatives were supportive though, on the right he found opposition in the Calvinistic element and, on the left, less militant disdain. Part of his breadth of appeal was his composite theology. As shown, some aspects of his doctrine were strongly Calvinistic; yet others had definite Arminian influences.³¹⁹ In many ways, he stood in the tradition of previous evangelists yet his premillennialism set him apart. He was beholden to the Plymouth Brethren movement for some facets of his theology but he rejected their ecclesiastical separatism. Perhaps composite is the wrong word for it signifies more systematic thought than can justifiably be credited to Moody. Gundry's work considered, it still must be admitted that the doctrinal issues to which Moody was

³¹⁷ See e.g. Scotsman, 12 January 1874; Glasgow Herald, 7 March 1874 as quoted in McLoughlin, pp. 212-3. Also, see the description of James Begg's attitude in W. Keith Leask, Thomas McLaughlan, Oliphant, Andersen and Ferrier, 1905, pp. 135-6.

³¹⁸ MacPherson, Revival and Revival Work, p. 305

³¹⁹ Gundry, pp. 141-2.

apparently deeply committed were rather few and simplistic. Whether this was because of his intellectual imprecision or because his much discussed breadth of concern tended to seek common ground with others with whom he disagreed in some areas, is uncertain. But he drew from enough different traditions that if one wished to find points of agreement with his theology, it could very easily be done.

Moody's theology went beyond being a mere melange, however; it was in reality rather indistinct. In an apparent effort to reduce the number of potential objections to his message, he engaged, at times, in theological doubletalk. Three examples will serve to illustrate the point. In the first, Moody attempted to explain the fall of man in traditional terms while avoiding the uncomfortable conclusion that modern man was culpable for sins committed 6000 years earlier by Adam

Man is lost on account of Adam's sin. People complain of God being unjust, and they are condemned on account of Adam's sin...Now, let me say there will be no one lost here on account of Adam's sin. Some of our friends begin to say, "That man is unsound in his theology;"...Let me then just say that you will be lost on account of Adam's sin. "Oh," but I hear some of you say, "that is a plain contradiction. He said a man can be saved, and he won't be; now he says he will not be."³²⁰

To this objection, Moody went on to tell of a man, terminally ill, who refused to take medicine which another man, who had suffered from the same illness, had taken and been cured. It was the sick man's obstinacy which killed him. In the same way, if men are lost it is not 'because Adam sinned, but because they spurned God's remedy for sin.' Moody got around the problematic element of the doctrine of original sin by placing the burden of responsibility upon the man to whom salvation had now been offered. If this rather

³²⁰ London Discourses, pp. 52.

clumsy argument was not scrutinized too carefully it seemed to have the advantage of affirming the orthodox doctrine without seeking to defend its natural conclusions.³²¹

A second example can be found in Moody's views on perdition. If asked outright, Moody would have affirmed his belief in a literal hell. But, when reading his sermon on hell, one is surprised at its benignity. '...we read of the "worm that dieth not" and the "fires that are not quenched." I believe the "worm" spoken of is memory. I believe that is what is going to make hell so terrible to those that have lived in a Gospel land--to think what they might have been, to think how they might have spent eternity in that world of light.'³²² The sermon goes on to declare that there is a hell, just as surely as there is a heaven. But this theme of memory and regret over what might have been is the strongest retributive element in the message. Moody was not afraid of dwelling on sordid details, as has been shown in earlier anecdotes. His reluctance, then, to elaborate on the traditional themes of torture, fire and eternal damnation is all the more noticeable. As Bradford observed, '[Moody] did not usually dilate on the physical horrors of the nether world...hell was comparatively cloudy...'³²³

One more example of Moody's theological indistinctness will suffice. Though he affirmed the inerrancy of scripture, when his son approached him regarding a question as to the differing accounts of Judas' death in the New Testament, his father's response was, 'Huh ...what difference does it make what happened to a rascal like Judas?' As Paul Moody wrote, 'Wholly satisfactory and perfectly characteristic, but not an answer to a

³²¹ Ibid., p. 53.

³²² Ibid., p. 107.

³²³ Bradford, p. 82.

problem which, while no problem to a liberal and no problem to him, yet remains a problem for the literalist...As a matter of fact,' His son went on to say, 'inconsistencies never worried him greatly, at least in the realm of thought.'³²⁴ The question of Paul Moody's own reliability as a witness to these matters was later raised by Torrey, among others, and will be dealt with in due course. But this assessment of his father seems to confirm a fair reading of Moody's sermons and other talks. On key issues which he felt could not be compromised, particularly regarding the nature and work of Christ, he was immovable. 'Let us not be narrow and bigotted [sic]. But if they don't preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, go for them; give them no quarter at all.'³²⁵ On most issues, however, Moody refused to be drawn into the kind of theological debates that his underlings would later carry on with a vengeance.

As an outsider to the Scottish church, Moody had a definite advantage. Besides being perceived as a neutral party he seems to have been granted the freedom of not defining many of his theological positions too precisely. He was allowed to transgress certain Calvinistic principles, perhaps with greater impunity since he was not integrity-bound by subscription to the Westminster Confession, as were the Scottish ministers. Regarding the place of credal statements, Moody said:

Doctrines are all right in their places, but when you put them in the place of faith or salvation, they become a sin. If Dr. Horton should ask me up to his house to dinner tomorrow, the street would be a very good thing to take me to his house, but if I didn't go into the house, I wouldn't get any dinner. Now a

³²⁴ Paul Moody, *My Father*, pp. 203-4.

³²⁵ Gundry, p. 147.

creed is the road or street. It is very good as far as it goes, but if it doesn't take us to Christ, it is worthless.³²⁶

He returned repeatedly to the main themes as described above, presented over and over again in the form of biblical preaching heavily salted with stories and anecdotes. Moody said enough about particular doctrines to convince the conservatives of his orthodoxy. Yet he refused to preach extensively on most of these doctrines and can even be said to have waffled when it came to making any definitive statements on potentially objectionable issues. As one put it, '[This movement has not] revolved round any secondary truths or matters of opinion, elevated into vital questions. It has not been associated with any question about baptism, or the time of the second advent, or the metaphysical definition of faith. It has been based on the broadest of Bibles truths....'[emphasis mine]³²⁷ When he was challenged on doctrinal matters, he seldom responded. He seems to have been intellectually incapable and constitutionally disinclined to argue over such issues.

Furthermore, Gundry suggests that Moody's disregard of doctrinal differences in others of a more liberal persuasion, whom he felt shared the basic commitment to the gospel outlined above, was due to his genuine breadth of temper. Drummond would later share the theological forbearance that Moody possessed, but he could afford to do so since his theology was much more liberal than Moody's. Torrey, who rejected liberal theology in favor of nascent fundamentalism, had no tolerance for liberal thought. While

³²⁶ As quoted in Gundry, p. 132.

³²⁷ William Blaikie, British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. 23, 1874, p. 482. With this mention of baptism it is worth noting that the sacraments had virtually no place in Moody's message. Of course, for Moody, a layman, to have led in communion or baptism in Scotland as would have been unthinkable.

he endorsed most of the beliefs that Moody held, Torrey's was a much more systematic expression of them. But Moody's uniqueness, and undoubtedly much of his appeal, stemmed from his concurrent commitment to basic conservative doctrines still held dear by orthodox evangelicals and to a noncommittal, amorphous position on potentially controversial issues which he considered to be peripheral to the essence of the evangelistic message.

What was the impact of Moody's '73 mission? The claims for the number of Moody converts vary from the grossly exaggerated to the unduly cautious. McLoughlin, working from analyses of contemporary church records, finds that whatever increases in church membership resulted from Moody's mission were offset by the increase in population during the same period. After considering a survey of the United Presbyterian congregations, the best McLoughlin can say for Moody is that he reversed 'an inauspicious [downward] trend' in attendance.³²⁸ Findlay does not deal with the number of Scottish converts in particular although his conclusions tend to be more optimistic than those of McLoughlin.³²⁹ Kent, having pronounced Moody's English campaign 'defeated', conspicuously avoids such a proclamation regarding Scotland. The inference is that he believes the impact in Scotland to have been more considerable although, like Findlay, he does not offer any specific statistical evidence.³³⁰ The reticence of scholars to deal too glibly with statistics is understandable. There is an inherently personal and inscrutable nature to individual spiritual experiences which renders analysis of them difficult under

³²⁸ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 200-1.

³²⁹ Findlay, p. 271; also footnote on same page.

³³⁰ Kent, Holding the Fort, p. 138.

the most favourable circumstances. It is safe to say that Moody's ministry had a considerable impact on a large number of people for whom the realm of religious belief had previously been unimportant. Reports from particular churches, almost always those that were extensively involved in Moody's campaign, suggest healthy gains in communicant classes.³³¹ Though the precise figures can never be known, there are two generalizations which appear to be incontrovertible.

Firstly, the mission failed to make the kind of impact on the unchurched masses which had been hoped for. There were occasional optimistic claims that the movement had '[touched] and [impressed] all classes...'.³³² The most credible accounts suggest, however, that although segments of each class were affected, the growing unchurched element in society for which the evangelist Mr. Gall had expressed concern was relatively unaffected. The Free Church sent a circular to ministers in various parts of the country, asking them to evaluate the results of the revival in their parishes. The resulting report indicated that, 'From the large towns especially...notwithstanding the numerous crowded meetings, and the impression made on many, the masses have not been reached, and there is no perceptible change in their moral condition.'³³³ William Blaikie concurred: 'Even where the revival movement has been most profound and extensive, the masses of our town population have not been pervaded.'³³⁴

³³¹ Free Church Record, 1 July 1874, p. 135.

³³² Times of Blessing, 18 April 1874, p.3, 9.

³³³ Free Church of Scotland Report on the State of Religion and Morals, May 1874, p. 4.

³³⁴ British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. 23, 1874, p. 492.

Efforts were certainly made to reach the more depressed social groups. Special meetings were held in the slum areas of Edinburgh at the Corn Exchange. Several ongoing mission programmes intended to minister to the under-privileged resulted from the Moody mission including Carrubber's Close Mission and the Free Breakfast Mission in Edinburgh and the Children's Free Breakfast and City Mission and the Dundee Tent Mission in Dundee.³³⁵ George Adam Smith says that Moody was 'the cause of the civic righteousness of Glasgow...'. The 'improvements for the poor and the character of the city' were all due to Mr. Moody.³³⁶ Though these programmes attempted to meet the needs of people in their extremity, the actual evangelistic services seem to have failed to affect them appreciably.

The second observation is that, while the hoped for influx of huge numbers of the unchurched did not materialize, the mission led to the revivifying of a large nominal segment within the church and this, particularly, among the middle classes. Said Blaikie, 'The class among whom the work has chiefly gone on, are those who have been well brought up,--the children of Christian parents, mainly in the middle walks of life.'³³⁷ Times of Blessing reported that 'The work hitherto has been chiefly among the church-going; and it has been frequently remarked...that the majority of the inquirers were the children of Christian parents.' There was a particularly strong affect on young men in

³³⁵ Courant, 29 December 1873; Brochures on centenary celebrations of these organizations can be examined at Dundee city archives. One hundred years later, many of these missions were still operating. In the light of these numerous beneficent efforts, Kent's statement that Moody's premillennialism only evoked in him a 'purely self-indulgent pessimism' seems unfair. See Kent, Holding the Fort, p. 137. For a strong statement from Moody on issues of justice see 'D. L. Moody and Social Righteousness', 28 January 1937, in the clippings file at Yale.

³³⁶ Quoted in Paul Moody, My Father, p. 174.

³³⁷ British and Foreign Evangelical Review, May 1874, p. 480.

many areas, especially Glasgow, belonging 'chiefly to the middle classes. The most of them [were] warehousemen, clerks, and students.'³³⁸ The Free Church Record reported that

It has not been by any means a work in the wynds and closes of Edinburgh, though the poor have also largely shared in the blessing. In the fashionable churches, in the families of prominent citizens, in the university and divinity halls of the different denominations, in the public schools, in the mercantile houses of the city, and among all classes of professional men, the Spirit of God has been working to the salvation of souls and the refreshing of Christians.³³⁹

A United Presbyterian report noted that 'the cases of awakening have almost entirely been confined to persons having a church connection of some kind...'.³⁴⁰ Charteris agreed with these statements in his letter to the The Church of Scotland Home and Missionary Record.³⁴¹

The greatest effect of the movement, then, seems to have been the strengthening of the growing middle-class fringe of the Church. This might explain, in part, why the later missions were rougher going. The '73 mission had the effect of breathing new life into the nominally Christian, middle-class establishment which it seems to have done with certain vigour. There remained then, in the eighties and nineties far fewer in that 'fringe' group. Instead the church was confronted by the much less sympathetic unchurched segment of society, with whom Moody had failed in 1873 and for whom the Church had long since lost any real relevance.

³³⁸ 18 April 1874, p. 7.

³³⁹ 1 March 1874, p. 57.

³⁴⁰ Times of Blessing, 21 May 1874, p. 89.

³⁴¹ 18 April 1874, p. 16.

Moody's influence in other areas of Scottish religious life can also be discerned.

There is little doubt that Sankey's use of hymns and harmonium went a long way towards legitimising their wider use in Scotland.³⁴² A battle was already in progress over such 'innovations' long before the arrival of the American evangelist. Typical of this was the Cramond case with which the Edinburgh presbytery of the Church of Scotland had wrestled for well over three years starting in 1872. The presbytery decision to allow the use of a harmonium in the Cramond church, at the request of the majority of the congregation, was vehemently opposed by the tireless Ranald MacPherson. After the subject had moved on and off the presbytery's agenda several times, an elder named Caesar commented that 'in this weary Cramond harmonium case, if the convincing powers of Mr. MacPherson had been equal to his vigour, the case would have been ended long ago.' It was later suggested that 'the most expeditious way of getting out of the difficulty [of the Cramond case] was to allow Mr. MacPherson to run himself out.' By this time, the matter had reached the General Assembly which had ordered that the organ be permitted. MacPherson's protestations continued to the point where he even became the subject of debate on the floor of presbytery regarding his objectionable language and the object of a scabrous editorial in the Scotsman. MacPherson's greatest fears regarding the growing appeal of such innovations were more than realized with the arrival of Moody and Sankey and he said so in yet another speech to the presbytery.³⁴³

³⁴² Kent, Holding the Fort, p. 215. The Moody/Sankey hymnal 'Sacred Songs and Solos' was the religious music best seller of the period and has continued to be popular in certain circles to the present day.

³⁴³ 28 May 1872; 26 December 1872; 5 January 1874; 12 January 1874.

The Cramond case and MacPherson's virulent opposition represented in microcosm what was taking place to some degree throughout much of Scotland. James Begg, John Kennedy and The Signal led the most formidable resistance to the movement for liturgical change. But the trend was progressing inexorably. The U. P. C. introduced a hymnal in 1851. By 1872 both the Church of Scotland and the Free church had followed suit. Sankey's influence beginning in 1873 coincided with those who supported such changes. By the late seventies, the use of hymnals was broadly accepted in all the main churches and, within another decade, so too was the organ.³⁴⁴

It can also be argued that Moody made some impact on the theological climate of Scotland. The part that his supporters played in the future W. Robertson Smith case has already been mentioned. Though it is highly unlikely that Moody himself would have allowed himself to become involved or even to endorse such a heresy hunt, the fact is that many of his strongest supporters led the fight which ousted Smith from his academic position.³⁴⁵ Yet if Moody can be seen to have stood for the retention of an older orthodoxy in the results of the Smith case, he also contributed to the continuing decline of the rigid orthodoxy found in the Westminster Confession. The United Presbyterian Church passed a Declaratory Act in 1879; the Free Church in 1892. These measures modified the subscription to the Confession which ministers were required to declare and had the effect of removing the strait-jacket which it had imposed on Scottish theology for some two hundred years. It was Cairns of the U. P. C. and Rainy of the Free Church who

³⁴⁴ Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray, Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1984, pp. 89-90. See also Cheyne, pp. 88-109 for a thorough consideration of the liturgical changes during this time.

³⁴⁵ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 215-6.

were the leading figures in this process of relaxation and both were sympathetic to Moody's work. The fact that William Blaikie, a staunch Moody supporter, and the much more liberal Marcus Dods would later team up to produce an article on the changing attitudes towards the Confession is indicative of the mood of some, at least, of the men whom Moody gathered around himself.³⁴⁶ The degree to which Moody himself was responsible is difficult to determine but McLoughlin suggests that he acted to some extent as a catalyst for change.³⁴⁷

This softening of the harsher Calvinistic doctrines was seen by one contemporary writer as the key to Moody's success, as a vulgar layman in a land which possessed so many capable clergymen. As far as he was concerned, Scottish preachers had sought to 'convince us that we are...subjects of God's wrath, and that it is only by believing in a complex theological puzzle...that we can gain God's favour and forgiveness...'. Moody's simple declaration of 'God's goodness and forgiveness' had 'found thousands...by its simplicity and power'.³⁴⁸ But there are other possible reasons for Moody's overwhelming success. Findlay suggests he provided 'assurance in a time of uncertainty'. Kent offers the conclusion that it was Moody's organization, music and the fact that he 'stood outside the religious gang-warfare of Scotland' that accounts for his acceptance. McLoughlin says he succeeded because he was able to walk a line between staunch Calvinism and liberalism

³⁴⁶ British Weekly, 22 April 1887.

³⁴⁷ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 212-4.

³⁴⁸ Scotsman, 18 December 1873.

thus attracting the evangelicals in between who were weary of the former and frightened of the latter.³⁴⁹

These are all undoubtedly important considerations but there are at least two other elements which contributed to the evangelist's success. Moody was the happy beneficiary of fortuitous timing which placed him in the middle of a situation that had been developing for forty years. Moody cannot take credit for single-handedly reshaping the nature of evangelicalism in Scotland. The reshaping had already begun. He did, however, aid in the operation. By means of his preaching, he reaffirmed the transition that was occurring and, in the process, contributed to its continued evolution. Changes were taking place and he stepped onto the stage with the kind of message and method which accorded well with the new ideas.

Secondly, Moody succeeded because he managed to narrow the field of vision in his evangelistic work. He presented salvation without complicating doctrinal details. He affirmed the bible without discussing its difficulties. He brought a sense of unity to the Church while remaining largely ignorant himself of the reasons for disunity. He represented a strongly pietistic tradition without pummelling listeners with sabbatarianism or temperance sermons. In short, Moody did not focus on problems or issues but directed unwavering attention to the practical matter of 'saving souls'. It was this deliberate singleness of purpose which allowed him to embrace so many people of different beliefs and makeup. If he felt they were committed to evangelism and shared his simple, basic doctrines, he was ready to welcome them as co-labourers. Moody offered the Scottish

³⁴⁹ Findlay, p. 163; Kent, Holding the Fort , p. 136; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism , pp. 210-4.

Church a chance to go over to the offensive once more at a time when the British Church in general was finding itself under increasing attack. It was predominantly the evangelical wing of the Church which he carried along with him but, with his avoidance of controversy, he also drew from the theological left and right, being content to leave the extremists on either fringe peacefully alone.

Moody had a breadth of appeal and strength of character which was able to hold such disparate groups together, an attribute which his heirs lacked and seemed disinclined to cultivate. As McLoughlin puts it, his mission represented the 'opening and half-conscious battle of the modernist-fundamentalist schism'.³⁵⁰ Moody himself resolutely and repeatedly refused to be drawn into the skirmish but it was many of his own followers, on the fundamentalist side, who were to lead the coming battle. In the one corner would stand R. A. Torrey. In the other, Henry Drummond, a young Free Churchmen who was freer than most. He had been drawn into the Edinburgh work with impressive results. But even in those early days there was brewing in his restless and inquisitive mind the beginnings of a religious philosophy which would, in the end, take him far afield from the theology he and Moody had plied together. Within ten years of the Great Mission, Moody would find himself, once again, assuming the familiar role of mediator. This time, it would be between an errant spiritual son and the modernism for which he had come to stand and a cabal of lieutenants whose scrupulous theological consistency was matched only by the tireless and rigorous energy with which they prosecuted their beliefs.

³⁵⁰ McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 10.

EVANGELICALISM IN TRANSITION: A comparative analysis of the work and theology of D. L. MOODY and his protégés, HENRY DRUMMOND and R. A. TORREY

Chapter 5. HENRY DRUMMOND: A PILGRIMAGE TO LIBERALISM

Henry Drummond is a good example of the changes which were taking place in religious thought in Scotland in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Born and nurtured in the bosom of conservative Scottish evangelicalism, the first half of his short life gave every outward indication of following closely in his family's religious footsteps. But even as early as the Moody/Sankey mission of 1873, where by his work among young men he first made a name for himself, there were subtle indications of growth away from his conservative roots. Few would have imagined that this earnest young evangelist, apparently orthodox and undoubtedly zealous, would write two of the most controversial religious books of his generation and eventually be brought up on charges of heresy before an early death in 1897. A consideration of Henry Drummond is valuable in its own right because he was a prominent figure in Scottish Christianity during his time. His well read books and his world travels extended this influence beyond Scottish borders. The scope of his influence, which was recognized by writers of the era³⁵¹, has been ignored by more recent historians.³⁵² Too grandiose claims will not be made for him but a fresh statement of his importance as one of the leading religious figures of his time, at least in

³⁵¹ For some contemporary assessments of his impact see 'Professor Henry Drummond', The Christian, 7 October 1886; 'Professor Drummond', Gospel Warrior, March 1891 (SNL); 'Henry Drummond', The Bible Standard, January 1891 (SNL); Lennox, p. 225; D. M. Ross, 'Professor Drummond's religious teaching', The Expositor, V, fifth series, 1897, p. 390; John Kelman, 'Drummond in Scottish university life today', The Congregationalist and Christian World, 2 November 1902, p. 618; James W. Kennedy, Henry Drummond: An Anthology, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953, p. 13; Marcus Dods' comments which are reported by J. E. M. in her contribution to the Stirling Observer, 24 March 1897; The Bookman, April 1897, p. 8; J. L. Morgan, Daily Express, 18 November 1931. John Mott felt Drummond's abilities with students exceeded that of even Moody; What D. L. Moody Meant to Me-An Anthology of Appreciation and Appraisal of the Beloved Founder of the Northfield Schools, John McDowell, Northfield Schools, Massachusetts, 1937, p. 19. Read at Yale.

³⁵² W. R. Moody mentions something of Drummond although he ignores his later work; Findlay deals briefly with him and Kent ignores him altogether. Gundry considers Drummond much more seriously.

Scotland, needs to be made. Beyond this, Drummond vividly exemplifies one branch of an evangelicalism which was bifurcating as it approached the twentieth century. His strong and continuing ties with Moody and Moody's brand of evangelism did not preclude his diversion into theological territories far removed from his American mentor's simplistic conservatism. A detailed comparison of these two will be reserved for a final chapter at which time the second branch of changing evangelicalism as represented by R. A. Torrey will also be considered. Along with a brief biographical sketch, this chapter will look at the two driving forces in Drummond's life, science and evangelism. More importantly, it will consider the stages in the shift of Drummond's theology from a conservative to a more liberal evangelical position as illustrated in several important documents, two of which have not been previously examined.

Henry Drummond was born in Stirling on 17 August 1851.³⁵³ Steeped in the conservative evangelicalism of his family, Drummond's earliest understandings of his faith seem to have been strongly orthodox. Correspondence from his boarding school in Crieff hints at the centrality of religion in his upbringing. One letter to his mother is devoted to a description of his church attendance and informs her that he is 'getting on very well...with Bible class'.³⁵⁴ In 1866 he entered the University of Edinburgh in pursuit

³⁵³ The biographical portions of this chapter will be based, with some elaboration, primarily on George Adam Smith's *The Life of Henry Drummond*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1899, hereinafter cited as Smith. This was the authorized biography of Drummond by his good friend Smith, published under pressure in 1898. Smith's publisher expressed the opinion that 'the difference in the circulation as between 1898 [one year after Drummond's death] and 1899 will be very great...if you put off to 1899 I venture to say...that...you will be the poorer man by [one thousand pounds]. Letter to G. Adam Smith from W. Robertson Nicoll, London, 18 March 1898; Smith papers, Deposit 311, Scottish National Library, Edinburgh; hereinafter cited as SNL. For the sake of simplicity, Smith's work will not be cited except for direct quotation.

³⁵⁴ Letter to Mamma from Crieff, 17 October 1863. See also letters to family dated 5 October 1870; 18

of an Arts degree which he never received.³⁵⁵ In November 1870, at the apparent urging of his family, he entered New College, Edinburgh in preparation for the ministry, a profession which he seems never to have desired nor pursued very seriously. His academic work was, for the most part, mediocre throughout his university career. He enjoyed a summer of theological study in Tübingen in 1873, more for the hill walking and travelling than for the academic pursuits, indicative of the adventurous spirit that would take him to many exotic places throughout his life.³⁵⁶

In November of that year, his divinity studies were interrupted by the arrival of Moody and Sankey in Edinburgh. Moody soon found in the young Scot the leader he needed and Drummond travelled with the evangelists for two years.³⁵⁷ This experience had the most significant impact of any in preparing him for the work he would later do. At the outset it was in the inquiry rooms only that Drummond was involved, along with several initially reluctant university friends whom he had conscripted into the effort. But as the news of the success of the campaign spread over Scotland, more and more invitations came to Edinburgh. The evangelists could not meet all the requests alone and began organizing deputations composed largely of New College divinity students.³⁵⁸ It was during one of these deputations to Elgin that Moody's attention was drawn to Drummond whose role in

August 1870; 4 May 1871, Drummond papers, Accession (hereinafter cited as Acc.) 5890-1, SNL.

³⁵⁵ Edinburgh University Calendar, 1872, p. 178.

³⁵⁶ Letter to James, Tübingen, 10 May 1873; to Mamma, Tübingen, 24 August 1873, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-1, SNL; D. M. Ross, 'Professor Henry Drummond', McClures Magazine, July 1897, pp. 760-1.

³⁵⁷ For the most detailed description of Moody's discovery of Drummond, which Smith recounts inadequately, see Alexander R. Simpson's article in The Congregationalist and Christian World, 2 November 1902, p. 612. Read at home of Drummond relative Alistair Irvine Robertson, Stirling.

³⁵⁸ See Times of Blessing, 14 May 1874, pp. 79, 67, 70; 25 April 1874, p. 27; 7 May 1874, p. 54.

the deputation work had increased as the weeks passed. Moody's success with young men led him to enlist the Scot to travel to Sunderland and superintend the follow-up work there, especially with the student converts. Moody was sufficiently satisfied with Drummond's work to allow him to continue in that capacity throughout the duration of the mission which ended in the summer of 1875.³⁵⁹ Despite the fact that, apart from the early weeks of his work in Edinburgh, the bulk of Drummond's ministry in the 1873-75 mission was carried out in England, his prominence in that work was such that when he returned reluctantly to Edinburgh to recommence his studies in October 1875, he was something of a celebrity among his fellow students.³⁶⁰ He did not neglect evangelism entirely, however, joining with a group of friends, who dubbed themselves the Gaiety Club, to do evangelistic work on Sunday evenings among the poor of Edinburgh.

It is from this period as an apprentice evangelist to Moody that we find evidence to establish the nature of the first of three phases in Drummond's theological development, which will be referred to in this chapter as his early period. The admittedly skimpy evidence of his letters to home as a schoolboy suggests that Drummond's earliest religious thoughts appeared to be developing along the lines for which his conservative evangelical parents might have hoped. This perception is bolstered by the conservative Moody's evident satisfaction with the nature of Drummond's theology, given his two year tenure with the great evangelist during the 1873-75 mission. There is implicit in Moody's choice

³⁵⁹ See letters from Moody to Drummond describing details of this early work; Heathland Hampstead, 23 December 1874; Broughman, 18 January 1875; Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-2, SNL.

³⁶⁰ Letter to Mr. Johnston, 11 October 1876, Drummond papers, Acc. 1749-part 3, SNL. For details surrounding his decision to complete his education rather than enter evangelism full-time, see James Young Simpson, Henry Drummond, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1901, pp. 48-9.

of Drummond as one of his key leaders, the assumption that he was sympathetic to the message Moody was preaching. George Adam Smith observed,

The Evangelical movement had many defects, which in his younger days Henry shared...As yet [he] stood upon the ground of the older orthodoxy, with its doctrine of literal inspiration and its blind belief in the absolutely divine character of everything in the Hebrew Scriptures.³⁶¹

The fortuitous discovery of a study bible which Drummond used during the '73 Moody campaign and which has been in the hands of a descendant until now, provides concrete evidence of his conservative theological leanings during this early period.³⁶²

This bible with Drummond's extensive notes is one of the few pieces of important material pertaining to the man which has not been deposited in the Scottish National Library. A consideration of this document, along with a second New Testament which is available in the SNL³⁶³, provides valuable material for determining the young evangelist's theological starting point, from which he would diverge markedly during the transitional and later periods of his theological development.

The dominant impression received from examining these two bibles is that the young Drummond would have been quite comfortable in the religious milieu of the Moody campaign. Mention has been made of the transition which was taking place in the Calvinistic orthodoxy of Scotland, resulting in a less rigid brand of evangelicalism, still quite conservative in doctrinal issues such as the authority of scripture, the reality of sin and the nature and work of Christ, but softening on some of the more strident aspects of

³⁶¹ Smith, pp. 39, 45.

³⁶² Notes transcribed from bible loaned to author by Kenneth Macrae, Edinburgh, 30 September 1986, hereinafter cited as Macrae; all references below taken from the Macrae bible unless otherwise noted.

³⁶³ Acc. 9197, SNL; hereinafter cited as SNLNT.

dogmatic Calvinism such as predestination. This appears to have been the theological position held by Drummond's family; his uncle Peter Drummond, founder of the Stirling Tract Enterprise, was one of the key propagandists in preparing the way for Moody's arrival.³⁶⁴ And, as has been discussed, Moody's brand of theology, quite conservative but with a strong emphasis on man's part in the process of his own salvation, fitted with and perpetuated this changing evangelicalism.

An analysis of the study bibles suggests that Drummond, in this early period, shared such a position. He clung to the doctrinal conservatism of earlier Calvinism, which had been tempered by a softening of its stricter elements, thus making possible the kind of evangelistic ministry with which he was involved. At the same time, though the dominant theme of these documents is conservative, there is evidence of his thought beginning to develop along lines that would take him into far less conservative territory during his transitional and later periods. This section will seek to illustrate Drummond's early conservatism while also pointing out the seminal themes which he would develop more fully in his later years.

In these early Moody mission days, the centre of Drummond's theology was as it would continue to be throughout his ministry, the person and work of Christ. For Drummond, the heart of Christianity lay not in creeds or formulae: 'Make any religion into a system, define its outlines clearly, and, before long, there will be no movement of

³⁶⁴ Preface to *The Ideal Life and Other Unpublished Addresses*, Henry Drummond, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1898, p. 3. First preface by W. Robertson Nicoll, hereinafter cited as *The Ideal Life*.

thought about it, no enthusiasm of feeling, no vital interest felt in its idea.³⁶⁵ The vitality of Christianity was assured, rather, in its 'identification...with the life of a perfect man', that is, Jesus. [SNLNT Matt. 13:31] In Matthew 3:4 [SNLNT] where Jesus is described as being 'beside himself', Drummond commented on the quality of life which Christ exhibited, a life which made others around him uncomfortable because his 'kind of life [was] better and higher than their own.' It was this kind of 'enthusiastic' religious life, a 'warm' Christianity rather than one of 'ice', which those who claimed to be Christians ought to emulate.

In the heart and spirit we have to imitate Christ in the very things which brought down this charge upon him. After all such a life is the only sane life. An enthusiastic Christianity is the religion of common sense...!

Drummond's understanding of the nature of the Christ which we should 'imitate' appeared to be orthodox. He seemed to hold to what Gustav Aulén would later define as the 'classic' view of the atonement: when Christ died on the cross he purchased, with his blood, forgiveness of sin for all who would receive him, ransoming them from Satan. Drummond described the spear thrust into Christ's side as he hung on the cross as both the 'crowning act of Wickedness' and the 'crowning act of Grace':

A spear pierced his side-blood came to meet it-the blood "which cleanseth us from all sin". Christ's body went to Heaven but the Blood was left on earth. [Macrae NT, John 19:34]

Interpreting the sacrifice of the lamb during the passover experience in Egypt [Macrae Exodus 12:7] as prophetic of Christ's sacrifice, Drummond observed that 'The blood was sprinkled on the sides and "upper" door post that it mightn't be trampled upon'. One of

³⁶⁵ SNLNT, notations on Matthew 13:31, hereinafter cited in brackets in text, i.e., [SNLNT Matthew 13:31]

Moody's most popular sermons was entitled 'The Blood'.³⁶⁶ This emphasis on the necessity of the actual blood sacrifice of Jesus to accomplish his work of salvation was common among conservative evangelicals but rejected by liberal thinkers who came, especially in the final decades of the nineteenth century, to repudiate the understanding of the atonement as a ransom which had to be paid.

Drummond addressed the doctrine of the atonement again else-where. In his notes to Hebrews 2:9 [Macrae NT] which describe Jesus as having 'tasted death...for everyone', Drummond characterized his suffering on the cross as 'quite different. It was atoning suffering.' This suffering and what it accomplished was unique: 'The cross has no plural'. Drummond affirmed the image of a wrathful God who must be appeased when, in comment to Psalm 103:10 (...he has not dealt with us according to our iniquities...) he wrote, 'Whom hath he dealt with? God must deal with someone for sin.' He then answered his own question: 'The Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all!' [Macrae NT]

This atoning work was necessary in Drummond's early theology because he held to an Augustinian view of the total depravity of man. Later in his thinking, he would tend to interpret sin, not as an inherited state of being but as specific acts which stain one's life. Elements of this thought even appeared in these early bible notes such as when he observed in the back pages of SNLNT that 'often it is some one special sin underlying a man's life that keeps him from Christ. Every unconverted life could reveal the secret history of some special sin.' But he appeared not to have yet discarded the concept of

³⁶⁶ See Moody's London Discourses, James Clarke and Co, London, 1875, pp. 176 ff.

original sin as is seen quite clearly, for instance, in his comment on John 2:24 ('But Jesus did not commit himself unto them because he knew all men.):

Pistuo is used here. The translation is beautiful "commit himself" instead of the usual equivalent of "believe". He knew all men therefore he could not trust one of them. What a humbling truth! Total depravity [emphasis mine]. This makes regeneration a necessity. [Macrae NT]

He carried on the theme of man as sinful when, in the next chapter, where Jesus meets Nicodemus, he noted that Jesus 'had to correct him' because he came as a pupil; 'they must [all] come as sinners'. The result of this depravity would be judgement of all men by God. 'How can unsaved man pray "thy kingdom come" for kingdom to him means "Judgement"'. [Macrae NT, Matt. 6:10]

If Drummond's Christology was the central theme of his religious thought as expressed in these bible notes, evangelism was his chief end. This should not be too surprising considering the context in which the bibles were given and the task for which they were used. These books were his evangelistic tools for the great Moody mission. Presented to him in 1874, they contain the autographs of Moody, Sankey, Reginald Radcliffe, Brownlow North, Henry Moorhouse, Dr. Barnardo, Scottish ministers James Stalker, John Cairns, J. A. Wilson and R. M. Barbour and American businessman John Wanamaker, among others, all intimately involved in the work of mass evangelism into which young Drummond had been drawn. Influenced in this way, the frequency of reference to evangelism and evangelistic techniques in his bible notes might be expected. As shall be seen, however, Drummond's interest in evangelism did not wane with Moody's return to the United States in 1875. It changed but it did not diminish. Of evangelism Drummond said, 'Let it be the ruling passion of your life. Let it be a substitute for all that

the world has, for fame, for fortune, for friends...'. [Macrae II Corinthians 5:14]³⁶⁷

Drummond's preoccupation with evangelism is apparent from an entire section in the back of SNLNT which he entitled 'Inquiry Room Texts'. In this he included various scripture passages which might be used effectively in leading an inquirer to a Christian commitment. These texts include Isaiah 53 and Psalm 103:12, for example, (...as far as the east is from the west, so far has he removed our transgressions from us...) about which Drummond wrote, 'Read your own reprieve'. In addition to these evangelistic scriptural passages, he also included notations, and aphorisms pertaining to evangelistic work. In an apparent response to a potential objection raised by an inquirer who has been versed in high-Calvinism which declared a time of 'waiting upon the Lord' as essential to genuine conversion, Drummond noted:

Take forgiveness. If it is to be prayed for or repented for or waited for, then it is an object of hope not of faith. The forgiveness must be already past otherwise it is not an object of faith but a conditional object of hope...If it is an object of hope does not this tend to produce a religion of selfishness and to train the mind to try to get as much as possible out of God by keeping in favour with Him. How often is religious anxiety simply refined selfishness and how much self-righteousness is apt to be mixed up with it. There is a great deal of natural religion in the world which is simply consecrated selfishness--the fawning upon God for what it can get.

In another suggestion to himself, Drummond wrote, 'Assure the Inquirer that God cannot change towards him. His desire is by his seeking to make God change.' Elsewhere he wrote, 'The conscious point of conversion is where faith passes into trust.' And again, 'In speaking to Inquirers take people where they are, find out their needs and offer Christ as sufficient. This is better than preaching the love of God or the fear of hell.'

³⁶⁷ As important as evangelism was to him, Drummond went on to remind himself to 'take care lest it be a substitute for Christ.' [Macrae II Corinthians 5:14]

Drummond's emphasis on Christ entered into his evangelistic methodology as well. Despite his own commitment to evangelism, he did not approve of the techniques of some of his colleagues. In describing Jesus' dealing with the Samaritan woman at the well [Macrae John 4], Drummond observed that even when Jesus was weary he 'never lost an opportunity...to talk to people about their souls!' Yet he was sensitive in his approach, 'not as some workers with quite mistaken zeal "are you saved?" The tact of the Saviour [is evident] in drawing her in to Spiritual lines.' In the story of Jesus' healing of the blind man [SNLNT Mark 8:22] (...he took him out of town...), Drummond wrote, '[Jesus] took him away alone-away from the world-into quietness and solitude. So Christ leads a man away into retirement of soul before conversion.' Further on in the same story he noted that Jesus

"took him by the hand" a brotherly thing to do...he was not afraid to touch him or to be seen with him. Probably the man was won before his eyes were opened at all. His heart was taken first. This is Christ's way.

Drummond believes in conversion but he saw it as an individual experience for each person: 'Let Christ take his own way about your conversion'. [SNLNT Mark 8:22]

Salvation was to be found only in Christ but a person's journey to that point was unique:

'"I am the way"-there is only one way to God but a thousand ways to Christ.' [SNLNT end section] Moreover, this salvation thus obtained could not be lost. Further evidence of his strong ties to Calvinistic orthodoxy is found in this restatement of the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints [Macrae Revelation 3:5]:

If our name had to be blotted out and rewritten every time we committed a sin, as some suppose, there would not be angels enough in heaven to do it. Once a child, always a child. You can't unchild a child. He that believeth

hath everlasting life.³⁶⁸

The test of a genuine conversion for Drummond during this early stage in his theology, and, in fact, throughout his evangelistic career, was a changed life. This consecration, which was a 'continuous process', was not an act of contrition which needed to be repeated again and again. Rather, it was a process which built upon previous successes in the moral areas of the convert's life:

We do not need to be always consecrating ourselves. If we think we have not done it right we do not need to do it over again. We only need to add more consecrated elements to our life which has been already consecrated. There are unconsecrated parts of our life. We have only to add these as soon as we discover [them]. [SNLNT Acts 23]

In practical terms, consecration meant gaining victory over areas of temptation in one's life. Echoing the Augustinian view of the sinfulness of man, Drummond noted that 'Temptation puts nothing into a man's heart. It merely takes out that which is already there and hangs it up before him.' [SNLNT Romans] A 'relationship with Christ' helped the convert in dealing with temptation because Jesus was a 'Saviour who'll pass the public house with us.' [SNLNT end section]

The theology which seems to be revealed by an analysis of these bible notes, then, is essentially that of the modified evangelical Calvinism which has already been mentioned. The conservative nature of Drummond's statements pertaining to Christology, atonement, soteriology and evangelism would have fitted comfortably into the religious milieu of the Moody campaign and, in fact, much of Scottish Christianity. In short, these bible notes seem to establish Drummond's theology during this early period as basically

³⁶⁸ For a similar expression of this doctrine see SNLNT Romans.

orthodox. There are, however, interesting indications of deviation in his thinking from the strictly conservative line. Taken by themselves, they would not reveal very much. But when they are considered alongside the writings of his transitional and later periods of thought, they reveal that he was already beginning to explore theological areas which he would later embrace more fully, thereby incurring the wrath of those who would have counted him among their number during the early days of the Moody mission.

One example of the beginnings of exploratory thought can be found in his statements on the nature of scripture. For the most part, these statements were strong reiterations of the doctrine of verbal inerrancy. Commenting on Psalm 19, for instance, [Macrae], Drummond wrote:

What a relief the doctrine of Inspiration is. Here is something untainted, errorless, pure. It is to Reason, among all that is shifting, perplexing, fallacious what the Righteousness of Christ is to the heart, among all that is impure and vile.

He repeated this forceful defence of the doctrine of inspiration when, in speaking of the relative merit of human opinions on spiritual matters, he said, 'Now your views are just what you can see--and that's not much. Take the Bible. Let your views, if you have them, be from "heavenly places" downwards, not from earthly places heavenward.' [SNLNT end section] Yet, in another place, [SNLNT Romans 19] Drummond expressed ideas which anticipated the more liberal views on the nature of scripture which he would later hold:

The letters of [Saint] James, Peter, Paul and John differ as the oak from the chestnut, as the fir from the ash. These represent in various forms what the sunshine has done for them: the epistles represent in various forms of Christian thought what the word of God had wrought in their authors.. [never has there] existed a set of religious books which so magnificently despised outward consistency, so boldly fell back upon an inner unity of Spirit; which though they [were] systematized to a certain extent, showed more plainly, taken together, that there was no system in the source from

whence they drew their inspiration; which dared more audaciously to vary their modes of expressing spiritual truths relying on, and because of, their appeal to the primary instincts of mankind.

Another example of Drummond's exploratory thinking, even during this early, essentially conservative stage, is his occasional experimentation with scientific analogy to express spiritual concepts.³⁶⁹ These are the earliest indications of the development of his thought along the lines of an attempted synthesis between religion and science, for which he would be best known in his later career. It is most interesting to discover tiny seeds of ideas at this early stage in his life which finally appear a decade later as a chapter in Natural Law in the Spiritual World(1883) or even twenty years later in The Ascent of Man(1894). For example, under the heading 'Growth', a note to Psalm 92:12 (The righteous flourish like the palm tree...' [Macrae]) stated that 'The Palm is an endogen-its growth is from within. Soft and tender within, its exterior is so hard that no parasite can destroy its life.' 'Growth' would be the title of the third chapter in Natural Law. In his discussion of the woman at the well [Macrae John 4], Drummond observed that 'the only way to take away a carnal appetite is to supply a spiritual. To "put off" the old man can only be by "putting on" the new. Nature abhors a vacuum.' [emphasis mine] Drummond would later explore the spiritual implications of the concept that 'nature abhors a vacuum' in the notebook from which he eventually developed Natural Law. Although he ultimately rejected it as a chapter topic in his book, it further illustrates these early forays into scientific/religious thought. Again, in a comment on John 4:23-4 [Macrae] Drummond noted that

³⁶⁹ See Hovenkamp's discussion of the use of analogy in the nineteenth century American religious scene, pp. 42-43.

They that worship must worship in spirit and in truth. Only life can beget Life...Spontaneous generation has been proved impossible in the physical world. It is impossible in the Spiritual. Growth only comes from Life-Union.³⁷⁰

The impossibility of spontaneous generation in both the natural and spiritual realms would later form the substance of the important first chapter in Natural Law entitled 'Biogenesis'.

Yet another example of the wandering nature of Drummond's early thought as found in these study bible notes are the frequent references and quotations from more liberal thinkers. On the subject of 'love', for instance, he quoted Carlyle as saying,

One grand invaluable secret there is however which includes all the real and what is comfortable, lies clearly in everyman's power. To have an open loving heart, and what follows from the possession of such. [Macrae, Numbers]

He also quoted Ruskin on the same subject, the Romantic Coleridge on the subject of 'happiness' and 'great ideas'; Tennyson on 'prayer'; and Carlyle, again, on 'God's will'.

He also cited Martineau and Dods among others. The quotations themselves are not theologically controversial. But it is a fascinating thing to find, in the same volumes which contain the orthodox statements of faith described above, quotations from some of the more liberal thinkers of the time. There are very few quotations from conservative scholars. Ironically, the one evangelical who is quoted several times is Andrew Bonar who would come to be one of Drummond's staunchest opponents.³⁷¹

From the study of the bible notes written during this early period in his theological development, Drummond appeared to be aligned with the conservative evangelicalism of the time. Particularly in areas pertaining to the person and work of Christ, Drummond's

³⁷⁰ See also notes to John 11:20 in Macrae bible regarding the breathing of different atmospheres, also a theme he would later develop in Natural Law.

³⁷¹ See Psalm 68:5; John 19.

interpretation was orthodox and evangelistic. At the same time, his comments on doctrines such as inspiration, his notes of a scientific matter and his quotations from less orthodox thinkers all combined to suggest that Drummond's mind was beginning to explore more liberal thought, a suggestion which will be born out when writings from his later years are examined.

Upon the completion of university training, the reluctant ministerial candidate refused several invitations to serve as assistant in a parish. Drummond was never sure that he wanted to enter orders and, to the end of his life, jokingly denied that he was ordained (he was, in 1884) and disdained all clerical titles or garb.³⁷² He finally accepted a position at Barclay Church, Edinburgh in spring 1876 with the ailing minister, J. H. Wilson, who had been a strong Moody supporter. Drummond's most important work of this period was a series of sermons delivered from the Barclay pulpit which became the basis of his posthumously published work entitled The Ideal Life (1898). With Wilson back in good health, Drummond left Barclay in early May 1877 and was again faced with the dilemma of deciding his profession. He became aware of a vacant lectureship in Natural Science at the Free Church College, Glasgow and, without much hope, sought the counsel of his Edinburgh mentor, the renowned geologist Archibald Geikie, who encouraged him to apply. Surprisingly, on the strength of nothing more than Geikie's glowing testimonial

³⁷² Responding to an invitation to speak at Princeton University, Drummond wrote, '...If you are including my name in your programme, I think it might be better not to put Rev. [sic] before it. I should prefer this personally, as I never use it. Kindly excuse me referring to such a trifle...'. Letter to William Isbister, Liverpool, 6 March 1884, William Isbister Collection, Box 1, Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. See also Dods' article on Drummond entitled 'Henry Drummond as a church worker' in Dods' handwriting, A.b.a.10, Box 14, New College Library, Edinburgh. He describes Henry as 'a Free Lance' who 'cherished, with perhaps a touch of exaggeration, his freedom from ecclesiastical bond' and who 'absolutely and to the end refused to be ordained to a charge or to wear clerical garb'.

and Drummond's reputation from the Moody mission, he was offered the position in September 1877 on a yearly renewable basis.³⁷³

It was in this post as lecturer and later, in 1884 as professor, that Drummond seemed to find his niche. Because the lectures extended only from November to the end of March, he was free during the other seven months to satisfy his variety of interests. Following the first year of lectures, 1877-1878, Drummond accepted an invitation to pastor a Free Church mission post in Malta for a summer. Prior to his departure, he wrote to Dr. Marcus Dods, pastor of Glasgow's Renfield Free Church, saying, 'I want a quiet mission somewhere, entry immediate and self-contained.'³⁷⁴ Upon his return in the autumn, Dods took him up on his offer and gave him charge over a mission station established by the Renfield Church in Possil Park, a severely depressed suburb of northern Glasgow.³⁷⁵ It was during this time in Possil Park that Drummond came under Dod's influence, particularly in the areas of biblical criticism and the relationship of evolution to religion. They spent many leisure days together and took frequent walks.³⁷⁶ It is not surprising then that both Drummond and Dods would later come under scrutiny from the Free Church Assembly for similar views since Drummond considered Dods 'the greatest influence in many directions that has ever come across my life'.³⁷⁷ Drummond laboured

³⁷³ See letter from Drummond, 18 September 1877, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-2, SNL.

³⁷⁴ Smith, p. 124.

³⁷⁵ Letter to Drummond from Dods, 9 May 1878, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-2 SNL.

³⁷⁶ For a hilarious account of a dog cart accident involving Drummond and Dods on one of their regular jaunts, see letter from Drummond to Lady Aberdeen, Achferry, 18 July 1886, Volume of Drummond letters, Item # 1/7-22/10 muniments room, Haddo House, Aberdeenshire, hereinafter cited as Haddo House; see also letter to Eis, General Assembly, 29 May 1889, Haddo House.

³⁷⁷ Smith, p. 132. It was Drummond who first suggested to Dods in 1889 the possibility of his filling the

four years in Possil Park, in addition to his lectures and various travels and, in 1882, handed over to a full-time minister a thriving congregation of three hundred communicant members, a large sabbath school, a YMCA and a debt-free church building worth £4000.

In August 1879, Drummond accompanied Professor Geikie on a geological expedition to the American Rocky Mountains. His letters speak of buffalo, prairie dogs, antelope steak and scurrilous characters.³⁷⁸ Indian hostility was heated in the areas they were to explore, particularly in the Yellowstone, and forays away from the safety of the fort had to be timed to coincide with inter-tribal wars that were taking place elsewhere so as to ensure greater safety.

The years 1880-81 passed while Drummond continued lecturing, his position having been renewed by the Free Church Assembly. The year 1882 brought Moody and Sankey back across the Atlantic for their second mission. Drummond renewed his relationship with the two evangelists, following them from January 1882, starting in Glasgow and continuing through Scotland, England and Wales during the months in which he was not lecturing. He also began rewriting for publication a series of sermons he had presented at Possil Park.³⁷⁹ In June 1883, Moody returned to America to rest and Drummond set off for a geological expedition to Central Africa. A week prior to his departure the product of the previous year's editorial efforts was published under the title Natural Law in the Spiritual World. As Drummond explored hitherto uncharted African wilds, he had no idea

vacated chair of New Testament criticism at New College with the terse note, 'Your predecessor is dead.'; P. Carnegie Simpson, The Life of Principal Rainy, Hodder and Stoughton, London, n.d., Vol II, p. 109.

³⁷⁸ Letter, Denver Colorado, 16 August 1879, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-1, SNL.

³⁷⁹ Clipping, 1 March 1880, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-17, SNL; Smith, pp. 137, 135.

of the impact his book was making.³⁸⁰

Published just over ten years after Drummond penned notes in the margins of his study bibles, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, was his first literary effort and a spectacular success.³⁸¹ If his role in the Moody mission had pushed him onto centre stage, the phenomenal response to Natural Law cast the spotlight on him. James Moore estimates that it sold roughly half a million copies within twentyfive years, not including foreign translations.³⁸²

As Drummond describes it in his preface, Natural Law was the progeny of the eventual marriage of the two great loves in his life, science and evangelism. Thus far, they had lived together, though in separate rooms, kept apart 'entirely by themselves'. On Sunday he was preaching at Possil Park while continuing his science lectures during the week. 'But gradually the wall of partition showed symptoms of giving way. The two fountains of knowledge...slowly began to overflow, and finally their waters met and mingled.'³⁸³ The papers which were drawn together to form Natural Law were the result of this intermingling.

³⁸⁰ See Drummond's African journal, November 1883, p. 195, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-4, entry 22, SNL .

³⁸¹ James R. Moore has done the most recent scholarly work on this subject in his article, 'Evangelicals and Evolution', Scottish Journal of Theology, vol. 38, pp. 383-417. John Kent's booklet From Darwin to Blatchford-The Role of Darwinism in Christian Apologetic 1875-1910, Dr. Williams's Trust, London, 1966, also considers Drummond's role as an apologist for scientific Christianity. For some responses of Drummond's contemporaries see The Guardian, 24 September 1884; Knowledge, vol. 6, 26 September 1884, pp. 263-64; Robert Watson, The Contemporary Review, XLVII, 1885; 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World-A defence', The Expositor, number 1, third series 1885, pp. 240-253 and number 2, pp. 347-361. The positive review in The Spectator was that which brought attention to the work, 4 August 1883, pp. 997-98. See response to that in the following two editions, 11 August 1883, p. 1027 and 18 August, p. 1060-61.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 386.

³⁸³ Natural Law in the Spiritual World, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1883, p. vii; future citations of this work will be included in parentheses in the text.

Drummond's thesis, as the title suggests, was that the laws which order the natural world can be deduced as ordering the spiritual world as well. These are not merely analagous to one another but 'the same Laws'. [NLSW, 11]³⁸⁴ He made this leap from analogy to identity on the basis of the 'Law of Continuity', the linchpin of his thesis. This law affirmed that nature was not capricious and can be counted on to act upon its constituency with consistent regularity. The sun which rose today can be expected to rise tomorrow. If one jumps up and comes back down to the ground this morning, he will not fly through the roof if he tries the same thing this evening. By extension of this thought Drummond argued that a law which exists in the natural world would not cease to exist in the spiritual world. He set this philosophical stage in the introduction; subsequent chapters sought to illustrate the principle.

The chapter on 'Biogenesis', for instance, argued that biological life cannot be spontaneously generated. There is an immovable curtain which separates the inorganic from the organic and the animate from the inanimate, which neither the inorganic nor the inanimate can pass through of their own volition. Drummond suggested that the same law defines the boundary separating non-spiritual from spiritual. Minerals cannot decide to become living things but must be 'reached down to' as it were, by the roots of the living plant, only then to be assimilated into a vital organism. So too must the spiritual environment, i.e. God, reach down to the level beneath, i.e. non-spiritual man, for that man to attain a spiritual plane of existence.

The passage from the Natural World to the Spiritual World is hermetically sealed on the natural side. The door from the inorganic to the organic is

³⁸⁴ Hovenkamp, pp. 42-3.

shut, no mineral can open it; so the door from the natural to the spiritual is shut, and no man can open it.[NLSW, 71]

Drummond then supported this notion with a biblical proof text: 'Except a man be born again...except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the Kingdom of God.'

The chapter on 'Degeneration' illustrated the 'Principle of Reversion to Type'. In nature, physical faculties which are ignored, such as a mole's eyes, deteriorate and become worthless. In the same way, a man who neglects his body or mind or soul will find them deteriorating. The biblical text he quoted is 'How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation?' Under the heading 'Growth', based on the text 'Consider the lilies of the field how they grow', Drummond argued for the 'mysteriousness' and 'spontaneousness' of growth in nature. In the same way, growth in a Christian does not come about as a result of effort but is a natural process resulting from God's 'Creative Hand alone' at work in a person.

Some chapters tended to be philosophical; others less pedantic and more practical. In 'Mortification', for instance, Drummond dealt with the 'putting to Death' of bad habits; in 'Parasitism' he advocated active responsibility for one's own spiritual life rather than dependence upon the nurture of the church and its ministers. In each instance, Drummond tried to show how these natural laws, Conformity to Type, Parasitism, Semi-Parasitism, could be inferred to exist in the spiritual realm. Evolution was a fundamental assumption in the book which Drummond did little to argue for. This he saved for The Ascent of Man

(1894).³⁸⁵

Natural Law was a literary success for at least two reasons. Firstly, it was well written. It was enjoyable reading; less the philosophical treatise it represented itself to be and more an inspiring devotional incorporating vivid illustrations from nature in the restatement of older Christian principles. Secondly, it appealed to a world of Christians who felt the foundations of their faith being shaken by the findings of science. Though Drummond was not a great scientist, he certainly possessed a scientific literacy which the common Christian lacked. He seemed to write with authority and employed enough clinical words and illustrations to provide some reassurance that Christianity just might, in fact, be supported by science after all. As one reviewer put it,

The great popularity which it has attained is due, we believe, in a very large measure to the fact that it professes to supply what is, just for the moment, a very real want. The Christian world wants to be scientific; Christians would like something more than a mere modus vivendi with men of science...here is a book in which men find what they take for granted is the Christian faith, actually phrased in the language of physical science.³⁸⁶

Unfortunately, few experts in either of the two fields shared the enthusiasm of Drummond's admiring public. Two years earlier, on 11 January 1881, when he presented to the Glasgow Theological Club a paper which would later form the corpus of the introduction to the book, it was roundly condemned by all but one person present, the

³⁸⁵ It is interesting to find that, in his journal notes, Drummond decided that 'The gospel is apparently opposed to the Survival of the Fittest. The glory of the gospel is that it helps the weak-according to Natural Selection, the weak must go to the wall.' He appears to make no attempt at reconciling these perceived contradictions. Drummond journal, Edinburgh University archives, DK3.33, p. 46, hereinafter cited as Drummond journal.

³⁸⁶ The Guardian, 24 September 1884. See also 'The late Prof. [sic] Drummond's popularity', The Academy, LIII, 29 January 1898, p. 115, SNL. Hovenkamp comments on a similar desire in nineteenth century America to prove Christianity through science, pp. 26-7.

significant exception being Marcus Dods.³⁸⁷ Nor was the scientific world moved by the force of his argument. For instance, Drummond assumes the existence of a spiritual world based on the logic that the 'facts of the Spiritual World are as real to thousands as the facts of the Natural World...'.^[25] To this the agnostic scientist, Samuel Laing responded, 'So were the facts of witchcraft and demonology. Does it prove them to be true?'³⁸⁸ Nor can the Law of Continuity necessarily be pressed into the service Drummond chose for it. As Smith pointed out, 'The gulf is so great between matter and mind, the respective contents of the two spheres are so very different, that the burden of proof in the question of a continuity of Law between the two, rather lies with him who maintains the affirmative.'³⁸⁹ And there are smaller logical problems. The Law of Growth, which stated that effort does not bring growth but rather that growth is a gift of God, flatly contradicted the previous chapter's Law of Degeneration which declared that those spiritual faculties we do not use, we lose. Again, Drummond the evolutionist faces contradictions in his chapter on 'Environment' where he argued that certain organisms may be said to be 'complete in Nature'.^[NLSW 277; 292-3]

Natural Law is exceedingly important, though not as the literary bridge between science and religion which Drummond had originally envisioned it to be. Its importance lies in what its publication and popularity tell us about the spiritual environment of the

387 Drummond journal, pp. 140-41.

388 S. Laing, *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1888, p.346. Drummond was, himself, aware of the shaky logical ground on which he sometimes stood. At one point he admitted his own circular reasoning when he said, 'Do I not start here by assuming that which is to be found?' Drummond journal, p. 142.

389 Smith, p. 142.

time. It is the product of a young mind searching for a rapprochement between the two worlds of thought in which it lives. It is a transitional statement in Drummond's life, some infelicities of which he would come to regret in later years.³⁹⁰ Natural Law is a clear midpoint between the obvious but apparently rickety orthodoxy of his study bible notes and his mature thought as expressed in The Ascent of Man. The book is a record of his own search, of the transition in his own religious thinking and a reflection of the same struggles, in the larger context, of Victorian Christianity, with both of which this study is concerned. It would, therefore, be most useful to be able to catch a glimpse of the thought process by which he came to set down the final draft of the book. Fortunately we have access to a document which allows that kind of insight.

In 1954 a journal containing notes which were eventually published in Natural Law came to light, a volume of whose existence Smith and subsequent historians were apparently unaware.³⁹¹ The title page contained the words 'New Analogy', 'Possil Park' and the date, 1 April 1880. The title is, in itself, immediately suggestive of the value of the journal for tracing the development of some of Drummond's thought between this date and the publication of Natural Law three years later in which he claimed, not an analogous, but an identical relationship between the two worlds. The first few introductory pages offer interesting insights into the guidelines Drummond set for himself at the outset; these are usually expressed in statements which he made to himself, interspersed throughout the journal, self-imposed restrictions of which the reader of the

390 Alexander Webster, Robert Louis Stevenson and Henry Drummond, Lindsey Press, London, 1912, pp. 27; seen at Andover Library, Harvard, Massachusetts.

391 Letter 30 March 1954, in front of Drummond journal.

finished version would be entirely unaware. In his very first entry, for instance, he warned himself to avoid any ideological slant in considering the scientific questions he hoped to explore:

Rise above the idea of making Nature parallel with your own, or any Creed
Seek to make it parallel with unusual human interest. Strive equally
against the theological, as against the anti-theological bias. Leave the
ethical side purposely alone...The scientific fact, not the moral rationale is
the main object of inquiry.³⁹²

It will be argued that he failed in this endeavour, that Natural Law was in fact a very credal statement despite his stated intentions to the contrary.

In the preface to Natural Law Drummond described how he began to explore the possible identity between laws in the natural and spiritual worlds. He assured the reader that he began by listing various natural laws. He then 'ran up the Natural Law as far as it would go, and the appropriate doctrine seldom even loomed in sight till I had reached the top.' [NLSW xvii] The journal bears this out. It is a hand numbered volume of 280 pages, divided into subsections of several pages each with a separate 'law' at the head of each section. When Natural Law was published, it contained only eleven chapters. The journal includes sections for over forty-five topics. Those which did not make it into the final publication include 'conservation of energy', 'gravitation', 'penalty', 'complexity', 'survival of the fittest', 'protoplasm', and 'metamorphoses'.

As might be expected, the sub-section 'law' is the most extensive and recurs throughout the journal. The concept of laws which governed the natural world was a key theme among the scientific thinkers of the nineteenth century. In his book entitled Vestiges of

392 Drummond journal, p. i; hereinafter, the citations will be noted in the text in parentheses.

the Natural History of Creation (1844) Robert Chambers attempted to argue by analogy that the organic world was subject to law just as the inorganic world had been shown to be.³⁹³ In 1857 Herbert Spencer published the article 'Progress: its law and cause' in which he argued for overall laws which ordered not only the organic and inorganic but the human world as well.³⁹⁴ In fact, as one writer puts it, 'at this time everyone was pushing...the rule of law'.³⁹⁵

Drummond's interest in the concept of law was very much in keeping with the thought of his time. But he was a 'man in the middle--the one who wanted to roll with the advances of science and who saw great virtues in evolutionism...' but who was still committed to much of conservative Christian orthodoxy.³⁹⁶ Though he frequently cited Spencer in his journal his innovation went beyond what either Spencer or Chambers had suggested. Chambers wished to show that law governed the workings of the organic world as it did the inorganic. Spencer wished to take law into the human realm. Drummond's intent was to push it even farther, to show the existence of the same laws in the spiritual realm and in so doing, re-establish the credibility of Christianity in a scientific era. He wrote, 'Law in the religious sphere is the demand of this age...'. [Journal 238] He hoped to remove theology from an inordinate reliance upon the authority of scripture and place it instead upon what he considered to be the firmer ground of scientific fact. He believed there would be four 'uses' gained from the successful correlation of the laws

393 W and R Chambers, Edinburgh, twelfth edition, 1884. See Hovenkamp, pp. 190-203 for his discussion of Vestiges.

394 Westminster Review, new series, vol. 11, pp. 445-485.

395 Michael Ruse, Darwinian Revolution, pp. 174, 99-100, 152-3; see also Hovenkamp, p. 33.

396 *Ibid.*, p. 245.

between the spiritual and natural worlds. The first was a moral use. Perceiving that the spiritual world was governed by the same, unbending, exacting laws which could be readily seen in the natural world would silence those who decry religion as escapism: 'It rejects utterly that view of religion which makes it a scheme for evading responsibilities and escaping penalties.'[Journal, 7]

A second use was theological. 'This', he said, 'is the final theology. There is no possibility of error or heresy. Authority is being given up. Law comes just in time. A better basis demanding intelligence not credulity.'[Journal, 7] Aware that this might appear mechanistic, Drummond warned himself 'Keep room for Mystery'. He seemed concerned that his theories, pressed too far, might produce a deist God who was uninvolved in the ongoing workings of the universe. A third use was homiletical. 'The clearest views of spiritual truths are to be got from the natural world...[which] is a working model of the spiritual.'[Journal, 7] Considering Drummond's continuing interest in evangelistic work, particularly among the students of Edinburgh as will be seen, it is not surprising that he would capitalize on this aspect of his developing thesis. The final use was apologetic. The following quotation encapsulates the core purpose behind Drummond's work: 'If it can be shown that Christianity is scientific, i.e., that its main laws are the scientific laws only in a higher domain, the sceptic is completely silenced. He sees before him not theories, or philosophies, or theologies but Facts.'³⁹⁷ April 1881.'[Journal, 7] He considered this insight important enough to date it, an infrequent practice in the journal. This reveals clearly what Drummond was about. He was

397 Hovenkamp, pp. 19-36.

committed to evangelistic Christianity at this point as much as he had been when working with Moody in 1873. But for Drummond, the old evangelicalism was losing its credibility. His purpose was not just to restate the old truths in new language but to provide a new basis for corroborating the old truths, new proof which would stand under the scrutiny of a scientific age.

Among the changes in Drummond's theological thought which had occurred since the days of the Moody mission as evidenced by his bible notes, one of the most significant changes was in his view on scripture. It was seen that, even during his early period, Drummond was beginning to struggle with the doctrine of inspiration. By the time of the writing of this journal, however, he seems to have discarded any vestige of a more orthodox doctrine of inspiration. For example, where once, in commenting on Psalm 19, he averred that 'before the days of sermons-Nature [was] a Sermon...' which taught 'The glory of God' and 'Creation'³⁹⁸, now he stated boldly, 'None of the nature Psalms are to be used as arguments from Design.' The Psalmist's description of a thunderstorm in Psalm 29 'has nothing to do with Science.' [Journal, 11] To the question 'Why revelation was necessary', he answered:

It has taken science the hardest work of her ablest men for many centuries to discover the laws of nature. But nothing vital hung in the knowledge or ignorance of them. The ancient could pray quite well without a printed prayerbook. But men's souls could not wait for the unfolding of the laws of the Spiritual world...So God revealed them.[Journal, 203] The time has come when Authority is disowned. It comes however simultaneously with the unfolding of ScLaw [sic]-a better basis than Authority.[Journal, 8]

This development in his thought had broad implications for his teaching

398 Notes to Psalm 19. Even in these early days, Drummond admitted that 'Nature is insufficient'.

responsibilities in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Initially, the post had been established to combat the scientific advances which threatened the biblical cosmological statements. As the new scientific theories gained greater support, the assumption was that the science lecturer would reconcile the two disciplines.³⁹⁹ Drummond's journal notes regarding the role of scripture and revelation show him to have abandoned even this latter compromise. 'What I have to do at College in teaching the Natural Science class is not to show the connection between the Bible and Nature, but to show that there is no connection.' [Journal, 10] What he seemed to mean by this terse statement is not that there is no relationship between the spiritual and scientific world. The thesis of the book which arose out of these notes was precisely the opposite. And, as he continued on the same page, 'The Language of Nature is the Language of God.' Rather, Drummond had, by this time, abandoned the conservative position which considered the bible to be reliable in all of its statements of a scientific nature.

Another change that was taking place in Drummond's thinking was a growing perception of God as father and a strengthening emphasis on his love as opposed to his justice. Drummond seems to have found himself in conflict here. The intent of his thesis was to demonstrate the provability of Christianity by scientific laws. His dilemma, however, was that the more mechanistic and factual his evidence, the less personal God appeared to be. He seemed constantly aware of the need to stress the fatherhood of God

399 James Kennedy, *Henry Drummond: An Anthology*, p. 31. For a fascinating recounting of the discussion over the proposed establishment of the Chair of Natural Science which Drummond would come to fill, see *The Signal*, 1 February 1884, pp. 59-61. As one supporter of the motion to establish the chair put it, 'There [is] essential unity in science and religion, and while [we have] to tell the scientific speculators to pursue their own path, [we have] only to put Mr. Drummond in the chair and tell him to find the unity!' Naturally, *The Signal* was vehemently opposed to the affirmative decision of the Assembly, given Drummond's by then well known liberal tendencies; pp. 38-43; see also Lennox, p. 50.

and his continuing active role in the world despite the superintendence of law.

If it be objected...that these views of Law end in a Mechanical God...They are not meant to do so. Nature does not answer the Question Who is God? What is god? Man answers that. Nature only deals primarily with the question HOW? [Journal, 4] [He goes on to write] Caution. Do not deny to God anything that would destroy his action as a free agent, we are under the laws-so far as they go. But there is a region where there are none or none that we know. God's will is individual for each man-he has a special career for me. [Journal, 6]

A careful reading of the last two sentences of that quotation will reveal that he contradicts, or at least comes close to contradicting, the validity of his entire thesis in an attempt to protect God's role in the administration of the world.

Drummond's changing views of the fatherhood of God also had an impact on his soteriology. His seeming desire to soften the orthodox image of God as judge caused him to write, 'The conception of God... [as] Law Incarnate...without Sympathy...Free Will, or Love...[is] to be rejected.' Instead, we should see that God 'is a Character, a Personal Father, not The Supreme Being.' [Journal, 4] By this point sin, though still very much a reality for Drummond, was being moved even further into the natural realm. Any reiteration of the concept of total depravity as expressed in his early bible notes is all but missing in the journal. His focus had changed from sin as an inherited general state of being to sin as particular aberrations in one's life. Sin was grievous enough that it still required Christ's intervention to deliver individuals from its grasp. But this shift in emphasis had the effect of transferring the responsibility of the consequences of sin from God to the sinner. It was no longer a judicial question. God was not a judge who had passed sentence against sin; Nature had done that. Penalty for sin was now the passive and natural result of the sinner failing to avail himself of the remedy in Christ.

Drummond was able to write of 'The Naturalness of the Divine Judgements', with each sin having its 'specific punishment' and of that penalty as 'inevitable, natural and proportionate'. [Journal, 34-35, 8, 163] Drummond stated his position even more clearly when he wrote, 'I am not moving in the forensic realm at all...'. [Journal, 179]

This has profound implications for his doctrine of the atonement. If there is no wrathful God to be appeased, the crucifixion becomes less important. There is instead a greater emphasis on the incarnation and the life of Christ. The Abelardian concept of Jesus' role as brother and exemplar takes on a greater significance and the idea of a penal or substitutionary death on the cross is minimised. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, this was a prominent element of thought among many liberal thinkers of the time and, in fact, was the main thrust of Drummond's evangelistic messages. Little is said specifically of Drummond's doctrine of the atonement in his journal but the implications just alluded to will be seen more clearly when the theology of his evangelistic work is considered.

When this journal and Natural Law are compared with Drummond's bible notes of seven years earlier, it is clear that his thinking had undergone considerable revision. His views on the authority of scripture, as discerned from his bible notes of the Moody mission, were fundamentally conservative although, as has been pointed out, there seemed to be some vacillation in his thinking even at this early stage. The statements on the subject as found in his journal, however, suggest that he had all but abandoned that earlier position. His growing emphasis on the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of Christ and the concomitant de-emphasis of the atonement also represented important changes which

would be further strengthened during his evangelistic work among students. Though he was entertaining ideas regarding the interrelationship of science and religion in his early bible notes, by the time of the writing of these later documents, he obviously embraced evolution and endorsed scientific methodology as a final and higher court of appeal than revelation or faith. His strongest statements in these areas, however, still remained unspoken until publication of The Ascent of Man. On many issues, then, these volumes represented Drummond's changing and maturing thought which the final two decades of his life would further refine.

Nevertheless, though a study of the journal and Natural Law reveals some new and changing ideas, there are also less obvious clues which suggest Drummond's reluctance at turning loose his older evangelicalism. One finds, for instance, some evidence of Moody's own impact on Drummond's thought. Like Moody, Drummond was reluctant to portray God as culpable for condemning sinners to hell. Like Moody, he argued that man was responsible, ultimately, because the remedy for sin had been offered. 'The disease [sin] is hereditary...[therefore] I am not responsible. But if Mercury will cure it, I am responsible if I don't take it.'. This is the very same argument Moody had presented, quoted in the previous chapter.[Journal, 256]

But there is another more important indication that this is the work of a mind in transition, that Drummond was still clinging to fragments of an earlier faith. This is revealed in the very structure of his argument. The concept of immutable, irresistible laws which govern spiritual matters may have been portrayed by Drummond in new, scientific terms. But in its essence, the entire concept was eminently Calvinistic. Drummond's

efforts, as cited above, at diminishing God's culpability for the more odious elements of judgement and punishment lend further credence to the suggestion that Drummond was struggling with subtle vestiges of Calvinistic influence. Moderate and liberal Scottish theologians had been fighting this same battle with the more offensive aspects of Westminster dogmatism for several decades. Still bound by the restrictions of the Westminster Confession and faced with the growing abhorrence of secular thinkers at the inhumane doctrines it contained, there had been a slow but steady softening of some of these doctrines, as has been shown. Drummond's admitted discomfort with the 'conception of God...[as] Law Incarnate... without Sympathy...Free Will, or Love'[Journal 4] and his argument for the 'Naturalness of the Divine judgments'[Journal 34-35, 8, 163] wherein Nature, not an angry God, meted out retribution for sin, suggested that he had been acting out the same battle in microcosm.

But not only was the principle of 'law' Calvinistic in spirit, many of the specific laws which Drummond enumerated were, themselves, restatements of particular Calvinistic principles rebaptized with new scientific names. The chapter on 'Biogenesis' in Natural Law, for instance, particularly the section describing the roots reaching down to nutriments, seems to be a restatement of the Calvinistic doctrine of election wherein a sovereign God 'reaches down' to save the helpless recipients of his grace. Drummond admitted this in his journal when, under the theme 'Election', he wrote, 'Analogy "The Selective Power of Roots". The plant chooses what mineral in a field shall become elevated into the vegetable kingdom.'[Journal, 119] His section on 'Growth' stated that effort does not bring growth but rather that growth is a gift of God, a remnant of the idea

of grace.[NLS W, 121-140] Drummond even devoted a page to 'Theological Doctrines and Their Scientific equivalents', listing the doctrines of incarnation, human inability, total depravity and election.[Journal, 260] At least two members of the Glasgow Theological Club commented on the Calvinistic aspect of his book. One complained that 'there is no room for the "feeling after God"; for will, for spontaneous attempts to reach God'; that is, Drummond's theories tended to be too God-sided and mechanistic, diminishing man's role in the process. Professor Bruce said even more clearly, 'Calvinism has been accepted without criticism...'. [Journal, 141] Dr. Dods, who was the only member of the club to support Drummond's endeavour, nonetheless expressed the concern that his theory 'apparently minimises morality'. [Journal, 140] This charge of antinomianism was a common criticism of Calvinism; the doctrine of irresistible grace was construed by opponents as license to sin. Drummond admitted that 'This is an important and real difficulty'. [Journal, 140]⁴⁰⁰ One writer criticised that Drummond's 'exposition of the Calvinistic doctrines of man's unrenewed state, of regeneration, and of election was so exaggerated as to be a reductio ad absurdum of Calvinism' and that its 'ignoring of the special characteristics of self-conscious and moral life sorely [taxed] the patience of philosophically minded readers.'⁴⁰¹

It should be noted that there were also more Arminian-sounding elements in his writings, particularly in the chapters on 'Degeneration' and 'Mortification', elements

400 Another secondary benefit reaped from studying Drummond's journal are the inclusions of these and other criticisms which he notes and then responds to. Drummond's refusal to comment publicly on criticisms made against his work is well known and these pages represent what few insights we have into Drummond's actual response to such criticism. See pp. 140-1, also 17 and 179 in Drummond journal.

401 Modern Church, 5 November 1891, SNL.

which stressed the necessity of action on the part of man. The following phrase on the divinising of the individual is particularly volitional: 'If I correspond with the world, I become worldly; if with God, I become Divine.' [NLSW, 172] This Arminian element is overwhelmed, however, by the dominating legalism of the work, reminiscent of Calvinism. Moreover, the presence of conflicting doctrinal thought only confirms the argument that this was a transitional piece of writing. Drummond was pressing ahead, searching for a new, more satisfying expression of his faith while at the same time reluctant to relinquish his orthodox roots. It is to be expected, therefore, that his thought would, at times, be inconsistent and even contradictory.

Drummond sought from science a new authority to replace the fading power of the Westminster Confession and scripture. But his retention of many Calvinistic doctrines, painted over though they were, forced him into the position of undermining his own thesis. Because his perception of a loving God overrode even his own mechanistic theories, he refused to follow his own 'laws' to their ultimate conclusions, choosing instead to qualify them with statements about the need for retaining 'mystery' in the process. His vacillation is most clearly expressed when he stated, 'Where is there room for God's Will? It is all God's Will. He may of course [interfere]...God...has his code...allowance must be made for special interference.' [Journal, 37]

When Natural Law and Drummond's journal are perceived as the transitional expressions of his developing thought that they are, an insight is gained into the conflicting loyalties that he probably experienced during these years. These are the records of a man whose religious framework was in flux, the same sort of flux which

much of Scottish evangelicalism was experiencing. Desirous to hold to his past roots yet compelled to allow his growing awareness of scientific thought and method to inform his faith, he seemed at this point to struggle between two worlds. As James Moore put it, we have a glimpse of a 'serious-minded, earnest, but rather untutored evangelical young man groping his way, magpie-like, towards a grand discovery or synthesis.'⁴⁰²

The popularity of Natural Law continued although Drummond grew more and more discontented with it as the years progressed. In one letter he wrote, '...within the next day or two I must get ready a revised edition of that old fossil 'Natural Law'. I have just read it through. How fearful some of it is.'⁴⁰³ By the time he published The Ascent of Man he had entirely discarded the legalistic, mechanistic, and even Calvinistic principles which had undergirded Natural Law and replaced them with a simple, and what he thought was an original, explanation of the controlling force behind the evolution of mankind and of Christianity. But this was still ten years away.

The decade which separated the publication of Natural Law and The Ascent of Man was filled with Drummond's greatest evangelistic work, that among the students of Edinburgh University, which he commenced in 1884. Natural Law in the Spiritual World stands as a kind of milestone in Drummond's life. Its publication immediately preceded the commencement of the Edinburgh work and these meetings became the crucible in which he refined the ideas from his first book, moving them from the poetical realm to the practical. In this process of refinement, much of what he had retained in Natural Law was

402 Letter to Mark Toone, Open University, 16 October 1986.

403 To Eis, 10 April 1891, Haddo House.

to be skimmed off and discarded, preparing the way for the final expression of his thoughts in The Ascent of Man. For this reason, it will be valuable to sketch out his evangelistic theology as it was continuing to develop. Actual student addresses are scarce due to Drummond's prohibition of reporters. The most complete set of them available is in an appendix to the original Smith biography and these are only partial. It is necessary, therefore, to draw information from other publications to construct an outline of Drummond's evangelistic theology during the last thirteen years of his life.

George Adam Smith argues that Drummond 'did nothing greater than his work among students...Up to the very end it remained his chief interest and burden.'⁴⁰⁴ Drummond tried, at times, to break away from it but was inevitably drawn back. Student work was his passion; it consumed his time, energy and attention. In many ways it was a continuation of his work with Moody in 1873-75 but it was undertaken in the context of a new generation. Though it bore the unmistakable imprint of its spiritual grandfather, it was especially and undeniably Drummond's own work. Some methods were the same, many were different; much of the theology was reminiscent of the old but elements of it were patently fresh, original and, to many, threatening. There was a continuity to the movement; it was born in Edinburgh and, though it spread globally, it continued and grew in Edinburgh. Drummond returned year after year, ultimately ministering to three full generations of students, an impact unmatched by Moody's determined but sporadic work

404 Smith, pp. 294-5. In a letter to Mrs. Drummond (Cleveland, 27 May, no year), Smith said, 'I find that I have not over estimated in the biography his work among students. I have rather under estimated it.' Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-3,SNL.

in different places, at different times, for necessarily short periods.⁴⁰⁵ Edinburgh would not let Drummond go and he, loving them for it, came back year after year, stamping them indelibly with his impression.⁴⁰⁶ Other ministries would continue, other writings be produced, other lecterns be filled, but this was Drummond's greatest work, both in his own view and in the consideration of others.⁴⁰⁷

The movement was already gaining momentum before Drummond was lured into it. The years 1884-85 were marked with notable demonstrations of heightened spiritual sensitivity in Edinburgh University which was brought to a climax by the arrival in December 1884 of Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd, celebrated Cambridge athletes who were en route to the China mission field. Their several meetings were remarkably well received and carried the wave of religious interest along.⁴⁰⁸ It was into this arena that Drummond stepped, speaking to his alma mater for the first time on the subject of 'The contribution of science to Christianity' before a meeting of the Christian Medical Association.⁴⁰⁹ The freshness and earnestness of his message brought an immediate return

405 In later years, Moody recognized the deficiency in this method and changed his tactics. Says Drummond, 'He is at present drawn toward the line of working among the churches, spending a long time in one place and holding services in the various churches in succession.' New Zealand Christian Record, 20 November 1889, Acc. 5890-17, SNL.

406 'The students at Edinburgh are determined to start work at once...I had written protesting that I would have nothing more to do with them as they could now get along themselves. But a deputation came to Glasgow and my heart melted.' Letter to Eis, Glen Elm, Stirling, 8 November 1887, Haddo House.

407 For Drummond's own description of the work see his Stones Rolled Away and Other Addresses to Young Men Delivered in America, Samuel Bagster and Sons, London, 1900, p. 160-62. For further details see James Kennedy, pp. 43-7; also Memoirs of Professor Henry Drummond with a Wreath of Tributes by the Leading Writers of the Day, ed. T. Cannan Newall, John J. Rae, Glasgow, n.d. (1897?), pp. 155-58, hereinafter cited as Wreath; also p. 217 for Dods' evaluation of the importance of the student work.

408 Cuthbert Lennox, Henry Drummond, Andrew Melrose Publishing, London, 1901, p. 95 ff.; Smith, pp. 297 ff.

409 This was a repeat of an address he delivered at his induction to the Chair of Natural Science. These

invitation to which he demurred, protesting that he could not 'address students in cold blood'.⁴¹⁰ The students persisted, his conditions were agreed to and the arrangements were made. One of the requirements about which he was most adamant was that only students would be allowed to attend, thus excluding those 'irresponsible miscreants, the reporters', with whom Drummond had a running battle.⁴¹¹

The first meeting having been agreed upon, the advertisements began, consisting initially of simple announcements that 'Professor Drummond would give an address', printed on austere yellow posters placed around the University and on placards displayed by sandwichmen for three days prior to the meetings. This was enough to fill the Oddfellow Hall, which held 900 people, on that first Sunday night.⁴¹² The students were required to show their matriculation cards to the diligent doormen in order to gain entry. There were no hymnals but hymn sheets with the university crest on them, distributed as the men entered. Bibles were also provided. The agenda was very simple: at seven o'clock a hymn was sung, a short prayer offered and Drummond began. As one described it, the meetings became an 'institution of Edinburgh'. '[The auditorium is comfortable, the students] well heated and seated. Every part of the service is short; all the preliminaries are over by about a quarter past seven, so that no one can complain of being bored.' The singing was kept to a minimum and incorporated hymns made popular during the

later appeared in The Expositor under the same title, Vol. 1, Third Series, 1885, pp. 77 ff. and 102 ff.

410 Smith, p. 298.

411 Unlike Moody who, as has been seen, maintained a cordial and productive relationship with the press. For details of Drummond's conflict with the press see Smith, pp. 323, 89; letter to Mother, Chautauqua, 28 July 1887, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-1, SNL; article 'Our savants', The Bailie, 1 April 1891; Drummond to Kickhams New Court House Hotel, 27 August 1890; British Weekly, 7 January 1892; The Christian Leader, 1888, clippings contained in Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-17, SNL.

412 Lennox, p. 101; Smith, p. 299.

Moody/Sankey mission. 'One might expect these hymns to be of a somewhat unorthodox nature. The very reverse is the case. The sheet contains all the hymns which are most dearly associated with evangelistic memories, 'Rock of Ages', 'Just As I Am', etc.'⁴¹³

Henry Drummond captivated his audience. The Reverend James Stalker, his good friend and fellow veteran of the Moody-Sankey mission, described Drummond as

the best speaker I ever heard. There was not a particle of what is usually denominated oratory; for this he was far too much in earnest. It was quiet, simple, without art; yet it was the perfection of art; for there was in it an undescrivable charm which never failed to hold the audience spellbound, from the first words to the last.⁴¹⁴

He was quiet yet his voice carried to every corner of the room. Fastidiously dressed, surveying the audience with a penetrating gaze, he would stand off to the side of the podium with one hand on it and the other on his hip. He spoke only with notes although he pored over his manuscripts in preparation, writing and rewriting them. Listeners lost track of the time. No higher praise can be rendered to Drummond's competence in the art of discourse than that of Moody, who 'abominated ruts', when he relaxed the time restriction which was universally imposed on all speakers invited to take part in the great revivalists's gatherings. 'It was twenty minutes for the rest...but Professor Drummond could go on as long as he liked.'⁴¹⁵

There was one recurring theme in Drummond's addresses to the students: Christ wants your life. 'Without anecdotes or jokes or sensationalism of doctrine, without eloquence or

413 The Christian Leader, 1888, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-17, SNL. In fact, those very hymns would have still been considered unorthodox among the more conservative churches in Scotland where the singing of 'mere human hymns', even this side of Sankey's influence, was un-Biblical and worldly.

414 Lennox, p. 25.

415 Australian newspaper article, 1890, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-17, SNL.

passion, he moved young men at his will because his message was life and he was its illustration.⁴¹⁶ His messages did not begin with the traditional scripture reading. They were sometimes peppered with fragmentary scripture verses but were not expositional sermons. His messages were always practical and carefully suited to his audience. In 1890, for instance, the series of messages commencing 26 January included thirteen on dealing with sin in one's life, two on temptation and one on what it was to be a Christian.⁴¹⁷ There was no highbrow theological circumlocution. Many of the illustrations came from student life, frequently the struggles and ultimate victory of a student over an area of moral failure. Listeners were never threatened with hell; the only punishment Drummond mentioned was the living of life in a body and mind stained by sin.

Mr. Drummond prefers the vital to the legal side of evangelicalism. He is less successful in convincing men of guilt than in making them feel the power and degradation of sin...Salvation in his mouth means not so much being lifted out of a miry place beneath as being raised to a sunny place above.⁴¹⁸

The great tragedy for Drummond was the waste of a life. He seemed less concerned with the spirit of a person getting to heaven than he was with that person living his earthly life well. '...The great thing is your life: we do not want your theories and your knowledge, but your life. Religion is not to be proved, but to be lived, and every man among us to-night is trying the experiment of how best to conduct his life.' In these messages Christ

416 Ideal Life, p. 29; see also 'Teachers of young men-Professor Henry Drummond', British Weekly, 7 January 1892.

417 Smith, p. 470 ff.

418 The Christian, 7 October 1886.

was most frequently exemplar, a brother and friend, the perfect man. Religion was 'not negative' but rather the spending of 'life and time for the man, i.e.[sic], the spirit--to evolve.'⁴¹⁹

Drummond's sincerity and simplicity were other notable characteristics of these meetings. He was criticized in contradictory fashion for his theology, his narrowness, his breadth, his techniques, his secretiveness, his logic and his music but rarely was he criticized as insincere. He presented himself as a man of earnest integrity, which was more than Drummond himself could say for many of his fellow evangelists. The battle of evangelism could be won if the world was divested of canting evangelists said Drummond. The chief obstacle to the work of evangelism was

simply the number of superficial characters, some of them sincere...and some of them whited sepulchres. You can't get rid of these men except by the better men coming to the front. Naturally the better men shrink from identifying themselves with a religion of that kind--with such narrowness. [Drummond's solution was to] keep them, like the dynamo, in the cellar providing power [where they can pray and support behind the scenes].⁴²⁰

Another element of Drummond's style was his call for decision. He repeatedly placed before his listeners the message 'choose'.

Gentlemen, my object has been to bring into relief the great line running across Nature. On which side will you live? I call for decision. No man can serve two masters. Religion is what meets you on the upper side of the line, and carries you upward to live the life of the Spirit...What is the outcome then to you sitting before me to-night, looking forwards to your lives and professions? It is this in a word: Choose that life and profession in which you can work alongside this evolutionary force for the redemption of the world. Work with God!⁴²¹

419 Smith pp. 476, 471-2, 485.

420 British Weekly, 4 October 1887.

421 Addresses to students, appendix, Smith, pp. 472, 474.

There was nothing new to this request; historically, the call to decision was mass evangelism's raison d'etre. But with Drummond, there was less of the urgent pleading and prodding which was the common fare with so many other evangelists. To the contrary, Drummond's appeal was a 'soft sell'. 'You are to come just as you are. Little as you have and are, you are requested to bring it all for the service of the Master. Otherwise, otherwise you are not wanted.'⁴²² He moved easily from the 'sweepnet' message into an invitation.

There will be two more meetings only, and I want to say a very few words to those who are really anxious for these things. I want to be practical, and so I am going to ask those of you who would like to stay for ten minutes to keep your seats while we sing a hymn. You will be asked no questions; you'll not even be called to come forward. You may remain in the seats you occupy. We want new lives and consecration to Christ. Now I hope all the rest will go out quietly as we sing the last verse of the hymn.' [A few having left, Drummond continued,] Gentlemen, I proposed this because unless I am wrong there are men in the hall to-night who have seriously made up their minds to live for Christ. And there is another set of men, more numerous still perhaps, who do not know whether or not they are Christians. There is a certain value in decision on our own parts...⁴²³

The Inquiry Meeting was a regular element of the Edinburgh gatherings but, like the invitation, it was a quieter, less pressurized experience than the earlier Moody equivalent. There was no special room for this meeting. As has been seen, all those not interested in discussions of this type were invited to leave. To those who remained Drummond offered a brief ten minute message, closed with prayer and then joined student leaders in speaking to individuals. Within half an hour the building was cleared but Drummond frequently

422 Smith, p. 487.

423 Ibid., p 486.

spent several more hours with one or another young inquirer. Account after account describes the intensity with which he listened to the questions and problems of the men. 'If you were alone with him, he was sure to find out what interested you, and listen by the hour'. 'It is safe to say that no man in our generation can have heard confession more constantly than Drummond did.' He was gentle and non-manipulative. 'No man's personality is invaded.' 'There [was] none of the disagreeable 'button-holing' so common at evangelistic after meetings and which makes them on this account a terror to many'.⁴²⁴

Drummond's entire evangelistic career was set in an atmosphere of what might be described as 'manly consciousness'. Forty years earlier the term 'muscular Christianity' had been coined to describe a particularly influential expression of liberalism within the Church of England. The muscular Christian was vigorous, athletic and earnest. Much was made of the imagery of the 'fight between good and evil, between Christ and the Devil, a fight that required all their physical, intellectual and moral powers.' The muscular Christian did not disdain sports, enjoyed his cricket and his hunting, aware that a strengthened and refreshed body made for better mental and spiritual effort. Such a person was socially aware, concerned and active and refused to identify Christianity with 'escape, sickliness, or lack of courage'. Henry Drummond epitomized the 'muscular Christian'.⁴²⁵

In an article responding to the 'stilted, backwards' organ of the YMCA, The Watchman,

424 Smith pp. 3, 10; Christian Leader, 1888; Lennox, pp. 101-2. It is interesting that the term 'button-holing' was used by this reporter to describe what Drummond did not do, for this is precisely the word Drummond advocated in his paper on 'Spiritual Diagnosis', delivered in Edinburgh in 1873, in which he described the need for pastors to personally confront parishioners on their spiritual needs.

425 William E. Winn, 'Tom Brown's schooldays and the development of Muscular Christianity', Church History, Vol. 29, 1960, pp. 64 ff., 69, 73.

which had been critical of Drummond, one writer declared that The Watchman would have to accept the 'manly Christianity, which, started by Professor Drummond at Edinburgh University four years ago, has today thousands of [disciples]'. 'But what is Manly Christianity', it went on to ask, 'which is so distressing to some good people? It is the large hearted, practical Christianity of Jesus Christ minus the sourness of Puritanism, the bitterness of Calvinism and the smug selfishness of conventional religiousness'. To charges of unorthodoxy, the article responded,

'It is true they [Manly Christians] do not waste precious time in quarelling about doctrinal differences, or in arranging the complicated mechanisms of creeds. But they love the Man of Nazareth--the Christ of God and the Saviour of men-- with an intense and overwhelming affection...Manly Christianity does not frown on the beauties of art, nor fear the researches of science, nor shut its ears to the charms of music, nor leave the gymnasium and out door sport to be the playthings of the devil. It lives a large, free, happy life, and lives it supremely for Jesus Christ.'⁴²⁶

Drummond, the fisherman, skater, cricketer, explorer and big game hunter, was a manly figure who enjoyed his pipe, attended the theatre and loved good music. He represented a stimulating alternative to the students' perceptions, correct or otherwise, of a dull and restrictive Scottish clergy and, by association, their dull and restrictive religion. His Christianity seemed real, relevant and accessible. It said to young men,

Brother, you do not only want a Christ who is far away in the dim records of ancient history; you want a friendly arm to guide you and lift you up. The real Christ is a wise counsellor and a lovable companion. He will not rob you of a single cricket match. He will not crush your inquiring spirit or dethrone your intellect. He will charm you by his love, deliver you from the tyranny of animal passion and help you to do the will of God on earth. [This message is] an Evangel for the football field, a gospel for the country house, and thousands of young men, thanks to the God inspired ministry of Professor Drummond and his brethren, have joyfully received Jesus Christ

426 'Manly Christianity', Young Man, April 1888, Acc. 5890-17, SNL.

as a real Friend and Brother, and are labouring loyally for the commonweal.⁴²⁷

To some extent Moody's work presaged the manly Christianity of Drummond. He dealt effectively with men and enjoyed sports although his huge girth precluded many personal athletic endeavours. He was quite effective with students. But Moody was an uncouth, uneducated, coarse American family man. Drummond was none of these things. Though the theology of this movement was shallow and simplistic, painfully so at times as will be seen, the freshness and vigour of Drummond's style produced an unprecedented following among Scottish university men. John Watson labelled it a 'higher evangelism', one that stretched beyond the common crowd, with which he admitted Drummond was less capable, and reached this less accessible segment of society.⁴²⁸

By 1884 when he began the Edinburgh work, Drummond's migration towards an espousal of biblical criticism was complete. He now clearly held to the doctrine of progressive revelation which he defended in a paper entitled 'The contribution of science to Christianity':

Instead...of reading all our theology into Genesis, we see only the alphabet there. In the later books we see primers-first, second, and third: The truths stated provisionally as for children but gaining volume and clearness as the world gets older. [A philosophy of evolution and the development of higher criticism had given Christendom a bible] whose parts, though not of unequal value, are seen to be of different kinds of value; where the casual is distinguished from the essential, the local from the universal, the subordinate from the primal end. This Bible is not a book which has been

427 Ibid., see also John MacPherson, A History of the Church in Scotland, Alexander Gardner, London, 1901, p. 434; Smith, pp. 362, 94, 272. It is interesting to note that William Winn traces the development of the YMCA, here critical of this trend in Drummond's work, as an offshoot of the earlier 'Muscular Christian' movement. See Winn, Tom Brown, p. 72.

428 Ideal Life, p. 30.

made; it has grown.⁴²⁹

To use the Old Testament to explain scientific principles which its writers did not comprehend nor care about was, to Drummond, ludicrous. Any apparent conflicts between his position as a theistic evolutionist and the literal Genesis account of creation could be explained by the cultural and intellectual naivete of the Old Testament writer.

At his most militant, Drummond went beyond disagreeing with the conservative views of inspiration and infallibility and labelled them as harmful, as he did with propositional theology.

Infallibility meets the deepest desire of man, but meets it in the most fatal form...It is a complacent and idle rest upon authority, not a hard-earned, self-obtained, personal possession...though the Bible is infallible, the Infallibility is not in such a form as to become a temptation [to escape personal spiritual responsibility.]⁴³⁰

Drummond rejected a doctrine of inspiration which removed the Christian's need to wrestle with difficult questions. The Bible was not a cosmic instruction manual but a 'fountain' and its truths were discovered

not by thinking, but by doing. It is seen, discerned, not demonstrated. It cannot be bolted whole, but must be slowly absorbed into the system. Its vagueness to the mere intellect, its refusal to be packed into portable phrases, its satisfying unsatisfyingness, its vast atmosphere, its finding of us, its mystical hold of us, these are the tokens of its infinity.⁴³¹

Whatever lip service Drummond might have paid to the value of the Old Testament, he

429 Henry Drummond, 'The contribution of science to Christianity', The Expositor, II, third series, 1885, pp. 105, 108. See also J. Y. Simpson, pp. 37-8.

430 Natural Law, pp. 361-2.

431 Natural Law, p. 363. This betrays Coleridgean influence, a thinker whom Drummond frequently cited with appreciation in both bibles and journal. Said Coleridge, 'Christianity is not a Theory, or a Speculation; but a Life;--not a Philosophy of Life, but a Life and a living Process...TRY IT'; Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Aids to Reflection and The Confessions of and Inquiring Spirit, Bohn's Library edition, George Bell and sons, London, 1884, p. 134.

rarely looked outside the New Testament for a sermon text. In a 315 page book of unpublished sermons printed posthumously, only one two-part sermon has an Old Testament text out of the fifteen sermons included.⁴³² Furthermore, even his early bible notes indicate his preference for the New Testament. Transcription of the Macrae bible notes produced almost twice as many pages of text for the New Testament as for the Old, the greatest majority of which were taken from the gospels. Watson even labelled Drummond a 'Christian of the gospels'.⁴³³ Though he nowhere expressly stated his disregard for the moral ideas of the Old Testament, practically he depended almost exclusively upon the writings of the New Testament as texts for his evangelistic addresses.

Drummond's evangelistic message was Christocentric: the life, ministry, teachings, example and redemption of Jesus. Christ's divinity, miracles and resurrection, already in his own day bones of contention for liberal theologians, seem not to have been in question for Drummond. The most critical of his conservative colleagues had little to say about Drummond's view of Christ but much to say about his view of man and his neglect of the doctrine of the atonement. He was accused of not speaking much about sin, a credit to him in the eyes of the one camp but a grave deficiency as far as the other group was concerned.⁴³⁴

He approached [Christianity] so disinterestedly with such an entire

432 Ideal Life, p. 39.

433 *Ibid.*

434 For opposing views on Drummond's teaching on sin see letter from John Shaw to Drummond, Eswald Cottage, 24 February 1884, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-16, SNL and The Signal, April 1887, p. 23.

disregard of its one presupposition, sin, that many could never get on common ground with him. He entirely omitted that theology of the Cross which had been the substance hitherto of evangelistic addresses.⁴³⁵

Actually, Drummond did talk about sin, along the lines of this subject as found in his early bible notes, although developed even further. He dealt with it not purely as a theological matter but as, above all, a practical problem with which he knew his young audience was contending. In all but one of Drummond's Christmas pamphlets he dealt specifically with sin. His addresses were full of references to it, especially those delivered to his Edinburgh students:

"Sin is the subordination of the higher nature to the lower."(Martineau) It is, as I say, the subordination of the man to the beast...Sin is a living thing...Sin finds men out in the form of Temptation. Temptation is the result of constantly yielding...Some say and will tell you that religion has the power to take away the punishment of sin. I think not. You and I shall bear the punishment of the sins we commit, for whatsoever we sow, we shall reap. But what is taken away is the guilt. The guilt of sin is forever swept away from us by one thing only, and that is the death of the Lord Jesus Christ.⁴³⁶

As discussed earlier, sin, for Drummond, was particular acts of disobedience to God's will and, especially, their effect upon the life of the person committing them. That is to say, he spoke of 'sin' or 'sins' but not of 'Sin'. He had no overarching theology of the sinfulness of man. As an evolutionist he could hardly subscribe to the fall of man as affirmed in orthodox Christianity. The very title of his book, The Ascent of Man betrays his mature feelings on the issue. Drummond was a meliorist; the obvious reality of man's

435 W. Robertson Nicoll, Ideal Life, pp. 15-6. Also D. M. Ross, 'Professor Drummond's religious teaching', The Expositor, V, fifth series, 1897, pp. 391-2. It was frequently suggested, in all seriousness, that Drummond's own piety failed to equip him with an adequate understanding of the sinful struggles of the common man.

436 Smith, pp. 471, 476, 478-9. See also Ideal Life, 'The Three facts of Sin' and pp. 170, 176; also Henry Drummond, The Greatest Thing in the World, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1894, pp. 103, 182.

sinfulness in day to day life was sufficient for his purposes. As he said in one message to American students, 'It doesn't matter where it [sin] came from. It is there, as a matter of fact.'⁴³⁷ He believed that mankind needed the salvation Jesus offered from particular sins but as with other touchy doctrinal issues, the origin of sin was a subject to which Drummond gave apparently little attention.⁴³⁸

He was equally evasive on the subject of perdition. His rhetoric on salvation had an orthodox ring but one is tempted to ask, 'Salvation from what?'. Drummond rarely mentioned hell and if he did he couched the term in such a way as to qualify it considerably. He spoke more often on death, rather than hell, as the necessary end of an unsaved life: 'The Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost, and a violation of this Temple will be punished by certain death-nothing else [emphasis mine], simply and purely death.' 'Be sure your sin will find you out...It will run you to earth a doomed man. For the end of these things is Death.'⁴³⁹ A contemporary said, '[Drummond] does not consign to perdition all who fail to lead a highly spiritual life here. He only reminds them that they are not qualifying themselves for the life to come.'⁴⁴⁰

Drummond spoke of Satan more frequently than he did of hell, a devil who was in competition with Jesus for the life of the individual. 'Have you made up your mind to say goodbye to the world, the flesh and the devil?', he asked.⁴⁴¹ But these terms as

437 Stones Rolled Away, p. 127.

438 W. Robertson Nicoll, The Ideal Life, p. 11.

439 Smith, pp. 471, 477.

440 Lennox, p. 89.

441 Smith, p. 487; British Weekly, 7 January 1892.

Drummond used them seemed to be appellations for the dark side of one's own personality. When Drummond spoke of sin as a living thing, he was not inferring a doctrine of man tainted with original sin but rather the inescapableness of selfish wrongdoing that existed in every human. He probably did not believe in a literal hell or devil. His utilitarian usage of the concepts expressed what it was that he wanted to say in nomenclature acceptable to the majority of his peers and Drummond in his typically indistinct fashion would not have minded if he was misunderstood. He did believe that there was a struggle between good and evil but if he could have been pinned down on the definition of these terms which he used so freely, his definitions would probably have diverged from the literal character of traditional Calvinistic usage.

Drummond was frequently criticized for his lack of emphasis on the atonement. His supporters normally sidestepped the issue by stating that he was 'not a theologian'. But if he did not believe in eternal punishment for sinners, it can easily be understood why the element of the atonement was missing from his message. For that matter Drummond had very little to say about heaven either, unlike Moody who had a sermon by that title which he preached repeatedly. Drummond seems to have believed in a literal heaven as opposed to the hell in which he did not very obviously believe but, again, the term is vague in conception. The thesis of one of his popular pamphlets, 'City Without a Church', was that the reference, by the writer of the Revelation, to 'New Jerusalem' was important 'not so much [for] what it reveals of a Heaven beyond, but [for] what it suggests of the nature of the heavenly life in this present world.'⁴⁴² He came close to inferring that we make

442 The Greatest Thing, p. 129.

heaven on earth.

Our ideas of a heavenly life are so unreal and mystical that even when the highest heaven lies all around us, when we might touch it, and dwell in it everyday we live, we almost fail to see that it is there. The heaven of our childhood, the spectacular Heaven, the Heaven which is a place, so dominates thought even in our maturer years, that we are slow to learn the fuller truth that Heaven is a state [emphasis Drummond's].⁴⁴³

The purpose of this particular work was to repudiate the kind of Christianity which ignored the present world for the one to come, but from this platform he made only vague references to the traditional concept of Heaven, mostly critical, and left the reader to wonder if he believed there was any real substance to the concept at all. 'Whatever reference we may find there [in the Revelation passage] to a world to come, is it not equally lawful to seek the scene upon this present world?'⁴⁴⁴

If Drummond indeed had little or no belief in conservative Christian understandings of afterlife, what then did the concept of Christian salvation mean for him, for certainly this was a central theme of his message? Drummond's pre-eminent concern was with the lives of his listeners. The message recurs in all of his writings and speeches and his commentators are unanimous on the point: 'He did not warn his hearers against the danger of losing their soul, but with terrific intensity he warned them against the danger of losing their life.' Jesus Christ was the counter-force against the living agent of sin in each person's life.⁴⁴⁵ To ignore the offers of the gospel meant, not so much the threat of hell, but a terrible waste of this life, a life controlled by the 'beast' within us. To respond by

443 Ibid., p. 173.

444 Ibid., p. 135. For testimony of Drummond's social concern in later years see James Stalker, 'Henry Drummond', The Expositor, V, fifth series, 1897, p. 288.

445 Lennox, p. 107; Ideal Life, pp. 38, 170.

believing in Jesus meant the reclamation of this life, the opportunity to live it in moral, social and intellectual piety, the chance to make a significant contribution to the community of mankind. This emphasis on present life as opposed to life to come was linked in tandem with his teaching on Jesus. Though he would declare that Jesus' death and resurrection were necessary for salvation,--he was never very clear why they were--it was Jesus life and how he lived it that was the key to our new life. 'We cannot live upon death...death is the gate of life. And after we have entered the gateway by the death of Christ, we shall be saved by his life.'⁴⁴⁶ Consequently, there was less to be said about the crucifixion, resurrection and the Kingdom of God to come, and much more said about Jesus' teachings, example, miracles and the Kingdom of God present now. This incarnational emphasis, typical of the late nineteenth century, he expressed clearly in his paper entitled 'The New Evangelism':

The emphasis on the humanity of Christ, which, happily, has now crept into our best teaching, marks more distinctly perhaps than anything else the dawn of the new Evangelism...Men fail to see that it was God Himself who conceived this wonderful idea of a humanitarian Christ...It is a mistaken scruple even to minimize His Humanity. In our zeal for the doctrine of the Atonement we are really robbing God of His doctrine of the Incarnation.⁴⁴⁷

Christ was most frequently presented not as Lord or master, but as friend. In Drummond's Jesus we have a faithful companion, one who inhabits the life of those who invite him to do so and changes that life from within, degree by degree, to a likeness of himself. This image of the indwelling Christ was preferred to that of the Calvinistic

446 Ideal Life, p. 173.

447 The New Evangelism and Other Papers, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1899, second edition, pp. 17-18; also Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk, p. 89.

advocatory role. 'Christ in us is oftener his theme than Christ for us.'⁴⁴⁸ Drummond's plea was for the individual to cultivate a friendship with Christ, an invitation he was qualified to offer by virtue of his own relationship to Jesus who was 'his most intimate and dearest Friend.' In one of many eulogies to Drummond upon his death, D. M. Ross declared this to be the heart of his message and, equated Drummond's 'Gospel of Friendship with Christ' with 'salvation by faith.'⁴⁴⁹ Salvation, then, was a 'question of Life perhaps far more than a question of Death', 'a biological problem...an offer of the higher life in Christ Jesus to which men were capable of rising.'⁴⁵⁰ Said Drummond, 'There is only one rock...the Incarnation. Does not everything lie here?'⁴⁵¹

With the urgency of snatching sinners from the jaws of Hell removed, Drummond's presentation of his gospel, though certainly earnest, was not frantic or coercive. Failure to respond to his message did not mean damnation so much as an unfortunate waste of a life that would have been better lived as a Christian. The unbeliever was not a 'monster' but a loser who foolishly passed up the offer of a fuller life.⁴⁵² Though Drummond's meetings were intended to press inquirers for a decision, he differed from his predecessors in that he seemed not to have a particular formula to be followed or prayer to be prayed in order to have someone 'invite Christ into their heart'. Jesus was placed before them as the exemplar of life, allegiance to him was urged, but the process of declaring that allegiance

448 The Christian, 7 October 1886.

449 Lennox, p. 104; D.M. Ross, 'Professor Drummond's religious teaching', The Expositor, V, fifth series, 1897, p. 393.

450 Letter to Eisdrubail, Lucerne, 7 October 1886, Haddo House.

451 Ideal Life, p. 151; Lennox, pp. 107-8.

452 Natural Law, pp. 158-59.

was frequently left to the individual's discretion. The experience of conversion was varied and unpredictable. It involved 'trusting Christ...believing in the facts of the Atonement and forgiveness', but as for particular means to that end, it was left to the conscience of the inquirer.

What steps must you take? Different are the aspects, different the ways all leading unto Him...You may come in by any of them; some of you will come by one, some by another. Don't think you must go in by the way your friend went. Go your own way...Go just as you are in your own nature. You must get near to Christ and close to Him. The emphasis is on the object, not the action of faith; and that which is in us showing us the way is Christ Himself holding out His hand to help us.⁴⁵³

The theology of Henry Drummond is a curious assimilation, a seemingly inconsistent picking and choosing between orthodox and heterodox elements. He was committed to the incarnation, the deity of Christ, the sinfulness of man (though reinterpreted as proneness to sin), the resurrection and miracles.⁴⁵⁴ But he seems to have rejected a literal hell, the bodily resurrection, the authority of scripture as traditionally understood and was vague on his concepts of heaven. He was Arminian in that he believed in the cooperation of human agency with God's work. But, as has been suggested, some of the legalistic elements of his Calvinism persisted, albeit in transmuted form and less and less in his later years, as will be seen. He rejected all things clerical for himself yet managed to maintain surprisingly cordial relations with the church politic.⁴⁵⁵ He was imbued from birth with thoroughly correct reformed orthodoxy, affirmed his own belief in the Trinity, and yet he

453 Smith, pp. 487-88.

454 Drummond's Christology had room for the miraculous. He dined with Benjamin Jowett at Oxford and recorded the event as a 'sad' experience for him because his host inquired if Scotland was finally 'giving up belief in miracles.' Letter to Lady Aberdeen, 30 October 1885, Haddo House.

455 See Dods article, 'Henry Drummond as a church worker', A.b.a.10, Box 14, New College archives.

admired the writings of the Unitarians W. E. Channing and James Martineau. After living with a Unitarian professor in New York he declared: 'I found no difference between him and myself, and I never saw a more lovely Christian home. I have come away with a new idea of the Unitarians, or at least of some of them.'⁴⁵⁶ Drummond was a pragmatic evangelist who seemed to view Christianity through rose coloured glasses; whether he actually saw it that way himself or not, it was this picture which he offered to his audiences. Certainly part of the secret of his popularity lay in his ability to soft pedal the traditionally negative aspects of Calvinistic Christianity, to emphasize the tangible, human elements of a 'friendship with Jesus' and to redefine salvation and repentance in terms of moral reformism.

In short, by couching his message in orthodox nomenclature, Henry Drummond disguised some distinctly unorthodox theological ideas. At the same time, by minimising the theological rhetoric employed, he gained a hearing among those who were repelled by traditional Christian verbosity.⁴⁵⁷ He was probably not intentionally devious; testimonies to his integrity would belie that interpretation. Rather his pragmatism dictated indistinct exposition of his own questionable creed for the sake of retaining a wide hearing as an

⁴⁵⁶ Ideal Life, p. 4; Smith, p. 353; Natural Law, pg. 310. Drummond seems never to have embraced Unitarianism himself despite some theological tendencies which suggest otherwise. But he did state that the completeness of the incarnation might give rise to the doctrine of Unitarianism. 'When God does anything, He never does it by halves. When He made the Word flesh, when He made Jesus a Man, He made a Man, and it is just because He carried out His idea so perfectly that Unitarianism is possible.' The New Evangelism, p. 17. James Martineau, a leading Unitarian in the nineteenth century, was a strong proponent of scientific religion. Drummond makes frequent reference to him in his bible notes.

⁴⁵⁷ For discussion of Drummond's use of rhetoric see Lennox, p. 106; also the letter from White to Lady Tavistock, Devonshire Club, 19 March 1885, Haddo House. See also D. M. Ross, 'Professor Drummond's religious teaching', The Expositor, V, fifth series, 1897, p. 391. Moore notes that Drummond's speeches were 'saturated with biblical language' but suggests that 'they [both Drummond and Moody] used the same words to mean different things.' Letters to Mark Toone, 11 September 1986; 16 October 1986.

evangelist. His intentions were commendable, perhaps, and his impact significant but his theology was, in its later stages, unclear and heterodox.

The Sunday evening gatherings at Edinburgh University lasted for ten years from 1884 to 1894. Out of them arose deputation teams which travelled to universities both in Great Britain as well as the United States and elsewhere. They also did a great deal of social work during term breaks, projects which came to be known as Holiday Deputations.⁴⁵⁸ As a result of his work among the Edinburgh students, Drummond was invited to speak to students in Oxford and Germany. At the instigation of his close friends, Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Drummond was also persuaded to deliver a set of lectures to a gathering of London's elite at Grosvenor House in spring 1885. The response was encouraging and he was invited back for a second series in 1888.⁴⁵⁹

Moody had tried for years to get Drummond to visit his theological schools in America.

My Dear Drummond, I want you to come to Northfield to spend the month of August and September. I will pay all bills it shall not cost you one penny and I am shure you can do a world of good. My family want [you to come]. Even the churches want you to come both of my schools want you and now cable me that you will come.⁴⁶⁰

Drummond finally acquiesced and spoke at Moody's student conference in Northfield in

458 Letter to Mother, Hartford, 30 September 1887, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-1 SNL; letter to Eis, Fabyan House, White Mountain, New Hampshire, 8 September 1887, Haddo House; to Eis, Glen Elm, 8 November 1887, Haddo House.

459 Letters from White to Lady Tavistock, Devonshire Club, 19 May 1885; James Balfour to Lady Tavistock, London, 20 May 1885; Alfred Lyttleton to Lady Aberdeen, 21 Carlton Gardens, 21 July [1885?]; Drummond to Lord Aberdeen, Glasgow, 5 March 1885, etc.; Haddo House.

460 Moody to Drummond, Northfield, 10 July 1885, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-2, SNL.

1887. He then began a speaking circuit, 'tearing away...at American speed'⁴⁶¹ from university to university.⁴⁶² He refused the offers of various American academic posts with the same single-mindedness which had caused him to decline Gladstone's invitation to consider a seat in parliament in 1886 and Lord Aberdeen's offer to serve on his staff when he was appointed Viceroy of Ireland.⁴⁶³ Following his work in America, he was invited by Australian students to speak in their country which he did in 1890. While there, he decided to visit the New Hebrides. Among other things, he inspected a mission station and dodged flaming volcanic rock, lighting his cigar on one great boulder which had landed in the very spot on which he had been standing only moments earlier.⁴⁶⁴

By the time of his return from the South Seas Drummond was under nearly constant attack for his theological views. In spring 1893 he completed the lectures on 'The Ascent of Man' and travelled to Boston to deliver them, his third trip to America.⁴⁶⁵ While in the United States, he paid a second visit to Northfield. Moody came under great pressure from his conservative associates to exclude Drummond from the platform but refused. By now the forces of nascent Fundamentalism were becoming more unified and vocal. Though Drummond went ahead and spoke, he 'felt a good deal out of it, and many fell

461 Letter to Mother, Northfield, Massachusetts, 1 July 1887, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-1, SNL.

462 Drummond to William Isbister, Liverpool, 6 March 1884, William Isbister Collection, Box #1, Firestone Library, Princeton; Drummond to Mr. Glen[?], Philadelphia, 29 September 1887, Mott papers, RG 45, Yale; article 'Professor Drummond in the American colleges', The Intercollegian, n.d., Mott papers, RG 45, 2.67.361, Yale.

463 Drummond to Gladstone, Grosvenor Square, n.d., [1886?]; letter to Lord Aberdeen, Glasgow, 12 February 1886; Haddo House.

464 Drummond to Kickhams New Court House Hotel, 27 August 1890, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-1, SNL.

465 Letter from Boston, 28 April 1893, Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-1, SNL.

upon and rent me. Before the close of the Conference, I struck an orthodox vein and retrieved myself a little. But it was not a happy time.⁴⁶⁶ The experience seems to have drained him physically.

The following year, he prepared the Ascent of Man lectures for publication in spring 1894. The effects of what was probably bone cancer were by now evident. For the first time since commencing his Edinburgh student work he was forced to cancel in 1895. The Free Church General Assembly of the same year found no less than twelve overtures condemning The Ascent of Man and pressing for Drummond's impeachment on heresy charges.⁴⁶⁷ It was the latest in a series of attacks on several men including Marcus Dods, A. B. Bruce and James Candlish. The majority of the assembly was weary of such proceedings. The Smith trial in 1876 still weighed heavily on many consciences and the fact that Drummond was 'dangerously ill' only made the undertaking more odious. One third of the assembly voted against him and, though the indictment failed, he agreed not to continue along objectionable lines.⁴⁶⁸

When we finally come to Drummond's The Ascent of Man, his most controversial work, we are reading his last and most mature thought.⁴⁶⁹ His death three years after the book was published forestalled any advance on these theories. Ascent of Man is a much simpler book to analyze than Natural Law because, by this time, the author had stopped

466 Drummond to Eis, Restigoude Salmon Club, Metapedia, Quebec, 31 July 1893, Haddo House.

467 Wreath, Newall, p. 28.

468 Loose clipping entitled 'Professor Henry Drummond', n.d., Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-16, SNL.

469 For present day views of The Ascent of Man see Moore, 'Evangelicals and Evolution', pp. 404-409; Kent, Darwin to Blatchford, pp. 20-28. For reviews by Drummond's contemporaries see D. M. Ross' Expositor article, pp. 398-400; James Stalker in same issue, pp. 292-4; the pamphlet by Samuel Smith, 'The Ascent of Man: a review', reprinted from The Christian, London, 1894; The Expositor, July 1894, p. 57.

trying to be everything to everyone. One searches in vain for the same Calvinistic remnants which had peppered the pages of Natural Law. They are not there. The transition from the orthodoxy of his early writings is as complete here as it ever was to be, given his untimely death. No longer was the author swaying between two worlds. His orthodox evangelical days were behind him. Evangelicalism continued to be a part of his life to the last but it was, as he called it, a 'new evangelism'⁴⁷⁰, the theology of which bore only a faint resemblance to either his own earlier theology or to that of his friend and mentor, Moody.

The Ascent of Man did not say very much, apparently, about theology. Jesus was never mentioned, nor was evangelism. And Christianity only appeared on a few pages. Nonetheless, it was a strong theological statement as much for what it did not say as for what it did. What is more, Drummond made this statement with far greater boldness and insouciance than he had in Natural Law. Whether the extra years made him more confident or the continuous carping more resilient, his qualifying remarks and apologies were fewer and his criticisms less reserved.⁴⁷¹

Drummond's thesis, simply, was that love was the hitherto unrecognized⁴⁷² and more

470 The New Evangelism and Other Papers, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1899.

471 See his criticisms of Herbert Spencer, pp. 43, 54, 56; his criticism of Huxley, pp. 27-8; of Darwin, pp. 15 ff., and of Benjamin Kidd, pp. 67 ff. It is most interesting to see the boldness with which he critiques these men whose quotations and ideas were almost reverently cited in his bible margins and journal.

472 Despite Drummond's claims to the originality of his idea, Herbert Spencer had proposed the same thesis before him. This was brought to light in a spiteful editorial by Lynn Linton, a friend of Spencer, writing on his behalf, who accused Drummond of plagiarism. If there was plagiarism, it was unintentional. Drummond was meticulous about citing his debts and was assuredly convinced in his own mind that his ideas were his own. See E. Lynn Linton, 'Professor Henry Drummond's discovery', Fortnightly Review, 1894, vol. 56, pp. 448-457. For a scathing attack on not only Drummond but Benjamin Kidd as well, see Hugh Mortimer Cecil, Pseudo-Philosophy at the End of the Nineteenth Century, University Press, London,

essential evolutionary force than survival.⁴⁷³ Unfortunately we do not have available to us a notebook in which to trace his thinking comparable to that which exists for Natural Law. There are, however, hints of this theme throughout his life, suggestions which finally resolved themselves in this ultimate treatise. The very first quotation on the subject of love found in the Macrae bible is strongly teleological:

The more unconscious the draughtsman is of the changes he is making, the better. Love will then do its own proper work; and the only true test of good or bad, is ultimately, strength of affection. For it does not matter with what wise purpose or in what wise principles the thing is drawn; if it be not drawn for love of it, it will never be right; and if it be drawn for love of it, it will never be wrong-Love's misrepresentation being truer than the most mathematical presentation.⁴⁷⁴

The trail can be picked up again in Drummond's journal. Though the concept of love played very little part in his first publication, the legalistic nature of which did not leave much room for the notion, even at this stage he showed interest in the idea. On one page, under the heading 'correlation', Drummond penned the single sentence, 'Are not all the Spiritual Forces not different forms of one--Love.?' To his own question 'What is the Christianity that is Eternal', Drummond answered, 'Only one thing is Eternal-Love. What makes me wish to live at all? Love. Someone is indispensable to me...!'⁴⁷⁵

The longest stride Drummond took towards the final stage in his thinking on the subject as seen in The Ascent of Man was in the Christmas pamphlet of 1889 which has

1897.

473 One critic was tired of Drummond dragging 'evolution into everything...It is Drummond's footrule. He measures everything, material, moral, spiritual, by evolution, evolution!' The Christian Leader, 25 December 1890, Acc. 5890-17, SNL.

474 Ruskin as quoted in Macrae bible, notes in margin of 'Numbers'.

475 Drummond journal, pp. 139, 165.

sold over one million copies to date and is still in print, its title being 'The Greatest Thing in the World.'⁴⁷⁶ It is by far his best known publication, and is an exposition of I Corinthians 13 which he first produced apparently extemporaneously when a weary Moody refused a request to lead an informal bible reading among friends and passed the task to Drummond. In the pamphlet he described love as the summum bonum, '...the noblest object of desire, the supreme gift...'.⁴⁷⁷ Though he tended to speak of love as an attribute to be gained and nurtured, he closed his discourse with these words, an adumbration of the idea he would develop in The Ascent of Man: 'Love must be eternal. It is what God is. On the last analysis, then, love is life...Love should be the supreme thing--because it is going to last; because in the nature of things it is an Eternal Life.'⁴⁷⁸ The language which Drummond employed in The Greatest Thing was entirely different from that of The Ascent of Man. It was biblical, pietistic and centred on Christ as the initiator and exemplar of love.⁴⁷⁹ Nevertheless, when The Ascent of Man was finally published, it was clearly the end product of at least twenty-five years of thought.

Drummond begins the book by stating his conviction that all the discussion on evolution has lacked one key element. He calls it the 'missing factor in current theories'. The error lay in the wholehearted embracement of Darwin's principle of 'Struggle for Life'

476 When I was engaged in research in different parts of the United States, I was surprised at the number of people to whom I spoke who had not only heard of this publication but possessed a copy of it.

477 The Greatest Thing in the World and Other Addresses, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1894, p. 13.

478 Ibid., pp. 62-3.

479 Ibid., p. 48.

as the 'governing factor in development'.⁴⁸⁰ 'That the Struggle for Life has been a prominent actor in the drama is certain', says Drummond, but 'there is...a second factor...which plays an equally prominent part...Altruism'. [AM, 16-7] Having stated his thesis, he leaves the subject to begin a two hundred page apology for evolution: 'The Ascent of the Body', 'The Scaffolding Left in the Body', 'The arrest of the Body', 'The Dawn of the Mind', 'The Evolution of Language' and 'The Struggle for Life'. In these chapters, Drummond does what he is best at doing, namely, popularizing. In an understandable and usually enjoyable way, he argues the merits of evolution, preparing the reader to return once again to his original thesis which he does in the chapter entitled 'The Struggle for the Life of Others'. Man is not simply body or mind. He possesses something unique to himself, the human soul. [AM, 275] Possessing this faculty, he 'reaches his full height only when Love becomes to him the breath of life, the energy of will, the summit of desire.' [AM, 276] Love did not suddenly appear. It also evolved; it also 'was distilled on earth'. [AM, 277] 'The first chapter or two of the story of Evolution may be headed the Struggle for Life; but take the book as a whole and it is not a tale of battle. It is a Love-story.' [AM, 278-9] This said, Drummond begins to trace the development of love through history. The germ of love began its life when an organism first sacrificed itself for the benefit of another. He starts with the single cell which, as it grows, is faced with the choice of dividing or dying. The choice to divide, says he, is self-sacrifice. 'By giving up its life as an individual it has brought forth two individuals...the first great act of the moral life.' [AM, 289] Drummond traces this sacrifice up through the

480 The Ascent of Man, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1894, p. 16. Hereinafter cited in text as [AM].

plant and animal kingdom till he arrives at nature's supreme, example of self-sacrifice and love, the mother.[AM, 343] The mother/child relationship is the great school house where love, sympathy, compassion--in short, morality--is conceived and nurtured. He describes this process in the chapter 'The Evolution of a Mother' and goes on to argue that the growing family stability which evolves between mother and child soon effects the wandering ways of the father, resulting in his own moral development.[AM, 374-409]

Finally, in Drummond's last chapter, 'Involution', he makes the point towards which he has been pressing for 407 at times mawkish pages. Creation and evolution go together hand in glove. Evolution, he says, is 'God's method of creation'. He is not to be perceived, as the 'old theology' portrays him, as the 'occasional wonder-worker'. [AM, 428] He is not to be fitted into the spaces which science has not been able to fill. 'There are reverent minds who ceaselessly scan the fields of Nature and the books of Science in search of gaps--gaps which they will fill up with God. As if God lived in gaps?'[AM, 426] Rather, God has, through evolution governed by love, been involved in the creative process from the beginning. Love was creation's teleology: '...the perfecting of Love is thus not an incident in Nature but everywhere the largest part of her task, begun with the first beginnings of life, and continuously developing quantitatively and qualitatively to the close...'.[AM, 430-1]

It is only in the last 7 pages that Drummond introduces Christianity into the picture. It is, he says, the point where 'all the faiths and all the creeds...meet'. [AM, 437] No word need be spoken to reconcile the two because 'the two are one'.

What is Evolution? A method of creation. What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. What is Christianity? A method of creation.

What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. Through what does Evolution work? Through Love. Through what does Christianity work? Through Love. Evolution and Christianity have the same Author, the same end, the same spirit.[AM, 438]

Christianity, Drummond concludes, 'is the Further Evolution'.[439]

It must be said that one of the first things that strikes the reader is the nauseating sentimentality of some passages. Drummond is so enamoured with his thesis that he manages to inject love in just about every corner of creation and, in so doing, renders it impotent.

Every plant in the world lives for Others. It sets aside something, something costly, cared for, the highest expression of its nature. The Seed is the tithe of Love, the tithe which Nature renders to Man. When Man lives upon Seeds he lives upon Love. Literally, scientifically, Love is Life...nearly all the beauty of the world is Love- beauty...nearly all the music of the natural world is Love- music...nearly all the foods of the world are Love-foods ...all the drinks of the world are Love-drinks.[AM, 296-7]

As hard as he tries, his portrayal of cellular division as nascent self-sacrificial love is difficult to take seriously, to say the least.[AM, 289]

Furthermore, Drummond's picture of the mother tends to be maudlin.

Watch any higher animal at that most critical of all hours-for itself, and for its species-the hour when it gives birth...observe the behaviour of the animal-mother in presence of the new and helpless life which palpitates before her...animal though she be, she rises to her task. And that hour, as she ministers to her young, becomes to the world the hour of its holiest birth.[AM, 22]

Caught up in his own voluptuous prose, Drummond is even able to define lactation as love.[AM, 358] This idealization of the mother is so pronounced that one familiar with Drummond's life cannot but wonder about the psychology behind it. He never married; there is no record even that he ever had a romance. He did have some close female

friends but 'refrained from seeking to influence women in general'.⁴⁸¹ One writer described him as 'sexless' towards women while another, speaking of his own marriage, remarked that Henry 'is as the angels who neither marry nor are given in marriage'.⁴⁸²

A second feature of the book is its stereotypical Victorianism. It is surprising that it did not sell better than it did for The Ascent of Man was a handbook of the times masquerading in scientific garb. The espousal of traditional family and sexual roles and mores is obvious:

Man's life, on the whole, is determined chiefly by the function of Nutrition; Woman's by the function of Reproduction. Man satisfies the one by going out into the world, and in the rivalries of war and the ardours of the chase, in conflict with Nature, and amid the stress of industrial pursuits, fulfilling the law of Self-preservation; Woman completes her destiny by occupying herself with the industries and sanctities of the home, and paying the debt of Motherhood to her race.[AM, 330]

Equally obvious is the meliorist world view which undergirds the entire book. In the first place, the whole theme of evolution in Drummond's version is couched in meliorist terms; it concerns the advancement and improvement of the world. Drummond's new dimension of love as a controlling force introduces ethics and morality into the evolutionary picture, all the more appealing to the Victorian meliorist who proposes the continuing improvement of man in all his capacities. These words from Drummond illustrate this point vividly:

In that new social order which the gathering might of the altruistic spirit is creating now around us, in that reign of Love which must one day, if the course of Evolution holds on its way, be realized, the baser elements will

481 James Stalker, 'The Personal Magnetism of Drummond', The Congregationalist and Christian World, 2 November 1902, number 44, p. 614.

482 Ian Maclaren in Wreath, Newall, pp. 231-2; Letter from George Adam Smith to Lord Aberdeen, 91 Fountainhill Road, 9 December 1889, Haddo House.

find that solvent prepared for them from the beginning in anticipation of a higher rule on earth...The path of progress and the path of Altruism are one.[AM, 45-6]

Man plays the central role in this process

for...he finds himself the guardian and the arbiter of his personal destiny, and that of his fellow-men. The moulding of his life and of his children's children in measure lie with him. Through institutions of his creation...he shapes the path of progress for his country and his time. The evils of the world are combated by his remedies; its passions are stayed, its wrongs redressed, its energies for good or evil directed by his hand. For unnumbered millions he opens or shuts the gates of happiness, and paves the way for misery or social health.[AM, 49-50]

Another striking element is the absence of obvious theology. The omission of Jesus and evangelism has already been mentioned as has the brief passage devoted to tying in the religious element of Drummond's thesis. Nevertheless, there are strong theological presuppositions which underlie the work and they are particularly valuable to the final phase of our survey of Drummond's theological journey. Firstly, his views of the nature of God are very clear. God is love. He is the source of that love in evolution which is the theme of The Ascent of Man. Adam and Eve and the fall all belong to the 'old theology' which has been transcended by scientific discovery. Sin is weakness and defect but, with this view, it is not deserving of judgement and God is never portrayed as the malevolent and arbitrary Calvinist judge of mankind. Whatever judgement needs to take place will do so at the hands of nature, naturally and equitably. God is no longer culpable.

Central to his view of God is the divine immanence, characteristic of liberal thought during this period. God is everywhere present in the world though in the guise of laws and processes which he himself has set in motion. No longer is he to be perceived as far off and aloof as in eighteenth century deist thought. Rather, he loves his world and is

intimately involved in its events. 'Whether is all-God or occasional-God the nobler theory? Positively, the idea of an immanent God, which is the God of Evolution, is infinitely grander than the occasional wonder-worker, who is the God of an old theology'. [AM, 428]⁴⁸³

Also key to his thinking here is the centrality of man. As one put it, Drummond was 'deeply impressed with the divinity of human nature: it was gloriously worth redemption'.⁴⁸⁴ This is an important issue, for evolution's inclusion of man in the gradual progression of things had removed him from the position of eminence into which Christian creationism had placed him. But Drummond argues for man as the end product of evolution, beyond which it will not move. 'Man, body, soul, spirit, are not only to be considered, but are first to be considered in any theory of the world.' [AM, 14]⁴⁸⁵ Drummond's man, having progressed physically as far, or nearly as far as he will go, now has the opportunity to evolve further in matters of morality and spirituality. He is capable of greater and greater things and these will inevitably come. This view of the perfectibility of man as opposed to the idea of his inherent and inexorable sinfulness was also a central tenet of nineteenth century liberal thought. Despite Drummond's optimistic restatement of man's eminence, one friend pointed out the dilemma that he never resolved: 'Professor Drummond never reached the heart of the difficulty, which is, how to reconcile evolution with the Christian doctrines of sin and redemption. He was approaching this

483 Compare this with the very revealing and similar final paragraph of Darwin's Origin of Species.

484 J. Y. Simpson, p. 45.

485 See chapter on 'The Arrest of the Body' for his explanation regarding the completion of the evolutionary process as far as man's physical structure is concerned; p. 126 ff.

great question, but he did not live to reach it.⁴⁸⁶

The absence of any mention of Jesus in the work is important. Certainly, the figure of Christ was central in Drummond's life and in his evangelistic message. This has been seen. But whatever place Christ played in the larger picture--and the subject matter of The Ascent of Man was admittedly narrow--Drummond's concluding synthesis of evolution and Christianity seems forced and barren. Evangelists tend generally, by the very nature of their endeavour, to be as theologically broad as possible. This has already been seen in the case of Moody. Drummond had for years tried to appease two different parties; the evangelicals and the scientists. His concern to mediate between the old and new had become ingrained. He had presented his evangelistic message in as inoffensive a manner as he could to his liberal audience, while at the same time employing conservative rhetoric suitably adapted. Yet by the time of The Ascent of Man, one senses he had grown weary of these mediating attempts between the two. The seven pages devoted to this task seem to constitute almost lip-service to the idea. Perhaps a third book needed to be written, for space did not allow for a thorough-going theological consideration.⁴⁸⁷ Nevertheless, this paucity of doctrinal detail, this shadowy, ill-defined 'Christianity' which barely shows itself in the book, is probably an accurate reflection of the views Drummond held at the end of his life. Gone were the vestigial Calvinistic remnants which had been so large a part of his early life and of Natural Law. They had been replaced instead by the simple themes of a loving father, Jesus as brother and the progressive improvement of

486 James Stalker in Newall's Wreath, p. 239. For a contemporary criticism of Drummond's over confident view of man's goodness, see W. J. Corbett, 'Scientists and social purity', The Westminster Review, vol. cxliv, 1895, p. 581.

487 D. M. Ross shared this opinion. See his Expositor article, p. 399.

mankind.

There are some traces of his earlier thought⁴⁸⁸ but at most he retains the concept of 'laws' while discarding the cumbersome insistence that these laws are identical in both the physical and spiritual worlds. He comes close to admitting a volte-face when he says, 'The fact that the higher principles come from the same Environment as those of the plant, nevertheless does not imply that they are the same as those which enter into the plant. In the plant they are physical, in Man spiritual.' [AM, 419] Drummond's theology was simpler now, a theology of love. The Ascent of Man reads more like the work of a theist than a Christian, a long way removed from the earnest young evangelical in Moody's mission.

Drummond's health continued to worsen despite various sojourns in salubrious climates and the most diligent of treatment. Even near the end, his brother James wrote to his mother that the doctors felt it would be 'discreditable to medical science if they could not cope with the case'.⁴⁸⁹ Drummond's normally neat handwriting deteriorated. The last extant picture of the evangelist shows him in a four wheel bath chair with a caption on the back 'Henry Drummond during his last serious and fatal illness'. It is a picture of a man obviously wracked with pain, full bearded for the first time in his life, undoubtedly due to his extreme sensitivity to touch. He was emaciated yet, characteristically, impeccably

488 His statement that 'The Struggle for the Life of Others...starts its upward course from the same protoplasm as the Struggle for Life; and the Struggle for Life runs on into the 'ethical' sphere as much as the Struggle for the Life of Others' is reminiscent of his treatise on laws which run continuously from one realm to another. [AM, 29-30] In another place he speaks again of the importance of 'Environment', a theme he had raised in the chapter of the same name in Natural Law. [419-20]

489 Letter from Wimpole Hotel, London, n.d., [1897?]; Drummond papers, Acc. 5890-3, SNL.

dressed.⁴⁹⁰ Drummond died in Tunbridge Wells on 11 March 1897 at the age of 45,
eulogized both for the accomplishments of his life and for his dignity in a painful death.⁴⁹¹

490 Photos in Drummond papers, Acc. 9197, SNL.

491 For a vivid description of Drummond's extremity see letter from J. A. Wilson to Moody, 20 March 1897, Yale (I,29,28,1).

Chapter 6. R. A. TORREY: PATRIARCH OF FUNDAMENTALISM

On 12 November 1899, Dwight L. Moody commenced his last series of evangelistic meetings beginning with a campaign in Kansas City, Missouri. Within a few days he experienced slow but increasingly debilitating heart pains which finally forced him to abandon the campaign and return to Northfield where, despite initially hopeful signs of recovery, the great evangelist died on 22 December 1899. Before he left, he sent for Reuben Archer Torrey to continue the mission.

In considering R. A. Torrey, we move from one end of the evangelical spectrum in the early nineteenth century, as represented in Henry Drummond, to the other. The last chapter illustrated changing evangelicalism as seen in Drummond's life, from his early conservative orthodoxy, still imprinted with vestigial Calvinism, to his later liberal position which he shared with a growing number of Christian thinkers. Drummond's claim to the title 'evangelical' was justified by his ties to the revivalist tradition of Moody and by his own continuing evangelistic labours at Edinburgh and elsewhere, though his later thought placed him farther and farther afield from his theology at the time of the '73 Mission. Drummond had responded to the changing theological climate, retaining some of the principles, much of the rhetoric and most of the mechanism of traditional evangelicalism, yet had come to embrace much more liberal thought.

In marked contrast, Torrey, having tasted liberalism from many of its most eminent advocates, utterly rejected it. But he did not simply return to the conservatism of Moody. He moved beyond that position into a new sphere, that of embryonic Fundamentalism. It will be suggested later that Torrey and Moody's lives paralleled each

other to a remarkable degree: they shared the same theology, the same evangelistic interests and the same commitment to education. They were colleagues and friends; no one fought more vigorously than did Torrey to defend his deceased mentor from what he considered to be scandalous attacks on his character, though it will be argued that he did so in error. Despite this remarkable similarity, however, Torrey moved into arenas that Moody would never have entered. He engaged in battles that Moody had chosen to ignore. And he did so with a vitriol that was entirely absent from the great evangelist.

Torrey's many and varied accomplishments were impressive: pastor, evangelist, author, educator. But his consuming passion was the advancement of Fundamentalism. This preoccupation as defender of the faith showed itself in every realm of Torrey's life and should be understood as the prime motivating force in all that he did. The present chapter will pursue two objectives. Firstly, it will analyze the theological and methodological characteristics of conservative evangelicalism as represented in Torrey's ministry. Brief note will be taken of contrasts between this position and the views held by Drummond, leaving a more thorough comparison of Torrey, Drummond and Moody to the following chapter. Even more importantly, it will argue that the attitudinal and psychological elements of Fundamentalism were as intrinsic to its character as its theology, and that R. A. Torrey was largely responsible for the shaping of these elements. He will be shown to be essentially combative and antagonistic as an individual. It will be further demonstrated that he played a key role as one of the foremost advocates of Fundamentalism and, as such, contributed in great measure to the stridency which came to characterise the movement.

Reuben Archer Torrey was born 28 January 1856 in Hoboken, New Jersey.⁴⁹² His family was wealthy although they lost their fortune during the financial crash of 1857. Torrey's father was a self-styled universalist; his mother, a devout Christian. He was exposed to Christian virtues in his early years but avoided making a personal Christian commitment. He entered Yale College in New Haven, Connecticut in 1871 at the age of fifteen and was immediately immersed in the 'good time' of student life: drinking, gambling, dancing and enjoying the race track and theatre.⁴⁹³ He soon despaired of this life and, in a particularly depressed mood one evening went to his bedside table to find a weapon with which to end his life.⁴⁹⁴ Unsuccessful in his search, he knelt in prayer seeking God and experienced a 'strange peace'. He delayed professing his conversion until his last year at university but, having done so, determined to enter Yale Divinity School with a view to pursuing the Christian ministry.

During the early years of his Christian life, Torrey held to liberal views of theology and scripture. He was deeply impressed by Seeley's Ecce Homo, studied the philosophies of Descartes, Locke, Spinoza, Fichte, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Kant and

⁴⁹² As with earlier biographical segments in this study, Roger Martin (R. A. Torrey--Apostle of Certainty), will be cited only for direct quotations. For other sources dealing with Torrey's early life see Bernard R. DeRemer, 'Dr. Reuben Archer Torrey: a biographical sketch', The Evangelical Christian, March 1956, pp. 112, 146, Moody Institute; Caroline E. Waite, 'Dr. Torrey--his life and work' from her collection, number 7, Moody Institute; George Hugh Seville, 'And some, evangelists', article in Torrey files, Moody Institute; Peter Morgan, 'Centenary of Dr. R. A. Torrey', Christianity Today article, n.d., Torrey files, Moody Institute, hereinafter cited as 'Torrey files'; editorial, 'In memory of Rev. Reuben Archer Torrey, D.D.', Christianity Today, November 1928, p. 153; George T. B. Davis, Torrey and Alexander--The Story of a World-Wide Revival, Fleming Revell, New York, 1905.

⁴⁹³ Seville, pp. 608-9.

⁴⁹⁴ Martin says it was a razor; most other biographical sketches indicate it was a revolver. See Martin, p. 34.

Hegel and was influenced by the writings of Unitarians including Channing.⁴⁹⁵

Drummond, it will be recalled, had also been strongly influenced by Seeley and Channing.

W. Robertson Smith's work in the area of biblical criticism exercised its power on

Torrey's thinking; he even produced an unpublished book on the merits of higher criticism. He was an exemplary student, excelling particularly in the biblical languages.

In his final year, Moody visited Yale to lead evangelistic services. He exhorted Torrey to 'get to work for the Lord' and Torrey obliged him, working in Moody's inquiry room during his Yale campaign.

Graduating in 1878, Torrey accepted a call to a Congregational church in Garrettsville, Ohio. He set about his duties with great energy and was rewarded with increased attendance although, as Martin puts it, he was still 'handicapped with unorthodox views of Christian doctrine. He taught the errancy of Scripture and universalism in salvation...'.⁽⁵⁰⁾ It was during this period of his ministry that he met and married Clara Belle Smith.

After two years of ministry, Torrey was still restless about his pastoral work. He began to read Finney's Lectures on Revivals and set himself to the task of evangelism. His church continued to grow but Torrey, feeling the need for further study, accepted a proffered loan to enable him to travel to Germany in 1882. While there he studied under some of the eminent theologians of the time. As he describes it,

I studied Hebrew and Old Testament Introduction under Franz Delitzsch at Leipsic University, and enjoyed his intimate personal friendship. In fact, when I went to bid him goodbye, he took me by the hand, led me down the

⁴⁹⁵ Martin, p. 39. See also Torrey, Soul-Winning Sermons, Pickering and Inglis Limited, London, 1925, reprinted by Fleming H. Revell, 1956, volume I, pp. 52-3.

long hall to the door and wept, and I thought he was going to kiss me. I also studied under Luthard, a great German theologian at Leipsic, and Kahnis, the most celebrated church historian of the time...I studied at the University of Erlangen under Professor Frank, the greatest German Hegelian theologian of the day...I also studied under Prof. Zahn, the great New Testament and Bible critic, at Erlangen, and was well-known to him personally.⁴⁹⁶

His exposure to such scholarship is significant for this study. Unlike Drummond, Torrey appears to have taken his German studies seriously. He returned to the United States after a year, took a church in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and, within what was apparently a very short time--the details of this event are frustratingly scanty--rejected entirely the higher critical methods and liberal theology which he had embraced since his conversion.⁴⁹⁷ As a convert from earlier liberal views his later role as defender of orthodoxy was considerably enhanced. The fact that he had imbibed his ideas from the main stream of German liberalism and had been nurtured by the leading proponents of 'apostate' modernism only increased his value to his fellow Fundamentalists. Torrey's ministry took place during a time when the merits of education were becoming more greatly appreciated by evangelicals. Kent argues that revivalism arose out of a tradition which 'sometimes implied that ignorance and a lack of education were an advantage in matters of faith'.⁴⁹⁸ If that is so Torrey exemplifies a change in that attitude. In fact, as liberal thought advanced into the twentieth century, evangelicalism not only accepted but sought after scholars who

⁴⁹⁶ Torrey to Rev. James M. Gray, 23 Lakewood Drive, Asheville, N.C., 20 March 1928, R. A. Torrey files, drawers in chronological order beginning with '1892-1902' ff., Moodyana Collection, Moody Bible Institute (MBI), Chicago, Illinois, hereinafter cited as Torrey files.

⁴⁹⁷ There is no evidence to explain Torrey's transition from liberalism to conservatism. All biographical works and all of Torrey's letters which were examined by this author allude to this change but offer no explanation for it. In a letter from Martin to the present author (June 1987), Torrey's biographer indicated that he had discovered none of his subject's writings from his early, liberal period which might have shed light on the change in his thinking.

⁴⁹⁸ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p. 151.

could represent its views. The days were past when it could be stated categorically that 'Ignorance [was] a badge the orthodox...wore proudly.'⁴⁹⁹ As Barr puts it, conservatism had a 'longing for validation on [an]...intellectual level' and Torrey seemed equipped to meet that longing.⁵⁰⁰

His role as a token ex-liberal, an 'expert' dealing with the subjects which were so fearful to the orthodox, was not at all dissimilar to the role which Drummond had played as the interpreter of science to besieged Free Churchmen. Of course, Torrey and Drummond were to end up at opposite ends of the evangelical spectrum but just as Drummond had spoken authoritatively about the compatibility of science and Christianity in Natural Law in the Spiritual World, so too Torrey was able to denounce modernism with the same confident, authoritative air, as one who knew of what he was speaking. This knowledge shaped Torrey's approach not only to apologetics but also to evangelism, producing a polemicist who seemed always to be on the offensive against the encroachment of liberalism upon genuine Christianity.

In 1889 Moody was looking for a superintendent for his newly formed bible institute in Chicago. It was begun originally as the Chicago Evangelization Society in 1886 with the purpose of reaching the unchurched masses in that city. But Moody sensed a need for a bible training centre which would quickly prepare men and women to do such work.⁵⁰¹ When the Congregational minister E. M. Williams told Moody of the 33 year old

499 Norman F. Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1954, p. 39.

500 James Barr, Fundamentalism, SCM, London, 1981, p. 129.

501 Findlay, pp. 330-332; Torrey to Fitt, Fort Smith, Arkansas, 23 April 1908, Torrey files.

Torrey, he replied, 'You make my mouth water for him!'⁵⁰² Torrey was approached by Moody and commenced his work as superintendent in autumn 1889. As such he not only developed the schedule of study and recruited staff, but also taught classes on the bible, theology and homiletics. Moody's confidence in Torrey was not misplaced; at the end of the first year 253 men and women had enrolled in classes. He was given greater freedom and Moody came to rely on him increasingly. To Torrey Moody entrusted the administration of the campaign during the world exposition in Chicago in 1893, a massive effort which saw 130,000 people attending various services held around the town on a single day. The following year Moody pressed Torrey to accept the pastorate of the Chicago Avenue Church, in addition to his other responsibilities. And when Moody invited Torrey to his Northfield conferences, which had begun in 1879, he became a frequent speaker, even building a home on land Moody had given him so that he might be near his friend during the holidays.⁵⁰³ Moody's reliance on Torrey and their growing relationship caused Torrey to later write, 'I suppose that in his latter days he opened his heart to me more fully than to any one else in the world'.⁵⁰⁴ To say as one has that Moody's mantle fell on Torrey is to claim too much.⁵⁰⁵ He lacked the breadth, warmth and compassion that made Moody unique. But it is fair to say that Torrey, more than any other, was Moody's American protégé. Evangelist J. Wilbur Chapman remarked, 'No

502 Martin, p. 85.

503 It was during one of his summers at Northfield that Torrey, Moody and George Adam Smith were involved in a heated confrontation over Smith's liberal views and his appropriateness as a speaker at Northfield. This will be dealt with in detail at a later stage for it portrays vividly the nature of the battle which was taking place amongst the ranks of evangelicals at that time.

504 Torrey, Why God Used D. L. Moody, Fleming Revell, New York, 1923, p. 9.

505 DeRemer, p. 112.

man, really, had Mr. Moody's confidence more completely, and justly so, for no one could ever be more loyal to another than R. A. Torrey to D. L. Moody'.⁵⁰⁶

With Moody's death in the waning days of the nineteenth century, Torrey toiled even more diligently to advance the work of what came to be known shortly afterwards as the Moody Bible Institute (the MBI). One of the meetings which was begun under his leadership was a weekly group which prayed for world revival. They continued for a year and Torrey felt a growing conviction that he was to be involved in mass evangelistic work. Two Australian men visited one of his services at Chicago Avenue Church and invited him to do a campaign in their country. Within a few months, he had made arrangements to cover his various responsibilities and, almost two years to the day after Moody's death, he departed for Australia. En route he preached at Hawaii, Japan and China, finally arriving in Australia in March 1902, to meet his song leader, Charles Alexander.⁵⁰⁷

Alexander was born in Meadow, Tennessee in 1867.⁵⁰⁸ His love for music was apparent even as a child of nine when he led the Sunday school singing. After studying for a few months at a musical college, he was appointed Director of Music at Maryville University. The death of his father caused him to reflect upon spiritual matters and he committed himself to an exclusively Christian music ministry. In 1887 he joined with a Quaker evangelist, John Kittrell, for three months as his song leader. This experience

⁵⁰⁶ Martin, p. 89.

⁵⁰⁷ The most valuable book describing Torrey's own views and methods of evangelism is his How to Work for Christ, James Nisbet, London, 1901.

⁵⁰⁸ For biographical information on Alexander see Davis' Torrey and Alexander, pp. 46-75; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 374-77; Martin, pp. 135-7.

confirmed his desire to take part in Christian ministry and he began to attend the Moody Bible Institute. He was assigned as choirmaster of the eighteen hundred member Sunday school at Chicago Avenue Church. In 1893 he assisted Moody with the World's Fair campaign, learning in the process from the foremost gospel singers of the day including Sankey and D. B. Towner. Following his course at the MBI he worked with evangelist Milan B. Williams, travelling back and forth across America together for eight years. During a break when Williams was enjoying a vacation in the Holy Land, Alexander received a request from Torrey to join him in Australia and thus the two men came together in April 1902.

Alexander, or 'Charlie' as he was known to both associates and audiences, was Torrey's antithesis in nearly every way. Torrey was rigidly punctual; Charlie was not, arriving late for a meeting one night, for instance, because he had 'lost a car'. Torrey spent two to three hours dictating letters everyday; one of the Australia tour organizers complained that 'he had not been able to get any letters out of Mr. Alexander, that he was the poorest correspondent he ever knew.' Torrey was a tireless worker; Alexander, at least by Torrey's estimation, tended to be lazy: 'Charlie has shown no enthusiasm...He will try a new piece, then drop it and sing "Jesus, Lover of My Soul", or something of that kind.' Torrey kept a daily diary for the last twenty-seven years of his life in which he accounted for every hour spent; Alexander left for a four month trip to China without mentioning his departure to Torrey. In matters of money, Torrey took great pains to avoid the 'appearance of commercialism'; Alexander, Torrey declared, 'squandered' money on the 'troop of people that he [took] about with him'. Torrey was scrupulously honest;

Alexander was not as careful. In the matter of a hymnbook which Alexander published, for instance, Torrey felt that some of the hymns were 'practically pirated' and wished that Charlie had a little more conscience along these lines'.⁵⁰⁹

Perhaps the most striking contrast between the evangelist and his singer were in their personalities. Torrey was remarkably stiff and intimidating to all but his closest associates; Alexander's bright good humour was his trademark. A souvenir number of The Institute Tie shows a picture of Alexander on the platform during a campaign wearing an infectious grin with a caption underneath which reads 'The Smile that won't come off'.⁵¹⁰ It is difficult to assess such things, but Alexander's warmth and friendliness, offsetting Torrey's gruff and austere demeanour, was probably as significant a contribution to their campaigns as were his enthusiastic musical skills.

The Torrey/Alexander team worked together for almost four years, travelling through Australia and on to New Zealand, India and Great Britain. They returned to North America and began campaigns, first in Toronto in January 1906 and then in various large cities including Philadelphia, Atlanta and Ottawa. In Atlanta, Alexander left to return to his ailing wife who was still in Birmingham. His absence was extended due in part to the death of his mother-in-law. Torrey replaced him with D. B. Towner and, except for reunions, they never worked together again. This was probably a relief to Torrey. Though Martin entirely ignores Torrey's discontent with certain facets of

509 Letters from Torrey to Mr. Fitt, Atlanta, Georgia, 10 May 1906; Torrey to Keith L. Brooks, Asheville, N.C., 22 May 1928; Torrey to Brooks, Asheville, N.C., 7 June 1928; Torrey to A. F. Gallord[sic], Northfield, 8 September 1906; Torrey to Fitt, Brooklyn, New York, 19 December 1905[sic]; Torrey to Fitt, Liverpool, 2 January 1905; Torrey to Fitt, Montrose, Pennsylvania, 23 September 1908, Torrey files, MBI. Also, Martin, pp. 167-8.

510 September 1904, Torrey files, MBI.

Alexander's character and DeRemer speaks facetly of their 'happy association'(p. 146), extant correspondence indicates that Torrey was increasingly dissatisfied with Charlie's handling of finances and the legalities of copyright laws as well as with his showmanship and constant need for publicity. Alexander later went on to work with J. Wilbur Chapman in 1908 and, within three years, Torrey had all but retired from the evangelistic circuit.

It would be valuable to examine the work of this evangelistic team in the British context as a point of comparison between them and the earlier work of Moody and Sankey and, later on, that of Drummond. After a preparatory period of three weeks in London, in anticipation of a later mission there, Torrey and Alexander travelled to Edinburgh where they commenced their first organized mission in Great Britain, as their predecessors had done thirty years earlier. As with Moody's visit, their arrival was heralded by well organized and extensively advertised prayer groups. Notice of these began appearing in The Scotsman on 13 January 1903. The Moody mission had been recent enough for Torrey to benefit not only from the vivid memories of that earlier effort but also from the administrative structure which was easily recalled for service. Many of Torrey's clerical supporters were familiar names from the '73 mission including the venerable and aged Alexander Whyte and Principal Robert Rainy of New College.⁵¹¹

For two weeks the initial prayer meetings continued with various speakers and soloists intended to draw even greater attention to their work. The agenda for the Torrey/Alexander mission appeared on 29 January. The usual meetings for Christian workers were accompanied by the less familiar announcement of choir practices, a device

511 Scotsman, 13 January 1903; 31 January.

used by Sankey occasionally but not to the extent that Alexander would develop it.⁵¹² The Edinburgh work commenced on 1 February with a welcome to the missionaries extended by a group of clerical dignitaries including the moderator of the Church of Scotland, James Russell and Principal Rainy.⁵¹³

The organization of the British tour was every bit as thorough as Moody's and, knowing Torrey's methodical ways, probably more so. The London mission was a gigantic operation, described by one as 'megalomania'.⁵¹⁴ As had happened with Moody before him, Torrey arrived under the auspices of a local group calling itself the 'London Evangelistic Council'. Comprised of wealthy, leading laymen it donated £6000 towards the enormous cost of hiring the Albert Hall, which it reserved for two months of nightly meetings. Total costs, including the construction of a temporary building in Brixton and marquee rental for other London locations, amounted to £17,000, £5000 of which was raised through a public appeal in The Times led by Lord Kinnaird, president of the London Evangelistic Council.⁵¹⁵

512 Scotsman, 29 January 1903. When the Fisk Jubilee Singers, a black American gospel choir, were in Edinburgh during Moody's 1873 mission, he invited them to participate. They sat in the balcony and, on cue, began quietly to sing 'There are angels hovering round'; Edinburgh Courant, 25 November 1873; Kent, Holding the Fort, pp. 162-163. The commercial opportunities of this venture did not go unnoticed. One local music store ran advertisements immediately below the Torrey mission notices offering Alexander's latest songbook in a variety of sizes. Later in Glasgow an enterprising businessman offered 'an authentic account of the revival in Edinburgh' as found in "Trust" magazine. See Scotsman, 31 January 1903; Glasgow Herald, 28 February 1903.

513 Scotsman, 2 February 1903; this practice was repeated at each major stop. See Glasgow Herald, 2 March 1903 and The Times, 8 February 1905.

514 Guardian, 25 January 1905 p. 140.

515 Times, 1 February 1905. By every credible account, Torrey's handling of financial affairs was beyond reproach. Will Moody later wrote that only one evangelist had managed to avoid getting 'the monetary microbe into his system' and that was Torrey. W. R. Moody to Fitt, 21 September 1908, W. R. Moody file drawer, Moodyana, MBI.

Torrey's constituency in the south appears to have been much the same as that of his mentor. Like Moody earlier, Torrey sought the broadest possible base of support among the churches. As with Moody Established Church support was negligible. One reporter commented

The question has inevitably arisen, What should be the attitude of the Church of England to an enterprise of this nature?...[Torrey] invited the co-operation of "the clergy and ministers of all denominations," and, indeed, of the laity also. On the part of the Evangelical school that co-operation will apparently be forthcoming...We understand that the Bishop of London has felt it impossible to take part in any of the meetings or to give any active co-operation, but has sent a message to the effect that he personally welcomes any attempt on the part of the earnest Christian men to arouse the sinful and the indifferent to a sense of religious need and to bring them to a knowledge of the faith and love of Christ.⁵¹⁶

The reporter lamented this as inadequate, however. 'Such an answer will not, of course, satisfy those who invited co-operation, and... will seem to afford afresh proof of the inveterate arrogance and exclusiveness of the Church.'⁵¹⁷

Some did not see it that way at all. One writer, signing himself 'Evangelical Churchman', objected that the newspaper accounts of Torrey's invitation by the London Evangelistic Council had neglected to ask important questions:

By what authority do they come? Who has 'sent' them?...The 'London Evangelistic Council' (a purely self-constituted body of excellent men) has given them an invitation and guaranteed their expenses--Therefore they cannot be regarded as missionaries--they have not been 'sent'--they have simply 'come'...there is plainly no commission, no authority; they simply came...This... goes a long way to explain why it is that loyal adherents to the

516 Guardian, 25 January 1905, p. 140. As with their predecessors, Torrey and Alexander had '...comparatively few Churchmen...in their audiences...'. Guardian, 8 February 1905, p. 218. For a contrary view, see letter to editor in The Guardian, 15 February 1905, pp. 278, 281.

517 Ibid.

Church's order and discipline do not see their way to take a prominent part in revivals of this description.⁵¹⁸

A respondent to this letter was aghast that any one signing himself "Evangelical Churchman" could contradict such a splendid title by such a trivial, bigoted, and harmful letter⁵¹⁹, but there is some evidence that the evangelical substructure, upon which Moody had depended so heavily during his time in Great Britain, was not as unanimously represented in Torrey's work. As one put it, 'The truth is that in the present day a large number of the regular Nonconformists dislike these spiritual movements.'⁵²⁰

Nevertheless, 'an enormous per-centage of [the] audiences [were] drawn from those who [were] usual attendants at Nonconformist places of worship, with a trifling admixture of Church folk'.⁵²¹

Like Moody, Torrey seems to have failed in his efforts to reach the unchurched masses or to stimulate interest among those at opposite ends of the social spectrum: 'There were no signs... of the affluent classes, who had been so specially invited, and there were certainly none of the really poor or outcast...'. '...We are only touching a fringe of the people...the great masses brush by the Church without a thought of her existence...'.⁵²² Torrey struggled with the same problem that Moody had faced for '...a large portion of the audience... were the same night after night.'⁵²³

518 Times, 8 February 1905.

519 Times, 9 February 1905.

520 Guardian, 15 February 1905, pp. 278, 281.

521 Guardian, 5 April 1905, p. 582.

522 Guardian, 8 February 1905, p. 218; 25 January, p. 140.

523 Guardian, 5 April 1905, p. 582; see also The Saturday Review, 8 April 1905, pp. 444-45.

The analogy between Torrey/Alexander and Moody/Sankey was easily and frequently drawn.⁵²⁴ The methods of the new combination were marked by "Americanisms," by a certain crudeness of theology, and by a good deal that approaches vulgarity and is likely to jar upon religious minds of a more cultivated type'. Their 'earnestness' and 'sincerity' was nonetheless conceded.⁵²⁵ In describing the evangelistic meetings many reporters began by recounting Alexander's antics. This is partly to be explained by the chronological format of their articles but it is clear that the song leader was by far the more captivating of the two characters. On one Saturday evening the audience was assembled by 6:30 p.m. with an 'immense choir' of 5000, all seated under the skillful 'marshalling of a small army of well-drilled stewards'. With every seat filled,

Shortly before seven the choir broke out into tumultuous applause. A slight dark wiry figure was seen to spring on to a raised and unrailed [crimson] dais...It was Mr. Alexander...He at once made himself at home by asking, with a humourous Yankee twang, any one who knew where the man who turned the gas on was to go to him right away, for if they meant singing they must have more light. As soon as the gas brightened up the vast dome the well-known hymn, 'Abide with Me,' was given out, and with abundant gesticulation of his hands the choir was conducted, and then the huge audience called upon to participate...Mr. Alexander showed marvellous magnetic power...with a wealth of hand and arm gestures, aided by occasionally vigorous stamps of the feet. Soon he had the 12,000 in his grasp and was able to sway them in song almost as he would, insisting on the joy of singing, bidding them give the best of their voices to the Lord, and telling them to keep their eyes on his hands, and then they would go right or wrong together...⁵²⁶

Despite their sympathies for him, the reporters were not uncritical of Alexander.

He had the irritating habit of auctioning off the choice of hymns, 'those being sung for

524 Guardian, 25 January 1905 p. 140; Glasgow Herald, 3 March 1903.

525 Guardian, 25 January 1905, p. 140.

526 Guardian, 8 February 1905, p. 218; also Times, 8 February 1905.

which the largest number of the audience shouted.⁵²⁷ His solos, while 'sung with beautiful and clear effect' lacked' some of the sweetness and pathos...[of] Mr. Sankey's songs'. He had a 'penetrating voice' which was 'impressive' but for the 'unconscionably' bad habit of 'prolonging the last syllable of every bar.'⁵²⁸ He also tended to get carried away, occasionally treating 'profound old hymns' less reverently than he ought. But his effervescent personality and winning smile seemed to carry his audiences along despite these deficiencies.

In contrast to the reports dealing with Alexander, Torrey almost inevitably suffered at the hands of secular reporters. It was argued in a previous chapter that Kent's claim for the importance of Sankey to the success of the Moody/Sankey mission had been overstated. Moody's enthusiastic, spontaneous, good humoured warmth made his messages the highlight of most evening gatherings. Sankey's contribution was integral but preparatory. From the study of seemingly unbiased reports of the Torrey/ Alexander meetings, however, the reader senses that frequently Torrey appeared as an anti-climax. McLoughlin's claim that 'Torrey would never have been a successful revivalist had it not been for...Alexander' is probably overstated and presumptuous but it is much closer to the truth than Kent's similar statement about Sankey.⁵²⁹

The basic theological content and evangelistic intent of Torrey's message was almost identical to that of Moody, but their style of presentation could not have been more

527 Guardian, 5 April 1905, p. 582.

528 Guardian, 8 February 1905, p. 218; Times, 8 February 1905.

529 Kent, Holding the Fort, pp. 153-54; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 374; George Seville, article 'And some evangelists', p. 614, Torrey files.

different. Torrey projected an intimidating sternness that was offputting to those who did not know him. Martin's frequent assertions that he was not as gruff as he appeared only confirm the suspicions gathered from other testimonies. Even Martin is forced to admit that the 'Torrey exterior did sometimes repel'.⁵³⁰ 'The personality of R. A. Torrey was not always at first contact especially winning', declares the normally eulogistic George Seville.⁵³¹ Part of this was due to his appearance. Like Drummond he was always meticulously dressed, usually with a 'well-tailored sack coat...white bow-tie [and] starched wing-collar'.⁵³² But unlike Drummond, the effect was to make him appear aloof and regal rather than fashionable. He was stocky and balding. What hair he still possessed was prematurely white, conveying a professorial air even in his early thirties. Again like Drummond by far his most striking physical features were his eyes. They appear to have been light blue or steely grey. But far from the warmth and compassion which many say they detected in the Scotsman's eyes, Torrey's seemed to blaze and penetrate. He himself said that some described his eyes as 'piercing' and as 'very severe'. He even mentions them in a commencement address to the 1920 BIOLA graduating class.⁵³³ His carefully trimmed, pointed beard caused many to remark on his uncanny resemblance to King Edward VII.

530 Martin, p. 243, 101; see also O. Sanden, 'Memoir', p. 60.

531 'And some evangelists', p. 614.

532 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 371; also George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, Oxford Press, 1980, pp. 130-31.

533 Letter from Torrey to Keith Brooks, Asheville, N. C., 7 June 1928, Torrey files; Martin, p. 243. BIOLA (Bible Institute of Los Angeles). Torrey served as its first dean. See later in this chapter.

Nor did Torrey's style of presentation do anything to disabuse his listeners of their first impression. He strode swiftly onto the podium and, with the curtest of prayers, plunged immediately into his message. Though he normally used no notes, he memorized his sermons word for word and delivered them humourlessly and dispassionately in a conversational tone. In contrast to Alexander's gesticulations, which sometimes verged on the histrionic, he spoke with his arms 'folded before him, merely turning his head and his body to face the different portions of the audience'.⁵³⁴ Torrey abhorred emotionalism, even to the small degree that Moody had allowed it. He criticized the American evangelist Gypsy Smith for 'appealing constantly to the emotions' and described it with marked understatement as 'not my line'.⁵³⁵ Even in Moody's services where, as has been seen, the evangelist maintained the strongest of control in order to avoid some of the excesses associated with revivalism, the heart-rending nature of his anecdotes and the well synchronized appeals with Sankey's musical background hit inescapably at the audience's emotions. In a sense, Torrey's cold blooded approach to mass evangelism was a denial of an element that had played a large part in that phenomenon since the early eighteenth century. Unlike the Moody/Sankey team, which worked together to produce the desired response, Torrey and the ebullient Alexander seemed to be pulling against each other, with the evangelist undoing in his customary forty-five minute sermon much of what the singer had spent the first portion of the service trying to produce. Instead of the ascending scale of intensity which had started with Sankey's singing, continued with Moody's

534 Martin, p. 140; Philadelphia North American, 1 February 1906, p. 1 as cited in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 372.

535 Letter from Torrey to Fitt, New Amsterdam 18 January 1907, Torrey files.

impassioned oratory and climaxed with their integrated appeal, the emotional temperature of the Torrey meetings tended to start out hot, with Alexander's singing, dip precipitously with Torrey's reserved preaching and rise again, although probably never to the heights of the earlier part of the meeting.

If any word describes Torrey's style of preaching, it is dogmatism. He approached his evangelistic presentations with the same rigorous, methodical, strident precision that characterized his lectures at the MBI and later at BIOLA, and his writings as an apologist for Fundamentalism. He would state the topic for the evening and then present his thesis with several sub-points, each supported by scriptural proof texts. In a typical sermon, 'God is', based on Hebrews 11:6, Torrey asserted that

1. Nature proves the existence of God
2. Human history proves the existence of God
3. The story of Jesus of Nazareth proves the existence of God
4. The experience of the individual believer proves the existence of God.

He then defined God:

1. God is infinitely great
2. God is infinitely holy.

Finally he declared that all must be prepared to meet this 'great and Holy' God one day by accepting 'Jesus Christ as [their] personal Saviour'.⁵³⁶

This format was a virtual blueprint for not only all of Torrey's sermons but for most of his forty books. Each had a prominent outline composed of endless points and sub-points, carefully reasoned through, designed to convince the reader or listener that, on the basis of Torrey's irrefutable presentation of the evidence, the reader or listener had no

⁵³⁶ Torrey, *Soul-Winning Sermons*, pp. 11-27; see also *Moody Bible Institute Monthly*, December 1928, pp. 171-2.

choice but to concur. Moreover, Torrey's dogmatism extended beyond the structure of his presentation. He spoke and wrote in the manner of one who was absolutely convinced of the correctness of his views. His sermons were replete with accounts of verbal duels in which he engaged unbelievers. In these controversies, as he recounted them, he methodically debated his opponent, inevitably disproving the position that person foolishly held and vindicating his own. Confronted with a 'bluff old sea captain' Torrey asked,

"Why are you not a Christian". "Oh!", he serenely said, "The golden rule is good enough religion for me." I looked him square in the eye and said, "Captain, do you keep the golden rule?" He dropped his eyes; he talked about it, but he did not keep it.

[To the man who he spotted sitting in one of the seats following a service, he said,] "Sir, why are you not a Christian?" "Oh," he replied with a shrug of his shoulders, "I am very well satisfied as I am." I said, "You haven't peace." "How do you know that, I would like to know?" he asked. I replied, "Because God says so: 'There is no peace saith my God, to the wicked.'" He dropped his eyes and said, "You are right, sir, I haven't peace."

[To the man who approached him and said,] "I am not a Christian. I have never accepted Jesus Christ and I have no intention of accepting Jesus Christ...But I claim to be leading an upright life...I am doing my duty toward my wife and children...my employers...my neighbours...only I am not a Christian. What have you got against me?" I looked straight at him and answered, "I will tell you what I've got against you. Jesus Christ is your King by Divine appointment. You admit you have not accepted Him...Therefore you have taken your stand against Him". Then I looked straight into the depths of those deep-set eyes and said, "Sir, I accuse you of high treason against Heaven's King."⁵³⁷

Apparently, 'looking straight into' someone's eyes was a necessary preamble to Torrey's almost inevitable victories; most of the opponents in his stories ended up admitting that he was right and making a Christian commitment.

537 Soul-Winning Sermons, pp. 120, 142, 182.

Sometimes Torrey's verbal assaults were less genteel. He remarked to Robert Ingersoll, a controversial and outspoken agnostic, that a lecture Ingersoll had given had done the community much good; 'After they heard the aimless prattle you exhibited on the lecture platform it will never be necessary to refute infidelity in the town again.' In a eulogy to Torrey, one observer recounted that

At the close of one...meeting he called for testimonies, but insisted that only genuine testimonies should be given, that no hypocrites should testify. A certain man arose to testify, but he requested him to sit down. When the man persisted, Dr. Torrey pressed his request, reminding him that he had stated at the beginning that no hypocrites should testify, and that any man who treated his wife as he had been doing was in that class. The man still persisted, then Dr. Torrey asked the church officers to call the police to remove him from the building.⁵³⁸

What is disturbing is that the writer presented this account as laudable. In another episode, Torrey revelled in his public humiliation of a group of Unitarians who visited one of his services, at whose discomforture the audience broke into rapturous applause.⁵³⁹ This somewhat brutal element in Torrey showed itself frequently.⁵⁴⁰

In short, Torrey's homiletic speciality was brow-beating. Rather than winning his audience over with the, emotional, winsome appeal Moody had employed, Torrey argued his points, aiming his appeal to the intellect and counting on his own logical and litigious skills to either persuade or intimidate his listeners into the appropriate response. Many seemed to appreciate this style. Perhaps his aggressive confidence was comforting, offering religious assurance during a time when belief in traditional Christianity was being shaken. One attendant declared that his was the sort of 'preaching required by our Church

538 Moody Bible Institute Monthly, December 1928, p. 170.

539 Martin, p. 153.

540 Martin, pp. 56, 52, 153, 185-6.

of its ministers...'.⁵⁴¹ But many other critics did not take to Torrey's approach. One writer found the services 'distinctly disappointing...It is doing Dr. Torrey no injustice to say that his slashing, ultra-dogmatical manner and method, whilst very possibly helpful in deepening the faith of some, are not calculated to win intellectual doubters'.⁵⁴² Another writer's evaluation is particularly significant since, in the first part of the article, he declares his strong sympathies for past revivals. But after attending a Torrey/Alexander service he had to admit that he was 'greatly disappointed'. He added 'I have been at revival meetings before, where, if my intellect remained untouched, my feelings were moved. But there was nothing of that sort here'. Alexander's singing

was the one "moment" of the afternoon...Of Dr. Torrey's address I would rather not speak. He entirely failed to hold his audience. Before he had been ten minutes on his feet people were beginning to leave, and, by the time he was done, many seats...were empty...that had been occupied when he began.⁵⁴³

One particularly scathing review pronounced the endeavour a failure:

Whatever else the Albert Hall...enterprise may be called, nothing has been revived by Messrs. Torrey and Alexander's efforts...It would be irrelevant to debate whether the emotion excited [by]...revival is a good or a bad thing, whether the results...are permanent or temporary, whether they strengthen [or harm]...ordinary religious organisations... for in effect there has been no revival...in the Torrey and Alexander enterprise.⁵⁴⁴

Despite the negative appraisals, thousands of people attended the services night after night. Alexander was entertaining, Torrey certainly had his following, despite his unprepossessing style, and the organizational structure was efficient. They capitalized on

541 Guardian, 5 February 1905, p. 198.

542 Guardian, 5 April 1905, p. 582.

543 Times, 11 February 1905.

544 The Saturday Review, 8 April 1905, pp. 444-45.

the good will that Moody and Sankey had cultivated, on the leaders the earlier evangelists had trained and on the ever-present middle class church-going population which filled the pews night after night, hearing the old gospel message presented with reassuring certainty. Furthermore, Great Britain early in 1905 began to hear rumours once more of significant and widespread religious awakening, this time in the principality of Wales associated with the figure of a blacksmith turned revivalist named Evan Roberts.⁵⁴⁵ It has been seen already how the news of religious revival in one place frequently served as a catalyst for a surge of activity elsewhere. This phenomenon is very obvious in the 1857-58 Revival. But for whatever reason, the attendances at Torrey's services exceeded those at Moody's. A meeting held to evaluate the Glasgow mission estimated that 150,000 people attended the 72 meetings with 2000 names recorded as having made some sort of Christian response.⁵⁴⁶ In the 89 meetings held at Albert Hall, the promoters estimated an average attendance of 7500 in the afternoons and 9500 in the evenings. The Guardian commented that, 'There is no doubt that this is too sanguine an estimate, nevertheless the attendance...has caused considerable surprise in many quarters...'.⁵⁴⁷ It is probably a measure of Torrey's success to note that in 1905 Madame Tussaud's Wax Museum featured him and his partner in a special exhibit entitled 'The Great Revival Mission'.⁵⁴⁸

In 1906, Torrey was at the height of his popularity and the demands of the evangelistic work upon his time made it difficult for him to continue with his

545 See Guardian, 1905, volume I, pp. 218-9, 7, 46, 138, 298 and 556 for reports on the Welsh Revival.

546 Glasgow Herald, 2 April 1903.

547 April 1905, p. 582.

548 Times, 9 March 1905.

responsibilities in the United States. In that year he resigned as pastor of the Chicago Avenue Church. Within the next two years he relinquished the superintendency of the Moody Bible Institute. Torrey's continual absences resulted in what appears to have been a power struggle among the administration of the institute.⁵⁴⁹ James Gray, Torrey's earlier choice as dean, was the leading figure in the opposition. Two issues in particular led to his resignation. One was the question of the institute's indebtedness, a state of affairs to which Torrey was adamantly opposed. The other was growing pressure from the Gray party for him to implement a multiple dean administrative arrangement which would allow each in turn to travel when the other was on duty, an arrangement of power sharing which the ever domineering Torrey could not abide.

This period was significant for the number of severed relationships it produced in Torrey's life. The previous summer, in 1907, Dr. John MacInnis, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Montrose, Pennsylvania, encouraged Torrey to visit a site near the town which he felt would make a good conference centre. Torrey did so, purchased the property and immediately set about making plans for a conference there the following summer. His increasing dissatisfaction with what he perceived to be the growing liberalism of Northfield led to this decision. This pattern of dissatisfaction, schism and replication of a similar institution repeated itself several times in Torrey's life, as will be seen. These two breaks with the institutions he loved, the MBI and the Northfield Schools, because they were not being run in the way he thought they should be, are an

549 See Gene Getz, MBI--The Story of the Moody Bible Institute, Moody Press, Chicago, 1969, pp. 76-77.

early indication of the self-righteousness that would typify most of Torrey's ministry; an unerring confidence in the overriding correctness of his own views.

The void created in the academic segment of Torrey's life with his resignation from the MBI was filled in 1912 when he accepted the position as the first dean of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA). Conceived and established in 1908 by conservative west coast entrepreneur, Lyman Stewart, it was envisioned as Los Angeles' answer to Chicago's Moody Bible Institute. Torrey was first approached in 1911 and agreed to the appointment on the condition that his demands were met; demanding being one of the things that came naturally to the evangelist. Included in his requirements were complete control over the hiring of staff and curriculum design and the construction of a church related to the institute along the same lines as the relationship between Chicago Avenue Church and the MBI.

In 1914, Stewart conceived yet another plan to advance the cause of orthodox Christianity in the form of a periodical which would proclaim afresh unchanging evangelical truths in the face of strengthening liberalism. It was to be widely circulated free of charge to all English speaking ministers, missionaries, theological professors and students and was to be entitled The Fundamentals. The first of twelve volumes was published in 1910. Torrey, who was a driving force on the original editorial committee, eventually contributed three articles and became its third and final editor in 1915 following A. C. Dixon and Lewis Meyer. The publication of this journal, from which the

term 'Fundamentalist' was derived, was one of the principal events marking the organization of an international, combative response to liberalism.⁵⁵⁰

The theology of the Fundamentalist movement was not new. Charles Hodge, writing in the 1850's, had vigorously argued for a theological position similar to that of the later movement. This staunch Presbyterian had emphasized systematic doctrinal Calvinism even more than would the Fundamentalists of the early twentieth century, but his adamant stand on the scriptures as 'the word of God'⁵⁵¹ portended a theme that would be pounded out with even greater fervour throughout the following fifty years. But in the early days of Hodge's career, Darwinism did not even exist, biblical criticism was barely making inroads beyond the intellectual nurseries which had fostered it and orthodoxy was still in the ascendant. Calvinism was slowly being whittled away on both sides of the Atlantic, a process accelerated by the Second Great Awakening(1780's-1820's), the 1857 Revival in America, the '59 Revival in Great Britain and by the variety of itinerant evangelists in both centres who plied their trade during the first half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, orthodoxy's Calvinistic roots were still very much evident.

By the turn of the century, however, the ideas of biological science and biblical criticism had gained widespread acceptance. A large segment of conservatism was feeling increasingly uncomfortable and self-consciously backwards. Evolution and higher criticism, far from falling in on their own rotting structures, as had been predicted by

550 For the most helpful and balanced appraisal of fundamentalism see Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture; for a critical view of the movement see Barr, Fundamentalism. For an interesting contemporary analysis, see O. E. Brown, 'Modernism: A calm survey', The Methodist Quarterly Review, July 1925, pp. 387-412.

551 Marsden, pp. 112-13.

hopeful evangelicals, were growing stronger and evangelicals were on the defensive.

Battle was entered into, moderately and tentatively at first, during the last decades of the 1800s.⁵⁵² It reached its full fury during the post-war decade as epitomized by the Scopes Monkey trial of 1925. By then Fundamentalism had assumed the aspect of aggression and intolerance which is typically associated with the movement. Fundamentalism and modernism were engaged in a fight to the death; there could be no "peace without victory"; one side or the other...must win.' As A. C. Dixon put it, 'Above all things I love peace, but next to peace I love a fight, and I believe the next best thing to peace is a theological fight.'⁵⁵³

Five factors contributed to the growth and projection of Fundamentalism during this time: the evangelical revivals and, more specifically, Moody's evangelistic empire, the increase in bible institutions in the United States, the multiplication of bible and, particularly, prophecy conferences across the nation, the formation of various organizations whose express purpose was the advance of Fundamentalist principles and suppression of liberalism and, finally, a growing number of publications, both journals and books, committed to the same cause. Torrey stood in the forefront of each of these five areas.

Barr states very clearly that 'the basic and dominant' religious experience which went into the making of Fundamentalism was the 'Evangelical Revival'. He argues that the evangelist functioned as a 'living idol...[a] living confirmation of their

552 See Hovenkamp for a helpful discussion of the changes which were taking place at this time, particularly as they related to science and Christianity; especially chapters 3-5 and 9.

553 Marsden, pp. 4, 101; see also Hovenkamp, Science and Religion, pp. 211-214.

[Fundamentalists'] image of their own tradition'.⁵⁵⁴ His unsympathetic attitude towards the subject does not lessen the validity of his claim. The cause of evangelicalism had been aided by the well publicized, attention- grabbing international missions of Moody, Torrey, Chapman, Gypsy Smith, Sam Jones and others. Not only did they reinforce conservative theology, which they shared, almost without exception, they also offered a sense of unifying identity to those who took part in their crusades, whether in Manchester, Melbourne or Manhattan. Torrey's own involvement in the movement need not be further elaborated.

Bible institutes were established to provide carefully controlled instruction in the scriptures, assuring no deviation from partisan theological lines. The Moody Bible Institute, premier among these organizations, affirmed the dogmas of the old faith: 'The Trinity; [the inerrancy of the scriptures]; the Virgin Birth, Substitutionary Atonement, Physical Resurrection, Ascension and visible Return of Christ; the divine creation of man in the image of God...'.⁵⁵⁵ The Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA), a west coast replica of the Chicago school, stood for precisely the same things. And it was Torrey, as first superintendent at the MBI and then as the first Dean at BIOLA, who plotted the course for both institutions. The Moody Bible Institute Monthly editorial announcing Torrey's death declared that, 'to him almost more than to D. L. Moody does the Moody Institute ...owes its reputation...'.⁵⁵⁶

554 Barr, pp. 11, xvi.

555 Furniss, pp. 12, 72.

556 December 1928, p. 153.

Millennarianism, particularly dispensationalism, was one of the strongest elements associated with Fundamentalism. Moody was a premillennialist, due largely to his contact with John Nelson Darby, and as such he preached regularly on the second coming of Christ. But he was no dispensationalist, a movement which made precise predictions about the nature and timing of end times based on intricate and ingenious interpretations of prophetic books in the bible, particularly Daniel and Revelation. In 1876 a group of men interested in prophecy initiated the 'Niagara Bible Conference' for prophetic study which became a 'model for similar conferences held every decade or so until the end of World War I.'⁵⁵⁷ Torrey, who preached frequently on the subject, was on the organizing body of one such meeting held at the MBI in 1914 and was involved in another in Philadelphia in 1916. Even more importantly, Torrey worked to take the interest generated by these meetings and direct it more particularly to the issue of the advancement of Fundamentalism. Part of this swing in emphasis he accomplished through his own yearly Montrose conferences which he 'jealously guarded'.⁵⁵⁸

In 1918 a group of Fundamentalists met to 'consider the expediency of organizing disturbed evangelicals into a world fellowship of conquest'.⁵⁵⁹ The result was an organization called the 'World's Christian Fundamentals Association', the first meeting of which was set for a convention in the summer of 1919. With much heated rhetoric, speakers called for more bible conferences, more bible schools, greater stringency in theological training and purges of heretics from their ranks. Not only was the

⁵⁵⁷ Marsden, p. 46; Barr, p. xv.

⁵⁵⁸ Volney P. Kinne, *MBI Monthly*, December 1928, p. 171; Martin, pp. 240-1.

⁵⁵⁹ Cole, pp. 298-99.

organizational meeting held in Torrey's home, the nine point credal statement which the WCFA eventually adopted was a revised version of a document drafted at a prophetic conference five years earlier and attributed to Torrey. He was also president of the 'International Association of Christian Workers', an organization committed to principles similar to those of the WCFA.⁵⁶⁰

Finally, from the abundance of publications which promoted the tenets of the new movement, two stand out as being of particular importance. The first was The Fundamentals (1910-15).⁵⁶¹ Torrey's combined role as driving force, contributing author and final editor of this work has already been discussed. The other monumentally important work was C. I. Scofield's Reference Bible (1909) which became the handbook for dispensationalists across the United States. Barr terms this book's influence as 'historically enormous'. It

combined an attractive format of typography, paragraphing, notes, and cross references with the theology of Darbyite dispensationalism. The book has thus been subtly but powerfully influential in spreading those views among hundreds of thousands who have regularly read that Bible and who often have been unaware of the distinction between the ancient text and the Scofield interpretation.⁵⁶²

The system of paragraphing described above was suggested to Scofield by Torrey.⁵⁶³

Furthermore, Torrey assumed the editorship of The King's Business, at one time 'the leading premillennial journal', which essentially carried on the work of The Fundamentals

560 Furniss, pp. 50-51; O. Sanden, p. 94; Martin, p. 68.

561 For detailed discussion of this work see Marsden, pp. 118-123.

562 Earnest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 222, as cited in Barr, p. 191.

563 Martin, p. 219.

after it had ceased publication in 1915.⁵⁶⁴ Torrey was also a frequent contributor to the pages of The Moody Bible Institute Monthly as well as the author of over 40 books, many of which were considered required reading among the ranks of earnest Fundamentalists across the United States.

It should be evident, then, that R. A. Torrey was one of the key figures in the shaping and projection of Fundamentalism as it developed in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Torrey's impact on the movement can hardly be overstated. Gundry describes him as 'the most noteworthy example' of Moody's conservative associates; Marsden states that 'Torrey came closest to being Moody's successor...[and] was one of the principal architects of Fundamentalist thought'. Barr, in tracing the great eras of Fundamentalism, mentions three names only as paradigmatic; D. L. Moody, R. A. Torrey and Billy Graham. No less a figure than W. B. Riley, the founding president of the WCFA, proclaimed Torrey as Fundamentalism's 'great, guiding spirit at its inception.'⁵⁶⁵

In 1915 Torrey dedicated the new Church of the Open Door in Los Angeles. He served as pastor while continuing his work as dean of BIOLA and making occasional, though less demanding, evangelistic excursions, including two to the Far East in 1919 and 1921. In 1924, angered over decisions similar to those which had precipitated his departure from the MBI, Torrey repeated his earlier behaviour and resigned both from BIOLA and from the Church of the Open Door. He continued with various campaigns

564 Torrey to Gray, Clifton House, 21 November 1910, Torrey files, MBI; Marsden, p. 144.

565 Gundry, p. 202; Marsden, p. 47; Barr, p. xvi; O. Sanden, p. 98.

until his health began to deteriorate. He died quietly in his sleep four years later on 26 October 1928.

If, as this study maintains, Torrey saw himself primarily as a defender of the faith, what was the nature of the faith which he set himself to defend? In the case of Moody the reader is faced with the simplest of theologies, and even this has to be sifted from messages and writings which have undergone excessive editing. Moody was theologically vague and, by his own admission, knew little of modern liberal thinking, nor did he seek to rectify that ignorance. Many of the same difficulties are encountered in a consideration of Drummond's theology. He was even less inclined towards dogmatic theological thought and his writings were more philosophical and poetical than strictly theological. Neither Moody nor Drummond had the inclination or the skills to undertake any sort of systematised theological thought. With Torrey, the task of determining his theology is much simpler. There is no need to search for clues in the margins of a bible or in hitherto forgotten notebooks. It is a more straight forward undertaking. In this area, he was the antithesis of both Moody and Drummond. He was a scholar and a deliberate, almost painfully systematic thinker. Of the more than forty books and pamphlets left by Torrey nearly every one, including transcriptions of his sermons, bears the unmistakable imprint of the rigorous dogmatic approach which characterised his entire ministry. If it is accepted that the credal statement of the WCFA was largely a revised version of an earlier production from Torrey's pen, a brief consideration of these points will be a valuable starting point for understanding not only Torrey's theology but also that of

strengthening Fundamentalism after the turn of the twentieth century.⁵⁶⁶ The nine points were as follows:

1. We believe that the Bible is the work and revelation of God and therefore our only authority.
2. We believe in the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He is the very God, "by Whom" and "for Whom all things are created."
3. We believe in His virgin birth, that He was conceived by the Holy Spirit, and is therefore God manifest in the flesh.
4. We believe in salvation by Divine sacrifice, that the Son of God gave "His life a ransom for many" and "bare our sins in His body on the tree."
5. We believe in His physical resurrection from the dead, and His bodily presence at the right hand of God as our priest and advocate.
6. We believe in the universality and heinousness of sin, and in salvation by grace, "not of works, lest any man should boast," that sonship with God is attained only by regeneration, through the Holy Spirit and faith in Christ.
7. We believe in the personality and deity of the Holy Spirit, who came down upon the earth, on the Day of Pentecost, to indwell believers and to be the administrator in the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ; who is also here to "reprove the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgment."
8. We believe in the second, visible, and imminent coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to establish His world-wide kingdom on the earth.
9. We believe in a heaven of eternal bliss for the righteous and eternal punishment for the wicked.

Furthermore, we exhort the people of God in all denominations to stand by these great truths, so much rejected in our days, and to contend earnestly for the faith, which our Lord has, in His Holy Word, delivered unto the saints.⁵⁶⁷

Even greater insight into Torrey's own theology can be gained by studying what Martin calls Torrey's 'most important' work, What the Bible Teaches(1902).⁵⁶⁸ It is a

566 O. Sanden, pp. 96-8.

567 O. Sanden, pp. 93-4; Martin, pp. 233-241.

monolithic and tedious book which Torrey employed as a text for his own doctrine classes. In the preface Torrey describes it optimistically, if not realistically, as a 'careful, unbiased, systematic, thorough-going, inductive [sic] study and statement of Bible truth.'⁵⁶⁹ It is written in outline form, listing six major headings: What the Bible teaches about God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, Man, Angels and Satan.

God is an eternal, omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient spirit.[13, 21, 23, 30, 32] He is a loving God who, at the same time, is righteous and holy.[42, 36,48] He has revealed himself to the world in the person of Jesus Christ, who is himself divine.[68-84] As a result of the incarnation, the human and divine Jesus came to earth, lived a sinless life of perfection and offered himself as a substitutionary atonement for the sins of the world in his death on the cross. The resurrection of Christ, 'in many respects the most important fact of Christian history'[166], is attested by 'unquestionable facts' which render it 'impossible' for a 'candid man to doubt'.[174-75] Jesus ascended bodily into heaven[187] and will return in like fashion to receive his faithful church unto himself and to punish the remaining 'inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity'.[205] The Holy Spirit is a divine person, distinct from and subordinate to the father and son, who convicts of sin, regenerates the believer, and endues him with power for Christian service.[225-289] Man was created, without sin, in the image of God by his divine and immediate action. Yielding to the temptation of the serpent in the Garden of Eden, he fell from that sinlessness and was cast out of the garden. As a result, all coming generations were

568 A Thorough and Comprehensive Study of What the Bible Has to Say Concerning the Great Doctrines of Which it Treats, James Nisbet and Company, London, 1902, hereinafter cited as What the Bible Teaches.

569 Page 1. Citations in this section will appear bracketed within the text.

tainted by his sin; 'In his fall the race fell'.[297] 'Outside of the redemption that is in Christ Jesus'[298] all men are equally sinful in God's sight. If such a one dies in that sin, he will be 'cast [literally] into the lake of fire'[304-5], a place of eternal torment and restlessness. On the contrary, those who are justified on the 'ground of Christ's propitiatory death' through faith in him[316-17] are saved from God's wrath and promised an eternity with him in heaven.

This 'new birth' immediately changes man's status before God from that of sinner to one who has been saved. But the process of sanctification, the cleansing of the believer, continues throughout his life.[340-351] The new birth begins with repentance which is a 'deep sorrow for sin' that leads to a 'turning away from his evil way'.[355-56] The second step is faith, that is, the 'believing with the heart' in Jesus Christ as saviour and lord. The manifestations of genuine conversion are increased 'love to God, and love to Christ, and love to man'[384-407], prayer, thanksgiving and worship.[408-478] Such a true believer can be sure of his salvation based on the testimony of the scriptures.[479-484] Angels are depicted as literal beings, 'greater than man in power and might'[501] who have been created by God to serve him. In the same way, Torrey affirms the existence of a literal Devil, or Satan, who commands a 'realm of demons'.[515]

Despite Torrey's claims for the 'unbiased' nature of this 'inductive' study, it is, of course, a thoroughly polemical work which represents more accurately, as he once admitted, 'What the bible teaches Torrey'.⁵⁷⁰ A few points are worthy of further consideration. For one thing, with both his discussion of God and of Jesus Christ, the

570 Martin, p. 121.

section on their 'holiness' is presented before that on their 'love'. Perhaps this is coincidental but the primacy of the first does seem to reflect the legalistic approach to theology which characterized Torrey's thought. This legalism will be considered in greater detail when Torrey's correspondence is examined. Furthermore, with such legalism as a dominating theme, it should not be surprising to find the author espousing the traditional emphasis on Jesus' atoning and propitiating death as the means of appeasing a wrathful God. Significantly, his section on the 'death of Jesus'[144-165] is one of the longest in the book whereas there is no corresponding section on the life of Christ.

All this is in direct contrast to Drummond whose teaching, as has been seen, concentrated on the life of Christ almost to the exclusion of the other aspect. It will be recalled that Drummond was constantly criticized for his lack of emphasis on the atonement, a deficiency made all the more apparent in contrast to Torrey's preoccupation with the subject. No less than sixty-four 'propositions' are offered on this topic: 'Jesus Christ came into the world that He might die as a ransom...The death of Jesus Christ was the subject that Moses and Elias talked with Him about when they appeared in glory [in the transfiguration]...The death of Jesus Christ is the central theme of heaven's song...The death of Jesus Christ is one of the two fundamental truths of the Gospel...Jesus Christ gave His life as a ransom...was made a guilt offering for sin...[was] the propitiation for our sins...died to bring us to God'. [144-148] Nevertheless Torrey rejected the Calvinistic doctrine of limited atonement: instead he argued that '[Christ] died for every man. Not only for all men as a race, but for each individual man in the race.' [151]

Moreover, as would be expected, the emphasis placed by Drummond upon the incarnation is not apparent in Torrey's work. Whereas Drummond says that man was saved by Christ's life and that we relate to him as a brother because he came to live as one of us, Torrey insists that 'The incarnation was for the purpose of the death. Jesus Christ's death was not a mere incident of His human life, it was the supreme purpose of it. He became man in order that He might die as man and for man'.^[144] This contrast is all the more striking when it is compared with an earlier statement, written by Torrey before he had abandoned liberalism: 'I saw that Christ was my Brother, a Real Man, tempted in all points as I was, and that if He got the victory, I could, too, the same way He did.'⁵⁷¹ The latter affirmation could easily have been lifted from one of Drummond's messages delivered during the 1880s to the Edinburgh students.

Far from stressing Christ's humanity, Torrey emphasizes his divinity by attributing to him the same divine qualities which, in the previous section, he had attributed to God, namely, omnipotence, omniscience and omnipresence.⁵⁷² It is perhaps this section as much as any other where Torrey's preconceptions overrule his own putatively 'unbiased' approach to the scripture texts for, with each of these attributes, he ignores those passages of scripture which refute his claims for Christ. He quotes various passages which describe Jesus' healing powers as evidence of Jesus omnipotence. But he ignores Matthew 13:58, for instance, where Jesus' power was said to be limited by the people's unbelief.^[70-71] He attributes to Jesus omniscience on the basis of those passages which represent him as

⁵⁷¹ Martin, p. 39. See also Torrey, Soul-Winning Sermons, pp. 52-3; also pp. 22-24 for Torrey's views on the insignificance of man.

⁵⁷² The section discussing the divinity of Christ is three times as long as that discussing his human nature; pp. 67-88 and 89-96; see also Soul-Winning Sermons, pp. 136-37 for his exalted statements on the divine Christ.

knowing the hidden secrets of those to whom he spoke, but he ignores a passage such as Matthew 24:36 in which Jesus states that not even he, but only the father, knows the time of his second coming.[71-73] Torrey's argument for Christ's omnipresence is most confusing. He quotes passages which describe Jesus' co-existence with the father as support for this doctrine, yet the limitations of the human body which Jesus assumed would, logically, prevent omnipresence. He asks the question, 'How shall we reconcile the Bible doctrine of the true Deity of Jesus Christ with the Bible doctrine of the real human nature of Christ?' His answer:

That is not our main business. Our first business is to find out what the various passages mean in their natural grammatical interpretation. Then if we can reconcile them, well; if not, believe them both and leave the reconciliation to increasing knowledge...[95]

He seeks to offer a partial solution to these logical dilemmas when he notes the 'voluntary veiling and abnegation of the exercise of His inherent Divine Omniscience',[73] but this feeble concession does little to disguise Torrey's consuming emphasis upon the atoning powers of the divine Christ to the diminution of his humanity, the latter being the keystone of Drummond's theology and, for that matter, of most liberal theology of the time.

There is a major petitio principii in the book; that is, the presupposition of the inspiration of the scriptures from which Torrey draws all the proof texts he needs to support his theological claims. Though he does not argue for this doctrine of scripture in this particular book, he does so at practically every other opportunity. Torrey had three or four main topics of interest; namely the second coming of Christ, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, prayer and the bible, but it is Torrey's defence of the bible that stands out as the

distinctive and recurring emphasis in his theology. One of his most frequently preached sermons was entitled 'Ten reasons I believe the Bible to be the word of God'.⁵⁷³ He wrote several books on the topic including The Divine Origins of the Bible and Difficulties in the Bible.⁵⁷⁴ He made the priority of the subject clear in the preface of Divine Origins when he stated, 'The fundamental question in theology is, "Is the Bible from God, and of absolute authority in faith and practice?"'.^[7] He continued,

If we firmly believe that it is, we have a starting point from which we may advance to the conquest of all truth. If we do not firmly believe that it is, we are all at sea, drifting, and no one can tell where we will come out, only it is very sure that we will not come out right.^[7]

Torrey believed in a verbally inspired scripture, inerrant in every detail including scientific and historic matters. The writers of the various books of the bible were

inspired of God in a sense that no other men were ever inspired of God...were so gifted and taught and led and governed by the Holy Spirit in their utterances as recorded in the Bible, that they taught the truth and nothing but the truth, that their teachings were absolutely without error ...[This revelation was] independent of the Prophets' own thinking...it was made to them by the Spirit of Christ which was in them...they themselves oftentimes did not thoroughly understand the full meaning of what the Spirit was saying through them...not one single utterance was of the prophet's own will...the words...were the words which the Holy Spirit taught him...⁵⁷⁵

As for the obvious differences in style between, for instance, the various New Testament writers, Torrey answers that

The Holy Spirit is infinitely wise. He Himself is the Creator of Man, and of Man's power of speech, and therefore he is quite wise enough and has quite enough facility in the use of language in revealing truth to and through any

573 Soul-Winning Sermons.

574 The Divine Origin of the Bible, its Authority and Power Demonstrated and Difficulties Solved, James Nisbet and Co., London, 1904; Difficulties and Alleged Errors and Contradictions in the Bible, James Nisbet and Co., n.d.

575 Torrey, Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Faith, Fleming Revell, New York, 1918, pp. 11-12, 19, 21, 27-8.

individual to use words, phrases and forms of expression that are in that person's ordinary vocabulary and forms of thought, and He is also quite wise enough to make use of that person's peculiar individuality in revealing the truth through him.⁵⁷⁶

Torrey argued for the divine origin of scripture on the basis of ten 'proofs': The testimony of Jesus to the fact, its fulfilled prophecies, the 'unity of the Book', the 'immeasurable superiority of its teachings to those of any other book or all other books', 'the history of the book, its omnipotence against all man's attacks upon it', the superior 'character of those who accept it' as opposed to that of 'those who reject it', the influence that the bible has over people, its 'inexhaustible depth, the fact that 'as we grow in wisdom and holiness we grow toward the Bible' and the 'direct testimony of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of those who read scripture'.⁵⁷⁷ It is interesting to consider that Torrey's preoccupation with 'proofs', both here and elsewhere throughout his writings, was not dissimilar from that which Drummond tried to accomplish in his Natural Law in the Spiritual World; the attempt at validating the claims of Christianity without relying upon the unquestioned acceptance of the authority of the bible. In this instance, Torrey's 'proofs' were intended to validate the scriptures themselves.

Difficulties that exist in the bible, Torrey said, are simply a result of our finite understanding. They are to be expected since the bible speaks of eternal things. The fact that we cannot solve a difficulty 'does not prove that it cannot be solved'. These problems have 'more weight with superficial readers' of the bible than 'with profound students' and

576 Ibid., pp. 30-31.

577 Divine Origins, pp. 9, 16, 24, 28, 31, 33, 37-39, 43.

tend to 'rapidly disappear upon careful and prayerful study.'⁵⁷⁸ Torrey devoted one entire book to dealing with these difficulties in the bible. The topics dealt with in this volume included 'Is the first chapter of Genesis Historical and Scientific? (it is), 'Where did Cain get his Wife' (he married a sister), the brutality of 'Jehovah's command to Abraham to offer up Isaac as a burnt offering' (God commanded him only to offer him up, not to slay him), 'Jonah and the Whale' (it was not a whale but a fish prepared by God) and 'Was Jesus really three days and three nights in the heart of the earth?' (he was; he was actually crucified on a Wednesday, not on Friday as traditionally believed). The last topic is an example of the length to which Torrey went to provide an explanation for apparent biblical discrepancies. Another more extreme and forced explanation is that of Joshua commanding the sun to stand still. According to Torrey, what Joshua really did was bid the sun to 'linger in the half of the heavens' similar to what takes place 'every year at the North Pole'. This would require the lesser miracle of a 'slight dip of the pole, or possibly...a refraction of the rays of light, or in other ways that we cannot conjecture'. 'Of course, in any event', he argued, 'it was a miracle, but...we believe in a miracle-working God.'⁵⁷⁹

The significance for Torrey of this doctrine of an inerrant, inspired scripture cannot be overemphasized. When in 1903 Moody's son-in-law, A. P. Fitt, suggested inviting a moderate to teach at the MBI, Torrey, writing from Glasgow, responded adamantly,

578 Divine Origins, pp. 56, 58-9.

579 Difficulties, pp. 54-56.

I do not know him but you say he is something of a higher critic. That is enough to settle it. Let us keep at least one Institution clean in these days...It would greatly weaken the hands of men who are trying to fight God's battle over here if we should invite to The Institute any man who is in the least degree tainted.⁵⁸⁰

The subject managed to find its way into nearly every sermon he preached in one form or another. For instance, in volume one of Soul-Winning Sermons(1925), nine of the thirteen sermons deal with inerrancy. In one, he correlated the fall of Germany to the rise there of biblical criticism:

Ten years ago what, by almost universal acknowledgment, were the three greatest nations of the earth? England, America, and Germany. To what did these three greatest nations of the earth owe all that was best in their social life,...commercial life...political life...moral life, in the individual lives of their citizens? Beyond a peradventure they owed it to the Bible. But one of these nations gave up its faith in the Bible. For the Bible of Luther they substituted the philosophy of Nietzsche, and the evolutionary science of Haeckel, and the destructive criticism of Grafe and Wellhausen and Keunen...and today that nation lies prostrate, wrecked and ruined, in the dust...The most dangerous enemy that there is today to the state, to true democracy, to social order, and to wholesome morals, is the man who seeks to undermine in the slightest degree our faith in the whole Bible as the inerrant Word of God. Never forget that.⁵⁸¹

This is by no means an isolated example of jingoism in Torrey's writings.

Fundamentalism represented itself as not merely a religious movement, but as national return to the true faith. America was great because of the purity of faith of its forefathers. It would only remain great so long as it held to those tenets, which, of course, Fundamentalism represented. The fall of the Kaiser seemed a heaven sent confirmation of the evils of Teutonic apostasy and the American victory was represented as God's

580 Torrey to Fitt, Glasgow 1903, Torrey files, MBI.

581 Soul-Winning Sermons, p. 59.

validation of the new surge of orthodoxy. Torrey waved this nationalistic flag as vigorously as anyone:

Nothing is clearer to a really intelligent and profound student of history than that men do not shape the destinies of nations but that God shapes them...If we ever had any doubts of this before, we certainly need to no longer doubt it after our last and appalling war. There is no force, nor power, nor reason sufficient to account for the final outcome of that war, but God...today the condition of affairs in Germany...conclusively proves that God is, and that God reigns. History proves the existence of God.⁵⁸²

Another facet of Torrey's theology which deserves attention was his emphasis on the need for the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit'. In this he diverged from the accepted teaching of most of his Fundamentalist peers who considered such a 'baptism' to take place at conversion and viewed with profound suspicion anyone who spoke of a 'second blessing', a typically Pentecostalist doctrine. But Torrey was no Pentecostalist. He rejected the validity of the 'sign gifts' which usually accompanied Pentecostalism, such as speaking in tongues. His study of the book of Acts, however, led him to conclude that a second and distinct experience with the Holy Spirit was necessary for the enduing of power which would lead to mighty works.⁵⁸³ In his early ministry this also manifested itself in an emphasis on healing ministries. He believed himself healed of a perforated ear drum, something which two ear specialists corroborated. He undertook a healing ministry with great zeal during his work in Minnesota between 1883 and 1889, although such an emphasis is less and less noticeable during his later years. His insistence on the need for a second experience of the Holy Spirit continued, however, to his death. As Torrey stated in his book, The Holy Spirit--Who He is and What He Does (1927),

582 Ibid., p. 15.

583 Martin, pp. 72-3.

I aim to be just as dogmatic as this Book...if this Book says...that if you do certain things you shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit, I do not hesitate to affirm...that anyone who does these certain things... will be immediately 'baptized with the Holy Spirit'.⁵⁸⁴

With this doctrine, Moody also had been sympathetic. He seems to have experienced a similar 'baptism' at the hands of two women who had been praying for him early on in his ministry.⁵⁸⁵ Moody was suspicious of 'healing ministries', however. When Zion Publishing House, which was connected with the faith healing movement of John Alexander Dowie, sent notice to the MBI that their periodical Leaves of Healing was being sent there, Moody was consulted on the matter:

I am greatly troubled about this Divine Healing and I do not want any of Dowie's papers in the Institute, and I will not have them, and I will not have a teacher about the Institute that has anything to do with Dowie. If he is a man of God, then I am a fraud and do not know God.⁵⁸⁶

Both Barr and Marsden speak of two wings of the Fundamentalist movement in America. One was the millennialist wing which usually manifested itself in an emphasis on doctrinal matters. The other wing was pietistic, less concerned with dogma and more interested in the holiness ideas of pure living. The Holy Spirit's role as sanctifier was emphasized by the latter stream as well as the denunciation of particular sins such as card playing, drinking and dancing. Torrey walked a middle line between the two wings. He seemed to lean more to the doctrinal side and was not a perfectionist. But his emphasis on

584 Fleming Revell, New York, as cited in Martin, p. 117.

585 W. R. Moody, pp. 132-137.

586 Letter from Moody to Gaylord, n.d., DLM 'miscellaneous file', Moodyana, MBI.

the Holy Spirit and frequent references in his sermons to particular sins revealed the impact of the pietistic school on his thinking.⁵⁸⁷

One further question is worth asking regarding Torrey's pneumatology. With such a strong emphasis on the 'infilling' of the Holy Spirit and that divine person's intimate involvement in the life of the believer as a source of power for service, would this belief not have naturally strengthened Torrey's sense of confidence and conviction? If he believed strongly that the Holy Spirit was working in and through him, is it too much to suggest that this tended to encourage his marked dogmatic tendencies? Torrey did not speak of God 'telling him' to do things. But it is likely that, convinced that the Holy Spirit guided him in what he said and did, Torrey would have believed, as had the apostle Paul centuries before, that 'he had the mind of God in this matter'. Such a belief would have served to reinforce still further the stridency with which he advanced his gospel message.

This, then, constituted the heart of Torrey's theology. Except perhaps for the emphasis on healing, there is scarcely a point on which he did not agree with Moody's position. Torrey firmly, clearly and consistently represented what had become the creed of Fundamentalism. However, though they agreed on nearly every point of doctrine, Moody, it will be argued later, was not nor probably ever could have been, a Fundamentalist. What, therefore, if it was not doctrine, was it that distinguished Torrey from Moody with whom he had theological affinities, and still more from Drummond who represented the liberal branch of evangelicalism? What set Torrey apart from these others was not simply his theology but style; not only what he said but the way in which he said

⁵⁸⁷ Barr, pp. 158-9; Marsden, pp. 37-8. For examples of Torrey's pietistic emphasis, see How to Pray, James Nisbet, London, n.d., pp. 103, 108-9; Martin, p. 201; Divine Origins, p. 36.

it. Fundamentalism stood as much for an attitude and approach towards Christianity as it did for a particular set of theological propositions.

Barr admits to having avoided dealing with the attitudinal element of the Fundamentalist movement, being reluctant to 'accept that any doctrinal position could be explained simply as a consequence of psychological conditions.'⁵⁸⁸ Marsden represents Torrey's style of Fundamentalism as a difference in emphasis on the importance of the intellect. This appears to be correct, albeit insufficient. The attitudinal element of the movement must not be neglected because the anger and aggressiveness of Fundamentalism was precisely the feature that set it apart. Moody believed in the same doctrines but was not a militant. Charles R. Erdman, an eminent Princeton professor, was in exactly the same theological position. But because his irenic nature desired to give the benefit of the doubt to those with whom he disagreed, he failed in his bid for the moderator's chair of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1924, a year in which the militant, non-inclusive Fundamentalists held the balance of voting power.⁵⁸⁹ In short, the anger which motivated the Fundamentalists cannot be disregarded.

It has been shown that Torrey was at the forefront of the developing Fundamentalist movement. He counted as friends most of those whose names were associated with its birth and was probably more responsible than anyone for a tireless promotion of the movement. If, as this study suggests, Torrey was a significant, central and seminal figure in early Fundamentalism, then his approach to his role as defender of

⁵⁸⁸ Barr, p. xii.

⁵⁸⁹ Marsden, pp. 181-3.

the faith can be fairly considered as representative of the attitude of Fundamentalism as a whole. The faith which he felt compelled to defend has been considered. The task now at hand is to demonstrate the manner in which he fought that battle. In some ways this is the most important aspect of this study of Torrey. It will be argued that it was in his strident, rigid, almost hostile approach as an apologist, that Torrey--and the Fundamentalism he represented and shaped--made a decisive break from the broad-minded conservatism of Moody and the liberal but distinctly generous spirit of Drummond's neo-evangelicalism.

Torrey's role as a defender of orthodoxy came easily to him for he was by nature combative. Martin claims that Torrey 'was not a controversial person at heart'⁵⁹⁰, but this is not substantiated by the facts. Even a cursory reading of Torrey's extant correspondence reveals that he was almost constantly involved in disputes of one kind or another. An analysis of several of these private controversies and of the personality characteristics thereby revealed offers valuable insights into the manner in which Torrey waged his battle for the Christian faith in the public arena.

Some of these skirmishes have already been alluded to. Frequently they resulted in Torrey's severing of his relationship with the body in question. One of the earliest was his break with the MBI as superintendent. As indicated earlier, a power struggle developed at the institute while Torrey was absent on an evangelistic tour. The battle lines as drawn up set Torrey and A. P. Fitt on one side against James Gray, A. F. Gaylord and Fleming Revell on the other. In addition to the willingness of the Gray contingent to incur debt in order to expand the ministry of the MBI, the opposition party also proposed

590 Martin, p. 247.

the introduction of a system of multiple deanship with Torrey and Gray serving as co-deans along with two others. In a letter to Fitt, Torrey described himself as 'disgusted'. Gray was not 'fitted for Supt.', said Torrey and though he was a 'splendid teacher' the role he was filling as dean was one that 'neither nature or grace [had] fitted him for.' Torrey offered two 'ultimatums':

1st choice. That Dr. Gray resign and devote his time to extension work giving three or four months a year to the Institute simply as lecturer with no administrative powers...[and] that I be the Gen. Supt of the whole work, the Ex. head with full powers to plan [and] direct the work except as limited by Ex. Com...2nd Choice. I resign and withdraw from the Institute and let Dr. G have full powers as I used to...I cannot consent to any longer go on in the present way.

Torrey had neither the predilection nor the temperament for power sharing. 'The four dean plan will not work [and] it is wasting time to consider it any further. I will not consent to it or waste any more time talking it over. The above two plans are my ultimatum.'⁵⁹¹

In the end, Torrey resigned.⁵⁹² He had considered starting a bible institute of his own in Philadelphia, as he revealed to Fitt: 'I could have another B. I. which we could run to suit ourselves... with plenty of money back of it.' He decided it was not 'the best thing for Mr. Moody's work in Chicago' and that he wouldn't do it 'unless [he had] to'.⁵⁹³ It was,

591 Torrey to Fitt, Northfield, Massachusetts, 4 July 1906, Torrey files, MBI.

592 He and Gray maintained a good relationship throughout their lives, however. Letters between them were supportive and amicable. Torrey respected Gray as a scholar, describing his article on scripture in The Fundamentals as 'the best brief statement on inspiration' that he had ever read. (Torrey to Gray, Clifton House, 21 November 1910, Torrey files, MBI.) Torrey urged Gray to speak at Montrose for the 'selfish motive' that he desired his son Reuben to 'be under [him] at least for one month'. See also letter from Gray to Torrey, 23 April 1912, Torrey files, MBI.

593 Torrey to Fitt, Northfield, 4 July 1906, Torrey files, MBI.

after all, administrative and not theological matters over which they were parting company. The Moody Bible Institute was still 'sound' in its doctrine.

But when Torrey sensed a growing liberalism at Northfield, the idea of replicating an institution, which he had only threatened in his dissension with Gray at the MBI, became a reality at Montrose. From its inception, a more liberal spirit had prevailed at Northfield than at the MBI. Torrey and a coterie of proto-Fundamentalists looked on in horror as Moody invited 'modernists' to fill the lectern in the 1890s. They tried unsuccessfully to dissuade him from this practice but Moody prevailed and the Northfield speakers included eminent liberals such as Drummond, John Broadus, Harry Emerson Fosdick, William Rainey Harper and George Adam Smith. Torrey was personally involved in what, on his part, was a heated exchange with Moody and Smith over the latter's participation at Northfield.⁵⁹⁴

Under Moody, the difference between the two institutions had been more one of emphasis. This blossomed, however, into full scale schism by the 1920's. This growing conflict is of vital interest to the present study and will be reserved for detailed examination in the next chapter. For the present it is sufficient to say that Torrey did not share Moody's breadth of vision at Northfield. Martin states benignly that, 'For some time Torrey had keenly felt the need for a conference which would avoid the encroachments of

594 T. J. Shanks, A College of Colleges: Led by D. L. Moody, Revell, New York, 1887; Elmer William Powell, 'D. L. Moody and the origin of Fundamentalism', The Christian Work, 19 April 1924, pp. 496-7, 500-02; Janet Mabie, The Years Beyond (a history of the Northfield schools), Northfield Bookstore, Massachusetts 1960, pp. 192-3; 'Where would Mr. Moody stand?', The Christian Century, 12 July 1923, pp. 870-72; Gundry, p. 41; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 274-5.

liberalism and have a strong emphasis on Bible study and prayer...' and that he stressed that Montrose 'was not in competition with others...'.⁵⁹⁵ Sanden is more forthright:

With the passing of the years, a sort of spiritual chill seemed to settle down over the very campus [Northfield] where Torrey had formerly walked in the warmth of fellowship with the bible teaching stalwarts. It was this that led him to consider establishing a Bible Conference Camp on his own.⁵⁹⁶

Presumably in contrast to Northfield, 'Dr. Torrey used great care and wisdom in arranging the program for [Montrose] in his endeavour to secure speakers of excellent character with a sane, biblical, non-controversial message'.⁵⁹⁷ Another conservative writer stated it less cryptically: 'Dr. Torrey jealously guarded the platform of the Montrose conference, never inviting a speaker not known to be absolutely true to the Fundamentals'.⁵⁹⁸

Torrey's skirmishing continued when he moved to BIOLA. Despite his prominent role in the formation of policy there, he resigned from that institution as well, with the usual element of irritated indignation. Torrey had come close to leaving within the first six months because the construction of promised new buildings for the institute had been delayed. Lyman Stewart quickly mollified him with renewed promises of their hasty completion.⁵⁹⁹ In 1923, however, with Stewart dead, the BIOLA directors began to exert stronger control over the school, borrowing money to continue its operation and expanding the curriculum to include courses not exclusively centred on the study of the bible. Torrey resigned in 1924. The reason for his departure from BIOLA was precisely

595 Martin, pp. 209, 215.

596 O. Sanden, p. 74; Martin, p. 123.

597 R. M. Honeyman, secretary of the Montrose Bible Conference Association, Moody Institute Bible Monthly, December 1928, volume xxix, p. 171.

598 Volney P. Kinne, president of Montrose Bible Conference Association, *ibid.*

599 Martin, p. 227.

the same as that which had led to earlier breaks with the MBI and with Northfield. He had lost control and Torrey did not long remain in any situation where he did not hold the reins of power. Before accepting the call to BIOLA, Torrey, as he states in his own words, had

laid down nine conditions, and told them that if the Directors of the Institute would assent to these conditions and record them on their minutes, I would consider the invitation. One of those conditions was that I should have sole choice of every member of the faculty and no one else have anything to say about it. Another condition was that I should have sole dictation of the course of study.⁶⁰⁰

Those terms had been accepted. The very words of this quotation suggest Torrey's need for control: '..laid down nine conditions' ...'sole choice of every member'...'no one else have anything to say about it'...'I should have sole dictation'. This is the same tone as the earlier letter he had sent to Fitt outlining his 'ultimatums' regarding the organization of the MBI. At another time Torrey complained in a letter to Gaylord because, in his absence, the wording of the circular for a forthcoming Christian worker's convention had been changed without his permission.

Hereafter when I give material for a circular, send it out just as I give it. If there are any corrections...kindly submit them to me for my approval...as I know these Christian workers better than anybody else in America...⁶⁰¹

Even after Torrey had resigned from both the MBI and BIOLA, he continued his attempts to wield control over them. He brought pressure to bear with the aim of having the dean of BIOLA removed because of unsound doctrine, actually bringing about a

600 Torrey to Brooks, Asheville, 22 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

601 Letter to Gaylord, East Northfield, Massachusetts, 8 August 1900, Torrey files, MBI.

reversal of the board of directors' previous decision.⁶⁰² Torrey resigned from the MBI in summer 1908. 'It would take too long to go into all the reasons...[but] I was unwilling to be responsible for an institution where my word had so little effect...'.⁶⁰³ Yet despite this decision he continued to send letters to various staff members there, offering his advice on the ongoing running of the organization. Upon the hiring of Angy Taylor in 1908, he wrote,

she would be one of the last persons I would think of inviting to the position...you have chosen for Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent the two of whom I most heartily disapproved for these positions. However I am not complaining about that for I have no right to suggest as I am no longer a Trustee.⁶⁰⁴

Of course 'complaining' was precisely what he was engaged upon.

Other examples of Torrey's need for control exist. Following his reading of the MBI annual report, he sent a five page, single spaced letter outlining in detail his objections to the report and some of the policies therein. One report in the paper had noted, among other things, a weakness in the verbal communication skills and social graces of many graduates. Said Torrey, 'It is a sad reflection on the Institute that a man is allowed to graduate who cannot talk English correctly, and does not see "the commonest points of courtesy or tact"'. He could not help but adding, 'When I was in the Institute we always said that one of the things we insisted upon was to send out men who had common sense and tact.' He closed the letter with the remark, 'I appreciate the fact that I am no longer a member of the Board of Trustees and have no right to make these suggestions...'

602 This will be dealt with more fully later in the chapter.

603 Letter to Gaylord, Susquehanna Co., Pa., 18 August 1908, Torrey files, MBI.

604 Letter to Fitt, Susquehanna Co., Pa., 7 September 1908, Torrey files, MBI.

but this obligatory disclaimer seems weak in the light of his continued practice of interference.⁶⁰⁵ Torrey could not let go of the reins of power even after he left his positions. As his official letter of resignation stated, he would have been willing to continue 'provided I had any real influence but I do not feel I have had of late'.⁶⁰⁶

Any one of these events would not on its own constitute anything particularly unusual or unreasonable. The remarkable thing with Torrey, however, is that they recurred again and again throughout his life. Torrey had to be in control. If he was not he did not remain in the particular situation. It was not enough for him to be able to express his opinions. His verdict had to carry the day or he severed the relationship. Martin portrays this as commendable; Torrey would not continue to be involved when his principles were at stake.⁶⁰⁷ In reality, however, this scenario repeats itself with such irritating regularity throughout Torrey's life that it is reminiscent of the temperamental child who, if he cannot play his own game, will not play at all.

There were other battles also with which Torrey concerned himself. Some of these are almost comical in their insignificance but to Torrey each was important and he addressed them with the same scrupulous attention. For instance, he wrote to Fitt that he had noticed the MBI diplomas now read,

"Founded by D. L. Moody 1886." Personally, I do not believe that the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago was founded in 1886...The Moody Bible Institute as such was founded in 1889. The Chicago Evangelization Society may have been founded in 1886 but the Moody Bible Institute was not. Did

605 Letter to Fitt, Heart Lake 19 September 1908, Torrey files, MBI.

606 Letter to Fitt, Heart Lake, 5 August 1908, Torrey files, MBI.

607 Martin, pp. 217-18.

the Board of Trustees authorize the printing of the diplomas in this way, or who did? I protest against what to me appears like a deception.⁶⁰⁸

To his credit, Torrey was meticulously honest about such matters but it must be conceded that the distinction which he was drawing here was a fine point, rather punctilious in fact. When Fitt dared to suggest as much, Torrey immediately replied with a detailed defence of his own contention. Fitt's objections, he declared, were 'absolute nonsense', as normally were any which disagreed with his own.⁶⁰⁹

The journal Literary Digest was on the receiving end of yet another Torrey assault. The magazine had quoted an article from The Methodist Quarterly by O. E. Brown entitled 'Modernism: a calm survey'.⁶¹⁰ In it Brown represented Moody as criticising Torrey for his rigid and ungenerous opposition towards George Adam Smith. Torrey was outraged and sent a letter to the editor refuting Brown's claims. Literary Digest responded with a note:

We regret that your recent letter to us questioning a statement attributed to Dwight L. Moody in a conversation with you was inadvertently overlooked and lost. Another copy of your letter has now come into our possession [sic] and afforded us this opportunity for reply. We are presenting the matter to Dr. O. E. Brown, author of the article from which we quoted, and are sending him a copy of your letter. We will inform you immediately of his reply.⁶¹¹

To this Torrey retorted by asking how his first letter had been lost: 'By being thrown discourteously into the wastebasket?' He objected that they had presented 'the matter to Dr. O. E. Brown before publishing my denial of his statements' and wondered if it was 'impossible for a Modernist to be fair or just?' He stated that he had indeed received a

608 Torrey to Fitt, Fort Smith, Arkansas, 23 April 1908, Torrey files, MBI.

609 Letter to Fitt, Fort Smith, Arkansas, 27 April 1908, Torrey files, MBI.

610 Original article, July 1925, volume LXXIV, pp. 387-412.

611 A. R. W. Macreth, New York, 27 November 1925, Torrey files, MBI.

reply from Brown who claimed that the statement was 'accurate in thought' and that he had 'direct evidence' to support it. To this Torrey indignantly responded,

How can he assure you that it is 'accurate in thought' if he is not at all sure of the words Dr. Smith used? Is not thought transferred from one to another in 'words' and in no other way?...Is Dr. Brown so grossly ignorant that he does not know what the phrase 'direct evidence' means? If he advanced this as 'direct evidence' in any Court of Justice he would be laughed out of court...You add in your letter, 'We trust you will be satisfied' - that is, 'satisfied' with this lame letter of Dr. Brown's as settling the whole matter. You must be of a very 'trustful' nature. Of course I am not satisfied...I demand you give my reply to the misrepresentation as prominent a place and as wide a circulation as you gave the false report...If you do not I fear I shall have to seek another more effective mode of redress.⁶¹²

Two final incidents will suffice to illustrate Torrey's irascible, combative spirit. It will be recalled that he was invited by Reverend John MacInnis to Montrose to view the property which he eventually purchased for his new conference centre. As Torrey later said,

I had been intimately associated with Dr. MacInnis for about fifteen years...We had organized together the Montrose Bible Conference Association, I being the president and he secretary, in 1908, and he was pastor at that time of the Presbyterian Church there and my pastor...⁶¹³

On the basis of this relationship, Torrey invited MacInnis to come on staff at BIOLA in 1922. The warm relationship, however, did not last. The men became embroiled in two different events in 1928, both of which are conspicuously missing from Martin's book.

The first was the less significant of the two. MacInnis had assumed the position of dean which Torrey had vacated in 1924. In the May 1928 issue of The King's Business, the BIOLA organ, an article entitled 'Facts regarding enrolment' stated that

612 Torrey to Macreth, Asheville, N. C., 16 December 1925, Torrey files, MBI.

613 Letter to Keith L. Brooks, Asheville, North Carolina, 22 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

in 1923 there were 409 [students], in 1924 there were 348, and in 1925 there were 330. This represents the last year that the first Dean (Dr. R. A. Torrey) was here and also represents the lowest registration since 1921.⁶¹⁴

This statement, Torrey responded, is an 'utter falsehood'. He had ceased work there in July 1924, which MacInnis knew 'perfectly well' and thus the lowest registration figures were 'not under my administration but that of my successor.' 'You have sent this falsehood belittling my administration out through your magazine all over this country and to foreign lands; therefore I demand that you publicly, in the next number of the King's Business, make the following apology to me:'. The apology corrected the misstatements, declaring them 'utterly untrue' and doing 'Dr. Torrey great injustice'.

To our great chagrin, we find that this statement derogatory to Dr. Torrey's administration is utterly false...We find furthermore that since Dr. Torrey's departure from the Institute "the Fall Enrollment" has never anywhere near reached the last "Fall Enrollment" under Dr. Torrey's administration, even though we have added such strong men to the faculty as Dr. G. Campbell Morgan and Dr. John McNeill, and have greatly increased the annual cost of the faculty to the Institute. We most humbly apologize to Dr. Torrey and crave his generous forgiveness.⁶¹⁵

Torrey declared that he would 'not accept any substitute for this apology of your own devising' and demanded that they destroy any copies of the magazine remaining and send out a statement to those who had received the magazine providing the 'real facts in the case'.⁶¹⁶ The issue never was resolved to Torrey's satisfaction, as subsequent letters to MacInnis reveal. Only Torrey's death in October 1928, brought an end to the dispute.

In the same year, Torrey dealt with a more serious issue concerning his successor at BIOLA. In February 1922, MacInnis had visited BIOLA and spoken there, after which

614 Torrey to John MacInnis, Asheville, N. C., 8 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

615 Ibid.

616 Ibid.

he was interviewed and offered a position by Torrey.⁶¹⁷ During that summer MacInnis delivered a series of lectures at the MBI. In September he commenced his responsibilities at BIOLA and repeated this series. Torrey was present for part of one of these addresses before leaving within the week for a campaign in Kansas City. About six years later MacInnis published a book entitled Peter the Fisherman Philosopher⁶¹⁸ which was based largely on these two sets of lectures first delivered in 1922. The book dealt with the biblical speeches and writings of Peter and their non-systematic style, and sought to approach, in the same sort of non-systematic style, some of the questions which faced the world following World War I.⁶¹⁹ It did not employ Fundamentalist rhetoric and represented some liberal theological views such as when it stated that the sufferings of Jesus on the cross were not 'exceptional, but that "the boys who made the supreme sacrifice [in World War I]...carried up the sins of the age to the field of battle and there they suffered for the guilty."⁶²⁰ The response from the Fundamentalists at BIOLA, committed to the strictest orthodoxy, was predictable: As MacInnis himself described it,

A few of the outstanding leaders of the group, self-appointed guardians of "the faith which was once for all delivered", pronounced it untrue to "the Faith" and straightway demanded that the author should resign the Deanship of the institution of which, at the time, he was the chief executive, and that the book should be suppressed. A still greater surprise came when, under the pressure brought to bear upon them by this coterie, the board of directors of the institution, by a bare majority, changed their previously expressed and published convictions, and accepted the Dean's resignation, and later

617 Telegram from Torrey to Dr. James M. Gray, Asheville, N. C., 29 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

618 Harper Brothers, New York, this edition 1930, first published 1928.

619 Peter the Fisherman Philosopher, pp. vii-xii.

620 *Ibid.*, pp. 118 ff.; Torrey to Keith Brooks, Asheville, N. C., 22 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

officially ordered the original plates and remaining copies of the book to be destroyed.⁶²¹

One of these 'self appointed guardians' was Torrey. In the first place, Torrey rejected the views of the book as unsound. In a letter to James Gray which he attached to a copy of the offensive volume, Torrey described chapter eight as 'one of the most vicious, pernicious attacks on the Substitutionary Atonement I have seen.' He added, 'Don't quote me as saying that. I am in correspondence directly with the author and am not saying anything about the book elsewhere as the Board voted nine to one not to accept his resignation.'⁶²² Even more galling to Torrey was the fact that at the time when it was becoming apparent that the book was going to be controversial, he was being reported in The King's Business as endorsing MacInnis' work. In the March 1922 issue, the journal concerned recorded Torrey's approval in the following terms:

It should be said that the book ("Peter the Fisherman Philosopher") is made up fro [sic] lectures originally delivered at the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago... Later they were given to the students of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, while Dr. R. A. Torrey was Dean. After their delivery, Dr. MacInnis was asked by Dr. Torrey and Dr. Horton to become a member of the faculty, which invitation he eventually accepted.⁶²³

It does appear, therefore, that it was Torrey to whom MacInnis referred in the foreword of his book as the 'guardian of the faith' who brought pressure to bear on the directors of BIOLA to change their vote, and who adopted a position very different from that reported in The King's Business.

621 Peter the Fisherman Philosopher, p. xi; see also Stewart G. Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, Richard R. Smith, New York 1931, p. 248. MacInnis' book was publically burned at BIOLA.

622 Letter to Gray, Asheville, N. C., 14 February 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

623 Torrey to MacInnis, Asheville, N. C., 8 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

The issue was even further complicated when a friend of Torrey's named Charles Trumbull, the editor of the conservative journal Sunday School Times, wrote an article in that magazine accusing Keith Brooks, the editor of The King's Business, of making misleading statements about Torrey.⁶²⁴ Thus began a war of letters involving Torrey which was waged on two fronts: on one side to and about MacInnis regarding his book, and on the other with Brooks regarding his apparent loss of face in the eyes of the readers of Sunday School Times, a readership that was, presumably, inclined to be sympathetic to the injured Torrey whose conservative credentials were impeccable. The surviving letters on this event alone number 43 pages, 37 of which are from Torrey.

The first impression gained from surveying this interesting but confusing exchange of accusations, threats and innuendoes, is that of Torrey's intimidating preciseness of argument. Brooks, for instance, tried to justify his statements in The King's Business which claimed that Torrey had been aware of and had endorsed the gist of the MacInnis' lectures, the material that was eventually to become the basis of Peter the Fisherman Philosopher. He told Torrey of evidence supporting that claim including

the testimonies of students who were in the classes when the lectures were given and they assert that you were on the platform [sic] throughout most of the lectures. One of them says he talked with you personally about the lectures and you intimated that you were considering hiring Dr. MacInnis.⁶²⁵

To this letter Torrey responded with a meticulous, line by line refutation of Brook's two page letter, a reply which extended to almost eight full size, single-spaced pages.⁶²⁶ The impression gained when reading Torrey's letter is not merely that he corrected Brooks, but

624 Letter from Brooks to Torrey, Los Angeles, 11 May 1929, Torrey files, MBI.

625 Brooks to Torrey, Los Angeles, 11 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

626 Torrey to Brooks, Asheville, N. C., 22 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

that he attempted to decimate him. Torrey had been wronged and, writing with the same bold, almost righteous indignation which characterised many of his communications, he methodically discredited every point Brooks had raised in his letter. The following quotation is lengthy but serves to illustrate the tone not only of this but of all Torrey's correspondence on the matter:

Now, to take up your letter in detail: You say, "We have the testimonies of students who were in the classes when the lectures were given, and they assert that you were on the platform throughout most of the lectures." Will you kindly send me the names of these students and get from them the exact dates: - the year, month, day and hours when the lectures were given, and also the year, month, day and hours in which I was on the platform "throughout most of the lectures." Of course you know enough about law to know that a statement against any person as to his whereabouts at a certain time must give the exact date: the year, month, day and approximately, at least, the hour, or else it would have no weight whatever in court, as it would give the person against whom it was made no opportunity to prove that he was not there.

Let me say that the young people must have most remarkable memories, for the lectures were given in 1923 [sic-1924], going on five years ago, and that not only one of them but several of them remember, not only the lectures, but the fact that I was present at the lectures, and just how long I was present and where I sat, would be remarkable. If you will stop to think, you will see, I think, for you are a clear-minded thinker, that it would take only a few moments cross-questioning to show these witnesses that they only thought that I was present and could not possibly know, and that they were substituting, as so many do (even good people), their imagination for their memory.

Furthermore, those who know what I did when I was in the Institute (and I think you know it if you will only stop to think) would know it was impossible for me to be present "throughout most of the lectures." I was a very busy man, as you know perfectly well. I lectured about five days in the week - once, twice or even three times a day. In addition to that, as my stenographer there will tell you, I dictated to my stenographer, or stenographers, two or three hours or more five days in every week, and most of my dictation was in the morning - the very part of the day when Dr. MacInnis' lectures were being given-and Mr. Hunter, or anyone else there that knew my habits, can tell you that I never attended the lectures given by others except perhaps to introduce a new speaker, as I did Dr. MacInnis at his first

lecture. So you will see that "the testimonies of these students" cannot possibly be true.

Furthermore still, it so happens that since December 1901, when I started round the world, I have kept a daily record of how I spent each day, and I have those records still, here in Asheville, and if these students will give the dates when, as they say, they saw me "on the platform" during "most of the lectures," I can prove their testimonies false by giving a recorded statement of where I actually was. Don't you see that in any court a record made on the day in question would hold against any mere unrecorded recollection of a little detail that had happened five years before.

So you see, if these students should make affidavits, as you say they are willing to do, that they "saw Dr. Torrey sitting upon the platform throughout most of the series," that they could easily be proven guilty of perjury, which would make them liable to a long term in prison? So before you get those affidavits you owe it to them to state these facts to them and tell them frankly of the danger they would be in if the statements were not proved. Otherwise, you yourself would be in danger of "suborning perjury," which is also a state prison offense.⁶²⁷

When the nature of Brooks' offense against Torrey is recalled, the acerbic nature of this response is all the more remarkable. In the course of his reply he responded with the same punctilious thoroughness to each of the statements made by the defensive Brooks.

It must be emphasized that this is just one example of the rigorous exactitude which characterised Torrey's letters on this matter. In a subsequent letter, Brooks, still trying to exonerate himself, provided the names of a Mr. and Mrs. Whitwell who declared that Torrey was

present for the third lecture and that they talked with [him] about it as they walked out of the classroom with [him], suggesting that they would like to see this man on the faculty. They both [asserted] that, with a twinkle in [his] eye, [he] replied that this step was being contemplated!⁶²⁸

627 Ibid.

628 Torrey to Brooks, Asheville, N. C., 7 June 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

To this Torrey responded that he 'went down to the basement and with a good deal of trouble...found my records...'. With these he set about the methodical discrediting of Brooks' latest contention. Brooks had changed his story, Torrey argued. Instead of the testimonies of students who asserted that he had been on the platform 'throughout most of the lectures', Brooks was now saying that Mr. Whitwell testified that he had been in only one lecture. With painstaking detail he then demonstrated Brook's error, listing the exact hours and activities of that occasion six years earlier, details which he had gleaned from his meticulously maintained diary. With the skill of a courtroom attorney he dissected Brooks' defence point by point.

It must be asserted, therefore, that Torrey, so far as the evidence at hand reveals, is shown to be correct in the case he presented for himself. This precision of detail, this consistent 'correctness' was a dominating trait in Torrey's personality. With rigorous care, he made certain of the facts in each of the battles he waged. But the personality which demanded such precision found it very difficult to receive criticism of any kind. When Alexander's accompanist, Robert Harkness, tentatively suggested some changes in Torrey's sermon topics, he indignantly responded, 'What is wrong with the message I have given all these years?...When God ceases to bless the message I am giving, I will change it.'⁶²⁹ Martin's statement that Torrey was '...unmoved by personal criticism...' is more true than he probably realized.⁶³⁰

629 Martin, p. 254.

630 Ibid., p. 112.

Barr describes Fundamentalists as 'conscious of no weaknesses and no failures; in all respects the conservative evangelical case has been entirely right...'. He characterises them as being 'in an extreme degree defensive and negative' and as having an 'extreme sensitivity...to any criticism from without'.⁶³¹ All of Barr's comments need to be weighed against his strong aversion to Fundamentalism, but in Torrey's case, his description seems apt. Torrey wrote, spoke and argued with the confident assurance of a man who knew he was right and was seldom proved otherwise. Throughout the present author's research, in Torrey's books, letters and sermons, not one instance of Torrey admitting error has ever been discovered. Moody wept at his son's bed, asking forgiveness for his over rigorous discipline.⁶³² Except for a greater sense of self-confidence in his last book, Drummond's writings betray an almost continual diffidence regarding his own work and make frequent admissions of its inadequacies.⁶³³ This tone of humility is almost entirely absent in Torrey. This is not to suggest that he was guilty of self-aggrandizement, for Torrey seems never to have sought or curried public acclaim, but in his presentation of an argument, whether theological or otherwise, the reader senses an air of infallibility. He had considered the facts, presented them clearly and no reasonable man could dispute them.

His self-confidence verged on arrogance, particularly in scholastic matters. In an answer to a question from Gray regarding MacInnis' academic achievements, Torrey responded that he had received his PhD from Temple University,

631 Barr, pp. 222-23, 324.

632 J. C. Pollock, Moody: A Biographical Portrait of the Pacesetter in Modern Evangelism, Macmillan, New York 1963, pp. 272-73.

633 See letter from Drummond to Eis, Sydney, 10 April 1981, Haddo House; The Congregationalist and Christian World, 2 November 1902, p. 22.

largely, I think, a correspondence school...it had no particular standing as a university...It had many thousands of students, more or less nondescripts...Evidently he had an itching for degrees and he got them in any old way he could.⁶³⁴

In contrast, Torrey pointed out his own academic accomplishments, as mentioned previously in this chapter:

In regard to myself...I have various degrees or titles, which I earned in the regular way. One degree I earned in Yale by a four years' course there; another I earned by a three years' course there...I have read Greek every day of my life for many years...I have read the Bible in three languages every day of my life without exception, I think, for many, many years. I have read the Greek Testament through at least once a year for many years...much of which I can quote from memory. I am so familiar with Greek that I practically never consult a dictionary...I took the Hebrew prize at Yale when I was 21. I was invited to become president of a college when I was 21...While in Chicago, I was invited to be president of another college; and while still in Chicago, I was offered the presidency of another well-known college; and later yet was offered the chancellorship of a university at a salary at the rate of 9000.00 [dollars] a year.⁶³⁵

He went on to describe the intimacy of his relationship with his German professors and continued,

I have written over forty books...[which have] been translated in thrity-three [sic] languages...Mr. Revell said he thinks they have been translated into more languages than the writings of any other living author...Some of my books are used as text-books in leading theological seminaries...⁶³⁶.

Regarding MacInnis' book, Torrey commented to Gray at another time that the whole business shows the dangers of the study of philosophy by men of small education and large ambition...I used to revel in it from the time I was 18 to 25, or later...The only good I ever got out of it was that I could say to men like Woelfkin and MacInnis: "I have read far more philosophy than you ever have or will."⁶³⁷

634 Letter to Gray, Asheville, N. C., 20 March 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

635 Torrey to Gray, Asheville, N. C., 20 March 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

636 Ibid.

637 Torrey to Gray, Asheville, N. C., 14 March 1928; Torrey files, MBI. For another statement on the value of philosophy see London Times article, 8 February 1905.

Torrey was a good scholar but was only too conscious of the fact.⁶³⁸ As has been seen this scholarship gained him credibility and an audience in a movement that was breaking away from a tendency to set up education and true religion as antithetical. But Torrey's confidence in the rightness of his own position took him past the point of speaking with authoritative assurance to the extreme of blatantly condemning anyone who did not agree with the truth as he had so succinctly and convincingly stated it.

The incident with MacInnis and Brooks reveals yet another trait in Torrey, namely, a kind of dogged ruthlessness. Brooks looked, by Torrey's own account, to 'be made the goat' at BIOLA over the published misinformation regarding Torrey⁶³⁹ and was under the added strain of caring for an infirm wife. As he wrote to Torrey, 'My burdens are exceedingly heavy at this time when Mrs. Brooks is suffering so terribly and under a nurse's care...!'⁶⁴⁰ To this Torrey responded that he had written immediately because he sensed Brooks' 'need of sympathy and reassurance', yet he went on in the following eight pages to destroy Brooks' own admittedly flimsy and incorrect protestations of innocence.⁶⁴¹ It is obvious, almost pitifully so, that MacInnis was fighting to save what was left of his academic life and reputation. Yet Torrey would not relent.

Another quality in Torrey becomes apparent in studying this body of correspondence. There is a profoundly legalistic tone in his approach to these matters. He

638 Pollock, p. 270.

639 Letter from Torrey to Brooks, Asheville, 22 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

640 Letter from Brooks to Torrey, Los Angeles, 11 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

641 Torrey to Brooks, Asheville, N. C., 22 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI. To be fair several times he mentioned his love of and frequency of prayers for Brooks and MacInnis. It seems he was losing sleep over the affair and his wife feared for Torrey's health as a result. Nonetheless, he refused to let up on either issue. His death finally ended it. Letter from Torrey to MacInnis, Asheville, N. C., 18 June 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

repeatedly referred to the legality of certain actions and, though he declared he would not, himself, file a law suit, he held out that possibility as a continuous threat. As he warned MacInnis,

The law of the land gives me the right to dictate the apology to be demanded of any publication in case of misrepresentation...if the students should make affidavits, as you say they are willing to do...they could easily be proven guilty of perjury, which would make them liable to a long term in prison...The law gives me the right to do this and also to make these other demands...This is libellous and the Sunday School Times could make you suffer severely...⁶⁴²

The very fact that Torrey was constantly writing letters of refutation sets him apart from Moody and Drummond, and from the latter in particular who, though regularly criticised, never responded publicly. But Torrey seemed unable to allow a grievance against him to go unredressed.⁶⁴³

The fact that Torrey emulated Moody is evident from his shameless imitation of the evangelist. Like Moody he entered into worldwide evangelism, started his own conference centre and to all intents and purposes his own bible institute and his own version of the Chicago Avenue Church. They shared the same interests, theology and friends. But they differed markedly in temperament. The fact that Torrey resigned on less than good terms from the MBI, from his association with Northfield, from BIOLA and even from the WCFA which he had worked so hard to organize, betrays a fundamentally critical spirit in the man. His correspondence bears this out. Fundamentalism did not

642 Torrey to MacInnis, Asheville, N. C., 8 May 1928, Torrey to Brooks, Asheville, 22 May 1928, Torrey files, MBI.

643 Besides those instances already cited, see his article refuting The Christian Century article, 'Where would Moody stand?', MBI Monthly, December 1923, pp. 171-173; his response to Paul Moody's article about his father entitled 'Mr. Paul Moody's Gross Calumny of his Honored Father, D. L. Moody', pamphlet, Torrey files, MBI; his response to an unfavourable British Weekly article as cited in Martin, p. 175; his attack against two liberal critics, which even Martin describes as 'scorching', p. 239.

produce this in Torrey; if anything, it was the opposite. His pre-eminence in the foundation of the movement introduced that spirit into Fundamentalism, significantly shaping the attitude with which it continued to fight for its cause. What remains to be examined are the ways in which the two strands of evangelicalism, Torrey's and Drummond's, handled the differences between themselves which the divarication of that tradition had produced.

Chapter 7. MOODY, DRUMMOND AND TORREY: A COMPARISON

That D. L. Moody made an enormous impact on the religious life of the late nineteenth century need hardly be argued. One interesting indicator of the magnitude of his stature became apparent only after the great evangelist had died: Christians of the most disparate theological persuasions began to vie with one another to convince the religious public that they were carrying on in the true spirit of Moody.⁶⁴⁴ To associate his name successfully with a particular work was to earn a measure of credibility which the invocation of few other names could produce. Said one of these contestants,

The work done in the [Moody Bible] Institute since Mr. Moody's death, as is now being done, is in entire accord with his desires; and I am positively sure if he were alive today he would approve of what is being done in this school that bears his name...Also, I am free to say I am confident Mr. Moody, if alive, would not approve of many things said and done at Northfield.⁶⁴⁵

With equal fervour, another averred,

It is known that while the Northfield schools [represent] the great evangelist's high ideals...the whole temper of [MBI] has been moving farther and farther away from Mr. Moody's spirit and plans.⁶⁴⁶

Torrey asserted confidently 'I know just what Mr. Moody's ideas and purposes regarding [MBI] were'; while just as confidently, James Gray declared 'in his last days...I was closest to him and knew him best.'⁶⁴⁷ Many sought to convince the evangelical world that Moody's posthumous benediction lay upon their enterprise and, almost as frequently, religious opponents rose up to dispute the claim.

⁶⁴⁴ Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River*, p. 213; Gundry, p. 200.

⁶⁴⁵ L. W. Munhall, *Eastern Methodist*, 19 July 1923, n.p., MBI.

⁶⁴⁶ Article 'Where would Mr. Moody stand?', *The Christian Century*, 12 July 1923, p. 870.

⁶⁴⁷ *MBI Monthly*, December 1923, p. 171; February 1926, p. 263.

By the time of his death in 1899 Moody held a virtually unassailable position of leadership in the evangelical world. George Adam Smith writing for an American readership said:

Mr. Moody was one of the great personalities of your nation. In the panorama of your public life...he always appeared to our eyes one of the most natural, one of the most impressive, and, outside the politicians of the hour, one to whom the people were most ready to listen. Everybody knew him, and everybody whose respect was worth having respected him.⁶⁴⁸

This testimony means more when it is recalled that Smith was a Scot, that he disagreed with many of Moody's theological views and that he came under attack from Moody's associates for his liberalism. In the light of this prominence as an important leader of the world's evangelicals, a leadership perpetuated and sustained not only by his evangelistic effort but also through his educational institutions, it is the assumption of this study that Moody's theological views can fairly be considered as representative of what might be called an 'older evangelicalism'. As one contemporary writer put it,

Moody's theology was to the last the theology which prevailed in the...orthodox churches in the first decade of the present half-century. The old Calvinism had passed away, shattered beyond hope of restoration by the preaching of Lyman Beecher and Charles G. Finney...The new theology, born of the evolution philosophy, had not yet found entrance into the churches of the Puritans...Bushnell's theology was still under ban; Henry Ward Beecher had not yet become a theologian...⁶⁴⁹

The position embraced by Moody held dominance for, roughly, seventy years, from the 1830's at the height of Finney's popularity, through to the last decade of the nineteenth century. Its theology retained some Calvinistic principles, particularly those regarding man's sinfulness, the centrality of the atonement and the reliance upon inerrant, verbally

⁶⁴⁸ In preface to Henry Drummond's Dwight L. Moody-Impressions and Facts, McClure, Phillips and Co., New York 1900, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁴⁹ 'Dwight L. Moody', The Outlook, 30 December 1899, p. 1004, Yale (28,III,15,8); see also Gundry, p. 221.

inspired scriptures, but was married to more Arminian views regarding the role of man's part in the process of salvation.⁶⁵⁰ By the end of the century the discoveries of science and biblical criticism were becoming increasingly accepted within the Church and evangelicalism was experiencing division.

Fundamentalists have consistently described themselves as carrying on Moody's 'older evangelicalism' while accusing the liberal branch, represented in this study by Henry Drummond, of deserting the true spiritual heritage of the great evangelist. For modern Fundamentalism, particularly in America, the Moody Bible Institute is one of the holy places of the movement and its founder is revered as a patriarch. In the February 1986 edition of Moody Monthly, the issue which celebrated the centenary of the MBI, the current president, George Sweeting, observed 'the amazing fact' that MBI is 'still committed to the full inspiration of Scripture and the fundamentals of the faith. Our doctrine has not changed.' He described MBI as a faithful continuation of its founder's ministry; Moody's 'two legs going about the world'.⁶⁵¹ This particular edition illustrates well the claims which modern Fundamentalists make for themselves as the perpetuators of Moody's work. The article 'Mr. Moody's legacy', for instance, a reprint of an Institute Tie article first published in 1900, renewed the boast that MBI, 'of all the institutions [Moody] founded...embodies his ideas' best.⁶⁵²

⁶⁵⁰ Weisberger, pp. 269-70.

⁶⁵¹ Page 4. Even a brief visit to MBI will reveal the continuing importance of Moody's memory to this stratum of American Christian culture.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Non-Fundamentalists have made similar observations. Barr traces Fundamentalism back to Moody as one of its key sources, Bradford labels him the 'original Fundamentalist' and R. I. Cambell puts it this way: 'As Calvin may be considered the Apostle of Reformed Presbyterianism, so is Moody the Apostle of Modern Fundamentalism.'⁶⁵³

Nevertheless, it is the conclusion of the present study that this was not the case; that it is more accurate to think of evangelicalism as bifurcating, with the liberals moving in one direction and the Fundamentalists in another. In other words, it is suggested that the Fundamentalists' claim to be Moody's faithful perpetuators is incorrect. Their narrow and intolerant spirit disqualifies them as the genuine heirs to Moody's legacy just as surely as does the neo-orthodox theology of the liberals. We have considered Moody, Drummond and Torrey individually. It now remains to bring the three forces together, to observe the confrontation that ensues and comment on the outcome. Once again, the focus will be turned firstly upon Moody. If, as has been stated, Moody did stand as the paradigm of 'older evangelicalism' prior to the twentieth century, how did Drummond's liberalism and Torrey's Fundamentalism compare with his position?

Of considerable interest to both the liberal and Fundamentalist wings of evangelicalism at the turn of the twentieth century was the question, 'Was D. L. Moody a

⁶⁵³ James Barr, *Fundamentalism*, p. xvi; Gamaliel Bradford, *D. L. Moody: A Worker in Souls*, p. 64; 'D. L. Moody and his successors', *The Calvin Forum*, September 1937, p. 39. Even McLoughlin, who shows that he knows better in other parts of his *Modern Revivalism*, makes the inaccurate statement that Moody 'had no use for liberals', p. 213.

liberal?'.⁶⁵⁴ Those on the liberal side argued that, despite Moody's conservative theology, his spirit was compassionate and tolerant towards those with whom he differed, a breadth of opinion in keeping with their own liberal position. In contrast, the Fundamentalists pointed out that Moody opposed the basic tenets of liberalism including higher criticism, evolution and the emphasis on Christ's humanity as opposed to his divinity. How then, they asked, could Moody be considered a liberal, rejecting as he did the core of liberal theology? Gundry is the first historian to present adequately the debate which surrounded the issue of Moody's liberalism. Unfortunately, he stops short of offering a verdict on the basis that, for every 'assertion' that Moody had a liberal attitude towards all those whom he perceived as 'genuine' Christians, there were 'counter assertions' to the contrary.⁶⁵⁵ This question is of vital importance for this study. Therefore, the various arguments to which Gundry refers will be considered in greater detail and to these will be added other pieces of evidence. A conclusion will be drawn on the question of Moody's liberal inclinations which will then be addressed to the larger study.

The first piece of evidence in this matter is Henry Drummond himself. It has been shown that Drummond moved farther and farther away from the early orthodox theology of the Moody mission as his ministry progressed. Yet Moody steadfastly refused to cut

⁶⁵⁴ For examples of those who argued for Moody's liberal temperament--although few, if any, argued that he held liberal theological views--see the following: 'Where would Mr. Moody stand?', The Christian Century, 12 July 1923, pp. 870-872; Paul D. Moody, 'Moody becoming a "veiled figure"', The Christian Century, 2 August 1923, pp. 979-980; O. E. Brown, 'Modernism: a calm survey', The Methodist Quarterly Review, July 1925, pp. 387-412. For examples of those who opposed this view see R. A. Torrey, 'Where would D. L. Moody stand', The Moody Bible Institute Monthly (MBIM), December 1923, pp. 171-72; R. A. Torrey, 'Mr. Paul D. Moody's gross calumny of his honored father, D. L. Moody', MBIM, October 1923, pp. 51-52; Charles Blanchard, 'D. L. Moody's "Modernism"', MBIM, February 1926, p. 264.

⁶⁵⁵ Gundry, p. 200.

off relations with him. At his death, Moody wrote, 'Outside of my two sons, I have never loved a man as I have loved him'.⁶⁵⁶ An interviewer asked the wife of Moody's son, W. R. Moody, who her husband had said were Moody's closest friends. She listed only five: her father, the MacKinnons, Lord Overton and Drummond.⁶⁵⁷ And in a letter to Mrs. MacKinnon following Drummond's death, Moody bemoaned, 'I cannot tell you how much I miss dear Drummond'.⁶⁵⁸ Nearly every book which mentions the unlikely relationship between these two very different men remarks on the enduring intimacy they shared. Moody came under frequent attack for his devotion to Drummond but, as Mrs. W. R. Moody testified, 'he said Drummond was a child of God and he was leading souls to Christ, that's all he wanted to know about'.⁶⁵⁹

But it might be argued that Moody's continuing love for Drummond proves nothing regarding the evangelist's own liberalism; many fathers have steadfastly loved wayward sons whose actions they have deplored. Even more significant, then, are Moody's continued invitations to Drummond to share in his ministry. When Moody returned to Great Britain in 1882 for a second mission, Drummond joined him once again even though, by this time, his liberal views were becoming increasingly well known. Despite the publication of Natural Law in the Spiritual World in 1883, which revealed

⁶⁵⁶ Letter from James Stalker to Mrs. Drummond, Claremont Gardens, Glasgow, 26 April 1897, Acc. 5890-3, SNL.

⁶⁵⁷ Interview with Mrs. W. R. Moody, n.d., p. 4, WRM files, Moodyana collection, MBI.

⁶⁵⁸ Kansas City, Missouri, 12 November 1899, Yale (28,I,8,II) N.B. This was the night in which Moody was stricken by the attack which ultimately killed him.

⁶⁵⁹ Interview with Mrs. W. R. Moody as cited above, p. 4; for other testimonies of Moody's battles with his associates over Drummond and others see George Perry Morris, 'Dwight L. Moody: A character sketch', The American Monthly Review of Reviews, n.d., p. 175, Yale (28,III,15,7); also 'Pencilings at Northfield', The Congregationalist, 17 August 1899, p. 2.

Drummond for the evolutionist and biblical critic he had become, Moody invited him to speak at Northfield when he arrived to lecture at several American universities in 1887. Drummond drew intense criticism at the time from the 'Pharisees', as he privately described them.⁶⁶⁰ He also returned to Northfield in 1893 at Moody's invitation. Moody was upbraided once again and urged by his lieutenants to forbid Drummond's appearance on the platform. After much consideration and a conversation with his Scottish friend, Moody refused to accede to their wishes. It was during this time that Drummond wrote, 'I felt a good deal out of it, and many fell upon and rent me...it was not a happy time.'⁶⁶¹ Furthermore, though Torrey denies it was so, it seems reasonably certain that Moody invited Drummond to speak at the 1893 World's Exposition in Chicago, an invitation he declined to save Moody from any further trouble. 'It was the first time', said the aging American evangelist, 'that he had failed me.'⁶⁶²

Though Moody continued to use Drummond despite his growing liberalism, it might be further argued that his very love for the Scotsman discredits this as evidence; that Moody's affection for Drummond closed his eyes to his theological inadequacies. A second piece of evidence, then, can be considered, the relationship between Moody and George Adam Smith. One of the difficulties for this study is that Drummond's terminal sickness removed him from the picture, to all intents and purposes, by 1895. We are deprived of any more than early skirmishes between Drummond and the Fundamentalists

⁶⁶⁰ Letter from Drummond to Eis, S. Framingham, Massachusetts, 21 July 1887, Haddo House.

⁶⁶¹ Drummond to Eis, Restigoude Salmon Club, Metapedia, Quebec, 31 July 1893, Haddo House.

⁶⁶² Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 23; also Arthur Percy Fitt, *Moody Still Lives*, MBI, Chicago 1936, pp. 131-133. As a staff member at MBI and as Moody's son-in-law, Fitt's verification that Moody invited Drummond to participate in the World's Fair carries weight.

because he died before the movement had really gained momentum. In George Adam Smith, however, we are provided with an acceptable replacement.⁶⁶³ Smith was one of Drummond's intimate friends. He shared his evangelical convictions, working also with the Moody mission and engaging in evangelistic work as a fellow member of the Gaiety Club. Smith was also a part of the deputation team which Drummond took to the United States universities and when Drummond was no longer able to carry on the Edinburgh University meetings it was George Adam Smith who took them over.⁶⁶⁴ Because of the intimacy of their relationship it was Smith who was chosen to write Drummond's biography; Smith even named a son after his friend. In addition to a shared evangelicalism, he joined Drummond in espousing progressive views of theology and biblical criticism. When W. Robertson Smith was removed from the Free Church Chair of Old Testament Exegesis at Aberdeen in 1880, George Adam Smith replaced him. In just over a decade, he, like W. R. Smith and Drummond before him, was on trial before the Free Church General Assembly for his unorthodox views of scripture.⁶⁶⁵ Both his biography of Henry Drummond and his introduction to Drummond's Dwight L. Moody are subtly political works and it is not difficult to discern a vicarious identification with

⁶⁶³ The only biography is Lilian Adam Smith's George Adam Smith, Hodder and Stoughton 1943, see pp. 9, 37, 78-79; for detailed information on George Adam Smith, the Scottish National Library has an extensive collection of his personal papers; Deposit 311, Box 3 pertains particularly to his heresy trial.

⁶⁶⁴ See Richard K. Curtis, They Called Him Mr. Moody, Doubleday, New York 1962, p. 324; James Reid, notes from 'Dwight L. Moody centenary addresses', delivered in Westminster Chapel, London, 5 February 1937, transcripts read at Yale (28,III,8,19).

⁶⁶⁵ In light of this depiction of Smith as a liberal, it is ironic that a quotation from him which was included in a Glasgow Presbytery letter condemning drunkenness in Scotland, was excised from the final draft; Smith's exegesis of a passage in Isaiah which described hell as 'opening her mouth' for the drunkard, was considered too strong, unrestrained and ungentlemanly, hardly an accusation frequently leveled at liberals. Glasgow Herald, 3 March 1903.

Drummond's persecutions as Smith writes of them.⁶⁶⁶ In short, George Adam Smith fitted into the same liberal evangelical mould as Drummond. It would have been preferable for this study to have analyzed a confrontation between R. A. Torrey and Henry Drummond. Failing that, a similar dispute between Torrey and Smith will serve as a good substitute.

In 1899 Smith delivered the Lyman Beecher lectures at Yale which he entitled 'The hope of immortality in the Old Testament', 'a subject which could not be discussed without some exposition of the new views [of higher criticism]'.⁶⁶⁷ The substance of these talks became the book Modern Criticism and Preaching of the Old Testament for which Smith was brought up on charges before the Free Church Assembly in 1902.⁶⁶⁸ Though Torrey would later imply otherwise, it is almost certain that Moody was present for at least some of these lectures. Smith says that after Moody 'himself heard [them]...he gave [me] an invitation to Northfield to speak, not, of course, upon criticism, but upon religious topics'.⁶⁶⁹ Moody's son Paul corroborates this. He was one of the organizers of the Yale meetings and states that 'My father heard these lectures. He told me at the time that he saw nothing to object to in them and after this invited Professor Smith to Northfield...'.⁶⁷⁰ Moody did lament to Smith that he would do better as a preacher than a critic, but it seems clear that Moody invited him having heard what would later be viewed as heretical

⁶⁶⁶ See for instance Smith's Drummond, pp. 107, 121, 132-3, 243; also Drummond's Moody, the preface, pp. 11-12, 33; particularly pp. 18 ff. where Smith discusses the contribution of Moody's educational institution at Northfield and entirely ignores MBI.

⁶⁶⁷ Preface to Henry Drummond, Dwight L. Moody, p. 23.

⁶⁶⁸ Paul Moody, 'Moody, becoming a "veiled figure"', The Christian Century, 2 August 1923, pp. 979-80.

⁶⁶⁹ Drummond, Dwight L. Moody, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁷⁰ Paul Moody, 'Veiled figure', p. 979.

teachings by members of the Scottish professor's own General Assembly. It is possible, though unlikely, that Moody did not understand the gist of what Smith had said.

When Smith came to Northfield, Torrey and others objected. Moody invited Torrey to join his family, Smith and some other guests for dinner. After the meal Moody, Smith, Torrey, W. R. Moody, A. P. Fitt, S. P. Cadman and others entered into a discussion on the merits of higher criticism and, by association, the appropriateness of Smith's speaking at Northfield. Many versions of the event made their way into print which should be discounted. There are three eyewitness records, however, which can be considered: Smith's, as he relates it in Drummond's Dwight L. Moody, Torrey's as found in a letter to Literary Digest,⁶⁷¹ and W. R. Moody's account as found in his 1930 biography of his father. When Torrey's and Smith's articles are compared, the points of agreement can almost certainly be relied upon. Where there is dispute between these two sources, Will Moody's account has been accepted as trustworthy.

One of the unreliable versions of the meeting was published by O. E. Brown in his 1925 article entitled 'Modernism: a calm survey'.⁶⁷² He described the meeting which Moody arranged between Smith and Torrey in the following manner:

At the close of a prolonged discussion on Biblical criticism, Mr. Moody summed up his verdict on the discussion as follows: 'Well, Torrey, intellectually I am in sympathy with the views which you advocate, but I must say that in my judgment Smith shows much more the spirit of Christ than you do.' Dr. Smith added: 'It would take an immense amount of rigid orthodoxy to serve as a substitute with me for having the spirit of Christ.'

⁶⁷¹ This was the letter which Literary Digest lost, leading to Torrey's heated correspondence over the issue as cited in the previous chapter. The article read by this author was a reprint in the December 1925 edition of Moody Bible Institute Monthly, pp. 161-2.

⁶⁷² Brown, O.E., The Methodist Quarterly Review, July 1925, p. 412.

Torrey responded with an article refuting Brown's irresponsible account. He denied that Moody had said anything about Smith having 'more of the spirit of Christ' than himself although he conceded that Moody might 'have said that to Prof. Smith privately...'. He further maintained that the 'conversation was courteous and kind on the part of both of us' and that there 'was not the slightest display of heat or anger' on either side. Furthermore, he declared that Moody had told him later in private that "'I will never have either of those men again [referring to Smith and J. P. Cadman, another liberal who was also present] and I told Prof. Smith to his face that he was doing the Devil's work." This was not my statement, but Mr. Moody's'.⁶⁷³

Smith's version of the same event reveals only that the discussion over higher criticism took place. He presents a balanced view, describing the discussion as taking place with a spirit of equanimity. He reports one person as saying, 'The critics raise questions which do not help the spiritual life; their opponents retort with bad temper and personal recriminations' to which all present agreed. Moody expressed his wish that everyone would 'agree to a truce and for ten years bring out no fresh views, just to let us get on with the practical work of the Kingdom'; a naive attitude perhaps but entirely typical.⁶⁷⁴ The impression from Smith's account is of a cool-headed discussion of the need for more understanding on both sides of the issue, a long discussion that was finally ended in a time of prayer. Never once does he mention Torrey by name, critically or otherwise.

⁶⁷³ Torrey, MBI Monthly, December 1925, pp. 161-2.

⁶⁷⁴ Drummond, Dwight L. Moody, p. 28, 30.

It is when we turn to W. R. Moody's account, however, that we discover the encounter might not have proceeded with as much equanimity as either Smith or Torrey suggested. He agrees that the discussion began concerning the value and legitimacy of the higher critical method. What we learn from Will Moody, however, is that Torrey questioned Smith on whether 'he believed certain passages [in the Old Testament] were Messianic or not'. Smith answered that 'they were not primarily so intended'. Will Moody continues,

This elicited the ungracious response that having studied higher criticism many years before when little more than a youth, he [Torrey] had come to the conclusion that there was nothing in it, and had abandoned further study for want of confidence in its conclusions. To this rejoinder Sir George made no reply. Moody added that times demanded the united efforts of all evangelical forces and that he deplored the spirit of antagonism, and the group broke up. As the door closed upon the belligerent guest Moody exclaimed to his son [W. R. Moody] that the critic had hardly shown an irenic spirit, and then added, 'Awful! awful! They (of whom Sir George was representative) often put us (conservatives) to shame by their more Christian attitude.' It was said with an inexpressible note of sadness.⁶⁷⁵

There is a reasonableness to Will Moody's account that lends it credibility. This kind of statement is typical of Torrey's verbal attacks as cited in the previous chapter. He frequently began by recounting his own experiences as a higher critic to validate his vilification of the movement. That Smith himself did not mention this aspect of the encounter is in keeping with Moody's description of his attitude during the event. That Torrey did not do so either is in keeping with his other writings. He never recognized wrongdoing on his own part and was not likely to perceive his attack on Smith as being anything other than a defense of the true faith. Equally typical of him was the attitude

⁶⁷⁵ William R. Moody, D. L. Moody, Macmillan, New York 1930, second edition, pp. 447-48.

concerning his own correctness in the details of the encounter. Someone may have thought they heard something differently but if that account did not conform with Torrey's own recollection of the event, it was wrong. As for Moody's comment to Smith that he was doing the 'Devil's work' we have only Torrey's word for this exchange. It is very possible that Moody said something to that effect but the harshness of the occasion as Torrey describes it is so out of character for Moody that it can hardly be accepted without reservation. Moody could be brusque with strangers but did not treat friends in this manner.⁶⁷⁶

The credibility of Will's account is enhanced by his own conservative leanings. Theologically he would have tended to side with Torrey. His trustworthiness is further strengthened by a series of letters written by him in 1908 in which he repeatedly expressed his admiration for Torrey 'for whom I have increasing personal respect'.⁶⁷⁷ This critical account of Torrey's behaviour towards Smith, then, does not come from one who was wholly opposed to Torrey and his position. We can accept as reliable, therefore, W. R. Moody's account that Moody, though disagreeing with Smith's liberal approach to scriptures, deplored even more Torrey's ungracious criticism of Smith.

⁶⁷⁶ There is a letter from Jane MacKinnon, one of the Moody's dearest friends and strongest Scottish supporters, in which she consoles Mrs. Moody over Dwight's death and mentions having talked to George Adam Smith who was 'just brimful of delight with regard to dear Mr. Moody...'. It appears that Mrs. Moody had written to MacKinnon indicating that Smith had hurt Moody in some way, apparently in the views he came to hold. Nevertheless, MacKinnon assured Mrs. Moody that 'no one would be more grieved than George Adam Smith to think even of having wounded Mr. Moodys [sic] feelings at any time...'. This tells us nothing new in that it is already clear that Moody disagreed with Smith's position. What it does demonstrate is Smith's regard for Moody despite their disparity of views. It is furthermore reasonable to assume Moody's own affection for Smith, otherwise such a disagreement would not have been 'wounding' to him. Letter from Jane MacKinnon to Mrs. Moody, n.d., c. January 1900, no address; transcript of a telegram from the same party on the page immediately below this letter indicates location as Clachan, Scotland; read in Moody papers at Yale, (28,I,8,II)

⁶⁷⁷ Letter to A. P. Fitt, Northfield, 11 September 1908; also 16 September 1908 and 21 September 1908, W. R. Moody file, Moodyana collection, MBI.

Another similar event comes from Henry Sloane Coffin, a well known American liberal evangelical minister. Speaking in 1937 at the Moody centenary celebration at Carnegie Hall, Coffin told of a discussion with Moody:

The last year I was at Northfield, Moody knew that I had been studying higher criticism at New Haven [Yale], and he took me for a buggy ride. He said to me: 'Harry Coffin, do you swallow this higher critic stuff?' I said: 'Mr. Moody, the evidence seems to me to indicate that the general outlines of it are correct.' He said: 'Do you believe there were two Isaiahs?' I said: 'Well, it appears that the historical background indicates that parts of that book come from different situations.' 'Well,' he said, 'that is what my dear friend, George Adam Smith thinks, but what is the use of talking about two Isaiahs when people do not know what one said?' And then he pinched me on the knee--he had a way of doing that when you were next to him in the buggy--and said: 'See here, it doesn't make much difference who wrote the book anyhow. God could have used half a dozen Isaiahs. The important thing is what is there--do you believe it? Do you live it? Will you teach it? With that came another pinch on the knee. That was Moody.⁶⁷⁸

There is further evidence still to consider regarding the subject of Moody's willingness to countenance liberal beliefs in others. It has been suggested in an earlier chapter that Emma Moody's letters can be reasonably considered a reflection of Dwight's own thinking; she frequently corresponded on his behalf, as did most of the family. In a letter to Mrs. MacKinnon she comments on the various articles in 'religious papers' describing the current heresy trial of 'Dr. Dodds [sic] and some others on account of their doctrine'. Though she admits it is 'hard to know what to think', she states that 'it may be that some are "heresy-hunters" and are too ready to pick out heresy from a statement not very carefully made...', a comment that very likely expressed her husband's feelings as well.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁸ Transcript of Coffin's message, Westminster Chapel, London, 5 February 1937, read at Yale (28,III,8,19), p. 5.

⁶⁷⁹ Letter from Mrs. Moody to Mrs. MacKinnon, Park Avenue Hotel, New York, 4 April 1890, Yale letters, (28,I,8).

Moody's treatment of Roman Catholics is another example of his breadth of spirit. Denunciation of all things papist was a standard item in the repertoire of evangelical oratory, particularly among the Fundamentalists.⁶⁸⁰ Torrey was no exception here. In his work How to Bring Men to Christ (1897) he listed Catholics under the heading of 'The Deluded' and offered particular scripture verses for dealing with them. 'There is one point at which we always have the advantage in dealing with a Roman Catholic', he said: 'that is that there is peace and power in Christianity as we know it that there is not in Christianity as they know it, and they appreciate the difference.'⁶⁸¹ Moody, on the other hand, not only avoided this tactic, but when the Catholics in Northfield were collecting subscriptions to build a new church he gave one of the largest contributions and also donated an organ for the chapel. 'If they are Roman Catholics, it is better they should be good Roman Catholics than bad. It is surely better to have a Catholic church than none...'⁶⁸² At another time Moody said, 'I hope to see the day when all bickering, division, and party feeling will cease, and Roman Catholics will see eye to eye with Protestants...'⁶⁸³

⁶⁸⁰ Dolan points out that most of the things American Protestants condemned 'when they commented on Catholic piety... the mass, the rosary, or devotion to the saints [were] Romish practices which the Reform had done away with'; Dolan, p. 186.

⁶⁸¹ Pages 89-92.

38 Drummond, Dwight L. Moody, pp. 105-6. For an example of anti-Catholic bigotry at its most rabid see Zion's Herald, Boston, 22 April 1891, (Yale) where J. D. Fulton describes 'Moodyism' as 'almost as much out of the pale of the church as Romanism is'. To Moody's pleas for tolerance towards Catholics, Fulton responds, 'Tolerance, indeed! Would you tolerate smallpox? You can't tolerate evil. You must fight it.' When Moody was considering writing a book on the atonement, he determined to include a Roman Catholic theologian among those whom he would invite to contribute to the work, a remarkably generous intention given the predominantly bigoted attitude towards Catholics which prevailed among the evangelicals of the time, who made up the largest percentage of his reading audience; see letter from Moody to Fitt, The Alta Vista, Colorado Springs, 2 January 1899, Yale (28,I,I)

⁶⁸³ Findlay, Dwight L. Moody, p. 248.

Furthermore, it should be recalled that Moody sent both his sons to Yale, Torrey's own alma mater. That he did so again brought criticism from conservative associates who thought it inappropriate that the evangelist should send his own children to a liberal university.⁶⁸⁴ Moreover, both of his sons, Paul the liberal and Will the conservative,⁶⁸⁵ later found themselves at the centre of controversy over articles they had written that were critical of the Fundamentalists and which adamantly declared their father's opposition towards the spirit of the movement.

As has been mentioned, almost from its beginning Northfield represented a spirit of tolerance that was unknown at the MBI.⁶⁸⁶ For this reason Torrey left and founded a bible conference centre at Montrose. In a letter to the author, William Compton, a faculty member at Northfield, confirmed that 'Tension did develop [between MBI and Northfield] I'm not sure when--probably existed from the beginning...'.⁶⁸⁷ Will Moody's letter of resignation from the MBI board of directors gives little direct evidence of division between the two institutions,⁶⁸⁸ but another important letter ends any dispute over the matter. In October 1920, Will wrote to Fitt answering his query as to why The Record of Christian Work, the Northfield journal, would no longer carry advertising for MBI. This

⁶⁸⁴ Janet Mabie, The Years Beyond, Northfield Bookstore, Massachusetts 1960, p. 156; Paul D. Moody, 'My father as I knew him', Advance, 1 February 1937, p. 52.

⁶⁸⁵ Gundry, p. 199; Paul Moody, My Father, p. 185.

⁶⁸⁶ Mabie, p. 192; see also the abstract in Church History, June 1973, pp. 272-73 on Donald A. Wells' PhD thesis entitled 'D. L. Moody and his schools: an historical analysis of an educational ministry' (Boston University, 1972) in which he concludes that Moody's 'breadth of spirit was more prevalent at the Northfield School than at the Bible Institute both prior to and after Moody's death'.

⁶⁸⁷ Letter from Linda S. Batty to author, enclosed notes from Compton, dated 7 May 1923.

⁶⁸⁸ See W. R. Moody to Fitt, Northfield, 14 September 1906; also 19 September 1906, WRM File drawer, MBI.

letter has not been cited before and offers conclusive evidence that there was indeed a split between the two institutions, contrary to what Torrey was to maintain, as shall be seen shortly. In the letter, Moody gave his reasons for refusal:

First: the spirit of the place is such that I should not feel that we could recommend any young person to attend the Institute. Certainly I would not recommend any of our Northfield students to go...Second: I do not feel confidence in regard [to the Institute]. Not long ago I learned of an organization which had practically determined to decline to employ any further graduates of the Institute in their work, as their experience had been that wherever they went they caused a schism. Their attitude was pharisaical, and they would take, for instance, the teaching of our Lord's second coming and make it, not a point of union between Christian people, but a point of cleavage, the acceptance of pre-millennial views being the touchstone of orthodoxy. I would say that in this respect, as well as in others, the Institute has far departed from the spirit and attitude of my father...⁶⁸⁹

The controversy over this schism came to a boil in July 1923 when W. R. Moody published the article 'What is the attitude of Northfield to the Fundamentals'.⁶⁹⁰ In it Will affirmed Northfield's commitment to the 'two primary tenets of evangelical Christianity', the deity of Christ and the atoning efficacy of this death. However, he declared, Fundamentalism had come to mean, not 'the basic doctrines of evangelicalism, but rather,...a sect or new denomination' which had 'determined upon certain interpretations of Scripture as being the only valid statements of truth'. In listing the biblical evidences of Christian faith which included 'love, joy, peace...temperance', Moody observed that 'it is noticeable that heresy-hunting and bitter denunciation of fellow Christians is not enumerated as a spiritual accomplishment!' He concluded by saying that

⁶⁸⁹ Copy of letter from WRM to Fitt, no address, 20 October 1920, WRM File drawer, MBI.

⁶⁹⁰ The Record of Christian Work, c. spring 1923.

However loyal to...doctrines...or...prophetic studies, if a man cherishes a wrong spirit he is FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG...Any spirit of meticulous fault-finding and suspicious analysis of every word and phrase to discover error is not a "defense of the faith," but a spirit of Pharisaism.

True Fundamentalism was 'loyalty to Christ and love to fellow Christians'.

When the liberal journal The Christian Century discovered this article, they ran an editorial entitled 'Where would Mr. Moody stand?'⁶⁹¹ in which they used Will Moody's statements to elaborate on the purported schism which existed between the late D. L. Moody's two organizations. The editorial was primarily an invective against MBI which now spoke 'with a wholly different voice from that of its founder, not only failing to represent him, but actually doing violence to his original purpose in founding the school'. Though a 'superficial parallel' might be drawn between MBI's 'system of doctrine' and 'that which Mr. Moody held' the journal argued, the 'bitterness and unbrotherliness' which now prevailed there was antipodal to 'the temper and methods of Mr. Moody'. The Christian Century noted that Moody had invited men such as Smith and Drummond to speak at Northfield and deplored the MBI's present policy which limited 'its use of teachers and preachers to those who can utter the Fundamentalist shibboleths...!.

In response to this editorial, Paul Moody sent a letter to The Christian Century thanking them for the article.⁶⁹² His father's name, he wrote, had been 'used in such a way' over the previous quarter of a century that no one really knew what he had stood for; 'all the sunshiny sanity which characterized him is forgotten'. In the letter he recounted the George Adam Smith incident as well as another where Moody had agreed with a paper

⁶⁹¹ 12 July 1923, pp. 870-872.

⁶⁹² Article entitled 'Moody becoming "a veiled figure"', 2 August 1923, pp. 979-980.

written by himself in which he stated that 'whatever harm had been done by criticism, more harm had been done by the spirit in which attacks had been made upon it.' Though he granted that Moody had been a conservative in his early days, he declared that

in his prime...he was, for those days, a liberal. Were he living today...he would be, I am convinced, more in sympathy with the men who, like Fosdick, are preaching what he loved to spread--the love of God and the power of Christ--than with those who are attempting to persecute them because they will not subscribe to certain shibboleths.

A response of righteous indignation at these two articles was not long in coming and it did so by the hand of none other than R. A. Torrey. He answered the 'Where would Mr. Moody stand?' article with the arrogant claim 'I know just what Mr. Moody's ideas and purposes regarding the Institute were...'.⁶⁹³ Torrey disagreed with the writer's speculation that Will Moody's article had been a covert slight of MBI. 'We trust that this interpretation of Mr. Will R. Moody's article is a false one and that he would not be guilty of such indirection and disingenuousness.'⁶⁹⁴ Whether indirect and disingenuous or not, the letter from Will Moody cited earlier suggests that The Christian Century writer's speculation about the tension between the two institutions was correct.

Torrey continued by agreeing that Moody would not have been 'bitter and unbrotherly toward those "who differ in minor matters of doctrine"' but he declared: 'neither is the Institute...The statement is a barefaced lie and slander.' Nearly the whole of Torrey's article is a series of arguments ad hominem; it was not the Fundamentalists who were contentious but the liberals: '...any one who has kept close watch of the writings on both sides must know that the bitterest and most rancorous words that have been spoken

⁶⁹³ MBI Monthly, December 1923, pp. 172.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 171.

have been spoken by these Modernists'. He then went into a lengthy discussion of examples of rancorous liberals, all of which had little to do with the main issue which he was supposed to be addressing. In fact, nowhere in the article did Torrey deny the contentions which had been made about Moody's tolerance towards liberals. He dealt only with a defence of the MBI and declared in closing that 'Of all the institutions Mr. Moody organized and fostered I do not think there is a single institution he would so rejoice in if he could come back to this earth and see the work as the work of THE MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE.'⁶⁹⁵

It was in response to Paul Moody's article that Torrey dealt more specifically with Moody himself. In an article entitled 'Mr. Paul D. Moody's gross calumny of his honored father, D. L. Moody', Torrey called Paul's letter to The Christian Century the 'unkindest stab' of all that had been given to Moody's memory. His outrage was directed towards Paul's statement that his father 'was, for those days, a liberal.' Moody, Torrey said, was 'a conservative of conservatives'. Again, as on so many previous occasions, Torrey was going to settle the issue once and for all: 'It is time that the exact facts were stated.' Regarding the George Adam Smith issue, Torrey stated that Moody 'backed me in every statement I made and every position I took...'. He repeated his assertion that Moody later said that Smith was doing the 'Devil's work' and that he regretted inviting him to Northfield. It has already been shown that Will Moody's testimony throws considerable doubt on this account.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 173.

Regarding Moody's attitude towards Drummond, Torrey stated that he 'positively refused to use him in connection with his campaign in Chicago during the World's Fair in 1893.' Unfortunately, we have only Torrey's word in this matter against that of G. A. Smith who states in Drummond's Dwight L. Moody that Henry declined to accept Moody's proffered invitation in order to avoid bringing him any further trouble. Nevertheless, several circumstances combine to suggest that Torrey was misrepresenting the situation. Firstly, Smith offers a quotation from Moody regarding Drummond and the World's Fair. 'It was the first time he failed me'.⁶⁹⁶ Though Torrey was insistent that Moody refused to use Drummond, he did not go so far as to quote Moody on the matter. Smith's exactitude is an inconclusive but noteworthy piece of evidence. Secondly, Drummond's presentation at Northfield in the previous year which included the lectures 'A life for a life' and 'The ideal man' was hardly more agitating than, for instance, the message on 'The study of the bible'⁶⁹⁷ which he delivered in his first visit to Northfield in 1887. In the latter he expounded clearly the new views of inspiration and biblical criticism. Yet Moody invited him back to speak again in 1892. Furthermore, and very significantly, Moody included many other speakers of varying degrees of liberal opinion on his Northfield platform. The list included Smith, Washington Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Booker T. Washington, S. P. Cadman, Henry Sloane Coffin, John A. Broadus and

⁶⁹⁶ Drummond, Dwight L. Moody, p. 23.

⁶⁹⁷ T. J. Shanks, A College of Colleges, Revell, New York 1887.

William Rainy Harper.⁶⁹⁸ Harper, president of the University of Chicago and a strong advocate of higher criticism, spoke twice at Northfield in 1888 and 1889, as did at least two others. To suggest that G. A. Smith's invitation was an isolated incident is to ignore Moody's frequent practice of bringing these more liberal speakers to Northfield. Moreover, if he allowed Broadus, Harper and Washington to speak more than once, as he had with Drummond in 1887 and 1893, it is all but inconceivable that he should suddenly refuse to allow the Scottish evangelist, whom he loved like a son, to participate in the Chicago World's Fair the following year, 1893. Again, in the face of other deductions, the credibility of Torrey's testimony regarding Moody's unwillingness to use Drummond is dubious.

Torrey concluded the pamphlet by asserting that "'Modernism' [was] not modern'. The liberals of Moody's day held the same views as the liberals of the 1920's, denying the virgin birth, the substitutionary atonement and the literal resurrection of the body of Christ. For Paul to say that his father "'were he living today...would be...in sympathy with men who" are denying the virgin birth or our Lord and the substitutionary doctrine of the atonement, [was] a gross and unpardonable slander upon Mr. D. L. Moody.' In writing these things, Torrey was, whether intentionally or not, misleading; Paul Moody was dealing with his father's attitude towards others, not with his theology. Admittedly, he did not clearly state Dwight's opposition to the theology of Smith or Drummond. But neither did he suggest, as Torrey's concluding comment implied, that Moody would have

⁶⁹⁸ Shanks 1887 and '88 editions of College of Colleges; Fred Norton editor of 1889 edition; also 'An outline history of Northfield summer conferences' as prepared by A. P. Fitt, February 1935, unpublished, obtained from records department, Northfield, pp. 17, 18, 20.

exchanged his early orthodoxy for theological liberalism. Torrey had raised the emotional issues of the atonement, virgin birth and resurrection, none of which Paul even mentioned in his article, and in so doing completely misrepresented what he was intending to say. Paul was speaking of his father's breadth and tolerance; Torrey shifted the emphasis to the more inflammatory subject of doctrinal matters. This is not merely the present author's interpretation of what Paul Moody meant. Writing in the September 1937 edition of The Atlantic Monthly⁶⁹⁹ the latter said of his father,

If liberality is a matter of doctrine, he was not liberal. If liberality is a matter of the spirit, he was one of the most liberal of men. He died before the term 'fundamentalist' came to have its present connotation. He accepted most of the tenets of the Fundamentalists, it is true; but not in their spirit...In the present sense of the word, he most certainly was not a liberal. And equally certainly he was not a Fundamentalist.

Torrey's articles accomplished what might have been expected of them. A flood of letters came to MBI Monthly, for instance, condemning Paul and Will's statements and testifying to D. L. Moody's purity of doctrine and unstinting anti-liberalism.⁷⁰⁰ There were even rumours abroad that George Adam Smith had renounced his liberalism saying, 'I have come back to the faith of my covenanting forefathers...'.⁷⁰¹

One other piece of evidence vividly illustrates that, in the matter of tolerance, Moody and Torrey were worlds apart. In 1899, The Record of Christian Work asked

⁶⁹⁹ Page 277.

⁷⁰⁰ See MBI Monthly, December 1923, pp. 173-74; January 1924, pp. 235-36.

⁷⁰¹ MBI Monthly, July 1924, p. 563; August 1924. The accounts were spurious but demonstrate the eagerness of Fundamentalism to latch on to such reports. For yet another example of controversy over Moody's liberalism see Elmer William Powell's article, 'D. L. Moody and the origin of Fundamentalism' in The Christian Work, 19 April 1924, p. 60; L. W. Munhall's response in The Eastern Methodist, 19 July 1923; MBI Monthly, December 1924, p. 147. Interestingly, Paul Moody came out in support of Powell's article; see The Christian Work, 12 July 1924, p. 60. See also Charles A. Blanchard's article, 'D. L. Moody's "Modernism"', MBI Monthly, February 1926, p. 264.

prominent evangelicals, 'What was the teaching of Christ regarding his disciples' attitude towards error, and towards those who held erroneous doctrines?' To this question Torrey responded,

Christ and His immediate disciples immediately attacked, exposed and denounced error. We are constantly told in our day that we ought not to attack error but simply teach the truth. This is the method of the coward and trimmer; it was not the method of Christ.⁷⁰²

To the same query Moody responded:

Christ's teaching was always constructive...His method of dealing with error was largely to ignore it, letting it melt away in the warm glow of the full intensity of truth expressed in love...Let us hold truth, but by all means let us hold it in love, and not with a theological club.⁷⁰³

As Marsden has observed, the two views 'could hardly have been more directly opposed'.⁷⁰⁴

In sum, there is no indication that Moody deviated in any significant degree from the theology to which he had been committed since the earliest days of his ministry and which, for the most part, the Fundamentalists would continue to claim as their own.⁷⁰⁵ At the same time, when the testimony of his family, several friends and the evidence of his actions towards those of a different theological persuasion are considered, the evidence supports the conclusion that Moody was a man of breadth and tolerance, and in that sense, therefore, a liberal. A great majority of the testimonies which dispute this claim come from R. A. Torrey. The extensive evidence of Torrey's contentious nature which has

⁷⁰² Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, p. 43.

⁷⁰³ Ibid., p. 44.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵ However, consider Moody's statement, made late in his life, regarding theology: 'It's well to begin in a conservative way. As one grows older the tendency is ever to broaden one's views.' W. R. Moody, D. L. Moody 1930, p. 440. This cryptic comment is hardly conclusive but the reader wonders if it is autobiographical.

already been cited gives strong justification for deciding against him in this matter. If this is not enough, however, perhaps the most damning piece of evidence regarding Moody's attitude towards those with whom he differed comes, unwittingly, from Torrey's own lips. In his book Why God Used D. L. Moody⁷⁰⁶ Torrey describes a carriage ride which he took with Moody. While they were out, Moody said to him

Torrey, we will let the other men do the talking and the criticizing, and we will stick to the work that God has given us to do, and let Him take care of the difficulties and answer the criticism.

Herein lay the difference between the two men. Moody was content to do exactly what he had exhorted Torrey to do. He saw the task of Christian evangelism and education as essential but carried to that task a congenial warmth and tolerance. His was a natural ecumenical spirit which, if it perceived a genuine Christian commitment in another, was willing to ignore theological differences, even at times significant ones. As he told Charles F. Goss, pastor of the Chicago Avenue Church, 'Goss, whatever you do, keep sweet! I have been misunderstood, maligned, abused, but I made up my mind to keep sweet...!'⁷⁰⁷

Furthermore, Moody perceived issues such as biblical criticism as peripheral. If questioned he would have declared himself to be a verbal inerrantist. That was one of the 'shibboleths' which had to be uttered; not to do so was dangerous given the circles in which he moved. There is no doubt that Moody held the scriptures in the highest regard. He probably did think of himself as an inerrantist. Yet his comments on the discrepancies in the accounts of Judas' death or on 'half a dozen Isaiahs' suggest that this doctrine of

⁷⁰⁶ Fleming Revell, New York 1923, pp. 10-11.

⁷⁰⁷ A. P. Fitt, Moody Still Lives, PP. 59-60.

scripture did not hold the place of pre-eminence for him that it did for Fundamentalists.

When asked, 'What do you think of higher criticism?' Moody responded:

I dunno what it is and havent time to find out. Why a possible cure for sin when I have a sure remedy? Gospel [sic] stood test of 18 centuries and not failed once. I know what gospel will do for sinsick..I have seen power for 40 years. Why try a new remedy of which I know nothing?⁷⁰⁸

Torrey could not do this. His ministry, and the whole of Fundamentalism, found its identity in the role of the offended party. It was built on a foundation of insulted indignation and aggressive reprisal. To tell Torrey and the Fundamentalists to 'let other men do the talking and the criticizing' was to destroy their raison d'etre.

Whether or not one agrees with Winthrop Hudson's assessment that, with the death of Moody in 1899, 'the decline of revivalism was headlong and precipitate',⁷⁰⁹ it is safe to say that no single person rose up to take the reins of the empire he had built. Paul Moody writes of 'worries which pressed upon' his father in the waning days of his life, particularly 'concerning the future of the work [and] anxiety concerning his associates'.⁷¹⁰ The deathbed distribution of Moody's various institutions among his family members demonstrated his desire to perpetuate control of that empire through his trusted children. But circumstances militated against Moody's wishes. Within seven years the 'Moody element' had been removed from the corridors of power at Moody Bible Institute.⁷¹¹ Will Moody worked hard to carry on his father's work at Northfield but the 'burden had been

⁷⁰⁸ Copy of interview taken from Chicago Times Herald, 1 October 1890, Yale papers (28,III).

⁷⁰⁹ Hudson, The Great Tradition, p. 137.

⁷¹⁰ Paul Moody, 'My father as I knew him', Advance, 1 February 1937, p. 52-3.

⁷¹¹ Letter from Torrey to Fitt, East Northfield, Massachusetts, 8 September 1906, Torrey files, MBI; WRM to Fitt, Northfield Schools, 14 September 1906, WRM File drawer, MBI.

too great' as his brother Paul angrily declared at his death: 'I feel I would be failing in my duty if I did not say this.'⁷¹² Both sons were capable and educated men who loved their father and seemed sincerely committed to carrying out his wishes. But neither possessed his powerful personality, particularly in dealing with the ever strengthening Fundamentalist segment within the Moody organizations. Furthermore, neither man had the gifts which equipped him to perpetuate the evangelistic arm of their father's ministry.

At least to this extent, then, Hudson is correct; there was no individual capable of administering the entirety of the inheritance which Moody handed on at the turn of the century. That assessment brings us once again to the central characters of this study. For, in the two most important scenes of Moody's career, Great Britain and the United States, Henry Drummond and R. A. Torrey were arguably the closest to being heirs apparent to the Moody tradition.

Drummond and Moody could not have been much more dissimilar. Drummond's education, culture and family placed him in a social setting entirely different from that which Moody naturally inhabited. Though Moody's congeniality and inborn commercial shrewdness earned him the respect and friendship of many leading businessmen, it is most unlikely that he could have accomplished the things that Drummond did; for instance, at the Grosvenor House meetings when he spoke to the cream of London society. As Moore points out,

H D's gospel was cultured and respectable enough to play to the London elite. Moody could never have commanded the audience at Grosvenor House because (apart from being a somewhat uncouth American) he would

⁷¹² New York Times, 15 October 1933.

never have used evolution as a means of restating the essential message of Christianity, not even metaphorically.⁷¹³

Drummond's niche in the academic world and his confidence in the modern developments in science, biblical studies and theology, placed him at the opposite pole from his American friend. Though they had once spoken the same evangelistic language they later diverged in this area as well. Moody's vocabulary and method changed little to the end of his life, committed as he was to the old school doctrines of inerrant scripture and salvation through the atoning work of Christ. Drummond's commitment to evangelism remained the same but his message evolved from that which he shared with Moody as a young man in the inquiry rooms to that of moral reformism which he preached for a decade to the students of Edinburgh. And his method, stripped of the hoopla of organ, choir and soloist, resembled more the university lecture room than the revival hall.

Theologically, both men were indistinct and this was very likely due to the same reason. Moody and Drummond were content to ignore their own theological inconsistencies because not to do so would have enhanced the adversarial aspect between themselves and those who disagreed with them. This neither of them was willing to do. Moody's lack of education and his self-avowed ignorance of modern theological thought should not be used to press him into the mould of a country bumpkin. It is highly doubtful that he was entirely unaware of the theological developments that were taking place around him, despite his apparent claims to the contrary. To argue, as one has done, that the only reason Moody could say 'I have never...read anything by Drummond with which I did not heartily agree' was because he did not read much of Drummond's writings,

⁷¹³ Letter to author, 16 October 1986.

is to miss the point entirely.⁷¹⁴ It is unlikely that his remarks would have been any different if he had read every one of Drummond's volumes. Moody was an irenic obscurantist. He chose not to see the obvious discrepancies which existed between himself and Drummond, a man for whom he cared deeply. But the differences were only too apparent to his frustrated conservative associates. The non-negotiable essentials of Moody's gospel message were few: If someone loved Christ and preached the need for a personal relationship with him, Moody was willing to grant that person the benefit of the doubt. As one put it, Moody judged Drummond by the 'center of his faith' and 'not the circumference of it'.⁷¹⁵

Is it too much, therefore, to suggest that Henry Drummond was a significant force in shaping this aspect of Moody's character? Moody loved the man before he was a 'heretic'; when Drummond became one, Moody would not let him go. As Moore says, 'HD's chief impact on Moody was to flush out and confirm [his] essentially liberal and loving character'.⁷¹⁶ Seeing that this Scotsman whom he thought of as a son could hold to modern views and yet, apparently, continue to love Christ, Moody's willingness to concede the same possibility in others was strengthened. As for his own theology, he held very few doctrines so dear that he was willing, because of them, to sever a relationship with someone he loved.

Drummond's own theological imprecision was born, at least in part, out of a similar dilemma. Although he may not have been conscious of the fact, by refusing to

⁷¹⁴ Richard Ellsworth Day, Bush Aglow, Judson Press, Philadelphia 1936, p. 207.

⁷¹⁵ John McDowell, What D. L. Moody Means to Me, Northfield Schools, Massachusetts 1937, p. 16, Yale.

⁷¹⁶ James Moore to author, 11 September 1986.

define precisely what he meant by certain theological terms common to both liberals and conservative evangelicals and by refusing to retort to criticism of his neoorthodoxy, he probably spared himself the discomfort of receiving even more criticism than he already did. Drummond was opposed as much for what he neglected to say as for what he did say. Judgment against his inadequate views on scripture, hell or evolution, of which he spoke rather straightforwardly, were easily made. Inferences regarding his position on the deity of Christ, the atonement or man's sinfulness, about which he tended to be cryptical, were more speculative. This was partly due to his genuine commitment to relatively traditional expressions in some areas of doctrine, such as his call for a 'personal relationship with Christ'. Drummond was willing to walk a long distance with liberalism but stopped short of discarding the centrality of Christ as savior in his evangelistic message, as against the liberal preference for the centrality of Christ as moral exemplar, a necessary point of agreement for all those who termed themselves evangelicals. As long as he avoided clearly formulating whatever controversial views he might have held on, say, the person of Christ, he did not place himself so far outside the pale of orthodoxy as to risk cutting himself off from his evangelical roots and more orthodox friends.

Drummond's commitment to evangelism and to the proposition that Christ was the only means of a change in life, never wavered. That the focus of his attention shifted from the traditional conservative emphasis on being 'saved' for heaven in his early messages to that of being saved for this life in his later ministry did not negate his confidence in Christ as the only agent of that change. This remained the centre of his theology, just as it did for

Moody and on that common basis both were men able to ignore the logical fallacies and theological discrepancies which were so apparent to onlookers.⁷¹⁷

Torrey was one of those onlookers, surely frustrated with Moody's stubborn association with Drummond and thereby with Drummond's modernism, and equally disgusted with the Scotsman's perversion of the pure gospel. On the surface, he had much more in common with Drummond than with Moody. He too came from a wealthy background, had benefited from the finest educational opportunities both in America and abroad, and had earned a reputation as an academic. Like Drummond he dressed impeccably and spoke precisely. But Torrey was possessed of a consistency that did not burden the other two men. His precision of thought in matters of theology never varied. The simplistic Christocentrism of Moody and Drummond offended both his logical sensibilities and his systematized theology. To whittle away at the divinely inspired bible was not a peripheral issue for Torrey, and on the foundation of his defence of the scriptures and the perpetuation of dogmatic biblicism the rest of his ministry stood. To let the head of the modernist camel into the orthodox tent could only result, he was convinced, in the compromise of orthodoxy and the victory of modernism. There could be no intercourse with the enemy, no quarter given.

It is interesting that when Moody and others wanted to justify Drummond's neo-orthodoxy, they did so on the basis of his character. His theological weaknesses could be excused because of the quality of his life. 'The man was greater than all his writings', offered one. 'Henry Drummond was the most perfect Christian I have known or expect to

⁷¹⁷ For further discussion of the differences in evangelistic technique between Moody and Drummond see James W. Kennedy, Henry Drummond: An Anthology, pp. 27-29.

see this side the grave.⁷¹⁸ When Moody approached Alexander R. Simpson regarding the opposition to his decision allowing Drummond to speak at Northfield, Simpson noted that 'there were plenty of cavillers on our [British] side of the Atlantic also. But the criticism came from men who didn't know Henry Drummond personally...'.⁷¹⁹ Moody said of Drummond at his death, 'of all the men I...ever met, Henry Drummond was the most Christ like.'⁷²⁰ He let Drummond speak at Northfield, not because his theology was entirely acceptable, but because after talking with him for 'half-an-hour...he gave me such proof of his being possessed of a higher Christian life than either you [Drummond's critics] or I have that I could not say anything to him [about his liberalism].'⁷²¹ Torrey was not present at that confrontation⁷²² but if he had been, Moody's response would not have sufficed. Good character could never have compensated for bad theology. Perhaps it was here that Henry Drummond proved the greatest threat to Fundamentalism. Drummond did not fit the 'bitter' and 'rancorous' modernist stereotype which Torrey had portrayed.⁷²³ He was proof that one need not necessarily hold to Fundamentalist doctrine to live an exemplary Christian life. In his earnestness as an evangelist, his kindness and his genteelness, Drummond was probably a more insidious enemy to Fundamentalism than the easily denounced evils of the Kaiser's war machine which had sprung from the

⁷¹⁸ Ian Maclaren writing in preface of *The Ideal Life*, pp. 41-42.

⁷¹⁹ Article in *The Congregationalist and Christian World*, 2 November 1902, p. 613.

⁷²⁰ Quoted in a letter from James Stalker to Mrs. Drummond, 8 Claremont Gardens, Glasgow, 26 April 1897, Acc. 5890-3, SNL.

⁷²¹ T. Cannan Newall, *Wreath of Tributes*, pp. 110-111.

⁷²² Article 'Dr. R. A. Torrey replies to Dr. O. E. Brown', *MBI Monthly*, December 1925, pp. 162.

⁷²³ *MBI Monthly*, December 1923, p. 171.

loins of German liberal theology. Drummond exhibited more Christian characteristics than many of his less gracious critics, a point which made him, as one put it, a 'rebuke to orthodoxy'.⁷²⁴

But all of Torrey's energies found their locus precisely in the defence and perpetuation of that orthodoxy. The primacy and urgency of this purpose forbade exceptions for any one, even for those of apparently Christian character and similar theological convictions. Once Torrey was clear as to his own doctrine and purpose, he prosecuted his cause with unswerving consistency. His books were concise dogmatic pummellings as opposed to Drummond's prosaic meanderings. His evangelistic services tended to be domineering, redeemed only by Alexander's winsomeness. And his whole approach was governed by an overarching suspicion that many who claimed to be Christians were probably unsound.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁴ Alexander Webster, Robert Louis Stevenson and Henry Drummond, p. 14.

⁷²⁵ Even a writer in Moody Monthly came close to concurring with this. In his article "Are we Fundamentalists missing something" (First published April 1950; republished February 1986), A. W. Tozer suggests that an 'almost exclusive preoccupation with the objective elements in the Christian religion has created a generation of textualists characterized by a burning zeal for the letter of the faith, but at the same time revealing a strange lack of understanding of its subjective and experiential elements... We have led people to believe that if they accept the historic truth of Christianity, they do indeed possess its true spiritual content.' p. 82.

CONCLUSION

The advances in various schools of thought during the late nineteenth century brought inevitable changes. Moody lived sufficiently early in the century and moved in the right kind of circles to be able to ignore these changes. His suggestion to George Adam Smith about dropping the 'critical controversy' so as to get on with the work of evangelism reveals a great deal of the obscurantist element in Moody's character. He could ignore most of these issues because 'He did not feel besieged'.⁷²⁶ His two proteges, however, were not inclined to turn a blind eye in the way that their mentor had done. 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, 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. Perhaps both sides perceived these changes as inexorable. If so, it would help to explain the nature of their responses. In their heresy trials, for instance, Drummond, Marcus Dods and George Adam Smith, representatives of the growing liberal evangelical tradition, each responded to the controversy with a meekness that suggested confidence in the inevitable vindication of their cause. The asperity which so frequently characterised Fundamentalism, on the other hand, was reminiscent of the fervour of those fighting a last ditch battle.

⁷²⁶ Moore to Mark Toone, 11 September 1986.

Yet, in a real sense, it was only Torrey and the circle he represented who left behind a legacy. The theology for which Drummond stood was in the ascendant in Scotland by the last decade of the nineteenth century. When Marcus Dods was elected moderator of the Free Church General Assembly by a 'huge vote' on the first division, Drummond exulted that

the victory is a great one for the future of theology in Scotland and in all Presbyterian Churches throughout the world...The Conservatives have been in since living memory; now we can do what we like and think what we believe true. Many changes will follow; but the victory must be used wisely, and the new power with restraint...!⁷²⁷

But the self-congratulatory tone was short-lived. With the coming of World War I, the confident optimism in the perfectibility of man which had prevailed among the liberals at the turn of the century was brutally shattered. World War II delivered the coup de grace to any who doubted the fact. Drummond's theology carried on, though wounded. But no one stepped in to carry on his work, at least not in a permanent or easily recognizable institutionalized form. Part of this was due to a diffidence, perhaps even a false humility, on his part which constantly denied the importance of the role played by himself in, for example, the Edinburgh work. Unlike Moody, Drummond raised up no one to take his place. His greatest contribution was probably made through individuals whom he influenced and who continued in various aspects of Christian ministry. But aside from

⁷²⁷ Letter to Eis, Church of Scotland General Assembly, 29 May 1889, Haddo House. See also letter from John Watson to WRM, 19 December 1903, WRM file drawer, MBI, where he describes the difference between British and American theology at that time. 'Religious thought' was 'more free and fruitful' in Great Britain, allowing 'liberty in Biblical criticism' which was not as apparent in the United States. The American Church was perceived as 'ultr-conserv-ative[sic] in Dogma' by those in Great Britain although the latter should not be thought of as 'rationalistic'. They still confessed Christ as 'Divine Lord and Saviour, and an attack, either upon His Deity or His Humanity' would be resisted 'with all our might'; see also Cheyne, pp. 194 ff.

written testimonies to that fact and almost forgotten monographs, Drummond has left behind little to remind the world of his ministry; certainly not an organization.⁷²⁸

The same is true for Moody, despite his efforts and intentions, although this will be more vigorously contended. Catholicity and tolerance were so integral to Moody's work that any institution which did not perpetuate that spirit, however faithful it might have been to the theology and design of the great evangelist, retained only the shell of the original. The Northfield of today has moved so far from the conservative evangelicalism of Moody that it can hardly claim to belong to the same doctrinal school as its founder. At the same time, the present day position represented by the MBI and reflected in The Moody Monthly, though not nearly as vitriolic as in the period of Torrey's influence, nonetheless can hardly be said to reflect the generosity of spirit which allowed Moody to associate with Christians with whom he disagreed in many ways. If there is an institution which has maintained both Moody's conservatism and his breadth, it is neither of these.⁷²⁹

Strident Fundamentalism, on the other hand, still exists as a tribute to the tireless efforts of Torrey and its other patriarchs. The Moody Bible Institute stands for this conservative tradition far more than it does for the man whose name it bears⁷³⁰, a tradition

⁷²⁸ One possible exception would be the Moral Rearmament group, founded by Frank Buchman who acknowledged a large debt to Drummond. This influence, however, was again through his books, and though the temperament of M.R., with its emphasis on morality and reconciliation in the world, is very much like Drummond's sometimes indistinctly Christian message, Drummond's responsibility for the movement cannot be said to be any more than indirect. See Garth Lean, Frank Buchman: A Life, Constable, London, 1985, especially pp. 78, 82; also Anne Wolridge Gordon, Peter Howard: Life and Letters, Hodder and Stoughton, 1969, pp. 143, 205.

⁷²⁹ The Outlook, 30 December 1899, p. 1005, Yale (28,III,15,8).

⁷³⁰ To which, incidentally, Moody and his family members were strongly opposed. See letter from WRM to Fitt, 20 October 1920, no address, W. R. Moody file drawer, MBI: 'I felt that they [MBI directors] were directly

which has perpetuated the combativeness of early Fundamentalism. The present day schism in America within the Southern Baptist Convention between the dominant Fundamentalist party and the smaller moderate contingent, two groups whose points of agreement far outweigh their points of disagreement, is a dispute that may well result in permanent separation. This ongoing battle is a striking memorial to the resilience of the spirit of intolerance.⁷³¹

Dwight L. Moody can no more be understood apart from his breadth than can early Fundamentalism apart from its bigotry. Though it will probably cause strong disagreement among modern Fundamentalists, to presume to carry on Moody's name without his catholicity of spirit is an historical misrepresentation. Bernard DeRemer speaks of the passing of Moody's mantle to his 'Elisha'.⁷³² It certainly did not fall upon Drummond for, although he shared Moody's loving, generous spirit, his theology was far too liberal to have been faithful to his American mentor. Just as surely, contrary to the claims of DeRemer and of the modern Fundamentalists, it did not pass to Torrey either, whose theology was acceptable but whose spirit was angry and narrow. If Moody had a mantle to pass, it fell to the ground, untouched.

disregardful of my father's known wishes in regard to use of his name, both in connection with the Institute, and in connection with their monthly publication...!

⁷³¹ See Time magazine, 29 June 1987, p. 34; it is interesting to note that two of the fastest growing denominations in the United States are basically Fundamentalist: The Assemblies of God and the Southern Baptist Convention, although the SBC rejects the pentacost-alist element of the former group.

⁷³² Article 'Dr. Reuben Archer Torrey, a biographical sketch', The Evangelical Christian, March 1956, p. 112, MBI.

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