THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING
OF
RUFUS M. JONES

A Thesis Presented as
Requirement in Part
for the Ph.D. Degree

By
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The purpose of this essay is not pretentious; its intention is an examination of the works of Rufus Jones, with special consideration given to his religious teaching. However, any effort which attempts to clarify the shadowy notions attached to modern conceptions of mysticism will not be considered untimely or unimportant. It is hoped that sufficient evidence will be presented to indicate that the discrimination made between negative and positive mysticism is a valid one; and that adequate testimony will not be wanting to suggest that the particular religious teaching of Rufus Jones may be considered as a reinterpretation of the three-fold Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light.

It was not easily decided whether an attempted definition of mysticism should be entertained at the beginning or at the end of this essay. The suggestion that an outline of the essential features of what was considered true mysticism would be of greater advantage at the beginning, is the cause of its being placed there rather than at the end. This location of definition should intimate the conception of mysticism and mystical teaching sought for in the works of Rufus Jones.

The task of making acknowledgments is a pleasant one but one which is not always possible of fulfilment. Three ideas, which one will find recurring in the context of this essay, are definite contributions: to Professor H.... Mackintosh of New
College, Edinburgh, I am indebted for the conviction that theology and Christian teaching must reveal Christ vividly and vitally, that it must be Christ-centered; to Professor Daniel Lamont, also of New College, I am indebted for an appreciation of the importance of a modern Christian apologetic based upon latest scientific theories; and to Professor Hywell T. Hughes, of the Scottish Congregational College, I am indebted for a conception of psychology which stresses the social and Supernatural interrelationship of personality. The errors of this essay are not theirs; but whatever merits it may possess are due in no small measure to their considerate instruction and guidance.

Friends have given liberally of their time in criticism and suggestion. The manuscript was read in full, and many valuable suggestions made, by Professor Lamont and by Thomas Collocott, M.A., of Edinburgh. It has also been read in part by Dr. Hunter, librarian at New College, Miss Florence Wells, M.A., of New York, and by Professors William Robinson and Herbert G. Wood of Selly Oak, Birmingham. The courtesy of the Friend's library at Selly Oak extended me by Professor Wood made available material which would otherwise have been secured with difficulty.

To Yale University I am indebted for the Fellowship which made possible the continuation of my training at the University of Edinburgh, and the writing of this essay.

Bridgehampton, New York, January 6, 1936. Allen J. Miller
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INTRODUCTION

A new interest in Mysticism.

With the beginning of the twentieth century came the dawn of a new interest in Mysticism. Since then, a steady stream of volumes about Mysticism has been coming from the press; and these are falling into the hands of people who seem eager to read them. It would seem, from the many books that are published, that the number of readers in this field is rapidly increasing. If this be true, it would appear that ecclesiastical religion is beginning to lose its attractiveness and that mystical religion is beginning to have its day.

It is, however, in Mysticism as a religion and not as a philosophy that this new interest manifests itself. The majority of books that have been published on the subject have been written by professors of religion; and these men present the matter as it appeals to particular religious communities. Dean Inge would not deny that he has given us the Anglican view; Baron von Hugel would not disclaim his intention of appearing as an exponent of the Historical Mysticism of the Roman Catholic Church; and Professor

Some of the books that would indicate this revival of interest are as follows:

F. von Hugel, The Mystical Element of Religion (1908)
F. von Hugel, Eternal Life (1912)
Evelyn Underhill, Mysticism (1911); The Mystic Way (1913)
K. Fleming, Mysticism in Christianity (1913)
W. H. Dynon, Studies in Mysticism (1913)
E. Lehmann, Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom (translated by Hunt, 1910)
H. Delacroix, Etudes d'histoire et de psychologie du mysticisme (1908)
Joseph Muller, Einführung in die christliche Mystik (1908)
A. J. H. Jones, Studies in Mystical Religion (1908);
Rufus Jones would not reject the suggestion that he has interpreted Mysticism to us from the point of view of a Quaker. The Expository Times, in its review of his Studies in Mystical Religion, says:

"There is no body of Christian people, not even the Roman Catholic Church, that has a better right to representation than the Friends. For if the mystical chamber is a House of Lords in which ancestry gives the right to a place, it is also a House of Commons. The member must have his constituency and the confidence of it, but he must obtain his seat because he is himself a mystic, because he is one for whom Mysticism has done something, one who has done something for Mysticism. Professor Jones is himself a mystic, first because he is a representative Quaker, and next because of Mysticism he has freely received and has freely given." 1

This renewed interest in Mysticism does not necessarily mean, however, that all the men who write on the subject are mystics, or that the people who eagerly read their works can be called by that name. Many are writing about the mystical experience and many are reading about it without having it. On the other hand, there are those who are not acquainted with the term at all, who are, nevertheless, enjoying the experience. Of course, whether we agree with this statement or not depends upon what we understand Mysticism to mean. The particular definition that we give to it will considerably influence our judgment as to the kind and number of individuals who are ex-

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1-The Expository Times, Vol. 20, 1908-9, p.462
experiencing it. It is not our object, at present, to define Mysticism; it is merely our purpose to call attention to the fact that this generation is witnessing a revival of interest in Mysticism. At the same time, however, it is well to keep in mind that a revival of interest in Mysticism does not necessarily mean a revival of Mysticism itself.

Many contributory streams of influence are responsible for this renewed interest. Our increased historical knowledge, for one thing, has brought to light the important part which Mysticism has played in the religious life of the world and especially its importance in the development of Christian thought and experience. Again, the increased interest in psychological research has led to an aroused interest in the investigation of the inner life and especially of the deep regions of the subconscious where a vast amount of hidden spiritual energy seems to lie. Furthermore, philosophy has contributed not a little towards this revival of interest. The prevailing tendency of some schools of thought seems to be against "intellectualism." "Knowledge," they claim, has made too many pretensions and needs to be humbled. This "humiliation" is effected by exalting intuition and experience. A stronger case, they claim, can be made out for the "heart" than for the "head." 

1-Pascal says that "The heart has its reasons of which the reason knows not."
History points out that whenever there is an extreme interest in intellectualism, a swing to the other extreme usually follows. Following the period of Greek intellectualism which was controlled more or less by the thinking of Aristotle, came the mysticism of Plotinus; following the period of scholasticism when men were interested mostly in the intellectual formulation of their particular beliefs, came the mystic cry of a monk who, with the announcement of the authority of faith, started the world on a new era. Similarly, we are to-day living in an age when men's interests are mainly intellectual and practical. We have gone to such an extreme in this direction that the normal mystical reaction is beginning to make itself felt.¹

Perhaps the greatest reason for the recent swing towards Mysticism is the collapse of the traditional elements of religion. Science has roughly shaken men awake to the fact that their childish dreams of God are no longer tenable. Everywhere science points to infinites, whether it be dealing with the stars or with this table upon which I am writing. Science will no longer allow us to think of God as a Being who is confined to the regions of the sky. Similarly, methods of historical research have shattered the conception of divine intervention as conceived by

¹-Principal Hywel T. Hughes of the Scottish Congregational College was the first to introduce me to the idea of these oscillations in history between intellectualism and Mysticism.
traditional theology and they have played havoc with such ideas as "dispensations" and specially "chosen people." We have been brought to the position where we must look on history as either all sacred or all secular. Historical science has also destroyed the theory of the Church as an infallible guarantor of the truth of "things to come," and men have found themselves either forced to look within themselves for the source of truth and for the resources of life or to flounder about without something ultimate to which they can cling.

The present return of interest in Mysticism is to be distinguished from that of the pre-Reformation period, from that of the counter-Reformation in Spain, Italy and France, and from that of the spiritual reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. All three of these last named movements were led by men who were themselves great mystics. This is not true of the mystical movement of to-day. Very few prophets of first-hand experience have made their appearance among us. There are some, it is true, who know from experience what Mysticism is, but there are very few indeed who are capable of large mystical adventures. The majority of the leaders of the present movement have confined what they have to say to the historical and psychological interpretation of mysticism as revealed in the autobiographies and expositions of dead prophets. However, perhaps this is a preliminary stage through which all mystical movements must pass before they flower out into periods of rich experience.
2-Mysticism in America.

It may surprise one to be told that there is a widespread interest in Mysticism in such a practical country as America. We usually think of the American as a hard-headed business man interested only in driving shrewd bargains. There are such men in America, no doubt, as there are in every land. But one who knows this type of American only, does not know America. There has always been a strong strain of idealism in that country, that responds to the highest and the best; and it is ever ready to answer any call of duty that will make this world a better one in which to live. This idealistic or spiritual strain is reflected in these words of Rufus Jones:

"We cannot build a great America on the practical utilitarian plane alone. This sort of structure will some day collapse with even greater ruin than the moral debacle of Europe during the terrible years from 1914 to 1918. It will be well for us, if we look seriously to see whether the holy place is an inherent part of our building plans. If it is not, our vast educational programme and our extraordinary scientific discoveries and our economic progress will only make the collapse more terrible when 'the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land.'"

America has not at any time altogether lacked this deeper side of life. The first groups of colonists who left the Mother Country for America were composed of men and women who possessed a high and living faith in unseen realities. Nothing but a deep conviction in an invisible Power which was on the side of those

1-Some Exponents of Mystical Religion, p. 198.
who strove to make things as they ought to be could ever have brought them through those first severe New England winters.

And at no time in America's history has the mystical element been entirely wanting. From the beginning of the colonial period in the seventeenth century, members of small bodies of mystical sects of the English Commonwealth (1640-60) settled in the various American colonies with the hope that they might be able to worship as their own ideals dictated, and that they might be permitted to pass on the bit of truth that they had discovered.

From 1656 onward the Quakers began to "invade" America. Their form of worship was definitely mystical. Whittier in his "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" gives us a beautiful picture of the unifying mystical experience that was characteristic of these early Quaker meetings:

"Lowly before the Unseen Presence meet
Each waiting heart, till haply some one felt
On his moved lips the seal of silence melt.

Or, without spoken word, low breathing stole
Of a diviner life from soul to soul,
Baptizing in one tender thought the whole." 1

In 1684 a number of Flemish mystics, followers of Jean de Labadie, settled in Maryland on the Bohemia River, near the head of Chesapeake Bay. And the same year a number of Dutch and German sects began to enter the country. They brought with them various types of mystical thought, the best of which was to be

found in those strains which showed the influence of John Tauler and Jacob Boehme.

Perhaps the most outstanding American mystic of the eighteenth century was the theologian and philosopher, Jonathan Edwards (1703-58). Although a logical theologian, he was also a man with a warm religious nature. On several occasions he had moving experiences of God. One of these experiences came to him after reading a verse of Scripture. He says:

"As I read the words there came into my soul, and was as it were diffused through it, a sense, quite different from anything I have ever experienced before."

Another such experience came to him after a discourse with his father on some of the things that were passing through his mind.

"Not long after I first began to experience these things, I gave an account to my father of some things that had passed in my mind. I was pretty much affected by the discourse we had together; and when the discourse was ended, I walked abroad alone, in a solitary place in my father's pasture, for contemplation. And as I was walking there, and looking up on the sky and clouds, there came into my mind so sweet a sense of the glorious majesty and grace of God, that I know not how to express. I seemed to see them both in a sweet conjunction; majesty and meekness joined together: it was a sweet and gentle, and holy majesty; and also a majestic meekness; an awful sweetness; a high and great, and holy gentleness."

1-1 Tim.1:17 "Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory forever and ever, Amen."
2-The works of President Edwards, V.1,p.30; edited by Samuel Hopkins, London, 1817.
3-ibid. p.31.
He tells us that after this experience his sense of divine things gradually increased and enabled him to enjoy more of that "inward sweetness." An "appearance of divine glory" seemed to touch everything. Whether he looked above at the sun, moon, and stars or whether he looked here below at the grass, flowers and trees, he seemed to see the same thing—the wisdom, excellency, purity and love of God.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) was one of the most distinguished mystics of the nineteenth century, and perhaps one of the greatest mystics America has ever produced. Romantic and post-Kantian influences found their way into his thought, as did also the influence of Plato, Plotinus, Boehme and George Fox. Emerson's poems and essays entered multitudes of American homes and formed a part of their life and thought. His most spontaneous and creative mystical writing is his essay on "The Oversoul."¹

Emerson writes in this essay:

"We know that all spiritual being is in man. A wise old proverb says, 'God comes to see us without bell;' that is, as there is no screen or ceiling between our heads and the infinite heavens, so is there no bar or wall in the soul where man the effect, ceases, and God, the cause begins. The walls are taken away. We lie open on one side to the deeps of spiritual nature, to the attributes of God."²

¹-Kufus Jones is of the opinion that it is the best mystical writing that America has ever produced. Cf. Some Exponents of Mystical Religion, p. 203.
²-Emerson's Works, V. 1, p. 113, London, 1866.
The same life, says Emerson, that invades man flows through all of nature, forming its substance and its progressive existence:

"All the forms are fugitive,
But the substances survive.
Ever fresh the broad creation,
A divine improvisation,
From the heart of God proceeds
A single will, a million deeds.
-
He is the axis of the star;
He is the sparkle of the spar;
He is the heart of every creature;
He is the beginning of each feature;
And his mind is the sky,
Than all it holds more deep, more high."

Walt Whitman (1819-92), next to Emerson, has done more than any other one man to interpret mysticism to America. His own personal experiences indicate that he was himself a mystic. His most important contributions to an interpretation of Mysticism are to be found in his poems. It was his belief that human life was not only sustained by a great Life force, but that in some way it was an inseparable part of that Life. He says in his poem called, "Walt Whitman":

"Everything indicates—the smallest does, and
the largest does;
A necessary film envelops all, and envelops
the Soul for a proper time.
-
We use you, and do not cast you aside
and plant you permanently within us
We fathom you not—we love you—there is
perfection in you also:
You furnish your parts towards eternity:

Great or small, you furnish your parts towards the soul.\textsuperscript{1}

William James (1842-1910) ranks after Emerson and Whitman in importance in American mystical interpretation. He claimed not to be a mystic, but some of his writings would lead us to believe that there was more of a mystical tendency in him than he realized. He thought that his particular constitution shut him out from the enjoyment of mystical experiences. But on one occasion at least, he was the subject of such an experience. He had gone to the Adirondacks at the close of a college term at Harvard to rest and to think over the substance of the Edinburgh lectures which he was to deliver three years later. He writes to Mrs. James:

"The influences of nature, the wholesomeness of the people round me, especially the good Pauline, the thought of you and the children, dear Henry on the wave, the problem of the Edinburgh lectures, all fermented within me till it became a regular Walpurgis Nacht. I spent a good deal of it in the woods, where the streaming moonlight lit up things in a magical checkered play, and it seemed as if the Gods of all the nature-mythologies were holding an indescribable meeting in my breast with the moral gods of the inner life. It was one of the happiest lonesome nights of my existence, and I understand how what a poet is. He is a person who can feel the immense complexity of influences that I felt, and make some partial tracks in them for verbal statement. In point of fact, I can't find a single word for all that significance, and don't know what it was.

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Poems of Walt Whitman}, pp. 291, 204, edited by W.M. Rossetti, London, 1886
significant of, so there it remains, a mere boubler of 'impression.' Doubtless in more ways than one, though, things in the Edinburgh lectures will be traceable to it."

It is well not to attempt to make a mystic out of a man who does not want to be one. But if this experience shows evidence of being mystical—and it would seem that it does—and if William James himself believed that in some way this experience would find itself in the Edinburgh lectures, then, it seems, that whether he would or no, he must, at this time at least, be considered a mystic. Whether we regard William James as being a mystic or not, we must at least acknowledge that he was one of America's most sympathetic and penetrating interpreters of Mysticism and the mystics. His *Varieties of Religious Experience* has attracted readers in every country, and despite some of its defects it gives to the world an interesting interpretation of Mysticism in terms of man's subliminal life.

Since William James, the foremost interpreter of Mysticism and of the mystics in America is Rufus Jones. He is himself a mystic, and he has from his boyhood given evidence of possessing a strong mystical tendency.\(^2\) In his *Studies in Mystical Experience* (1927), and in his *Pathways to the Reality of God* (1931), he endeavours to indicate through Mysticism, what he conceives to be a possible direction for a new Christian apologetic.

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1-The Letters of William James, V.2, pp.76,77, edited by Henry James.
2-Incidences of his mystical experiences will be found in the story of his life, pp.1-44.
Mysticism in America does not end with the men and movements mentioned above; they have been cited merely to indicate the continuous mystical interest that has existed in America since its earliest history. In every American city and village one will find great and small practical mystics, who, by means of some hidden quality of life, raise the whole spiritual level of the community to which they belong.

3. A definition of Mysticism.

With the passing away of the prestige of the cause and effect theory, and the absolute mechanistic universe which it implied, some form of mystical religion will most probably come into prominence.

"As science," says Rufus Jones, "pushes its researches back into the secrets of matter and into the mysteries of life, it becomes ever more obvious that the mathematical formulae and equations and quantum theories and ergs which sound so learned are only pointers and symbols of more ultimate realities which overbrim all these space-time methods of interpretation." 2

Science has made the way propitious for a revival of mystical religion. This opportunity will be seen and its importance realized by many; there is in evidence everywhere a great spiritual hunger. It has become clear that man cannot live by bread alone nor by the exact scientific conclusions about the phenomena of the universe. The ordinary man is not

1-See Appendix A.
2-Some Exponents of Mystical Religion, p. 220.
the only one who has caught a glimpse of this vision; there are a number of scientific leaders who are beginning to be found, like Saul, among the prophets.

If one is hopeful for a revival of mystical religion, one should also be clear as to the type of Mysticism one would like to see prevail. This, of course, entails a definition; and with all the definitions of Mysticism now at hand it makes one hesitant to add another to that number.¹

Most of the definitions of mysticism are vague and hazy and leave the ordinary man confused as to its real scope and nature. There is one thing, however, on which all recent writers on mystical religion are agreed, namely, that it is a heightened, intensified way of life.

In the chapter on "The Characteristics of Mysticism," Evelyn Underhill defines Mysticism very unsatisfactorily. She says here that Mysticism in its pure form is "the science of ultimates, the science of union with the Absolute;" and she tells us that "the end which the mystic sets before him on his pilgrimage is conscious union with a living Absolute."² Rufus

¹-Dean Inge in the first appendix to his Christian Mysticism has collected quite a few definitions of Mysticism; and Lowell Breteal Hazzard in his Ph.D. thesis The Mysticism of the Fourth Gospel, pp.1-5 (in the Edinburgh University Library) has added an additional series.
²-Mysticism, p. 86
Jones has, in my opinion, pointed out a very serious objection to this definition. He says:

"But the moment Mysticism is called a science of ultimates, or a science of anything else, it seems to be handed over to that very 'intellectualism' against which it is a protest, and as soon as the goal of the soul's pilgrimage is declared to be union with an Absolute, it is difficult psychologically to see how it can be 'a conscious union.'"¹

Miss Underhill, however, is more successful later on in the chapter where she leaves the matter of definition and stresses the practical aspect of Mysticism.

William James in his *Varieties of Christian Experience* gives "four marks" of the mystic state: Ineffability, Noetic Quality, Transiency, and Passivity.² Miss Underhill contests James' mark of passivity.

"True Mysticism," she says, "is active and practical, not passive and theoretical. It is an organic life-process, a something which the whole self does; not something as to which its intellect holds an opinion."³

Mysticism is not an opinion, she says, not a philosophy, nor has it anything to do with the pursuit of occult knowledge.⁴ It is, she contends, an organized life process which does not cease with a single vision of Truth but rather progresses in an ordered movement toward higher levels of Reality.

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¹-Harvard Theological Review, April, 1915, p. 157
²-p. 380
³-Op. cit. p. 96
⁴-Ibid. p. 97
In her second book Miss Underbill gives us some examples of those who have reached out after Reality and found it, and, finding it, experienced an internal push which carried their life forward to a higher level.

"In the mystic," she says, "we seem to have a fortunate variation of the race, in which just this thing has come about. Under the spur of their vivid faculty of intuition they 'gather up all their being and thrust it forward'—the whole personality, not its sharp intellectual tip alone—on a new, free path. Hence it is that they live and move in worlds to us unrealized; see other aspects of the many-levelled, many-coloured world of Reality. Living with an intensity which is beyond the scope of 'normal' men, deeper and deeper layers of existence are revealed to them."

Mysticism, then, for Miss Underhill is equivalent to the emergence of a new and higher type of life; and the test she would apply to ascertain whether a particular mystical experience were true or false would be just this practical test of whether or not the one enjoying the experience emerged from it with a something more: whether or not he gathered up all his being and "thrust it forward." Her supreme examples of those emerging from such an experience with a new type-level of life are the spiritual geniuses, Jesus, Paul and the author of the Johannine writings.

Among the writings of Von Hugel one will not find any ready-made definitions of Mysticism, nor yet any admission of a distinct mystic way over which the soul travels on its journey.

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1-Miss Underhill seems to be influenced considerably by Bergson and Bücken.
God-ward. But he does suggest that all adequate religion will involve three elements or "modalities" as he calls them: (1) the historical or institutional element which makes its appeal first to the imagination and then to the memory, and which, as he believes, represents the principle of authority in its simplest form; (2) the reasoning or argumentative element awakened by curiosity and leading to the formulation of some Thought, System or Philosophy; and (3) the experimental and mystical element where man's emotional and volitional powers are in full motion, and where religion is rather felt than seen, is loved and lived rather than argued about, is action and power rather than external fact or intellectual verification. It is this experimental and active element of religion that Von Hugel believes to be the highest and best, for it is in this "mode of apprehension" that man is able to strike the rich depths of personality.

"Certain interior experiences," he says, "certain deep-seated spiritual pleasures and pains, weaknesses and powers, helps and hindrances, are increasingly known and felt in and through interior and exterior action, and interior suffering, effort and growth. For man is necessarily a creature of action, even more than of sensation and of reflection; and in this action of part of himself against other parts, of himself with or against other men, with or against this or that external fact or condition, he grows and gradually comes to his real self, and gains certain experiences as to the existence and nature and growth of this his own deeper personality."1

In this interior and exterior activity man discovers God to be his deepest ideal, and to be the ultimate driving force—"the true congenital element and environment of man."\(^1\) Ever in the distance remains the God ideal towards which man strives; for God continues to be incompatible with each condition and volition of man which does not measure up to the finest and best which man sees is possible in him, **hic et nunc**. Compared with man’s potential best God is infinitely beyond him in His nobility and greatness. It is because of this high degree of perfection, says Von Hugel, that God the Supreme Spirit is able both to pour Himself into the world and to lift Himself above it: to be both immanent and transcendent; both Ideal and Stimulator. The response of the inward man to the incoming rush of the Divine, eventuating in a higher life-attitude of love and action, is Von Hugel’s conception of the loftiest expression of mystical religion. Thus it becomes the divine right of the mystics to call attention to "the Infinite in man," and to his "universal subjection to an operative consciousness of it."\(^2\) That is the mystic’s mission. But Von Hugel finds that there have been four weaknesses peculiar to the mystic which have had a tendency to diminish the value of his ministry. They are as follows:

1. "The mystic finds his joy in the recollective movement and movements of the soul; and hence ever tends, qua mystic, to ignore and neglect."

\(^1\) Ibid. V.ii, p.346.
\(^2\) Ibid. V.ii, p.340.
or to over-minimize, the absolutely necessary contact of the mind and will with the things of sense.

(2)-Again, the mystic finds his full delight in all that approximates most nearly to Simultaneity, and Eternity; and consequently turns away, qua mystic, from the Successive and Temporal presented by History.

(3)-And again, the mystic finds his joy in the sense of a Pure Reception of the Purely Objective; that God should do all and should receive the credit of all, is here a primary requirement. . . . This antipathy to even a relative, God-willed independence and power of self-excitation, gives Mysticism, as such, its constant bent towards Quietism;

(4)-And yet the mystic, in one of his moods, finds his joy in so exalting the difference of nature between himself and God, and the incomprehensibility of God for every finite intelligence, as were we to press his words--to cut away all ground for any experience or knowledge sufficient to justify him in even a guess as to what God is like or not like, and for any attempt at intercourse with, and at becoming like unto, One who is so utterly unlike himself.

These tendencies, then, Von Hugel would repudiate as inimical to an elevated conception of Mysticism. Wherever the contact of mind and will with things of sense is unduly minimized; wherever history is neglected and considered of slight importance; wherever the stress is laid on "Pure Receptivity" with disregard to the moral and spiritual activity of the whole self; and wherever the difference in nature between God and man is pressed to the extent that the ground for experiencing God is cut away--wherever you find evidence of these tendencies, says Von Hugel, you will not find Mysticism at its best.

1-ibid. V.ii, pp.284-287.
Delacroix also joins those who state that the mystics of the highest rank are those who by means of their experiences are able, perhaps unconsciously, to expand and enrich personality: to increase the dimensions of their personal being. "Les grands mystiques créatures et inventeurs," he says, "qui ont trouvé une nouvelle forme de vie. . ."¹ Although some of these spiritual geniuses have their moments when they seem to be absorbed in God, ecstasy itself is not their primary intention. They aim rather to make themselves dwelling-places of the Divine--places where the spiritual atmosphere will be such that God can come and make Himself at home; they aspire at nothing less than to become organisms in which God is incarnated to the same degree as He was in Christ.

"Malgré les apparences parfois contraires de l'absorption dans le Père, il est au fond le mysticisme du FilS. Il aspire à faire de l'âme un instrument divin, un lieu où la force divine se pose et s'incorpore, l'équivalent du Christ, et l'âme dispossée et déifiée et entraînée par la motion divine aux œuvres du salut."²

In giving us his conception of Christian mysticism Delacroix seems anxious that the error should not be made of identifying it with ecstasy. Christian mysticism, he is convinced, is a much wider state where the permanent consciousness of God does not suspend practical activity, where thoughts and actions spring out of the interior deeps, where the feeling of "self-hood" disappears,

²-Ibid. p.xiii.
and where the impersonal character of these thoughts and actions so impresses the subject that he is convinced that these thoughts do not emerge from him but from a divine Source which is God who lives and acts within him.

"Le mystique chrétien, celui dont la passivité mystique envahit toute la vie, qui ne se satisfait pas d'une communion brève avec la divinité, même si elle illumine et féconde les retours à la vie naturelle--et qui pourtant ne veut point subir comme Dieu intérieur un néant inactif, substitué à l'extase un état plus large, où la conscience permanente du divin ne suspend pas l'activité pratique, où l'action et la pensée précises se détachent sur ce fond confus, où la disparition du sentiment du moi et le caractère spontané et impersonnel des pensées et des tendances motrices inspirent au sujet l'idée que ces actes ne sont point de lui mais d'une source divine et que c'est Dieu qui vit et agit en lui."1

For Delacroix, then, true Christian mysticism is not an ecstatic state initiated by the self; it is rather a heightened condition of life manifesting new powers to live by.

Hocking also takes the point of view that true mysticism is something that possesses life-value. Or, as he puts it, "recovers the worth of living by recovering the natural vigor of the whole idea..."2 He, too, emphasises the importance of the practical activity of mysticism. "Some part of the meaning of this experience," he says, "is to be discovered in its external career."5 Again, he says, "Mysticism then we shall define not by its doctrine but by its deed..."4

1-Ibid. p.xi.
3-Ibid. p.355.
4-Ibid. p.355.
we have confined our attempt to arrive at a definition of mysticism to those manifestations of it which we believe to be the highest and the best; and we have seen that at least three characteristics manifest themselves wherever this type makes its appearance: (1) the formation of a permanent God-consciousness which (2) leads to a higher level of life and (3) finds its expression in increased practical activity.

The definition of mysticism as a type of life is, we believe, a movement in the right direction. Unfortunately, however, much of our current interpretation of mysticism persists, consciously or unconsciously, in carrying on its abstract, dialectic and negative elements which will, if successful, forever doom mysticism to remain an affair of books. Even Miss Underhill, for whose knowledge, insight and experience one must have the deepest respect, has come under the spell of these abstract and negative aspects of mysticism through which the great mystics of the past, whom she loves, endeavoured to communicate their experiences. The sharply defined "mystic way" of these great mystics is found in both of her books.

"It is a way," says Rufus Jones, "which many mystics of the past have taken, but it is esoteric and more or less artificial, not grounded in the inherent nature of the soul and not a universal high-way for the whole race of the saved."1

The "ladders" which the mystics have left us, with their carefully labelled stages, are not the result of mystical experience but are rather the creation of dialectic. The artificiality of trying to fit great religious experiences into these "ladder-forms" is seen in the attempt made by Miss Underhill in *The Mystic Way* to squeeze the rich life-experiences of Christ, St. Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel into the historic mould of "purification," "illumination" and "union."

Those of us who are interested in a real revival of mysticism as an elemental aspect of religious life can make our contribution, not by formulating a "mystic way" or by emphasising an outgrown metaphysic to which mysticism in the past has been attached, but by insisting on mysticism as a dynamic inward event: an experience that is healthy and normal which unifies, fuses, and intensifies personality and which points to the *whole* of reality to which it belongs. To such a purpose, I feel, has been dedicated the life and work of Rufus Jones.

1-See Appendix B.
PART I

THE LIFE OF RUFUS JONES
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CHAPTER I
EARLY YEARS

Rufus Matthew Jones was born at South China, Maine, U.S.A., January 25, 1863.

"I might have come any time within an odd million of years," he says, "and I might have parked anywhere from Kamchatka to Terra del Fuego, but I arrived in the second half of the nineteenth century and I came to life in a little hamlet in Kennebec County, Maine."1

His family can be traced to many diverse racial stocks. In the eighteenth century one of his ancestors, Thomas Jones, left Wales to settle at Hanover, Massachusetts. The offspring of this ancestor, by a series of marriages, link Rufus Jones with four colonial Governors of Rhode Island—Nicholas Easton, John Easton, John Coggeshall and Caleb Carr—and also with the blood and spirit of the great John Robinson of Leyden. His grandmother on his father's side, a Jepson, was Irish born. His mother was named Hoxie and her mother was a Goddard. The Hoxie strain, though for many centuries good English stock, was originally French.

1—"Why I Am a Quaker." Forum, N.Y., V. 75, p. 858.
The home into which he was born was located in a very small community many miles from any city. Although the external furnishings of the home were plain, the inward life of the family, fed by generations of Quaker faith, was rich and deep. There were very few material "things" but there was much invisible wealth.

"I was not 'christened' in a church," he says, "but I was sprinkled from morning till night with the dew of religion."  

There was not a meal eaten in the house that did not begin with a hush of thanksgiving; there was never a day begun without "a family gathering" at which his mother read a chapter of the Bible and after which they all joined in "a mighty silence."

At the age of four he began to attend a little country school about half a mile from his home. School was always opened in the morning with the reading of a chapter from the Bible, followed with silence or vocal prayer. It is no wonder that as a child he always thought of school as "religious business." The teachers at this school knew nothing about Froebel or Pestalozzi, but they were very successful in planting ideas of moral discipline in the minds of the children. And it was from these frontier teachers that the boy Rufus learned that things done well were rewarded and that wasted time and disobedience had disagreeable consequences.

1-Finding the Trail of Life, p. 21.
Like all boys he was interested in stories. The tales that came to him were not from books but from life. "Grandmother Susie" who had lived under every president from George Washington to Rutherford Hayes had an abundance of stories of the olden times. She had seen Indians and wild bears and could speak with authority on catamounts and wild-cats. Not only was the boy thrilled by the stories he heard, his imagination was stimulated. Perhaps the boy, more than he realized, was indebted to Grandmother Susie for the interesting method of story-telling which appeared much later in his Stories of Hebrew Heroes.

Besides Grandmother Susie there was Aunt Peace and the many itinerant Quaker preachers who enjoyed the hospitality of the home as they went about their spiritual mission. These visitors brought with them news and experiences from the north, south, west and from across the sea.

As these Friends told of their experiences and of their faith in divine guidance they unconsciously created in the boy a deep consciousness of God—a desire to be good and to be one of the "guided kind." God became as real to the boy as was his nearest neighbor. In a home where God was talked with every morning, spoken of all day, called upon in every crisis, a boy would naturally gain the impression that God was the most real and most important being of that home.
"A hundred things which occurred," he says, "convinced me that God was a real person who took care of us, who knew all about us and who was all the time near by."  

Most children, at one time or another, suffer from fear. Rufus was no exception. Although he had seen and felt the power of faith as it operated in those lives of his immediate environment, there were times when fanciful fears would break in and disturb his peace of mind. There were three things of which he was very much afraid: of the dark, of lightning, and of death. He thought the dark was "inhabited." Whenever he went down to the cellar for vegetables or apples he always felt that "something" would come out of the apple-bin and "get" him. When in the cellar he always spoke with a loud voice and indicated for the benefit of whatever was in the apple-bin that he had many and strong helpers above stairs. And when he reached the top of the stairs with his apples he always felt as though he had "escaped" from real danger.  

1-Ibid. p.67  
2-Many years later, when a Professor at Haverford College, he made a visit to his early home. While there he had occasion to go down to the cellar to look for something. Suddenly, his body began to tremble. His mind, however, was calm and he had no sense of fear. There are two explanations of this incident. Either the dampness of the cellar caused the trembling or it was caused by the old "cellar-fear" of his boyhood which for the moment responded to an old stimulus and possessed his body. If the latter explanation is the correct one, the experience proves how deep-seated some of our early fears may become.
He was as much afraid of lightning as he was of the dark. When a threatening storm made its appearance he sometimes breathed a prayer that it would go south to Windsor, particularly, as Windsor was a "Democratic" town while his own town was "Republican." He learned at school one day that lightning was powerless to hit one if one sat on a chair that had glass legs. He was quite anxious for such a chair. Someone acquainted him with the theory that lightning could not go through feathers. From that time on he preferred thunderstorms at night, as he slept, like all country boys, on a feather-bed.

Another fear that possessed him as a child was the fear of death. One day, while he was waiting in the post office for the mail to arrive, he overheard a conversation on "warnings" which came to people just before they died. Mysterious lights seen in the road or in one's room, said one man, were a sure "sign" that the observer would soon die. One night, not long after this, he was waked out of a deep sleep, and what he saw struck terror in his heart. There, in the middle of the room and not far from the ceiling, was his "light." He covered up his head and sank down deep in the soft feathers. But even a feather-bed could do nothing against this kind of light. Gradually, he summoned enough courage to place a chair under it. Then he stood on the
chair and thrust at it with his hand. This was a very brave thing to do, but his discovery was worth all the anxiety connected with the experience. When he dared to look at the catch in his hand, he found that he was confronted with a long ear of seed corn. His father had hung it there the day before. The "light" was caused by a beam of the moon shining through a hole in the curtain and falling on the ear of corn.

The death of one of his playmates added to his fear of death. Playmates are never very plentiful in the country districts of a newly settled part of the world. We can understand, therefore, how keenly the boy must have felt this loss and how it would have forced him, young as he was, to think through the problem of death as far as his young mind would permit. He saw now that not only old people die but that little boys die as well. Thereafter, whenever he heard of a death, he always had questions to ask: "I was always asking questions about death," he says, "questions nobody could answer."

When he was ten years old he was faced with one of the crises of his life. A neglected bruise on his foot led to a deep infection. The well-meaning country doctor who was summoned evidently knew nothing of antiseptic surgery; after

1-Finding the Trail of Life, p.56
sharpening his lancet on a scythe stone from the barn, he thrust it into the boy's foot, setting up another kind of poisoning worse than the first. A whole year of school was lost. During this period of pain and fear he was forced to face the issues of life and death which most boys escape. Somehow, a feeling came to him that the unseen world broke in upon his own little world of things. "Nothing in my life," he says, "ever did more to open the door between the unseen and the seen than did this long illness in my tenth year." One day during the critical period of his illness, when watching his foot being dressed and seeing a piece of bone coming through, the thought came to him that he was going to die. His comforter at this time was his Aunt Peace. She could not deny that the bone was coming out of his foot and she could not deny that he was going through a very dark "tunnel," but she refused to believe that he was going to die. "This is not the end," said this prophetess, "this is the beginning. There are much better things ahead than behind. God is going to make thy coming days thy best days." These words came to the boy as if from God. God no longer seemed far away; He was there in the room talking through Aunt Peace. From that time on, he knew that God

1-Ibid. p.42.
2-Ibid. p.44.
revealed Himself in people who were good and who lived close to Him. 1

The long months of illness resulted in another conviction: the assurance that the moral laws of the universe were eternal. He began to be just as much afraid of doing wrong when no one saw him as when someone was watching. When he did wrong, he trembled. The fact dawned upon him that he was the one who had to live with the person who had violated the moral law. He was finding out for himself through this experience what Emerson and Carlyle were at that very time preaching so impressively in the big cities many miles away.

There came to him also the belief that God chooses particular races and individuals for His missions. This assurance gradually made itself felt as day after day during the long months of recuperation he read through the Old Testament. Grandmother, who was eighty-eight years old and who had plenty of leisure, agreed to sit and knit while Rufus read aloud to her. Not much trouble was encountered until they reached a "begat" chapter. Here the long lists of unpronounceable names required considerable attention. At this point of the reading Grandmother suddenly discovered that her knitting required

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1-The sense of wonder awakened in the child by the unfortunate death of his playmate and by his own narrow escape from death, has grown steadily through the years and has led to the consciousness of "the Beyond within." It has guided him to the conviction that death, tragic as it may seem to be, cannot separate the Divine that is within man from the Divine that is beyond him.
most of her consideration and Rufus had to do the best he could with Chedorlaomer and the rest, whose mothers, he thought, showed no taste in the selection of names. But David, Daniel and Esther particularly interested him; the idea of being a champion for God thrilled him. The Old Testament became his Bible. It was here that his heroes and heroines were found and it was here that he got his growing ideas of God. He saw, in these writings, that God chose people and used them in carrying out His purpose.

Despite the fact that he lived in a backwoods community where modern ideas took a long time to penetrate, and where people were intensely evangelical, he grew up with a surprisingly liberal attitude toward the Scripture. Although he loved the Scripture and read it often, he could not believe that God stopped speaking when the New Testament canon was closed. The fact that God could communicate his thoughts to the minds of the men of old convinced him that He could continue to do so. He felt that more light would be revealed to his generation and to future ones. So it was, when years later he was introduced to science and history, that he could retain his love for the treasures and the spiritual depth of this book.

When he was twelve years old he joined the village Library Association. The membership fee was one dollar or
the presentation of a book worth a dollar. The penurious Rufus, choosing the latter alternative, presented a copy of J.G. Holland's *Life of Abraham Lincoln*. One of the first books that he took out to read was *Gulliver's Travels*. He was fascinated by "the strange doings of the men of Lilliput." The thrill of this imaginative creation was soon over, however, for Aunt Peace, who to the boy's mind never made a mistake, accidentally picked it up one day and decided that it was not "true" and therefore not to be read. When Rufus saw that all pleading was in vain, he took *Gulliver* back "for the wicked little boys of the town to read!" From that time on he made sure that the books he took out were "good" books which told the truth.

At the age of thirteen he had the distinction of entering the class of English Grammar. A considerable amount of memory work was done by the class: the rules of *Brown's Grammar*, including the rules of prosody, versification, and scanning were learned outright; many quotations from the great masters of literature were committed to memory. It was not until years afterward that the meaning of some of these passages was seen. From the viewpoint of modern education it may seem a waste of time to compel children to memorize passages, the meaning of which they do not understand. But if these selections remain embedded in the mind and their meanings come flashing in as the years pass by, then something can be said
for this method of teaching, which we, in the light of modern methods, often hastily judge as being crude and unprofitable.

Some mention has been made of the itinerant Friends who came to the Jones' home when Rufus was a boy. It would be a great mistake if nothing more were said about them, for these people brought with them more than stories of adventures; they brought life of the highest quality. The words which they spoke and the deeds which they performed seemed to be sealed with divine sanction; and in this spiritual atmosphere which they created, the soul of the boy Rufus got its nourishment. In a word, these Friends furnished the invisible threads out of which the boy's life, day by day, was being woven. These visitors came into the boy's horizon like a new star. They were not great persons but they were remarkable ones. When in their presence he felt a certain awe; they always came with "a concern." They had left their homes and their friends to undertake long and perilous journeys because they had received "an unmistakable and irresistible call" to go out and preach what had been revealed to them. Consequently, these Friends came on no ordinary visit. The boy felt this, and believed that these people were under his father's roof because God had sent them. "Something inside," he thought, told these Friends when and where to go and what to say when they got

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I-Ibid. p.77.
there. In his estimation these messengers possessed a degree of inspiration that was only a little below that of the writers of the Bible. He believed this because they had "a way of seeing through your life and of prophesying your future, which made one solemn when they spoke."¹

In an article in the *Toruin* written a few years ago, he says: "Through them . . . . I drew upon the best spiritual vintage that the Quakers had to offer."² On another occasion he sums up their influence as follows:

"They told us of life and work in far-off lands. They interested us with their narratives, and in our narrow life they performed somewhat the service of the wandering minstrel in the days of old castles. They gave us new experiences, a touch of wider life and farther-reaching associations, and for me, at least, they made the connection with God more real."³

About three miles through the woods was a roughly constructed meeting-house. Nobody, whenever there was a meeting, ever questioned whether he would or would not go. Even the

¹-Ibid.,p.78. During a meeting in his home a visiting Friend of this "authoritative sort" quietly arose and asked a man in the room to stand, and then asked a woman in the room to stand by the side of the man. "I think that will do," said the man with reverence and solemnity, "and I believe it has the divine approval." The couple were married not long after and lived very happily together.

²-Cp.cit.,p.855

³-Finding the Trail of Life, p.85.
horse knew that his bi-weekly trip over the long, rocky road was foreordained. Wooden "shutters" divided the unpainted seats into two sections; these could be raised or lowered to make one or two rooms as occasion demanded. At the front of the room were two elevated seats, one above the other, and called "high seats." Here the ministers and elders sat, facing the people. The men sat on one side of the house and the women on the other.

Rufus' uncle, Eli Jones, was a prominent leader of this little Quaker group. His education as far as schools go was very scant, but he had been a diligent reader all his life and no one would have suspected his lack of early training. John Greenleaf Whittier and John Bright were his intimate friends. No one doubted his superior intellect, yet he chose to remain in this rural community as a simple country farmer, content to devote his life to a group of people who needed him. It was fortunate for Rufus that his uncle remained in the community, for he furnished the inspiration and direction that the boy needed. No more can be said in recognition of a contribution made to one's life than is said by Professor Jones of his uncle: "His leadership, his inspiration, and his friendship were beacon influences in my early years."1

1-Finding the Trail of Life, p.86.
It was in these meetings that the boy was introduced to the power of group silence. The meetings very often lasted for two hours, and as there was no singing "to fill the gaps," long periods of silence occurred. It was not necessary to explain to the boy the meaning of silence. He felt it. He was not able to appreciate entirely these long periods of hush, but there were moments when the power of silence broke through and found the child's submerged life.

"Sometimes," he says, "a real spiritual wave would sweep over the meeting in these silent hushes, which made me feel very solemn and which carried me--careless boy though I was--down into something which was deeper than my own thoughts, and gave me a momentary sense of that Spirit who has been the life and light of men in all ages and in all lands."  

The word "mystical" was unknown by the members of this little group, but this was mystical religion in the best sense of the term. In these long periods of hush he was unconsciously being prepared to appreciate and to interpret the mystical experience as found in the lives of the great mystics and as found to be true in his own life and thought.

The religious atmosphere in which the boy was happily immersed, however, did not spare him the agonies and pains that go with discovering truth for oneself. It is all very well for Socrates to tell us that "knowledge is virtue," and

1-Ibid.p.89f.
to believe that we shall do right as soon as we know what is right, but experience teaches us that this is not always the case.¹ In most of us there are emotions and impulses that make a strong bid for expression; and it is not until after years of effort that we are able to satisfy them with outlets other than those they demand. Most boys do not stand much chance against these forces. Boys are not angels; there are many things the right and wrong of which they must discover through experience. Rufus, like most of us, was not spared the need of using the method of trial and error. He found within him higher and lower forces that collided. He was a healthy, normal, growing boy. He liked to swim, fish, hunt, and skate; and one viewing the child from the outside would get no information concerning the struggle that was going on within. There was something pushing him on toward goodness, but there was always an undertow to battle against, which seemed to insist on going in the opposite direction. "At no period of life," he says, "have I more earnestly longed to be good than in the dark days of growing self-will when I seemed the worst."² There were little things that he did which he knew were wrong and which

¹-Romans, 8:25
always drew from his highest self the cry of his younger
brother Herbert, who had put his finger in the mowing machine:
"I wish I hadn't done it."

Something happened at this time of his boyhood which
affected him deeply. He did something which brought much
grief to the entire family. Naturally enough, when the boy
realized the consequences of his action, he expected to be
punished. To his surprise, his mother took him by the hand
and led him to his room where she solemnly kneeled and prayed
for him. The child's inmost soul was reached, and, as he says,
the prayer "reached also the real Helper." He had heard many
prayers in the meeting-house but none to compare with this one.
He had heard general prayers and prayers for other people, but
it was quite another thing to hear his own case laid before
God in words which made him, as he tells us, see just what
he was, and no less clearly what he ought to be and what with
His help he might be. In this experience he felt the depth of
a mother's love and in a beautiful tribute paid to her he says:
"I learned that day what a mother was for."\(^1\)

This experience made the boy more sensitive to the moral
implication of every action. Whenever he inclined toward a
deed which he thought was evil, he felt as if he were a double
personality. He loved goodness, but occasionally he found

\(^1\)Ibid. p.110.
\(^2\)Ibid. p.110.
himself slipping over into the enemy's pasture. His mother's prayer had started within him a longing for the companionship of the Infinite. This passionate desire for God threw a searchlight on his own weakness; it threw enough light on sin to make its artificial and ugly nature clearly visible. This was not an unusual experience. Most of us have passed through similar periods when the more intense our desire to know God becomes, the more sensitive we become to our imperfection. We can quite understand how a boy going through such an inward struggle would feel "lost." Unfortunately, he was too timid to lay bare his condition to those who were able to help him; so he had to endure the strain, keeping his feelings pent up within himself.

While in this turmoil of feeling, an "elder" came to the little community to conduct a meeting. He was a man whose simplicity of nature and devotion to truth created an impression wherever he went. Professor Jones says of him: "He was a plain, simple, straightforward, good man, who knew a few clear truths of Christianity and told them impressively." It was this man who was able to speak to the boy's condition. As he attended the meetings, night after night, it became clearer and clearer to him that there were only two types of life. "What had been dim and vague in my

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long struggle," he says, "had suddenly become sharp and clearly defined." He realized that his soul was sick and that the man to whom he listened described the only remedy. The truth opened up to him that he had really been suffering from the feeling of incompleteness; and what he was hearing, he realized, was an explanation of how a life gets completed, or saved.

At one of these meetings, after days of real struggle, the "bursting point" was reached. All about him sat the boys with whom he had played a thousand pranks. A decision to start out for the "complete" life might break forever his associations with his little society of fellows. Despite this and other thoughts that were running through his mind, he slowly arose and made his tongue say, "I want to be a Christian." "I arose," he says, "with every artery in me throbbing and my heart pounding so hard that I thought everybody must hear it." No great flood of joy swept over him, he merely knew that he had "crossed a line." He was not deceived into believing that this "crossing" would eliminate all future struggle. On the contrary, he had come face to face with a goal which made him realize that he had only made a beginning. 4

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1-Finding the Trail of Life, p.115.  
2-Ibid.p.116.  
3-Ibid.p.115f.  
4-At the same time, there has never been a moment since the day he uttered those words in the meeting-house that he has doubted the fact that he belongs to God and that God belongs to him.
Formerly, he had felt that religion was "a means of getting to heaven," he began to realize now, however, that religion was concerned with "something more." He discovered that the stand which he had taken obliged him to be a new kind of person; that he must achieve the highest type of life possible and bring that personality into every situation of his complex surroundings.

His Uncle Eli was a grand example of the type of life which he wished to attain; he, more than anybody else, helped him to realize that a good character must be won, that it is not something which, Minerva-like, miraculously comes from the Divine. It was not so much what his uncle said as what he did, that influenced the boy; as he observed his uncle building up the town library, advocating just taxation, raising money for educational institutions, and preaching on Sunday, he received a very effective lesson in practical Christianity. As he

"In spite of times of swelling joy," he says, "when I knew I had really passed a crisis in the incubation of a new life, I still found that the old self was far from dead, and that I often slipped back into the ways I had left. The new land was in sight, and yet the cables which bound me to the old shores were not entirely cut. But this much must be said, that after that memorable day in the schoolhouse I never had any doubt that God was for me, or any permanent sense that He would let go of me." Finding the Trail of Life, p.116f.
watched his uncle busy at these tasks and noted the inward peace of his victorious life, he became convinced that the only way to become "good" was "to go to work in the power of God to help make others good and to help solve the problems of those among whom we live."¹

One winter morning, he went out to feed the horses and cattle; to his surprise he found that the terrible storm of the past night had blown down the barn with everything that was in it. Before the day was over, men gathered from far and near to rebuild what the storm had destroyed. All winter these men with rough clothes and hard hands worked at their task—not for money, but because they took seriously what Jesus once said about loving one another. Through the long cold days of a Maine winter the boy worked with these men and helped them to build not only a barn, but a conception of religion such as was exemplified in their lives.

When he was sixteen years old, he lost his mother. This was a fact which he could not square with his idea of a God of Love, and for a while he was the victim of doubt and depression. The painful fear and bewilderment of death which he experienced when his playmate died, returned with an overwhelming effect. No words could comfort him; even his own prayers sounded hollow. Whether he would emerge with stronger

¹-Ibid. p.122.
or weaker faith depended upon the outcome of this struggle. However, the faith which he had inherited, and the faith which he had achieved through trial and mental suffering, stood the test. The more he thought of the faith of his mother, the more he realized that she had always believed that death was but the means to a new and larger life. In her faith he recovered his own. His mother, he felt, was not lost, she was just nearer to God. When he had passed through this period of wrestling, he was no longer a child.
CHAPTER II
BOARDING SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

With his journey to boarding school began a new epoch in the life of Rufus Jones. He was nearly seventeen when the Friends School in Providence, Rhode Island, granted him a free scholarship. He was now nearly six feet tall, thin, very green, and awkward. He was, however, alert, energetic and eager to learn.

His "migration" to Providence introduced him to the first steamboat that he had ever seen, and to his first ride on a train. Only those who have experienced it can imagine what it is like to have spent all one's life in a backwoods country and then to be suddenly plunged into the heart of such a city as Providence—even the Providence of 1880. There were paved streets, sidewalks, stores, horse-cars, trains, endless buildings, and people innumerable. He describes his first reaction to the big city of Providence in these few words: "I felt very far from home and thoroughly uncomfortable." At school, he dreaded the dining-room where he had to eat with unknown boys and girls; he dreaded sleeping in a room with a boy whose name he hardly knew.

As he began to discover his physical and mental strength, however, his awkwardness and shyness began to disappear. He

1-Now the Moses Brown School.
2-Finding the Trail of Life, p. 132.
soon was in demand by athletic teams, and it was not long before he came to the fore in his classes. The country-school training which he had received did not seem to handicap him. Arithmetic and algebra came to him naturally, and three months of Latin the year before seemed adequate preparation for his study of Caesar. Such was the intellectual interest and capacity for learning which he displayed that it was agreed upon that he could graduate from the school in two years.

Mathematics and the classics were his favorite studies. He thoroughly enjoyed geometry, trigonometry and surveying. His study of Latin and Greek proved to be one of the greatest formative forces of his life. As a result of the rigid discipline of these linguistic studies, he became conscious of the acquisition of a new power, the ability to write with a vivid and facile style. He says:

"I had never been able to write with any ease at all. My letters were wooden, my essays were crude and flat. But here in these classes I began to feel the majestic power and beauty of language, the charm and elegance of style, the importance of the way in which a thing is expressed."

The Friends School at Providence also gave him his first introduction to the field of science. From his teacher,

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1-John Myron Potter was then teaching mathematics.
2-For this contribution he is indebted to his teacher, Seth Gifford, a sound and careful scholar.
3-Finding the Trail of Life, p.137.
Thomas Battey, he learned for the first time, that it took longer than six days to make the world; and that it had a history of not six thousand years, but of years uncountable. It was this man who helped him to get away from the childish view of God which pictures Him as a mechanic, acting upon the world from the outside, and who enabled him to acquire the higher conception which conceives God as one who works from within as a living, creative energy. The Genesis story of Creation, he learned, was not a scientific record. It was, he discovered, rather an expression in art, poetry, and religion; an expression of the truth that God is the Maker of all that is. This new vision took him away from his insular and childish outlook and won for him his spiritual freedom. His training at college during the next few years was to introduce him to many new and interesting regions of thought, but the vision which he received from Mr. Battey was perhaps one of the most important contributions made to his mental life; it enabled him to pass from a narrow to a broad conception of God without any wreckage of faith.

The task of selecting a college is not always an easy one. For some time Rufus was undecided whether to go to Haverford or to one of the three New England colleges. His Aunt Peace and his Uncle Eli advised him to go to Haverford. His cousin,
Charles Jacob, whose friendship he valued highly, was already at Haverford and he urged Rufus to come and room with him. An additional inducement was the offer from the College of a scholarship covering his tuition and living expenses. Deciding in favor of Haverford, he entered the Sophomore, or second year, of that institution in 1882, at the age of nineteen.¹

At college he continued his studies in mathematics and the classics. In the contemplation of mathematical forms and principles he formed habits of exactness, and in the study of Greek thought and Greek beauty he exercised his powers of imagination. Professor Pliny Earle Chase introduced him to a new field of study, that of philosophy. Under Professor Chase he studied Dymond's Moral Philosophy, Paley's Evidences of Christianity, Jevon's Logic, Carpenter's Mental Physiology and a history of philosophy which was built mainly around Berkeley's Idealism. From Berkeley he was taken through the works of Kant. He tells us that at one time he spent fourteen continuous hours trying to master Kant's "transcendental deduction of the categories" so that he could explain it in

¹-Years afterward, when reviewing this decision, he says: "I am convinced that I chose the best college in America for my purpose in life." (Cf. The Trail of Life in College, p.23.) Rufus Jones has always been happiest when surrounded with trees and fields and growing things; and the love which he has always had for Haverford perhaps springs from its singular beauty. In picturesque and beautiful places God always seems nearer to him; where beauty flourishes he always seems to find windows near by which open into the Infinite.
class.

Professor Chase was an inspiring teacher, but he was also an intimate friend. Every "Fifth day" or Thursday evening Rufus was invited to the home of Professor Chase for dinner, a custom which continued throughout his college course. Here he talked face to face with the man whom he honored and admired most. This was a great opportunity, for in Pliny Chase, there were to be found, besides learning, all the qualities included in the list of Christ's Beatitudes. He was a man who was "pure in heart" and who saw God. In other words, Pliny Chase was a mystic. He loved the mystics of the past, and it was he, as we shall see later, who was directly responsible for introducing them to Rufus.

All the students went to "meeting" twice a week. Professor Chase was usually the preacher. When he talked about religion it was usually about its function in life; its ground he found in the inmost nature of the human soul. Without meaning it, Professor Chase was giving a mystical interpretation of religion; an interpretation that was to have its fruition in the writings of his student whom he entertained every "Fifth day."

Rufus made good use of the library. He became saturated with the poems and essays of James Russel Lowell. Thomas Carlyle's Sartor Resartus and Heroes and Hero Worship opened up another world to him. He enjoyed Carlyle's
interpretation of God as a being who is present in our world
and not far off "at beginnings" and at the end of syllogisms.

Carlyle was also responsible for shaping his view of history.¹

He read Milton with enthusiasm. Areopagitica, because of its
noble style, soon became his favorite. He made Wordsworth's
"Ode" and "Tintern Abbey" a permanent part of his life. All
of his reading, it seems, was feeding and determining his re­
ligious nature. A series of lectures by Professor Hiram Cor­
san of Cornell University aroused his interest in Browning
and Tennyson. "In Memoriam," became an inherent part of his
spiritual life. In George Eliot he found his favorite
novelist.² The stories of George Macdonald had a powerful re­
ligious influence on him. Through Robert Falconer, David
Elginbrod, Thomas Wingfold, Curate and Sir Gibbie, the love
and grace of God became revealed to him "with a new power and
with a fresh touch of naturalness."³ "I went all the way over," he says, "to this warm and intimate conception of God. I
knew, now, vividly and permanently that God was like Christ."⁴

¹-In opposition to those who say that history is to be a series
of scientifically described facts with the moral lessons
left out, he says, that for him, "partly owing no doubt to
Carlyle's influence, history is charged with significance.
It is a form of revelation. It demonstrates laws and prin­
ciples of life. It thunders moral conclusions. It pro­
claims and exhibits days of judgment. History is
homiletical, and homiletics does well, too, to be historical.”
Cf. The Trail of Life in College, p.80.

²-He still prefers her stories to those of modern fiction, which,
he confesses, have a very meager place in his reading.

³-The Trail of Life in College, p.88.

⁴-Ibid.p.38f.
After Pliny Chase had taken him through Berkeley, Kant, Fichte and Schelling, he encouraged Rufus to make an intensive study of some one philosopher of his own choosing. He chose Ralph Waldo Emerson. His choice of Emerson and the Transcendental School was accidental, yet it was one of considerable importance; it was in the course of this study that he learned about Plotinus and Jacob Boehme. As he read through the essays on "Nature," "Self-Reliance," "Spiritual Laws" and "Representative Men," he came upon his first specific interpretation of mysticism, called by that name. For the first time he became conscious that mysticism was at the heart of his Quaker religion and the secret of all his religious life. It was Emerson, too, strange to say, who first awakened him to the significance of George Fox. He had always known of George Fox, but he had hitherto always associated him with a small Quaker group whose peculiar possession he was and beyond whose limits he had no standing. In Emerson he found Fox placed in the same company with the greatest spiritual leaders of the race. As he says, "I had thought he was provincial, now I found that he was cosmopolitan. I had supposed that he was an octavo type of man, but Emerson rated him as a folio-sized figure."¹ This was a great awakening and much has followed from it. It was this particular happy episode of his

¹-Ibid. p. 91.
academic life which to a large extent, determined his career as a mystic and as an interpreter of mystical religion.

An opportunity for literary expression was afforded him by the college paper. He began his duties with *The Haverfordian* as assistant business manager. The functions of this office were to address the wrappers to subscribers and to secure advertisements for the paper from local firms. He became business manager in February of his first year. The next year, his junior one, he was made one of the subordinate editors, and in May 1884 he became editor-in-chief. One of his first official acts was to change the editorial policy of the paper.

Under previous leadership, the paper had been confined to those events and situations which were unrelated to the issues and life of the college; the new leader decided to make the paper an important factor in the practical life of the college. The editors fearlessly attacked the methods of college discipline, the policies of administration, and the college management generally. This was a daring step, for at that time students were expected to be passive recipients of knowledge with no voice in the policies of the school. One of the articles which Rufus wrote at this time was entitled, "The College at Utopia." Several desirable changes in the college were suggested; in one paragraph he suggested the advisability of student self-government.¹

¹At that time there did not seem to be the slightest hope of getting such a plan accepted. However, to-day practically all American colleges have the plan in one form or another.
"The rule adopted in the College at Utopia was to treat every fellow as though he were a full-fledged man and endowed with good common sense, until this was proved to be a false supposition. When any marked offense had been committed, the case was brought before a committee of ten students, four from the highest class, three from the next, and so on down. Their decision was not final, but was almost always accepted. Half of the committee was appointed by the Faculty and half by the students. It is generally safe to trust the rule that students will deal squarely, if they are dealt with squarely."  

This progressive policy met with some opposition from the faculty, but Rufus continued to pursue this creative and constructive program with regard to the life of the College. The training he received while working on this little paper prepared him for the editorship of one of the leading weekly periodicals of the Society of Friends.  

His editorial work on the college paper was the means of discovering his critical faculty. When once aroused, it was kept active. The Quaker group itself soon became the object of its activity. Although he admired the simplicity and honesty of character that this old conservative type of Quakerism produced, yet he began to feel that there were certain changes of custom that would be desirable and helpful. The emphasis on garb and speech as badges of Quaker plainness he felt was excessive; that the stress laid upon these

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1-The Trail of Life in College, p.99.
2-Rufus Jones was editor of The American Friend from 1893 to 1912. When he inquired why it was that he had been chosen for this responsible task, the immediate reply was: "Because of thy work in college on The Haverfordian."
external peculiarities was in effect negative rather than positive. It seemed to him that these outward marks of Quakerism were "a bondage and a burden, a load and a yoke, instead of a way of joy and freedom."¹

In those days, searching questions about life and conduct were made up into lists of "Queries" and read at the Yearly Meetings for the purpose of testing the moral and spiritual condition of the members of the Quaker flock. Rufus protested also against this practice. He thought that these "Queries" were admirably fitted to form a silent "confessional" for the individual soul, but he objected to the custom of having the answers written and "weightily" considered. The "queries" he thought, would be more helpful if they were read effectively to the "meeting" and then left for the individual soul and conscience to ponder. "I very early revolted," he says, "from this method of investigation as unproductive and tedious, and I felt that the "preachments" that followed each Query and Answer were dull and stereotyped."² He debated the question with his older friends at college. Some thought as he did and others did not. Isaac Sharpless, his instructor in mathematics, was a stout advocate for the old custom. He maintained that it had done much to produce the guarded moral life of the Society. President Chase, on the other hand, held with Rufus that a silent confession, where each individual

¹-Ibid. p. 116.
²-Ibid. p. 116.
balanced his own accounts, would be better.¹

There were two things of which Eufus Jones at this time became certain: first, that the absorbing passion for withdrawal and restraint was not the path over which the religion of the future would advance; and second, that the type of Quakerism that believed itself to be "the primitive type," was not historically the religion of its founder. "There was a boldness," he says, "a freedom, a marching, a creativeness, a spirit of adventure in those first Quakers which these of two hundred years later had lost."² That Rufus Jones should, at this early period of his training, discover that the Quakerism of his day lacked historical perspective has done much to give new life to the message of the Friends.

His resolution to throw in his lot with the discoverer and creator rather than with the conformist was strengthened by his reading of George Bancroft's chapter on "The People called Quakers in the United States."³ Bancroft, who was not himself a Quaker, acquainted Rufus with the historical setting and philosophy of the movement. This discovery that Quakerism had a place in the outline of history came,

¹—Perhaps the following incident will show how un receptive this particular period of Quakerism was to any reform, whether advocated by a college boy or by a college president. A zealous Quaker of liberal spirit tried to introduce a very slight innovation. In the large audience to which he directed his appeal not a face responded to his eloquence. When the address was over and the man with the new idea had taken his seat, the clerk of the meeting arose and calmly said: "The interruption having ceased, we will now proceed with the business!"

²—Ibid. p. 118.

³—History of the United States, V. 11, Chap. xvi.
"with freshness and revealing power."1 "I leaped to a new level of appreciation," he says, 'and felt within myself some of that
'moral energy of enthusiasm' that sends one forward to new adventures."2

In these important college days he was finding a vital way of thinking of God, a way of thinking of Him that would not be shattered by new discoveries of science. He was discovering that, "Nothing that keeps thought out is safe from thought." He was beginning to see that the mind of man would not recognize any imaginary fences of religious faith, and that deeper questions and more searching ones would yet be asked about the nature of the universe and the meaning of life. It might be said that at this time he was already convinced that religion, if it was to continue to be a power in the life of men, must find a basis that would remain untouched by new scientific discoveries.

This conviction led him to a consideration of the Quaker doctrine of "the inner Light." There were many who believed that this doctrine indicated a mysterious way by which God communicated ideas to the passive mind of man. Such an interpretation he regarded as being trivial; he felt sure that the phrase must have had a deeper meaning for the original

1-The Trail of Life in College, p.120.
2-Ibid.p.121.
Quaker prophets. The more he thought about this doctrine, the more certain he became of his appreciation of its original significance. He believed that the phrase tried to express the divine nature of man's spirit, that there was something in man that was akin to God and unsundered from Him. God, then, he reasoned, could not be far off somewhere in space or at the end of a syllogism. He must be the very ground of moral and spiritual personality. Of course, no complete system of thought was worked out by him at this time, but he saw enough to realize that if the original meaning of the phrase "the inner Light" were adhered to, that human nature itself would have its roots in the Divine and would be as little affected by the advance of thought as is the motion of the stars.

Perhaps this insight had not a little to do with his decision not to study law. A successful merchant in Philadelphia offered to set aside a sufficient sum of money to guarantee his legal training. It looked like a providential gift. But during the same evening, as he sat in his room and thought about it, the joy of anticipating this proffered career left him. He did not know why, but it gradually became evident that he could not accept the offer. "I saw my way," he says, "only as migrating birds see their way, but I felt the line of direction grow steadily more and more plain."¹ It was the direction in which he was started by his mother, his Aunt Peace, and his Uncle Eli, and which was again and again pointed out

¹-Ibid.p.129.
by prophet and friend. The decision was not reasoned, it was felt; and somehow he knew that his feeling was right.

"Again and again in my life," he says, "I have had something surge into my consciousness, some guiding light break in, when momentous decisions have had to be made. One may call it 'an opening,' or 'an inner light' or 'a Socratic Daimon,' or 'the deeper accumulated wisdom of the subconscious life,' or by any other name that is current. Dim lines of light appear in the darkness and as I wait quietly centered down into communion with the deeper Life within me I see the way to go." ¹

Before the night was over he knew that he would not study law. It was not because the study of law was not a worthy career but because he was convinced that some other line of work was better for him. He wrote his generous friend that he could not accept his kind offer, as he felt there were forces carrying his life in another direction.

Having decided not to study law, he engaged himself seriously in the reading of American history. He read the ten volumes of Bancroft's History of the United States; the six volumes by Hildreth; the works of Doyle on the American colonies; Bancroft's two volumes of The American Constitution; the whole of Von Holst's work on Constitutional History of the United States; the entire series of American Statesman; and the contributions of Henry Cabot Lodge to New England colonial history. He read the biographies of the English and

¹-Ibid. p.129f.
American leaders of the colonial period, and traced with care all the colonial movements back to their English historical and political sources. The immediate result of this particular study took the form of an essay which he called, "Compromises on Slavery." Unknowingly, this training in historical research prepared him for a very important part of his life's work.¹

Another work of research that was to have far-reaching effects on his later life and work was a study of "Mysticism and its Exponents," a subject suggested by his teacher and counselor, Pliny Chase. In preparation for his essay, he read all the books on mysticism that the library could offer; among which were Vaughan's Hours with the Mystics and Karl Schmidt's French and German studies on John Tauler. Tauler became his central character. In his thesis is found this sentence:

"Now and then a man is born with a prophetic soul, who speaks and the world listens, who commands and the world obeys; and this is why the history of so many periods may be resolved into the biography of one man who has been the master spirit and inspirer of his age."²

¹-All of his teaching has followed the historical method: his courses in philosophy and Christian Thought are historically unfolded, and a large part of his literary work has required historical knowledge and historical method, which is evidenced by the fact that he has written the story of mystical movements; discovered forgotten incidents in the lives of the spiritual reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; traced the history of heresy; written the history of Quakerism in the American Colonies; and after sixteen years of labor, with the assistance of William Charles Braithwaite, carried the history of Quakerism to completion.

²-Ibid. p.133.
After his study of mysticism, all his reading, thinking and research centered in this field.

As Professor Jones looks back over the decisions he made and the work he performed during his college days he is convinced that there were times when Light and Leading came to him from a Power beyond that of his own wisdom. He did not experience trance or ecstasy; there were no breaks in his normal and ordinary life. He was sure, nevertheless, of the touch of a "guiding hand."

"I have few epoch-dates to record," he says, "and no single Damascus vision. What I do feel sure of, however, is a frequent influx of divine life and power--the warm and intimate touch of a guiding Hand. I somehow felt all through those college years that I was being prepared for something. There was a dim but growing consciousness of mission."

In 1885 he graduated from Haverford with the Bachelor of Arts degree. Again he was confronted with a situation that required an immediate decision. Not long after he arrived home from college he was offered a graduate fellowship in history from the University of Pennsylvania. If he accepted this offer, he could pursue his studies in history with Edmund James and John Bach McMaster, two outstanding men in political science and American history. But, the next day, an unknown lady drove up to the door and offered him a position

1-Ibid.p.135.
2-He received the M.A. degree from Haverford, in 1886, and the LLD. degree in 1922.
as teacher at Oakwood Seminary, a Quaker School located at Union Springs, New York. She pictured the peculiar charm of the place and the valuable service he could render. She kept until last the fact that his salary would be only three hundred dollars a year and his board. The fact that his visitor required a definite answer on the following day made the situation a difficult one. As he sat in the quiet of his room trying to decide which of the two offers he would accept, a guiding light seemed to break through and indicate which of the two directions he should go: "I felt," he says, "a line of guidance break forth out of the dark." 1 This "line of guidance" enabled him to look beyond and see the self that he would be if he made a certain choice. It was the kind of person he would be that interested him most and influenced him to decide as he did. "I felt pretty clear," he says, "that I preferred the kind of self that would grow out of the year of teaching in a Quaker school." 2 While at Union Springs all his higher spiritual interests were quickened, which would indicate that his choice was the right one. The year was an invaluable one. Besides most of three hundred dollars, he had accumulated other assets. He had learned how to teach—how to communicate truth.

1-The Trail of Life in College, p.143.
2-Ibid. p.144.
He returned to Maine for the summer holidays. While there, he spent a week in the hospitable home of Hannah Bailey of Winthrop, twenty miles from his home. His hostess mentioned to him one day that she understood that he was going to spend a year abroad, and wondered whether he would accept a loan from her sufficient to cover the expense of the entire trip. He accepted the lady's kind offer and had the satisfaction of paying the amount back in full a year after his return from Europe.

At the end of summer he sailed on one of the old State Line ships for Glasgow. Seven years before, he had for the first time seen the inside of a railroad car; now he was on his way to Europe with a background of literature, history and language to appreciate the new experiences to which he was soon to be introduced. He spent a week in Scotland enjoying its scenery, its history, and its deep religious life. In England, he spent an evening with the great Quaker, John Bright. He also met William Charles Braithwaite, then a young man of about twenty-three, with whom, later in life, he was to write the history of the Quakers.

His cousin, Charles Jacob, joined him at London. Influenced by the suggestion of Charles Tylor, former editor of the London Friend, they decided to spend some time in the South of France, visiting the French Quakers and acquainting
themselves with that interesting part of the world. They spent the winter at Nimes.

While he was at Nimes another one of those moments came to him when he felt the walls between the seen and the unseen "grow thin." It happened one day when he was walking alone thinking about life and its purpose and wondering whether he would ever become organized around one central, driving intention.

"... I felt," he says, "the walls between the visible and the invisible suddenly grow thin and I was conscious of a definite mission of life opening out before me. I saw stretch before me an unfolding of labor in the realm of mystical religion, almost as clearly as Francis heard himself called at St. Damiens to 'repair the church.' I remember kneeling down alone in a beautiful forest glade and dedicating myself then and there in the quiet and silence, but in the presence of an invading Life, to the work of interpreting the deeper nature of the soul and its relation with God."1

In a single moment the purpose of all of his past training was revealed to him.2

A spring term at Heidelberg University followed happily upon this experience, for it was while studying there under Professor Kuno Fischer that he discovered the "centre" for

1-Ibid. p.159f.
2-This experience, which was to have a lasting influence upon his life, occurred quite close to a beautiful little town in the foothills of the Alps called Dieu-le-fit; and as he recalls this event, Professor Jones likes to think of the name of this little hamlet and to believe that there was something more present in that experience than merely his own human striving.
which he had been seeking. He had thought that history would
be his major work; but after following the profound and lucid
lectures of Professor Fischer his allegiance to philosophy was
definitely settled. He now saw clearly that his best approach
to mysticism would be through philosophy and psychology.

"My interest in mysticism," he says, "had been
steadily growing and deepening, and now I saw
that the best approach to an understanding of
this great human experience was to be found in
philosophy and psychology. . . . . . . . From
now on, whatever else was my ostensible line
of work, my secondary pursuit was always
philosophy and psychology—and my trail was
pretty clear."

Before he left Heidelberg, he had accepted a position as
teacher in his old school at Providence. In the summer of
1888, at the end of his first year at Providence, he married
Sarah Hawkeshurst Coutant of Andonia, New York; she it was who
encouraged him to write his first book: Eli and Sybil Jones—
their Life and Work. 2

After two years at Providence, he was asked to become
principal of Oak Grove Seminary, a Quaker boarding school at
Vassalboro, Maine. Mrs. Jones strongly urged him to accept
the position, as it would afford an opportunity to develop
those capacities and powers which in their present work had
not been drawn upon. As principal of Oak Grove Seminary, he
soon developed leadership and the capacity to deal with all

1—Ibid. p.166,167.
2—John Greenleaf Whittier was to have prepared the introduction
to the book but was prevented because of old age and
failing health. However, he had a delightful visit with
the poet who, he discovered, was a mystic himself.
sorts of human problems.¹

In the midwinter of 1892, while still at Oak Grove Seminary, a son was born to him.² In this child he felt that something of God had broken into the world. He saw a light on its face which he knew he had not put there. He became deeply attached to the child from the first. As he puts it:

"We fell in love with each other from the start. . . . Beyond words and beyond thoughts even, we loved and understood and thrilled with joy in each other's presence. It seemed as though our inner beings somewhere touched within and fused, or interfused, so that even when we were separated by space, we were still inseparable!"³

This beautiful companionship, however, was fated to end only too soon. After eleven short years, the boy died. This loss of his son affected him deeply.

"... I know," he says, "that nothing has ever carried me back, or up, or down into the life of God, or done more to open out the infinite meaning of love, than has my visible separation from dear Lowell, for the mystic union has never broken and it can know no end."⁴

In 1893 he became an instructor at Haverford College, attending lectures, at the same time, at the University of Pennsylvania.⁵ Desiring to study under William James and Josiah Royce, he was granted leave of absence to attend Harvard University.⁶ Upon his return to Haverford, in 1901,

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¹-He was principal of Oak Grove Seminary from 1889 to 1893.
²-Lowell Coutant.
³-The Trail of Life in College, p.183.
⁴-Ibid.,p.187.
⁵-From the University of Pennsylvania he received the degree of D. Litt. in 1898.
⁶-He received an M.A. degree from Harvard University in 1901; the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by Harvard in 1920.
he was made associate professor; and in 1904 he was appointed professor of philosophy, which professorship he still held at the time of this writing. In 1908 he studied at Oxford University, and in 1911 at Marburg.  

His first wife having died, he married Elizabeth Bartram Cadbury, of Philadelphia, March 11, 1902. From this union there is one child, Mary Hoxie.

From 1913 to 1915 he was editor of Present Day Papers. He has been a trustee of Bryn Mawr College since 1898, and President of the Board since 1927. He is also a trustee of Brown University. From 1917 to 1928 he was chairman of the American Friends Service Committee for European Reconstruction. He is a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society; American Philosophical Association; American Theological Society; Kant Gesellschaft; and the American Medieval Society. He is at present vice-president of The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

\[1\] The University of Marburg granted him the D.Th. degree in 1925.
PART II

PERSONALITY AS CONJUNCT WITH THE SOCIAL AND THE SUPERNATURAL

"The more we know about the universe the more certain is it that at bottom it is spirit. The more we know about man the more certain is it that he is fundamentally spiritual, i.e., akin to Spirit, and the more we know about history--cosmic or human--the more certain it becomes that the whole affair is dramatic and prophetic of a moral, spiritual and purposeful denouement."

PART II

PERSONALITY AS CONJUNCT WITH THE SOCIAL AND THE SUPERNATURAL

"Each self, which seems so easily girded and spanned, is bound into a system of the world, and if we could drop our plummet down through the deeps of one personality we could tell all the meanings of the visible world, all the problems of social life, and all the secrets of the eternal Personal Self." 2

One of the discoveries of recent psychology is the inherent relatedness of personal life. Earlier in its course, psychology treated the individual as a discrete entity whose inner life was cut up into independent and insulated "faculties." Perception, conception, memory and imagination are now, however, considered as functions of one common process. A pure sensation, William James tells us, is an abstraction that is never realized. 3 Nor does it seem possible to isolate a concept for the purpose of examination as an entomologist passes round an insect on a pin; 4 or to separate imagination from sensation, 5 or from reasoning. 6

"Imagination thus presents a close parallel to reasoning, where . . . . there are two stages, the preliminary consisting in getting the premises together and the final consisting in perceiving the conclusion. The final response in imagination is in general like that in reasoning; both are perceptive reactions." 6

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1-The term "conjurct self" is borrowed by Professor Jones from George H. Palmer.
2-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p. 58.
3-Text Book of Psychology, p. 312 London, 1892.
4-Ibid. p. 240.
5-Ibid. p. 310.
6-R. S. Woodworth, Psychology; A Study of Mental Life, p. 520.
We are discovering, with an ever increasing degree of assurance, that the various phases of our mental life will not tolerate separation; that a true and adequate expression of their function depends upon their condition of interrelatedness. We are also observing that any satisfactory explanation of a mental state must make due reference to an outside environment. We are, therefore, being led to the belief that personality is an integrated whole; that it is only on the basis of this conception of personality that its inner and outer experiences can be adequately explained and understood.

If we accept this view of the personal life of man, we are obliged to consider a suggestion of profound religious significance; the suggestion if man's life be related to a congenial outside environment that God's life also must be in correspondence with an environment analogously kindred. If it is true that the nature of God is essentially expressed through love, then it would appear equally true that He must love somebody.¹ His life, it would seem, must be interrelated with our own. The old conception of God as a being of a totally different environment and nature from our own must give way to a view that conforms to the facts of personal life: we must conceive of God as a being who finds His joy by going out of Himself and by bringing other lives to Himself. "A God

¹ In his Social Law in the Spiritual World, Professor Jones has attempted to point out the extent and significance of this Divine Interrelationship.
unrelated and absolute turns out to be forever unknowable."¹
Either God in some way is related to us, as the Incarnation
declares, or we must give up hope of knowing Him at all. From
the poorest virtue to the highest spiritual quality, from
honesty to holiness, the social law is in evidence. No man can
be honest or holy unto himself; if there were but one person
in the world there would be no such thing as honesty or holiness.
This indicates that spiritual facts and laws are bound up with
those facts and laws which are social.

With this conjunct relationship in mind, Rufus Jones says
three things about personality: (1) that it is self-conscious;
(2) that it is something which must be realized; and (3) that
it is related to a Self that is higher² and yet not entirely
other.

¹-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.17.
²-Not merely super-personal, transcendency is implied; see
Professor H. R. Mackintosh's chapter on "The Conception of
CHAPTER I

PERSONALITY AS SEEN THROUGH SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

Self-consciousness seems to be that which distinguishes a person from a thing—the "person" possesses it whereas the "thing" does not. Various "marks" of personality have often been suggested, such as: (1) power to forecast an end or purpose and to direct action toward it; (2) ability to remember past experiences and to make these memories determine present action; and (3) the power of selecting from among the multitude of objects presented to consciousness that which is of worth for the individual. However, if one could forecast, remember, direct action and select objects of worth and yet not be conscious of his doing these things, we could not consider that one a person. Nobody ever was a person without knowing it.

"However important these outer marks or "signs" are, the essential characteristic is a unified self-consciousness." 1

Self-consciousness baffles description. When we try to describe it, we find that it is involved in the description; if we try to grasp it, we discover that it is involved in the effort; and if we attempt to analyze it, we find that it is entangled with the analysis. 2

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1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p. 45.
2-Karl Heim in his Glaubensgewissheit has shown how impossible it is to isolate or objectify consciousness. To prove his point he makes use of the theory of relativity. As space, he says, has no meaning unless it is gathered around a non-objectifiable centre, and as time has no meaning unless it is developed from a centre—a present moment—so consciousness
therefore, makes it almost impossible for us to convey what we mean by self-consciousness; in fact, there is only one way we can really know what it is, and that is by having it.

The problem of the origin of self-consciousness is as difficult as that of the beginning of the universe. Nobody was ever born a person. Self-consciousness, rather than coming to one all at once, seems to be the result of an evolving process of life. The first thing of which human life is conscious seems to be a dim awareness of organic states. But how selfhood could arise from this confused mass of immediate experience, apart from social influence, is quite impossible to conceive. The development of human personality without human society is as impossible as is the maintenance of life without atmosphere. Without a human environment, a child would never get beyond his "organic self"; he would never rise from the state of his awareness to certain warm and intimate feelings which he has in common with most animals.

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Also is meaningless unless it is developed from a centre that is non-objectifiable. It is the dark room out of which you see everything; it is the empirical ego that is so busy with the present that it has no time to think about itself. It is the subject of all knowledge and therefore cannot be objectified. This ego refuses to be submerged in nature. It refuses because it is of a different order and essence from that of nature. Nature does not criticise itself. Consciousness does. It says: "I ought," or "I ought not."
"If a child could grow up with lifeless natures," writes Professor Royce, "there is nothing to indicate that he would become as self-conscious as is now a fairly educated cat."¹

The child becomes self-conscious because he is born an organic member in a social whole. It is here that he learns the difference between the "self" and the "not-self."² And as he watches these "other selves," and imitates them, he makes an advance towards self-consciousness. The imitation of the deeds of the persons before him furnishes him with an awareness of a new and rich mental life which serves as a basis for interpreting additional deeds of these persons.

"In these responses to personal expressions there is to be found the nucleus of real emotions and no less surely the nucleus of volition."³

Imitation, likewise, plays an important part in the child's mastery of language, which achievement heightens and defines his personality. It seems that every step of the way to a clearly defined self-conscious being, is made possible by the social environment. It is not an over-statement of fact, therefore, to say that "there can be self-consciousness only through social consciousness."⁴

² Professor Jones does not belong to that group who stress the dualistic conception of consciousness; that is, the dramatic character of self-consciousness on the one hand, and a world of impersonal phenomena on the other. See his *New Studies in Mystical Religion*, p. 174.
³ *Social Law in the Spiritual World*, p. 48.
⁴ Ibid. p. 49.
If it is true that self-consciousness is dependent upon the interrelation of personalities, it is no less true that for the same reason we have a common world in which we can work out our destinies. The skill of measuring is a social triumph. Because we were able to calculate the weight of Schiehallion in Scotland, we were able to calculate the gross weight of the entire globe. The power to use objects and to name them is also a social product. Even such abstract things as laws of motion, ether vibrations, atomic weights and the multiplication table have become known because of their social purposes and because of the fact that they can be verified by many persons. In fact, we can know the world only because it is valid for our common experience. Everything in the world turns out to be material for our thought: we can know these things, and it is because we can know them that we know the world and that we are brought to the realization that it rests immovably on the basis of social experience. However, because our "knowledge" of an object is rooted in social consciousness, we must not make the mistake of thinking that it is the product of any one consciousness—my consciousness or your consciousness; it is the product of the total whole of consciousness which proves finally to include God.2

Thus far, two significant conclusions may be drawn: (1) that personality involves a union in a social whole; and (2)

1—See The Nature and Authority of Conscience, p. 16.
2—Social Law in the Spiritual World, p. 57.
that the very basis and ground of the world we know lies in the fact of interrelated personalities.
"If we lost the experience of striving for purposive ends, of pursuing goals, of anticipating what has not yet happened and acting for it, we should at the same time lose ourselves."1

If it is evident that only in society can personality be won, it appears just as evident that society can do nothing to make a person until the will to be asserts itself. In the activities and experiences of others, the child sees what he likes to do and to be. He not only sees the contrast between "self" and "not-self", he also has a vision of a possible "future self." By means of this vision, he comes in possession of the power "to look before and after." Without this vision of a potential future self there could be no development of personality. Before personality can advance, a possible future which is a better state of existence must be presented to consciousness and appeal to consciousness as more desirable than the present state.

"When we speak, then, of an ideal we never mean a merely possible future state, but a conceived future state which attracts--something inwardly dynamic."2

There is something propulsive and directive about ideals which forces them over into life and which results in making us what we become.

1-Fundamental Ends of Life, p.84.
2-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.63.
In order to appreciate the value which ideals have for life we must distinguish between what may be called a tergo and a fronte forces. All the changes that take place below the realm of self-consciousness are caused, so far as we know, by an a tergo force—a causal force which drives from behind. But, on the other hand, all changes which take place in the self-conscious realm are caused by an a fronte force—a force which leads rather than drives. We seem here to hop from one world system over into another; we seem to jump from a world where an existing antecedent situation leads to the effect, to a world where the moving cause is an unrealized ideal. Says William Wallace:

"Man projects his own self to be into the nature he seeks to conquer. Like an assailant who should succeed in throwing his standard into the strong central keep of the enemy's fortress, and fight his way thereto with assured victory in his eyes of hope, so man with the vision of his soul prognosticates his final triumph."2

The persistent tendency to value the a tergo force as of more importance in the development of personality than the a fronte force—the tendency to substitute springs of action for ends of life—has been a central source of confusion.3 The instincts of play, imitation, curiosity, etc., are a tergo forces—energies of life which operate in us as pushing forces, rather than as goals and forecasts which draw us forward by means of attraction. They are quasi-causal explanations of

1—That is, those changes caused by ideals.
2—Lectures and Addresses, p.193.
3—See Fundamental Ends of Life, p.6.
acts, not teleological aims out of which action is motivated.

In making this distinction between a tergo and a fronte forces, it is not to be implied that there is a clearly marked dividing point between these two types of life and action. Both of these forces operate in our actions; it is difficult to decide how much a blind, instinctive force is responsible for an act and to what extent the action is due to the forecasting of a desirable goal.

"We cannot cleave absolutely asunder with a hatchet the way of causation and the way of teleology, and yet both ways--at their extremes, pole-wide apart--are genuine features of our complex human life."1

In emphasizing the developing personality's dependence upon ideals, care must be taken not to appear to be advocating the repression of instincts. Instincts are just as necessary to the growth of personality as are ideals; and the attempt to dispense with our instinctive urges by means of repression is but to convert them into sub-conscious forces which continue to work on within, often playing havoc with mind and body.

"The better and sounder way to deal with these primary springs, these powerful instinctive forces, is to lift them up into some constructive ideal system or to give them scope in some noble sentiment.2

These instinctive springs of action, under the nurturing influence of organizing intelligence, can be taken up into higher

1-Fundamental Ends of Life, p.15. C. Lloyd Morgan in his Emergent Evolution, pp.89,274,290 (London,1923) uses the terms "causation" and "causality" to discriminate between these two types which Professor Jones has called Causation and Teleology.
2-The New Quest, p.137.
systems and transformed. Fear, for instance, can be raised to a higher level in awe and reverence; and anger can be elevated to righteous indignation against sin and evil.  

It is, however, only by means of the dynamic furnished by ideals that this transmutation is at all possible. If ideals, therefore, operate in such a way as to transform instincts, the suggestion that they receive consideration commensurate with their importance will not be regarded as unwarranted.

As we must refer to society in order to understand self-consciousness, so, likewise, we must look to society for the birth and development of ideals. Society always gives direction to one’s aims, it always constitutes the environment in which our true ideals are formed. Social customs, family traditions, established law, and the ideals of art, literature and religion, represent the attainments of a group of other individuals, who, by means of these accomplishments, provide the fertile soil from which our own ideals sprout forth. Our ideals, it seems, spring out of the human struggles of the past and bear the birth and nurture marks of the society in which they were formed. We cannot get beyond the guidance and direction of what has already been attained. Our standards of right and wrong have come through the testings of long centuries. The home, which makes morality possible; the state, which restrains evil action; the school, which

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1—See The Nature and Authority of Conscience, p.48f.
drills into us the accumulated gains of the race; and the Church, which conserves our spiritual winnings are institutions which we should not now possess if we were not organic with the past and with the life of the world.\(^1\)

"There is then no self-realization for any individual who is only a bare individual. He can advance towards personality only by being an organic member of a whole."\(^2\)

Society, however, does not give us our ideals; it merely gives us the material of experience out of which we construct them. The person, unlike the natural object which is driven along the line of least resistance, perceives what is given to him and then thinks beyond it. He acts to realize the attractive which rises above and beyond the actual; and, in doing this, he realizes himself. It seems that the very nature of consciousness compels him to go beyond what he has. It would appear that ideals are involved in the very structure of the finite life. To be aware of a limit is already to have transcended it; to realize an actual situation is to have seen beyond it.

Ideals are not static. They grow. In their first stage they are organic and hardly more moral or spiritual than the blooming of a wild rose. However, little by little, impulses get a value; and the value or good attached to these impulses determines our choice of them. In every one of these choices we are deciding the particular self we are going to be. Each

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1-For a discussion of the influence of Church and state on personality see The Remnant, pp. 155-163.

2-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p. 68.
choice and its meaning reacts upon us and upon society; and it is in the light of these reactions that our ideal of what is good gradually grows clearer.\textsuperscript{1} As the artist discovers what he meant while he works, using past strokes to guide future ones, so too, our every concrete good makes for a highest good. Just as fast as this ideal becomes real in us, we realize ourselves as persons.

If ideals are not static, neither is the personality static which is realized through them. Fichte has told us rightly that "Selfhood is endless seeking to be a self." No attainment of goals ever exhausts the possibilities of personality. There is always something more to be achieved. Our finite camping places are spoiled by our unstilled consciousness that we were made for something more than we have yet realized or attained.

"Our ideals are an unmistakable intimation of our time-transcending nature. We can no more stop with that which is than Niagara can stop at the fringe of the fall. All consciousness of the higher rational type is continually carried forward towards the larger whole that would complete and fulfill its present experience. We are aware of the limit only because we are already beyond it."\textsuperscript{2}

The present is always a pledge of more, a pledge of the Real and of the Perfect. A study of man's life which omits this restless idealizing tendency is like writing a play with the hero left out. Martineau declared:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{1}By means of restraint and education society usually informs us which ideals may and which may not be realized.
\textsuperscript{2}The Journal of Religion, V.1 Sept.1921, p.458.
\end{flushright}
"Among all the sickly talk about 'ideals' which has become the commonplace of our age, it is well to remember that so long as they are dreams of future possibility and not faiths in present realities, so long as they are a mere self-painting of the yearning spirit and not its personal surrender to immediate communion with an infinite Perfection, they have no more solidity or steadiness than floating air-bubbles, gay in the sunshine and broken by the passing wind . . . . The very gate of entrance of religion, the moment of its new birth, is the discovery that your ideal is the everlasting Real . . . ."1

Pringle-Pattison, one of the wisest of our teachers, also emphasizes the attractive force of the unattainable ideal:

"Consciousness of imperfection, the capacity for progress, and the pursuit of perfection are alike possible to man only through the universal life of thought and goodness in which he shares and which, at once an indwelling presence and the unattainable ideal, draws him on and always on."2

In the physical system everything is running down—the movement is all towards the condensation and loss of heat. Life, also, in the physical system seems to be limited. Up to a point, exercise builds up the body; but beyond that point every activity checks rather than constructs. Every strenuous effort thereafter leaves us weaker until at length there is a complete running down to a full stop. In the inner life, the opposite principle is at work; here all gains are capitalized. The gains of past deeds are conserved and built into the advancing power of life.

2-The Philos, Radicals, and Other Essays, pp.97,98.
"So far as we can discover, the life of the true self is cumulative. It carries its past with it and gathers momentum as it goes. Still and forever the reach exceeds the grasp."

1. The realization of persons through self-sacrifice.

Self-sacrifice, as well as self-assertion, is necessary to personality. Self-sacrifice is not a reversal of primary law. It is not something that has come in "afterwards." It is as structural as is the principle of self-assertion; nobody could be a person without it. Both affirmation and denial are required to make a person. That seems to be one of the paradoxes of life. Both aspects belong together as do the two sides of a board. All advance involves surrender, all gain necessitates loss, and all attainment demands resignation. Because nature is as it is, every positive choice negates all other possibilities. There may be a thousand attractive careers, but our choice of one of them compels us to sacrifice the nine hundred and ninety-nine other possible ones. If our choice gives us what we want, it forces us to give up what we also want. "If I take this, I give up that."

Just as the brain-cell is known only because of the whole to which it belongs, so the individual exists and is known only because he is a member of a larger social whole. It is in the light of this truth that self-sacrifice must be studied. Neither the "isolated self" nor the "conjunct self" can be realized without the other. Cut apart from each other they are but abstractions. If there is to be any preference, it must

1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p. 74f.
be given to the "conjunct self," and this, in fact, is what we do. The patriot finds his isolated self of little value if his country is not free and united; the martyr finds his life of little value apart from the truth he loves; and the saint willingly dies to the existence of sense that he may live in the invisible kingdom which is his supreme reality. We find the same principle at work in all genuine friendship. The true friend gives up his isolated self to find himself anew in a conjunct self. Similarly, this principle is involved in all truth-seeking. The truth-seeker is called upon to surrender his prejudices, to find out what is there in the world beyond him, and to conform his views and theories to whatever his discoveries may be. In the realm of truth, nothing is won without self-surrender and without patient sacrifice.

"Truth is found only by those who can come out of self and enter, at some door, into the universal life."1

Voluntary self-sacrifice implies that essentially and rationally all self-conscious beings are interrelated, and must—if it is to be at all—realize their lives together. We cannot live or die, sin or be virtuous, by ourselves. The principles of interrelatedness and vicariousness are written all over every phase of life.

1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.87.
2. The realization of persons and the sub-conscious life.¹

"No theory, certainly, is sound which begins by cutting the sub-conscious and the conscious life apart into two more or less dissociated selves. There is every indication and evidence of continuity and correlation between what is above and what is below the threshold which in any case is as relative and artificial a line as is the horizon."²

"Thinking" is but a small part of our mental life. Important as it is, we should be very poor personalities indeed if thinking were all that we could do. The main driving energies of life--impulses, instincts, emotions, sentiments, loyalties, ideals, and numerous other inarticulate and indescribable forward pushes--lie much deeper.³ Down in the larger part of us, these mysterious urges have their home; in the sub-conscious area resides everything that is latent and everything that passes unrecorded or unobserved.⁴

¹-The so-called "new-psychologists" have done much to throw light on what goes on down in these deeper strata of the self; but they have by no means said the last word. There still remains a mysterious veil of darkness surrounding this region which as yet they have not been able to light up. The extreme emphasis which they have placed on the sex urge has given the impression that a human being is mainly "a cyclonic center of erotic forces." There is another kind of submerged energy, however, which they have missed altogether. Down in the inner deeps of man there are upward and forward urges linking him with the Eternal Spirit. We are as much akin to God as we are akin to the beast; there is just as much evidence for bursts of Divine life within us as there is for primitive explosive passions.

³-The New Quest, pp.31-33.
⁴-See William James' Varieties of Religious Experience, pp.483, 484.
Within a certain radius from the center of consciousness we exercise a degree of authority. Although we never get to the stage where we rule this territory absolutely, we feel that it is ours. But over the realm that lies just a little farther beyond we have no control at all. In this area lies the wreckage from every past experience, which, under favorable conditions, can be drawn to the surface of consciousness. Over these experiences the will has no power; they refuse to come up on demand. All that the will can do is to lay hold of whatever the law of association, which works entirely in the realm of the sub-conscious, chooses to bring to it.

Although these subliminal processes defy analysis, the submerged region in which they operate is largely "formed" by concrete and definite activities. The unconscious ease with which the musician plays is the result of many years of hard work; the conscience, which speaks to us so authoritatively, has been formed by the weaving of our concrete choices into its invisible structure. When a moral crisis strikes one this "set" of the inner life counts although the individual does not know how it was formed.

The genius always possesses a remarkable sub-conscious life.¹ For him, the wall between the conscious self and the sub-conscious self is extremely thin. He is a person who

¹ "No science," says Sir Oliver Lodge, "maintains that the whole of our personality is incarnate here and now; it is beginning to surmise the contrary and to suspect the existence of a larger transcendental individuality, with which men of genius are in touch more than ordinary men. We may all be partial incarnations of a larger self."

possesses the extraordinary power of appropriating the sub-
conscious material. All he has is at his service. There are
moments when floods of power sweep up from this subliminal
region as from another world; often he feels as though his
words, his music, or his model were given to him from another.1

"... he is right in feeling that he
receives what he uses, for there is no
explanation for such persons unless we
recognize that they have a spiritual
universe for their environment and with
which they co-operate."2

The most ordinary of us, as well as the genius, knows
what it is to have truths and insights come up to him from
hidden depths. Vast subterranean connections seem to bind us
to unseen forces.

"... around every center of conscious
life, which is the core of personality,
there is a fringe of unknown width."3

The genius draws upon a domain of thought-material lying
outside the realm of his consciousness; the "faith-cureist"
uses powers which transcend his knowledge and explanation; and
ordinary sleep seems to put us where powers not our own repair
the waste and perform a ministry of restoration and renewing.
Is it not highly probable that there are mortals who get in

1-Hysterical persons also seem to receive information by means
of extra-normal faculties. The cases studied, however, do
not warrant us, as yet, to draw any final conclusions
regarding this abnormal state. All that this fact suggests
is the impossibility of holding to a theory which implies
that every life is an isolated personal self.
2-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.111.
3-Ibid.p.119.
touch with higher energies from across the border which unify and spiritualize their lives and enable them to speak with an authority that is beyond themselves?

"... the door into this region seems unusually wide open; at any rate experiences making their entrance through that door have had emphatic influence in shaping religious history."1

The mystic, with his first-hand, irrefragable certainty of God, is one, like the genius, whose wall between the conscious self and the vast subliminal regions is very thin. That which usually stays beyond the threshold of consciousness surges in and exercises a sway over his whole life. He sees a principle of life which proves to be as universal and eternal as are the axioms of geometry.2 The mystic feels that his life is but a cell in this larger life which he has felt; that he is but an inlet which feels at times the beating in of the shoreless tides. His reality, he is convinced, is rooted in a deeper reality. Says an old man in Monod's Six Meditations on the Christian Mysteries:

"The Holy Spirit is not merely making me a visit; it is no mere dazzling apparition which may from one moment to another spread its wings and leave me in my might, it is a permanent habitation. He can depart only if he takes me with him. More than that; he is not other than myself; he is one with me. It is not a juxtaposition, it is a penetration, a profound modification of my nature, a new manner of my being."3

1-William James, Varieties of Religious Experience, p.464.
2-See The New Quest, p.67.
3-Quoted in William James' Varieties of Religious Experience, p.419.
The significant thing which the mystic has to give us is his testimony that he has an immediate consciousness of God. His experience is as indescribable as love is; it is so private that he is unable to find words or language to communicate his feelings to us. Yet, of all persons, the sound mystic has the clearest sense of unity in the universe. The scientist presupposes an ultimate unity in the physical world; the moralist knows he can have no system of ethics unless he presupposes the unity of the race; and the artist strives for a creation of beauty that will be in harmony with a presupposed universal principle of beauty. But the mystic goes farther:

"In his highest moments he enters an eternal now, in which are past and future, near and far, the visible and the unseen—all one in a living unity of which he himself is an undivided but a no less real part and parcel."1

1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.130.
CHAPTER III
THE SELF AND THE OVER-SELF

"The beyond as a spiritual reality is within, or it is nowhere."\(^1\)

As the movements of the earth can be explained only by looking to a larger cosmos in which the earth is interrelated with many other gravitative bodies, so the experiences of the self can be understood only as they are related with a larger experience. "All consciousness involves an appeal to more consciousness."\(^2\)

Our experience means nothing unless it can be embedded in and organic with more experience—an experience which unites all our experiences into an organic unity of which they are living parts. Every state of consciousness implies such a reality; every partial experience requires a whole to explain it. Even the sense of finiteness that seems to haunt us presupposes something infinite already in consciousness.

"That we are oppressed with our own littleness, that we revolt from our meannesses, that we 'look before and after, and sigh for what is not,' that we are never satisfied with any achievement, that each attainment inaugurates a new drive, that we feel 'the glory of the imperfect,' means that in some way we partake of an infinite revealed in us by an inherent necessity of self-consciousness."\(^3\)

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2-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.205.
3-The Inner Life, p.149.
It is only as we refer finiteness to the infinite that it has any meaning. The mind which pronounces its "states" finite and which declares the things of this world to be vain and passing does so by making use of a criterion which transcends the finite. Every state of consciousness transcends its finitude and does so because of its relation to a "more yet" which explains and fulfils it. In order to understand every "now" a "beyond" is demanded: the "now" has reality only because the "beyond" is real. The fact is, it is impossible to cut apart the finite from the infinite. That consciousness which is aware of finiteness is in some way bound up with the infinite and the eternal. By an inherent necessity of consciousness we partake of the infinite. We are made, it seems, for something which does not as yet appear: we are inalienably akin to the perfect which attracts us.¹

That the same unity of consciousness which is aware of its finiteness is involved also in infiniteness is clearly seen in our pursuit of an ideal. If we were not united to something higher than ourselves to which we are inherently related, the pursuit of an ideal would be beyond our power. We could not seek goodness if we did not in some degree already possess the good which we seek.

¹-For a discussion of parallelism, the attempt to establish a complete correspondence between mind-functions and brain-functions, see Appendix C.
The ability to strive to be what we "ought to be" is the primary characteristic of personality. That individual is a person who lives towards a dynamic, causative, yet unrealized purpose. The autonomous citadel of personality where we form our ideals of beauty, truth, and goodness—ideals by which we live—is the most august of our possessions. They are ideals which are not found anywhere in the world of sense experience. They are not found in the world of molecular currents.

We create visions of the world as it ought to be and these visions in turn make us dissatisfied with the world as it is and so force us to reshape and reconstruct the world as we find it until it approaches more nearly the world of our ideal.

"The world that ought to be makes us forever dissatisfied with the world that is, and sets us with a fixity of purpose at the task of realizing the kingdom which might possibly be, which we know ought to be, and which therefore has our loyal endeavour that it shall be, regardless of the cost in pain and sacrifice."

There is a fundamental spiritual implication involved in the nature of beauty, of verifiable knowledge, and of moral goodness. In his Theism and Humanism, Arthur Balfour points out the impossibility of finding an adequate rational basis for our experience of beauty, for our pursuit of moral ends, or for our confidence in the validity of knowledge or truth, unless we assume the reality of an underlying spiritual universe which is the ground of the world without us and of

1—Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries, p.xxxvi.
the mind within us. "Aesthetic values," he says, "are in part dependent upon a spiritual conception of the world in which we live."1 "Ethics must have its roots in the divine; and in the divine it must find its consummation."2 As a self-conscious being with the ability to look before and after and judge his deeds in reference to a world as it ought to be, man is always more than finite.3 Our consciousness of the moral quality of life bears witness to the relatedness of the soul to some spiritual reality beyond ourselves.

"Conscience is as truly an organ of relation with a beyond as the physical eye is."4

The moral quality appears to be at least as objective and as real as atoms and solar systems, though of a different order of reality. That life in which is embedded the highest ethical ideal of the hour reveals a quality of life the essential nature of which is akin to that of God.

Balfour says that a spiritual universe must also be considered as the basis of all scientific knowledge:

"He is Himself the condition of scientific knowledge. If He be excluded from the causal series which produces beliefs, the cognitive series which justifies them is corrupted at the root. And as it is only in a theistic setting that beauty can retain its deepest meaning, and love its brightest lustre, so these great truths of aesthetics and ethics are but half-truths, isolated and

imperfect, unless we add to them yet a third. We must hold that reason and the works of reason have their source in God, that from Him they draw their inspiration; and that if they repudiate their origin, by this very act they proclaim their own insufficiency."

Every thing beautiful leads on to the more beautiful, every phase of goodness leads on to more goodness and every aspect of truth leads on to more truth. In fact, the partial has meaning and is accounted for only through the aim or thought of a whole life of which it is a part. These ideals of ours which raise us above a naturalistic level to a spiritual one cannot be mere subjective creations; they are suggestions of a divine co-operating power that is beyond and within us, intimating to us what is true and best in the world. Appreciation of beauty, confidence in truth, dedication to moral causes, love for worthy persons, and loyalty to the Kingdom of God are not mere dreams or selfish preferences. They are values which have their roots deep in the life of the race. They survive all shocks and mutations. They are as sure as the laws of triangles, as permanent as the multiplication table---they seem to be part of the system of the universe.

"Moral goodness is a factor in the constitution of the world, and the eternal nature of the universe backs it as surely as it backs the laws of hydrogen."2

Where these spiritual forces are revealed in normal ethical persons we are close to the revealing centres of the

1-Theism and Humanism, p.274.
universe—close to the life of God.

"... we are never insulated from the wider spiritual environment which constitutes the true inner world from which we have come and to which we belong. There are many ways of correspondence with this environment. No way, however, is more vital, more life-giving than this way of dedication to the advancement of the moral ideals of the world."

As the ideal of moral goodness implies an organic life in one spiritual Self, so our relations with the external world point toward the same conclusion. A world in which we work out our purposes, in which our duties are born, and in which, by means of blocking or furthering our wishes, we receive our moral discipline, cannot be altogether foreign to us.

If we examine any object in the external world, we are surprised to find so much of it turn out to be thought stuff. Anything that we know about it we must express in terms of mind. Color and the qualities by which we describe a "thing" are affairs of the mind. In order to be in my world an object must exist for my eyes, ears and hands to see, hear and feel, and must have some use and purpose discovered for it by my mind. The objects of our world are objects which are known in our thought and which are describable in terms familiar to other minds similar to our own. To attempt the separation of an object from its subject is no less absurd

1-Ibid., p. 461.
than attempting to cut off a stick so as to have only one end. Reality, that is unrelated and foreign to a self that knows it, is a stick with only one end. The other end of that impossible stick would be a subject without an object—a knower without something known. There could be no consciousness that did not think something.

"There is no self-consciousness without object-consciousness, and there is no object-consciousness without self-consciousness. Outer and inner, knower and known are not two but forever one."1

"A mind without an object, and an object without a mind that knows it are each abstractions, and neither one of them exists alone, any more than a 'grin' can exist without a face, or a concave side of a curve can exist without a convex side."2

Subject and object are always united in the rich, concrete, total "content of experience;" and if knowledge is to have any meaning for us at all, it must imply a universe that is in essence spiritual in which our spirits which do the knowing are surrounded by a greater Spirit.

It is possible, of course, for the purpose of study, to abstract one aspect of truth and deal with it as if it were real alone. But by itself it is a mere abstraction and is not an ultimate reality.3

3-Professor Whitehead of Harvard University calls our attention to the fact that abstraction is the greatest sin of our age.
"The ultimate reality is a unified consciousness of self and object in which consciousness object and subject form a concrete system."1

As we find nothing to exist outside of consciousness, there is nothing which is not unified with the consciousness that knows it. In fact, the world which seems so solid and material is woven every bit out of thought stuff. Not out of our thought stuff, for our purposes are often capricious. This is not true, however, with the will of the larger world which expresses itself rigidly and regularly in law and order. Against this unvarying purpose we can do nothing; the stream moves on and all we can do is to adjust ourselves to it. Thus it is that we become convinced that there is, at the heart of things, a will that is deeper than our own, a Wisdom and a Reason that infinitely transcends our own. Every experience that we have seems to link itself into our consciousness and makes a fact for us some truth which must already have been real for a larger Mind of which we partake.

"Each event in our experience has expansiveness, points to something more, and so tends to be self-transcendent. If we could carry forward the implications of our concrete experience with the same skill and effectiveness with which we have pushed forward scientific research, we should, I believe, come upon paths that lead straight on to the City of God."2

If an object is considered to be entirely outside of mind, we can never know it; it is difficult to see how an idea

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1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.215.
2-New Studies in Mystical Religion, p.176f.
which is a mental affair can be like something which is, by supposition, not a mental affair. We have seen that an object cannot be known apart from consciousness; to be known, it must be known in consciousness. Whenever an idea of ours attempts to correspond with some fact beyond, it implies that we already possess sufficient information about it to have vital relations with it. As the fact becomes familiar, that is, as we know more about it, we discover that our first intimations of it are either verified or refuted. In searching for a lost word, our fragmentary self knows enough about the word to go to the wider self in whose keeping it is and to verify the word when it is found. The word sought exists somewhere in the deeper zone of personal life. The self that seeks: the word is both the seeking and the finding self which knows that the word found was the word sought. Similarly, every "object" which we seek to know exists already as a mental fact in the life of that larger Self in whom we share. If we would deny the existence of this Divine Person we must also deny the reality of anything that is beyond "the momentary seemings of our private consciousness." In the face of such rigid agnosticism science and morality as well as religion would crumble, we would be left with nothing but illusion. There would be no distinction between waking and dreaming—all would be maya. But surely such agnosticism must go when we return to the solid fact of the unity of
consciousness and its demands for a deeper conscious life in which our life shares and in which it is hid.

"Unless we are prepared to be deniers through and through and to write 'mene' on both the outer and inner world, we must admit the reality of an infinite Self who is the Life of our lives and that every little inlet of human consciousness opens into the total whole of reality."1

Professor Jones would say, then, that personality is self-conscious; that it is interrelated with the social organism in which it finds itself and is dependent upon it for its existence and development; that it is realized by means of the attractive force of ideals, by the practice of self-sacrifice and by the influence of the sub-conscious life; and that every idea, every ideal, and every intimation of finiteness points to the organic interrelation of our private and fragmentary personality and the Divine Person who manifests a bit of Himself in us.

1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.220.
PART III

MYSTICISM AS SPIRITUAL RELIGION

"Mysticism has its pitfalls and its limitations, but this much is sound and true, that the way to know God is to have inner heart's experience of Him like the experience of the Son."

Rufus Jones, The Inner Life, p.69.
"My studies of mysticism have gradually led me to the view that religion is essentially and at bottom a mystical act, a direct way of vital intercourse between man and God. Religion is thus in its essential features as genuinely a matter of experience as is our relationship with an external world. This interior experience of relationship with invisible reality is what I mean by 'mystic vision.' The experience of mystic vision is one in which life appears at its highest level of inner unity and integral wholeness. All the deep-lying powers of the inward self, usually so divergent and conflicting—the foreground purposes defeated by background inhibitions and by marginal doubts—become liberated and unified into one conscious life, which is not merely intellectual, not merely volitional, nor solely emotional, but an undivided whole of experience. With the inner unification is joined furthermore a sense of a flooding, invading Life and Energy from beyond . . . ."

The mysticism of Rufus Jones must be understood in the light of the previous section, for it is on the basis of his conception of personality as unified and as interrelated with society and with Reality that he builds his scheme of mystical religion. His psychological studies of personality have led Him to believe that there are times when the individual experiences contact with a Power which cannot be entirely explained in terms of "self." This conviction has persuaded

him to believe in the reality of the mystical experience. His psychological observation of the unity of personality and the dependence of its development upon its social adaptability has induced him to discriminate between the "negative" and "affirmative" types of mystical manifestations. It is with these three aspects of Professor Jones' view of mysticism that we wish to deal in this section: (1) the reality of the mystical experience; (2) negative mysticism; and (3) affirmative mysticism.
CHAPTER I

THE REALITY OF THE MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE

Mysticism is a word which should not be used without careful definition. For many readers it has no clear and concrete meaning whatsoever; for others it carries a forbidding sound "as though the safe and beaten track, which the defenders of the faith have builded, were being left out for will-o'-the-wisps and wandering lights." The time has surely come when we must stop using the word mysticism as a synonym for the uncanny or the "mysterious." Mysticism does not mean something "occult," or "esoteric," or "gnostic," or "pseudo-psychic." It merely means that there are times when the soul of man has dealings with realities which are of a different order from that with which our senses deal. No one will deny that this experience takes place in some degree in our appreciation of beauty, for there is something present in our experience of beauty that is beyond what our senses report. It is along this line that the mystic argues. He merely goes a step farther and insists that his experience reveals to him that his inner self has a spiritual environment. By mysticism, therefore, is meant an "immediate awareness of relation with God," an "intimate consciousness of the Divine Presence."^2

1-See pp. xxiv-xxxiv of this thesis.
2-Studies in Mystical Religion, p.xv.
Three tendencies have always been in evidence wherever spiritual religion has made its appearance: the intellectual, the emotional and the volitional. A serious attempt was made to combine all three of these strands by the spiritual reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In weaving together the Mystical, the Humanistic or Rational, and the Faith tendencies these reformers impressively endeavored to widen the sphere and scope of religion so as to carry it into the whole of life. They essayed to find the ground of religion in the very nature of the human spirit, to demonstrate that the normal healthy man is the man who is religious and spiritual.

As these reformers were confronted with new streams of thought they encouraged the intellectual interest of man by adapting their religious beliefs to newly discovered truth. In order to retain its vitality, religion has always had to consider seriously the progress that is being made in the field of knowledge and has had to adjust itself to this new information. Religion is, and has always been, a kind of life-adjustment to realities which are felt to be of supreme importance to the individual and to the race; and it is possible to discover in this series of adjustments a principle of development in religion which the scientist can link up with the theory of evolution.¹

¹-See Pathways to the Reality of God, chap.IV.
It is unwise, however, to think because there are genetic and biological factors which religion must consider, that it can be adequately treated in the terms of racial origins or of biological history. Similarly, just because it has been discovered that religion involves psychological factors it must not be assumed therefore that religion can be sufficiently dealt with by the psychological method of investigation. The various studies which have been pursued in the field of the psychology of religion have given us additional knowledge of the psychic nature of man; they have been especially valuable in pointing out the important influence which the social group exercises in the furtherance of religious attitudes and ideals; but one must not lose sight of the fact that the psychological method has serious limitations. It is limited, as any natural science is limited, to the observation and description of the phenomena of its special field; it is limited to the observation and description of the states of consciousness. Psychology does not pretend to pronounce upon the ultimate nature of consciousness, nor does it aspire to deal with the moral significance of personality.

"Psychology is as empirical as any other science. It modestly confines its scope of research to what appears in finite and describable forms. It possesses no ladder by which it can transcend the empirical order, the fact-level. The religion which the psychologist reports upon is necessarily stripped of all transcendental and objective reference."

1-See Spiritual Energies in Daily Life, chap.X.
2-Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries, p.xvi.
The psychologist, therefore, defines religion as something nakedly subjective; something that works not because there is an Objective Reality that corresponds to something Real within us but because undivided faith-attitudes always liberate energy in consciousness which is carried over into the activities of life. If the psychologist is to bring religion within his limited sphere he has no other choice but to reduce it; for science cannot deal with anything that is not amenable to its descriptive treatment. The psychologist treats the mind as the biologist considers the body—as an aggregate of empirical items. Each mental "state" that passes through consciousness, intricate as it may seem, is considered as a definite describable fact or phenomenon. No room is left for conscience or for the incursion of a noumenal reality. Man, according to science, is an inhabitant of the naturalistic order; mentally and physically man is a machine, operating in this very limited dominion without freedom and without the hope of ever obtaining any.

We must not be too severe with the psychologist for reducing religion to bare subjectivity; for, if he is to be loyal to the scientific method, and if he is to insist upon bringing religion within the scope of his science, he has no other alternative. He must eliminate every aspect of mystery and wonder and every bit of reality which cannot be brought under

his scientific categories. But we have a right to be severe
with the psychologist when he supposes that his scientific
account of man is the "last word," or that his reports contain
all the information, or that his particular method of approach-
ing truth and reality is the only method. Such inclusive and
final claims always reveal the blind spot in the scientist's
vision. It is quite legitimate for the scientist to mark off
a certain territory in which he intends to labor and to
simplify the subject matter of his field so as to facilitate
inquiry; but when he begins to think of his field as the only
field and of the parcel of truth discovered in that field as
all of the truth, it is time for some other field of study to
exercise a corrective influence. The scientist sees in parts;
he does not see in wholes. Reality is supremely vaster than
the fragment of itself which it permits to be brought under
scientific categories.

"We do well to gather in every available
fact which biology or anthropology or
psychology can give us that throws light
on human behaviour, or on primitive cults,
or on the richer subjective and social
religious functions of full-grown men.
But the interior insight got from religion
itself, the rich wholeness of religious
experience, the discovery within us of an
inner nature which defies description, and
baffles all plumb-lines, and which can draw
out of itself more than it contains, in-
dicate that we here have dealings with a
type of reality which demands for adequate
treatment other methods of comprehension
than those available to science."1

1-Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries, p.xviii.
As the little animal which Thor tried to lift in the games of Utgard was grown into, and was organic with, the whole world, and could not be raised without raising the very ground on which the lifter stood, so the reality of religion is so bound up with the whole personal life of man as lived in a social group and in the world of nature that it cannot be adequately treated by the method of analysis and description. Religion permeates the whole experience of man; and psychology, regardless of its achievements, is so limited that it is unable to deal adequately with it.

As the experience of time-duration is the only possible way to the meaning of time, so the rich and concrete whole of religious consciousness is the only way to the secret of religion. This interior appreciation of religion has become associated with the term "Mysticism," and the assumption has been made that in mysticism we come upon the essence of religion. This view, however, is as narrow as the scientist's view: it is an attempt to find all of reality in one particular field. The mystical element is one element in religion, but it is only one. It must have its place, but it must not be given undue emphasis.

In dealing with mystical experience care must be taken to discriminate the experience from the body of doctrines which have been historically known as "mysticism." The true mystic does not mean by mysticism something dim, hazy or occult that

1-Cf. Von Hugel's "modalities" of religion, p.xxviii of this thesis.
can be used as a substitute for the religion of Christ.\footnote{1} He means, rather, a religion of inward, first-hand conviction which is rooted and grounded in experience, the authority of which is not endangered by the criticism of science any more than is the law of gravitation. The triumphs of science and history are not the results of guesses, they are due to an insistence upon facts. So, too, the religion which is to be acceptable to our age of science must be built solidly on the veritable facts of experience.\footnote{2} This, indeed, is the type of religion which the mystic claims to have. The true mystic is an empiricist—he builds his religion upon facts of experience. Josiah Royce, in The World and the Individual, says that the mystic

"gets his reality not by thinking, but by consulting the data of experience. He is trying very skillfully to be a pure empiricist. Indeed, I should maintain that the mystics are the only thorough-going empiricists in the history of philosophy."\footnote{3}

Mysticism, for the mystic, is characterized by a personal experience in which the limitations of life are transcended and in which he attains the self-evident conviction that he is in communion or in union with a transcending Reality which entirely satisfies and which he feels is what he has always sought. "This is He," the mystic exclaims, "There is no other; This is He whom I have waited for and sought after from my childhood."\footnote{4}
The mystic's attempt to realize the presence of God in his soul is grounded on the possibility of direct intercourse between the human soul and ultimate Reality; his goal is to attain to that state where God ceases to be an external object and becomes an experience of the soul. No substitute for God will satisfy him, nor will he rest content as long as any "third thing," be it never so exalted a representative of Him, comes between the soul and its God. The aim of the mystic is not to know about God but to know Him; he is not so much concerned about what God has said and done in the past as he is about what God is saying and doing now, and, especially, in him. He is interested in the promises of God; but since he becomes personally acquainted with the character of God, he no longer is as concerned about what God's promises are; he knows now what He is. Whenever Christianity has crystallized into a lifeless creed or doctrine which proved to be inadequate for the expanding souls of men, the mystic has come along with the announcement that direct communication with God is a fact of experience. Whenever the Church has over-emphasized ecclesiastical religion, leaving the human heart hungry for its proper food, the mystic has appeared with his message of the nearness of God and of the possibility and certainty of experiencing His presence in the soul.

"Mysticism has always been a protest against formalism and authority; and it has always, when healthy, emphasized inspiration, spirituality and personality."  

1—A Dynamic Faith, p. 45f.
The mystic's communication with God opens a mysterious door through which new energies come rushing in, admitting his human spirit to wider sources of life. All the divergent and conflicting powers which lie deep in the inward self are brought together into one conscious life which is able to enjoy the whole of experience, as it is, at the same time intellectual, emotional and volitional. As the appreciation of beauty, or of music, or of love, or of a great moral issue are experiences which seem to transcend the ordinary events of time, so the mystic's appreciation of God is an experience which seems to him to be above the experiences confined to the succession of events. It may take him years to review and to understand "the opening," but the experience itself is held in one unbroken synthetic time-span. It is an all-at-once experience, a "totum simul" as the scholastics called it, in which all the bits of experience are brought together into one integral whole, as the musician weaves his various musical phrases into a melody, or as the artist arranges his colors and figures into a picture. At those particular moments all the barriers seem to be broken through, and the mystic rises from his isolated and narrow personal life and comes in contact with an enfolding Presence which is life-giving, joy-bringing, and light-supplying.

It might seem that the mystic is a peculiarly favored

mortal who has by some lucky chance received this gift by means of which he communicates with Reality. If the mystic is specially favored, it is because he has cultivated his native "homing instinct" for God to a greater extent than others have done. It is because he lives with his personality pointed God-ward that the mystic at times finds himself surrounded by a larger Life with which he feels himself related and which responds to his soul's request.

"... by sincerity of soul, by correspondence with intimations and openings of life and light, and by obedience to what seems to be a heavenly vision, there slowly accumulates a body of inner wisdom, a clear sense of spiritual direction, and an un-failing conviction of fellowship with a Great Companion." 2

Unusual psychological phenomena sometimes accompany these mystical experiences. There are, undoubtedly, experiences where the subject feels assured that he is experiencing union with God, experiences which are abnormal and pathological. Sometimes voices or sounds are heard; sometimes there are visions of lights, or of forms or of figures, as the vision of Christ on the Cross; sometimes the experience is attended by automatic writings; sometimes there are body-changes which may be temporary or permanent; and sometimes the experience is accompanied by a state of swoon or ecstasy which may last

1-"Finite as we are," says Royce, "lost though we may seem to be in the woods or in the wide air's wilderness, in the world of time and chance, we have still, like the strayed animals or like the migrating birds, our homing instinct." (The World and the Individual, vol. I, p. 181.)  
2-New Studies in Mystical Religion, p. 16.
from a few seconds to a number of hours. Temperaments vary with individuals. We should, therefore, expect to find some variation of temperament among mystics. This variation is seen in the many different degrees of intensity, concentration, and conviction that accompany their experiences. Even within the life-time of an individual mystic both normal and abnormal types of mystical experience may manifest themselves.

"Every form of human experience is capable of an exaggerated, an abnormal state, and there is always a shadowy borderland where it is extremely difficult to draw the line between the normal and the abnormal. This is peculiarly true of religious experience, and mystical experience may stretch over all the degrees from the most perfect sanity to utter disorganization of the self."\(^2\)

It is always a grave mistake, however, to single out these abnormal experiences as representative of mysticism. Ecstasy is not the essence of mysticism; nor are the unusual psychological phenomena which may at times accompany it.

"For the essence of mysticism we do not need to insist upon a certain "sacred" mystic way, or upon ecstasy, or upon any peculiar type of rare psychic upheavals. We do need to insist, however, upon a consciousness of commerce with God amounting to conviction of his Presence."\(^3\)

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1-Trances, losses of consciousness, automatisms, vision of lights, audition of voices, "stigmata," and such like experiences Professor Jones considers evidences of hysteria and not in themselves evidences of Divine influence or of Divine Presence. See his Studies in Mystical Religion, p.xxvii.
2-Studies in Mystical Religion, p.xxviii.
3-The Atlantic Monthly, Nov.1921, p.639.
Those experiences which are less emotional, less ecstatic and more meditative are of greater constructive value for life than are those experiences which require a peculiar psychical disposition.  

"These physical phenomena . . . are as spiritually unimportant and as devoid of religious significance as are the normal bodily resonances and reverberations which accompany, in milder degrees, all our psychic processes. They indicate no high rank of sainthood and they prove no miracle-working power."  

There have been individuals, however, who have had profound religious experiences in which they have succeeded in getting hold of some unseen power; a power by means of which they have been able to unify their lives and to charge their personalities with new energy. But if the states by which these religious geniuses obtained their moral and spiritual dynamic were to appear in ordinary individuals they no doubt would be considered as pathological. The real test of a normal experience is a pragmatic one. A state that has raised an "experient" to a more moral and spiritual person who seems to be restless unless he is influencing other men and women to turn into more joyous, hopeful, and efficient individuals, can hardly be called abnormal. It is difficult to settle the question of abnormality and reality by means of a superficial diagnosis. An experience which broadens the

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1-See Pathways to the Reality of God, pp.21-24.  
2-Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries, p.xxi.
mind, opens new interior depths, enables one to stand the universe, and which gives one patience to work at the ordinary tasks of life with endurance and wisdom can quite intelligently be called normal, although the external beholder may observe what would appear to be a trance, a state of dissociation, or hypnosis by auto-suggestion.

Fortunately, the mystical experience is not limited to these creative geniuses or to this extreme type which may or may not be pathological. As has been stated, the calmer and more restrained stages of mysticism are more important. In these less extreme types of mystical experience the stigma of hysteria is of no more importance than it is in love-making, in enjoyment of music, in devotion to altruistic causes, or in risking one's life for one's country. The significant features of the mystical experience are not to be found in the psychic upheavals which may attend it, but in the consciousness of fresh springs of life, in the release of new energies, in the inner integration and unification of personality, in the inauguration of a sense of mission, in the flooding of the life with new hope, courage, and gladness, and in the conviction that God is found as an environing and life-giving presence. 1 "I have met with my God," says the mystic, "I have met with my Saviour. I have felt the healings drop upon my soul from under His wings." 2

If everybody had such experiences there could no longer be any doubt as to the existence of a spiritual reality which surrounds the human soul and with which the soul is in vital contact. We could no more doubt the genuineness of such an environment than we could question the certainty of the external world; our experience of it and our recognized correspondence with it would convince us of its existence. A priori there is no reason for doubting the reality of such an inner spiritual universe. It seems just as conceivable that influences of a vital and illuminating nature should pour into our inner lives from this spiritual environment as it is that objects in space and time should bombard our senses with messages peculiarly adapted to them. The reason why the reality of the external world is accepted and the existence of the interior world is denied is because all people experience the outer world whereas only a few experience the inner one. The mystic himself is quite sure that he sees, but what he sees he seems unable to tell us. He does not seem able to pass his experience on to us. We cannot be as certain of his vision as he is himself. He cannot, like "the weird sisters," lend us his eye to see with; he can talk and write about what he has seen, but his words will have little or no effect on those of us who lack the vision.

We cannot doubt the reality of the mystical experience;

but, as indicated, it is an experience that is definitely limited. The very characteristics which give it self-evidence and power limit its scope and range. It is essentially first-hand experience; yet, it is by no means universal. From what we can learn, it does not seem to be an experience which attaches itself to the nature of consciousness as such, or to be an experience which is bound to occur when the individual gathers his energies and strains forward for the adventure. The experience does not come by wanting it. Another element seems to be involved in it which is beyond our control. Passion and purity of soul do not seem to be enough. The experience just "comes"; from the deeper levels of the inner life the feeling of a larger presence comes rushing into consciousness. The recipient is aware of his experience, but he is unable to tell whence it came. He is unable to cause it to return or to pass it on to an inquiring friend. There are many persons who are just as serious and earnest in their desire for this type of experience as is the loftiest mystical saint, but who experience no sudden inrushes and who are conscious of no environing Companion. They never discover that "more of consciousness" that is continuous with their own, and they feel that their lives are impervious to divine invasions. All the states that pass through their consciousness bear the marks of temporal origin--they may be bright and clear or dim and strange, but they all are stamped with this temporal brand.
The mystical type of experience, therefore, although real, cannot be insisted upon as being the only way to God.

"To insist on mystical experience as the only path to religion would involve an 'election' no less inscrutable and pitiless than that of the Calvinistic system—an election settled for each person by the peculiar psychic structure of his inner self." ¹

The mystical experience is seriously limited in that it is not universal,¹ and not describable and not communicable. In stating these limitations, it is not to be implied that any less value is given to the experience itself; it only means that it is difficult to give it such terms as will be understood by all people. As has been said, the recipient of the experience is often indubitably certain of the spiritual realities which he experiences and which reveal themselves within his own spirit, producing life-results such as augmented conviction, heightened tone of joy, unification of personality, and increased moral and spiritual power; but the mystic is unable to draw from his experience any definite material which will assist us in understanding, more clearly, the nature and character of God.²

¹-Professor Jones believes that the "ladders" which play such an important part in books on Mystical Religion are far from being universal ladders. They are rather like creeds or religious institutions, he says, which to some seem indispensable to religion and to others appear artificial and unreal. They must be thought of rather, "as symbolisms which speak to the condition of a limited number of spiritual pilgrims."

²-Nor does the mystic, from his experience alone, seem able to supply us with any definite contributions which become part of the spiritual inheritance of the race.
"... The soul
Remembering how she felt, but what she felt
Remembering not, retains an obscure sense
Of possible sublimity."1

The mystics have added to the richness of our conception
of God and have made impressive contributions to the capital
stock of our religious knowledge; but it is questionable
whether these augmentations of knowledge can be said to have
come to us through the secret door of mystical "openings." Our
conception of God, which guides our living, and our knowledge
of eternal life can hardly be said to have reached us by means
of "sudden incursions," or by "oracular communications"
through persons of extraordinary psychical disposition. What
the mystic gives us is not his experience, but his inter-
pretation; and, as soon as he begins to interpret, he is com-
pelled to make use of the group-material which the race by
means of its corporate experiences has gathered together and
made available.2 The ideas and words which form the medium of
the message, already have some significance for the group; the
slow spiritual accumulations of the ages have attached to them
some definite meaning. These ideas and words with their
significant content indicate the type of social group in which
the mystic's inner life was formed and ripened.3 It may be

1- Wordsworth, 'Prelude,' Bk.ii.
2-See Pathways to the Reality of God, p.45.
3- In Part I we discussed "Personality as a Conjunct Personal
Life," in which it was shown that personality is interrelated
and that it is impossible for a person to realize himself
apart from his social environment. Professor Jones believes
that it is important that we should not lose sight of the
fact that the mystic is after all a person whose life is also
"conjunct" and whose experiences have a social history.
said, then, that the mystic's experience itself, like the ideas and words which he uses, has a history.  

The contribution to religion which the mystics make is made in ways similar to those used by other geniuses to raise the level of human attainment and achievement of their respective fields; they appreciate and make use of the achievements which passed generations have left behind them; and being, like other geniuses, profoundly sensitive to the aspirations of their own generation and to the significance of the deep-lying currents of their age, they are, through their heightened interest, suggestible to an acute degree to certain principles and truths which they synthesize by such leaps of insight that "slow-paced logic seems to be transcended." These unifying and intensifying insights which they experience give them "a surge of certainty," an intense faith, and a new power to live by; which, in its best type, is revealed in thoughts and words and deeds.

1-See Social Law in the Spiritual World, p. 66.
2-It is not to be inferred that faith is entirely a result of the mystical experience, and that it did not exist before the experience took place. In his The World Within, (p. 104f.) Professor Jones suggests rather that the experience is conditioned by faith. What the experience does is to intensify the faith which already exists. See also Albert C. Knudson, The Doctrine of God, p. 85ff.
CHAPTER II

NEGATIVE MYSTICISM

"The endeavour to win goodness by withdrawal from society is as vain as the search for the lost fountain or the pursuit of an alchemy which will make gold out of lead. The only way to overcome the world is to carry the forces of the spiritual life into the veins of society until peace and love and righteousness prevail there."

In the preceding chapter, we discussed the reality of the mystical experience; and we saw that, although there are unusual psychological phenomena which accompany it in its extreme manifestations, and although it is limited in so far as it is not universal and not communicable, that mystical experience succeeds, nevertheless, in bringing the experiment in contact with a Power that lifts life to higher levels. In this chapter, we shall attempt to make more explicit what was implied in the previous one, namely, that there is a negative type of mysticism which ignores the fact that we are "conjunct"

1-Dom Cuthbert Butler in his Western Mysticism (1922) maintains that the negative element was introduced into mysticism in the sixth century by the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius and that prior to that time, i.e., during the time of the "pre-Dionysians," the negative way was not stressed. It is true that in Dionysius a new stage of negation was reached and that much of the terminology of negation which is not in the later mystics was introduced by him; but the habit of looking for the infinite beyond the finite and the expectation of finding Reality somewhere "yonder" existed already in the time of St. Augustine.

persons interrelated with society and with the world, and that this type with its negative emphasis is by no means the highest representation of the mystical experience.

The negative way, which has been a prominent and prevailing characteristic of historical mysticism, has, by many writers, been made the distinct and sufficient differentia of mysticism. This type of mysticism has often produced intensity and depth; but it is, nevertheless, one of the elements of mystical religion which has severely limited its influence. The undue emphasis placed on this negative aspect of mysticism can be attributed, very largely, to the indescribable and undifferentiated character of the mystical experience. The experience which seems like "a flight of the alone to the Alone" can be explained only in negative terms. The soul seems to pass beyond "the mortal limit of the self" and to merge itself with that which it forever seeks but which when found seems to be beyond the power of the individual to describe.

In contending against the extreme negativity of mysticism, we must be careful not to assume that the negative element has no place in our spiritual experience. All genuine religion has its negative factor. Unless an individual is willing to negate the easy ways of instinct; unless he deliberately refuses to follow the low pursuits of life which end in self; and

1-See The Atlantic Monthly, Nov.1921, p.638.
2-See Social Law In the Spiritual World, p.82f.
unless he rejects those habits of thought and action which limit the realization of the diviner possibilities of his whole nature, he can in no wise enjoy the richness of spiritual experience. The principle of negativity, in a very real way, is involved in the very fibre of personal life. Advances call for sacrifices: every time something is gained, something is also lost. In order to attain a desirable goal, many things, which are in themselves desirable, must be given up. A "rivalry of me's" seems always to confront us; and only one of them can be chosen. The choice of one typical self means that we must give up all other possible ones. In order to achieve a higher, wider and richer self, we must sacrifice the self that is low and narrow. We must die to live.

However, the negative mystics are not content to stop here. They go further. Not only must a lower self give way to a higher one; they contend that all of self must be negated.

"The I, the me, and the mine, nature, selfhood, the Devil and sin are all one and the same thing."1

All desire for any particular thing or for any particular experience must, they claim, be utterly destroyed. Eckhart says:

"So long as thy soul has an image, it is without simplicity, and so long as it is without simplicity, it doth not rightly love God."2

1-Theologia Germanica, chaps. xxii & xliii.
2-Eric Neff, Meister Eckhart, p.320.
According to Montanus, man is a mere passive instrument, swept and moved by the incoming Divine Spirit. Man's reason must retire and there must be an absence of consciousness before any revelation can come. The prophet through whom the revelation comes is a mere medium, imparting nothing of his own. His one service is to get himself out of the way so that the Divine can use his lips as a musician uses a lyre. Reason is replaced by supernatural oracles; and a sharp dualism is created between the human and the divine, the natural and the supernatural. Every mental activity becomes undivine; the value of personality is reduced to zero.¹

Tauler strikes the same note when he tells us that it is impossible to obtain the experience which the soul seeks unless it is borne in mind that "everything depends upon a fathomless sinking into a fathomless nothingness." He tells us that when we have succeeded in annihilating all, we have prepared the only ground on which God can work. It is only then that all forms have ceased to exist and that man is in a condition conducive to his transformation.

"Thou must sink into the unknown and unnamed abyss, and above all ways, images, forms, and above all powers.

¹-The "Church" and the world arrayed themselves against the Montanist movement and it was stamped out. The stern methods used against the movement could have been spared; given time, it would have caused its own failure. It had not within itself the inherent power of ministering to the condition of the world and to the soul of man. At its best it was "a crude and imperfect type of the religion of the Spirit." For a study of Montanism see Studies in Mystical Religion, p.48.
lose thyself, deny thyself, and even unform thyself.1

The same negative refrain is found in Dionysius:

"For the beholding of the hidden things of God, shalt thou forsake sense and the things of flesh and all that the senses can apprehend, and that reason of her own powers can bring forth, and all things created and uncreated that reason is able to comprehend and know, and shalt take thy stand upon an utter abandonment of thyself and as knowing none of the aforesaid things, and enter into union with Him, who is, and is above all existence and all knowledge."2

The writer of the Theologica Germanica tells us that the Perfect is none of the things of which the parts consist. It is not possible, therefore, for the parts, as parts, to know what the Perfect is. In other words, man per se can never know God. He says:

"The Perfect is none of the things which are in part. The things which are in part can be known, apprehended and expressed; but the Perfect cannot be known, apprehended or expressed by any creature as a creature. . . . The creature as creature cannot know nor apprehend it, name or conceive it."3

This negative attitude towards man and his faculties means that the function of the will is not recognized. In fact, it contends that the operation of the will proportionately retards the possibility of the experience. The moment the will is allowed to focus its attention on any single concrete goal, that moment, it is claimed, the Good, which is above and beyond all particular "things," is missed. Progress to-

1-Tauler's Sermons. See especially Sermons IV and XXIII in Button's Inner Way.
2-Epistle to Timothy.
3-Theologica Germanica, Wickworth's Translation, p.2.
wards the experience sought is measured by the degree of abstraction achieved and by the extent of withdrawal from all things finite. The One whom the soul seeks cannot be found in anything which we can call "here" or "now"; nor can He be found by concentrating upon anything that is finite. This negative way seems to wind on and on until it reaches the absolutely negative silent desert of Godhead "where no one is at home."¹

He whom the soul seeks, asserts the negative mystic, must be above and beyond; He must be "yonder." Says Dionysius the Areopagite:

"It is by no means permitted to speak or even to think anything concerning the super-essential and hidden Deity . . . . It is a Unity above mind, a One above conception and inconceivable to all conceptions, a Good unutterable by word."²

By stripping God of all conceivable attributes and qualities, Eckhart succeeds in presenting us with a God who is so far beyond us that we can have no conception of Him whatever. He says:

"Thou must love God as not-God, not-Spirit, not-person, not-image, but as He is, a sheer pure absolute One, sundered from all two-ness and in whom we must eternally sink from nothingness to nothingness."³

At the end of this negative road, the soul finds itself lost in a wilderness of infinity where everything finite is false and where the only thing real is an everlasting "Nay."

¹-See Tauler's Third Instruction.
²-The Divine Names, chap.i., sec.1.
³-Pfeiffer, Meister Eckhart, p.320.
"Whatever idea your mind comes at,
I tell you flat
God is not that."  

The mystics who have followed this negative train of thought have divided man into a dualism and have insisted on rejecting the necessary half of him.  

Man cannot see with his spiritual eye, they say, until his eye of sense is closed. God with His light can enter man only when the light of natural reason has been put out. This idea is well put by one of George Chapman's characters:  

"I'll build all inward—not a light shall ope
The common outway—
I'll therefore live in dark; and all my light
Like ancient temples let in at my top."  

Coleridge, in the following lines, seems to present the same idea:  

1—Quoted in W. H. J. Gairdner's *The Reproach of Islam*.  
2—One notices at once how far away these negative mystics are from the simplicity and concreteness of the Gospels. They do not deal with the Father whom Christ revealed, but with the "Absolute One" of metaphysics who is beyond all revelations. These negative mystics have also passed from Paul's conception of an immanent God in whom men live and move and are, to a mysticism that is based on emanations from a hidden centre. In speaking of the writings of Dionysius, Professor Jones says: "The mischief of turning away from the concrete to the abstract, from the God who is known to an unknowable Deity, is fully committed in these writings, and the groping of centuries after a God who hides is the pitiful result." See *Studies in Mystical Religion*, p. 111.  
3—Quoted in *A Dynamic Faith*, p. 58.
"It were a vain endeavour
Though I should gaze forever
On that green light that lingers in the west,
I may not hope from outward forms to win
The passion and the life whose fountains are within."¹

We surely are on the wrong track when we start out on our search for truth by destroying the very faculties which have been given to us for the purpose of finding and testing it. There are not two kinds of truth. There is not one kind of truth which is discoverable by our human faculties and another kind of truth which lies beyond them. In other words, the divine does not begin where the human leaves off.

"... the divine and the human belong together—in fact, without this, there is no profound truth in mysticism, and if they do belong together it is perfectly natural that man should know God when their lives come into contact. God and man are not insulated personalities."²

The impassable gulf which the negative mystics place between the finite and the infinite cuts the nerve of all spiritual effort.³ It

¹—"Ode to Dejection."
²—A Dynamic Faith, p. 59.
³—These negative mystics also have a dualistic conception of the universe. They divide the universe into a dualism of natural and supernatural, the supernatural beginning where the natural leaves off. But as Professor Jones says: "The moment God is shut out of any part of this universe and is confined to a circle which only touches or bisects the natural realm we have an irrational universe, and our search for truth is blocked hopelessly." See A Dynamic Faith, p. 60. The whole cosmic system belongs to God; and every bit of it is soaked with spiritual meaning and with spiritual significance for spiritual beings. "God is all and in all," and "in Him all things consist."
"destroys all faith in the significance
of earthly life with its myriad moral
issues, It turns the gaze away from
the very stuff out of which moral and
spiritual fibre is to be woven. It is
an attempt to climb up by first de­
stroying the ladder which has been
given to us."

As has been suggested in a previous chapter, it is quite
obvious that self-consciousness always involves something which
is prior to the existence of the person possessing it; some­
thing which transcends the reality of one's self. But, although
this is true, it does not give the negative mystic the right
to think of this Reality as being transcendent to such a degree
that a gulf is created between it and finite things. The in­
finite is required to give meaning to the finite; the temporal
is intelligible only through the eternal. It is not an es­
cape from the finite that is desired but an understanding of
the finite through the Infinite. A particular finite ex­
perience must appeal to some permanent more of reality. It
must make this appeal in order that as a finite it may be
understood and its value appreciated. If this is not true, it
then becomes impossible for us to do any thinking at all.
Every age, through its discoveries, inventions, and experiences,
adds to the general stock of knowledge. If we wish to con­
tinue adding evaluated facts to the mass of knowledge already
in existence, we must still feel that it is necessary to refer

1-Studies in Mystical Religion, p.326.
to a transcending more. "All consciousness is," as Hegel showed in 1807, "an appeal to more consciousness."\(^1\) Finite things are real to us because there is a self-consistent and self-explanatory spiritual reality which accounts for their origin and purpose. The negative mystics have failed to observe that "finites" are not forever "finites"; that there is a bridge which carries us from our finite "nows" and "heres" to an infinite Reality, and that this bridge is structural and not of our own making.

If the chasm between the finite and the infinite is once assumed, it is, assuredly, impossible to bridge it. But it is fundamentally wrong to assume that any such chasm exists. All knowledge is obtained in a synthetic indivisible whole of experience; and it is the crucial problem of knowledge to find some basis for verifying and testing what we know rather than to discover a way to bridge a gulf which we suppose to exist.

The method of testing and verifying truth is to organize it and to link it into some larger whole of knowledge which we, ourselves, or a group of individuals, have tested and verified. In this larger whole of experience, we must assume the existence and activity of some sort of Reality\(^2\) which transcends our fragmentary experiences and which at the same time works in them forming them into one synthetic unity.

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1-Phenomenology of Spirit.
2-See Plato's Republic, vii, 516b.
"Some reference to the permanent is necessary in judging even the fleetingness of the "now," some confidence in the eternally true is essential for any pronouncement upon the false, some assurance of the infinite is presupposed in the endless dissatisfaction with the finite, some appeal to a total whole of Reality is implicated in any assertion that this fact here and now is known as real. Any one who feels the full significance of what is involved in knowing the truth has a coercive feeling that Eternity has been set within us, that our finite life is deeply rooted in the all-pervading Infinite."1

The intellectual formulation of this negative element of mysticism which insists on an absolute separation of finite and infinite has been greatly affected by the metaphysical conceptions which prevailed at the time when the negative mystics were doing their thinking.

"Both the intellectual formulations and the emotional and motor habits under which the pattern mystics of history lived, strongly favoured the formation of a negative cast in thought and action."2

Included in one's mystical experience are usually to be found all the prevailing ideas, aspirations and sentiments which have become the unconscious habits of the age. No one is able to escape the group-tendencies in which one lives. If, in one man's period, piety leads to asceticism, and renunciation is attached to sainthood, these traits will undoubtedly form a vital part of the spiritual fibre of his mysticism.

As we have seen, according to the metaphysical conception,

1-Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries, p.xxxiv
2-Concerning Prayer, p.113 (ed. by B.H. Streeter)
which conception underlies the main current of historical mysticism, God is thought of as Absolute Reality or Pure Being. In order to maintain this position of the absoluteness of God, these negative mystics thought that it was necessary to insist on His immutability and His oneness as opposed to all mutability, duality, plurality or otherness. In order to find God they believed that it was necessary to turn away from all finite things; from everything of a transitory nature; from all passing states of mind; from everything that could be considered as being here and now; and from all things that one could see, feel, name or know. When they had subjected the Absolute to this process of elimination all they seemed to have left was "a nameless Nothing," "an undifferentiated One," "an abysmal Dark."

This via negativa was superimposed upon Christian Mysticism, it is not something which is inherent in the mysticism of the New Testament. Neoplatonic influences are directly responsible for introducing into Christian Mysticism the quest for a God which is everything which finite beings are not. As far as the mysticism of the New Testament is concerned, this negative Neoplatonic phase of the mystical experience is a foreign element and must be recognized as such.

When this abstract and negative cast was formed it was not confined to mysticism. Much of the non-mystical piety and all of the metaphysical thinking of the period was influenced by it. Mysticism took the negative road because the venturesome mystic

1-Studies in Mystical Religion, p.70.
had not as yet found any other way from the finite to the Infinite.

"It has taken all the philosophical and spiritual travail of the centuries to think through the idea of a concrete infinite, interrelated with us and with the world, and to discover that the way to share in His immanent and comprehending Life is as much a way of affirmation as of negation." 1

Until mysticism is liberated from its dependence upon these outworn and inadequate forms it cannot be a power in modern religion. It must search for thought-forms other than those associated with the Neoplatonic element in mysticism; and through these new forms it must translate its vision of God.

Those who define mysticism as a way of life are taking a step in the right direction. But even some of these writers are loth to part with its negative and abstract features. 2 The experiences of the negative mystics have much that they can teach us, but we must not permit ourselves to come under the influence of the outworn thought-forms through which these experiences were uttered. The carefully marked and defined "mystic way" which these mystics have taken is entirely artificial, not being grounded in the inherent nature of the soul, and, therefore, not a highway over which all pious souls can travel. As was mentioned in the introduction, one can see how artificial these ladders of the mystic way are when one attempts to fit the life-experiences of Christ or of St. Paul

1-Concerning Prayer, p. 114.
2-See Evelyn Underhill's The Mystic Way.
or of the author of the Fourth Gospel into the "purgative," the "illuminative" and the "unitive" stages of the model mystical form.

Those who define mysticism as a way of life recognize that mysticism cannot be isolated as a special "way" either of knowledge or of life. Knowledge and life are both far too rich to be confined to one element of experience. There are moments, it is true, when the soul experiences a high degree of certainty concerning spiritual realities; but it is not possible to live by these inarticulate experiences alone. We must live by the actual content of our religious faith, its definite beliefs, its concrete ideas, its thought of God, of man and of the world; all of these ideas and beliefs are the slow accretions of racial experience and are not the result of secret mystical openings. To the extent that these "openings" do have concrete content, to that extent are they likely to be the result of group-influence.1 The literature which the mystic has read and the environment in which he has lived unconsciously provide his experience with some definite content. The ideas, the illustrations, the phrases, and the words of the great mystics appear again and again in the accounts of the experiences of succeeding mystics, very much the same as the shades and colors of the great painters or the musical phrases of the great musicians constantly appear in the works of those who follow them. It is impossible for the negative mystic to escape

1-See Social Law in the Spiritual World, p. 65ff.
finite influences. The experience which he claims transcends everything finite, is found, when an interpretation is attempted, to be shot through and through with finite ideas.

The great mystics, fortunately, have not been consistent with their theory of abstraction and negation and thus have saved themselves; but the theory itself is a false theory of life and leads only to a God of abstraction and not to a God of spiritual religion. This false "way" is not due to anything connected with the experience itself, but is to be charged, as we have suggested, to the metaphysics through which the mystics were compelled to do their thinking.¹ The way to arrive at what God was, was to think of everything He was not—and that included every symbol and attribute which man had been accustomed to use in his attempt to arrive at some definition of God—and when one had succeeded in doing that, he could say that he had arrived at some understanding of what God was. The Infinite was the not-finite; the Absolute was what the contingent was not. The Perfect was free of all imperfection; the Real was above all mutation.

The negative mystic seeks to become absorbed in God; and in order to be swallowed up in the Godhead, he strives to transcend everything finite—the world, history, and consciousness. One readily sees that this type of mystic seeks for something which he will never obtain; something which could not be

¹-See article on 'Mysticism and the Inner Life' in An Outline of Christianity, vol. 4, p. 323.
known if it were attained. The Absolute which he postulates as the negation of all finiteness turns out to be an absolute zero—"a limitless sumtotal of negation." If the mystics of this negative type were faithful to their principle, their only possible destiny would be contraction and confusion. As one of our American teachers has said, "It is as if the bud, knowing that its life is in the life of the parent tree, should seek to become one with the tree by withering and shrinking, and letting its life ebb back into the common life. Seeing it we should not say, Behold how this bud has become one with the tree: we should say, The bud is dead."^1

^1-See Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.135.
CHAPTER III

AFFIRMATIVE MYSTICISM

"Instead of losing consciousness we become through it more than ever aware of the deep under-swell of the Infinite on whose bosom we rest. Instead of quenching desire our hearts burn to explore farther the divine Life which invites us on. Instead of losing our will we approach that true freedom where we will to do His will."

There is no reason why mysticism should be confined to its negative type. The weaknesses and aberrations of mysticism have all been caused by placing undue emphasis upon its negative and abnormal manifestations. There must be a change of emphasis. It must be evident to those who are interested in having mysticism assume its proper place in the religion of to-day that its negative features can no longer be justifiably countenanced; that it can have value for life only in so far as one stresses that about it which is positive. There is no reason why this change of emphasis cannot be made. Morality, for example, has made this transition. In its primitive stages conscience was a negative affair, breaking in on normal life with its dread "thou-shalt-nots" as if it were a visitor from

1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.137f.
2-One of Professor Jones' important contributions is his discrimination between negative and affirmative mysticism. Cf. A. Deissmann's The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of St. Paul, pp. 196,197,246,257,258, in which he distinguishes between "acting" and "reacting" mysticism.
another world; but so far have we shifted the emphasis from a negative to a positive morality that we should now consider a man to be in a very imperfect state of morality if his conscience had not developed beyond this negative and capricious stage. The kind of morality that we respect and honor with our praise to-day is positive and permanently operative. Conscience of this higher type constantly pushes towards ideal personality; it is "a steady inner ground-swell" which affects all deeds whether they be important or trivial. Mystical religion must also be of this higher, positive and permanent type.

"It is not a thing of ecstatic momentary states, and it is not a blinding of the eyes in the hope of discovering another organ to see with. It is a life of normal, joyous correspondence with the present God who streams into every person whose inner windows are open and who floods every act and impulse with constructive energy."1

The affirmative mystics make vision the beginning rather than the end of life. They see clearly that obedience to a vision is of more importance than the vision itself. They are not blind to the fact that there are battles to be fought and truth to be supported; and that the Kingdom of God on earth must be advanced.

The mystic of this class, instead of seeking the Absolute by negating everything finite, finds the revelation of the

1-Children of the Light, p.2f.
Infinite in the finite. The fact that he partakes of God is of primary importance to him; yet he realizes that his true being, if it is to be found, must be worked out in the world of imperfect and finite things. He knows that he is always more than he is when involved in any finite task; yet he does not hesitate to accept this task, as he has discovered that it is only through the finite that the Infinite can be found. The unity which he experiences in his vision is not a unity which lies beyond the transitory and the temporal; it is one rather in which the transitory and the temporal find their reality. Every human task, regardless how small it may be, becomes of great importance because God is in it. Every simple act of duty, be it never so small, is good because it helps, by that much, to make God more real. Every little deed performed out of pure love is a holy thing because God shines through it and is revealed in it.

"The whole purpose of the one who holds this view is to make his life the best possible organ of God."  

The affirmative mystic is just as anxious to achieve the experience of union with God as is the negative mystic; but not

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1-In Part II we discussed Professor Jones' conception of personality as a "conjunct" self; and we found, in the discussion of the Self and the Over-Self, that Professor Jones believes it to be essential to personality to conceive of the self as being interrelated with the Over-Self. It is on the basis of this analysis of personality that he is forced to reject negative mysticism.

2-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.137.
through loss of personality. For him, the eye can best serve the body not by extinguishing itself, but by increasing its power of discrimination.

"... so too the soul is ever more one with the Lord of life as it identifies itself with Him and lets His being expand its human powers."

This new type of mysticism was exemplified in George Fox. It is customary for the "new psychologists" to divide men into two classes, "introverts" and "extraverts": those who turn their gaze inward and those who look outward. George Fox was equally introvert and extravert. Long before these psychological terms were introduced, Josiah Royce made a psychological study of George Fox and found him to be a man who was essentially keyed for action. Professor Royce tells us that Fox focused his attention on movement, action and deed; that he was a traveller, an organizer and a doer. In other words, George Fox was the sort of person whose will-purpose rose above his reflective powers. His disposition could be compared with that of his contemporary who wrote:

"My mind was not at rest because nothing was acted; and thoughts ran in me that words and writings were nothing and must die; for action is the life of all, and if thou dost not act thou dost nothing."

One who reads the *Journal* of George Fox will discover that

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1-*Social Law in the Spiritual World*, p.137.
2-In order to appreciate Professor Jones' mystical position as to negative and positive mysticism, it is essential to be acquainted with the type of mysticism which appeared in George Fox.
3-*Gerrard Winstanley, A Watchword to the City of London*, 1649.
what Josiah Royce says about his character, being essentially one of action, is true. But it is also true that there was a time in his life when he was preparing for action rather than acting; when he was "building all inward" and storing up energies for a long period of strain and toil, during which he was to take his place as a leader of a dynamic movement.¹

These inner experiences were not modeled after the negative type. George Fox climbed no lonely ladders of purgation, illumination and union; the via negative of the mystics of history found no place in his life. Perhaps it was because he recognized it as belonging essentially to Roman Catholic piety that he had no sympathy with this negative type. It was against his disposition to accept any theory or belief that involved his withdrawing from the world. His was not an experience which was entirely unutterable and incapable of interpretation in terms of anything seen or known and which remained something forever apart; something wholly unique and sui generis. He had no "mystic way," no mystic ladders which one had to climb to find God. It was his belief that one did not have to go anywhere to find God:

"God and man for him were so near to each other that no 'distance' at all intervened."²

Fox considered the kinship of God and man to be his great

¹-Cf. W.E. Hocking's The Meaning of God, chap. xxviii; in which the principle of alternation is discussed. Professor Jones seems to have the same idea in mind when he suggests that the active period of Fox's life was preceded by a period of inner experience.
²-George Fox, p.34.
discovery. Something of God, he thought, was in every man. In man's soul is hidden an immortal seed of God; and the great moment of man's life is when he discovers that this God-like reality is in him and that it is capable of unlimited expansion, and of becoming his true and complete life. Fox's mysticism, therefore, is affirmative rather than negative. His highest moments were not moments of unutterable ecstasy; they were occasions when his inner life felt flooded by the divine reality, which is present at all times, but which only occasionally surges up into consciousness. The abstract Absolute was not the end of his search; he insisted on the concrete character of God. God was like Christ: a tender, forgiving, loving and intimate Companion and Friend. We are not surprised, therefore, to hear him say that he knew God experimentally. "I was as one," he says, "who had a key and did open."

It was probably during the years 1645 to 1648 that Fox was building all inwardly; it was during this period that he was finding his sense of direction and accumulating that mighty conviction which was such an important feature of his life. It was during these years that he came to see that the only temple where God reveals Himself is the human heart. One of the experiences which he had during this period affected him so much that he was able, through the power he got from it, to turn

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1-This emphasis in Fox seems to have its foundation in his tendency to get back to Jesus as behind Pauline and sub-Pauline reconstructions of Christianity.
from despair to triumphant joy, and to move steadily forward in his discovery of the divine as revealed within him.

"I knew God and Christ now, not through books and Scriptures, but by revelation as he who hath the key did open and as the Father of Life drew me to His Son by His Spirit. The Lord gently led me along and let me see His love, which was endless and eternal. . . . and that love let me see myself, as I was without Him."¹

It was not to an ineffable Absolute that his experiences led him; but to a heightened consciousness of the concrete character of God. Like Socrates and Joan of Arc and Coleridge, Fox possessed a peculiar mental constitution which made it possible for him to draw upon his deeper submerged life. The flashes which lighted up this submerged area gave him an acuter conviction of reality than did his process of thinking. Coleridge's poems, "The Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan," are made up almost entirely of survivals of readings of books which had fixed themselves in his subconscious self; and which emerged, not in a scrappy fashion, but as organized, harmonized and beautiful poetic creations.² In the deeper levels of the poet's mind the process of formation was going on; and he was building better than he knew. Similarly, the wisdom of Socrates and the insight of the Maid of Orleans came to them by a way which they knew not.

George Fox was of this type. He, too, was a prophet and

¹—George Fox's Journal, p.12.
²—The poetry of Blake might be cited as a similar example.
a creative genius. One may not call the "openings" which came
to him miraculous communications or supernatural interventions;
but one must grant that they do presuppose a type of nature
that has the capacity to mature and ripen ideas and principles
of life below the level of thought, and to allow them to emerge
in their organized and harmonized form, fused with emotion and
interpenetrated with the sense of divine origin. Such was his
nature that he could not doubt the divine source of the truths
which flashed in upon his consciousness; and under the cer­
tainty of this conviction he felt impelled to take as his
mission the proclamation of these principles.

"All the mystics of this type are impressed
with the feeling and live on the basic
assumption that God is within and not be­
yond. They think of their inner selves
as resting upon the deeper Life of the
Spirit, that is always within call and
hail. Intimations of light and guidance,
upwellings of life and wisdom, seem to
be 'given,' and the love of God seems to
flow around their incompleteness and
bring to them peace and power."1

George Fox felt surrounded and invaded by a divine power
which made light and life and love and truth accessible; it
was this conviction, emerging from his "inward building" as it
did, that prepared him for a life of outward, practical
activity. It became clear to Fox that a man in order to find
his life must lose it; not in contemplation but rather in the
advancement of a great cause. He saw clearly that

1-George Fox, p.45.
"Religion does not come to its full power or reach a high spiritual level until it transcends the individualistic attitude and becomes profoundly social. 1

Fox cannot be considered as a mere dreamer. He was not only a seer of visions; he was a doer of deeds. Our discussion on negative mysticism has made clear to us that one of the grave dangers of the mystic is that he contents himself with "dreamily passive emotions" and makes the attainment of "a deadlessly passive and unspeakable rapture in God" his highest good in life. Our discussion in the previous chapter has also showed us that

"... an excessive quietist mood is a mark of degenerate and not of true and healthy mysticism." 2

George Fox, along with the rest of the great mystics who must be our guides in mystical religion, saw clearly that every new vision involved a new duty; that every truth or bit of truth discovered demanded expression. 3 They saw, with St. Paul, that a heavenly vision would avail them nothing unless there was manifested some "obedience to the heavenly vision." They seemed quite sure that the Author of their vision had made them "ministers" and "witnesses" of the things which they had seen. 4 Eckhart, in commenting on Martha and Mary as types of contemplation and activity, says:

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2-A Dynamic Faith, p.57.
3-See reference to the mystical experiences and practical activities of Catherine of Sienna in Williston Walker's History of the Christian Church, p.319.
4-Acts 26:19
"Mary hath chosen the good part; that is, she is striving to be as holy as her sister. Mary is still at school. Martha has learned her lesson. It is better to feed the hungry than to see such visions as Paul saw."

Eckhart had a deep human interest in the sorrows and needs of the people about him; and his sympathies were always active and never passive. "What a man takes in by contemplation he must pour out in love"; this is a principle which he laid down and which he himself always practised. It was in the light of this principle that he put Martha above Mary—activity above contemplation. This same practical truth appears also in a fragment of one of his sermons:

"If a man were in rapture such as Paul experienced, and if he knew of a person who needed something of him, I think it would be far better out of love to leave the rapture and serve the needy man."  

The world is full of suffering and sorrow, but, says Eckhart, the soul that withdraws itself from the struggles incident to life can never be truly victorious. The soul proves itself victor by the cultivation of patience and endurance in the struggles of life. The soul overcomes the world by living through it.

"That a man has a restful and peaceful life in God is good. That a man endures a painful life in patience, that is better; but that a man has his rest in the midst of a painful life, that is best of all."  

1-As quoted in Studies in Mystical Religion, p.238. 
2-Pfeiffer, Meister Eckhart, p.553. (Leipzig, 1867) 
3-Ibid. p.357 (Royce's translation in Studies of Good and Evil, p.286)
Tauler speaks with a similar high regard for social activity. Tauler was a devout Catholic of the fourteenth century; we cannot expect one of that period to enter fully into the spirit of service as it has developed in modern Christianity. However, Tauler often receives an insight which leads him beyond contemplation as an end in itself.

"Works of love are more acceptable than contemplation";

"Spiritual enjoyments are the food of the soul, but they are to be taken only for nourishment and support to help us in our active work";

"Sloth often makes men eager to get free from work and set to contemplation, but no virtue is to be trusted until it has been put into practice."1

One of the finest passages in Tauler's sermons—and one of the finest in the literature of mysticism—is the following well-known and often-quoted passage of social service:

"One man can spin, another can make shoes, and all these are gifts of the Holy Ghost. I tell you, if I were not a priest, I should esteem it a great gift that I was able to make shoes, and I would try to make them so well as to be a pattern to all."2

Thomas a Kempis, in his Imitation of Christ, also insists upon the social complement of the mystical experience. The Imitation has a negative emphasis as has much of our mystical literature; but, as we have seen, this negative aspect of mysticism is false to facts of experience and of reality. Just

1-These three passages will be found in Dean Inge's Christian Mysticism, p.188.
2-As quoted from Studies in Mystical Religion, p.281.
because this negative element is present in the *Imitation*, we should not allow it to blind us to its positive contribution. The great mystics saved themselves by the positive element which they introduced into their writings; and it is this positive element that gives the *Imitation* its value. Thomas is careful to indicate that *life* is of more importance than doctrine:

"Of what benefit are thy most subtle disquisitions on the blessed Trinity, if thou art destitute of humility? It is not profound speculations, but a holy life that makes a man right and good and dear to God. I had rather feel compunction than be able to give the most accurate definition of it. . . . It is vanity to wish that life may be long and to have no concern whether it be good."¹

And again:

"In the day of universal judgment, it will not be asked what we have read, but what we have done; not how eloquently we have spoken, but how holily we have lived."²

Thomas has been accused of being a Quietist. This accusation does not altogether lack foundation; but the emphasis which he places in the *Imitation* on acts of helpfulness saves him from being swept into the category of the Quietists. To help some brother, he says, is better than merely performing some "religious exercise." For the sincere followers of Christ there is work to do and in preparation for that work they must have their loins girt like "valiant men."

¹-Book I. chap. i.
²-Book I. chap. ii.
united, says the same thing about virtue as does Tauler: virtue must be expressed in deeds. With fine balance, he says:

"... the act of life must drive man outwardly to practise virtue; the act of death must drive him into God, in the depth of his own being. These are two movements of the perfect life, united as matter and form, as soul and body."  

Ruysbroek was no mere visionary, he did not allow himself to be withdrawn from actual life for the purpose of indulging in the luxury of beatific vision; nor had he any patience with those who sat idly by "with introverted eyes" waiting for a formless vision.  

What impressed Gerard Groote at the time of his visit to Ruysbroek was the practical side of his life. 

The little society of Gronendal, of which Ruysbroek was the central figure, seemed to Groote to be an ideal brotherhood organized on the highest Christian principles. A genuine family spirit placed all the brethren on the same social level. Although Ruysbroek himself was prior, he performed the lowliest tasks; and the humblest servants were treated as friends and taken into counsel on things of spiritual importance.

Walter Hilton, who was the best known of the popular writers of mystical literature in England in the fourteenth century, also stresses the need of action. He was not merely...
"Never be idle or vacant, be always reading or writing, or praying, or meditating, or employed in some useful labour for the common good."¹

The Imitation of Christ has often been condemned as a religion of refined selfishness.² It is true that the book is full of passion for a holier self; but it is not true to say that the aim of the Imitation is selfish. The author's constant prayer is to "conquer self utterly," to "retain not the least leaven of self-love." It was not any more possible for Thomas to anticipate entirely the modern Christian interpretation of the social, altruistic spirit than it was for Tauler or for any of the men of that period. He did discover, however, the power of uncalculating love; and as a result of that discovery he is able to tell us that

"... he does much that loves much; and he does well that serves the community rather than his own will."³

In Book II Thomas gives us a principle which we recognize as involving a spiritual law:

"If thou wilt be carried, carry another thyself."⁴

The Flemish mystic, John Ruysbroek, in whom the spirit of both the Friends of God and the Brothers of the Common Life

¹-Book I. chap.xix.  
²-"The Imitation of Christ," says Dean Milman, (History of Latin Christianity, Book XIV. chap.iii.) "begins in self and terminates in self."  
³-Book I. chap.v.  
⁴-Book II. chap.iii.
united, says the same thing about virtue as does Tauler: virtue must be expressed in deeds. With fine balance, he says:

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1-Bailie, Reflections from the Mirror of a Mystic, p. 52, London, 1905.
2-See his The Kingdom of the Lovers of God (transl. by Arnold Hyde) p. 209f., where he outlines six fruits of grace and glory; three belonging to the affective life and three to the active life.
3-The account of this visit is given in Thomas a Kempis's Vita Gerardi.
a passive mystic who was satisfied with contemplation alone; all of his time was not spent in hunting for the "lost groat" within the dark of his own soul. The Christian, he informs us, is called to a life of "busy rest": he is called to a life of energetic love, a love which loves every man, "be he ever so sinful." In comparison with love, he says:

"there is no great excellence in watching and fasting till thy head aches, nor in running to Rome or Jerusalem with bare feet."1

The temper of the seventeenth century mystic Gerrard Winstanley characterizes all of the mystics of the highest type. Like Fox, he was determined to turn his vision into deeds. He says:

"My mind was not at rest because nothing was acted; and thoughts ran in me that words and writings were all nothing and must die; for action is the life of all, and if thou dost not act thou dost nothing."2

All of the great mystics who have faced the issues of life have seen that all spiritual attainments are part of a divine process and are given, not capriciously to a favored few, but, to all those who make the best use of God's truth as it is revealed to them.

"The healthy mystic is the one who sees and does and who learns to see more because he used what he found."3

All of these mystics placed emphasis upon the inner

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2-A Watchword to the City of London; quoted in The Digger Movement, p.113.
3-A Dynamic Faith, p.58.
experience and considered it as being of primary importance; but they were careful not to encourage the heresy of treating religion as a withdrawal from the world, or as an excuse for retreating from their practical social problems. Such a treatment of religion, they recognized, would be the quickest way to bring about spiritual disaster.

"Religion can no more be cut apart from the intellectual currents, or from the moral undertakings, or from the social tasks of an age, than any other form of life can be isolated from its native environment. To desert this world, which presses close around us, for the sake of some remote world of our dreams, is to neglect our one chance to get a real religion."¹

"There is no inner life that is not also an outer life. To withdraw from the stress and strain of practical action and from the complication of problems into the quiet call of the inner life in order to build its domain undisturbed is the sure way to lose the inner life . . . . Religion does not consist of inward thrills and private enjoyment of God; it does not terminate in beatific vision. It is rather the joyous business of carrying the life of God into the lives of men--of being to the eternal God what a man's hand is to a man."²

It has been the tendency of many who have written about mysticism to treat it as if it were one more of the many theological "systems" of religious thought. They have reduced mysticism to a metaphysic, and have impressed upon the mind of the reader that it is either the negative path which the

¹-The Inner Life, p.15.
²-Ibid.p.v.
intellect takes to find God, or an empty ecstasy in which the intellect is entirely quiescent. The quotations from the great mystics which we have used in this chapter will be sufficient, we trust, to show how impossible it is to reduce mysticism to a metaphysic or to confine it to its negative or passive aspects. These mystics, who have enriched the content and meaning of religion, insist that true mysticism is neither passive nor negative nor theoretical. According to them, mysticism is a type of religion

"In which all the deep-lying powers of the personal life come into positive exercise and function, so that there results an experience, not merely emotional, not merely intellectual, not merely volitional, through which the soul finds itself in a love-relation with the Living God."

In discriminating between negative and affirmative mysticism, Professor Jones has the support of all the great mystics. He has seen the danger of confining mysticism to its negative and metaphysical manifestations and has revolted against that tendency. True mysticism, as he sees it, must have both its inner and its outer experience; and in stressing that point he is able to bridge the gulfs created by the dualisms of the negative mystics, and to advocate a normal, healthy type of mystical experience.

PART IV

THE DOCTRINE OF THE INNER LIGHT

OR

QUAKERISM REINTERPRETED

"Within us, as direct offspring of God, as image of God, there is a Divine Reason, which existed before books, before rites, before the foundation of the world, and will exist after books and rites have vanished, and the world has gone to wreck. It can no more be abolished than God himself can be."

CHAPTER I

THE DOCTRINE OF THE INNER LIGHT

IN ITS

PRE-QUAKER AND QUAKER SETTING

On the basis of his conception of personality as inter-related, and his view of mysticism as being affirmative rather than negative, Professor Jones lays the foundation for a re-interpretation of Quakerism. In his studies of psychology and of mysticism he seems consistently to hold to the "conjunct" nature of personality; and in his more specifically religious studies he appears to be guided by this same principle. We find this especially true in his treatment of the Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light.

In order to deal adequately with this doctrine, it is necessary to see it in its pre-Quaker as well as in its Quaker setting. The mystics of the fourteenth century contributed not a little to the formation of this particular principle. They held that man's soul possesses a divine apex which is essentially derived from God and which cannot be lost. Despite their conception of human nature as being tainted by original sin and therefore inherently evil, these mystics held that the divine part of the soul remained unsoiled amid the ruin

1-For a discussion of the ultimacy of the doctrine of the Inner Light, see Appendix D.
and wreckage of fallen nature. This divine apex is unperishable in character and therefore provides a point in common between God and man, a junction where the human and the divine meet. A man may immerse himself in finite and temporal interests and yet not lose his relationship with this divine meeting ground. No matter how far away man may sail from his eternal Origin, he will always bear the stamp of the divine. These fourteenth century mystics often called this divine apex of the soul "the Spark" or "the Glimmer."

It was the radical reformer Thomas Munzer, however, who first suggested the principle of the Inner Light as a basis for reformed Christianity. Munzer had acquainted himself with the works of the mystics of the fourteenth century and had acquired their mystical outlook. His constant reading of Tauler's sermons brought him to the conclusion that there is in the soul of every man a Light that is of God which teaches him within and anoints him from above, and which forms the basis of religion and the seat of all authority. Munzer, however, lacked the necessary balance to make him an effective reformer. Under the influence of Nicholas Storch, who was decidedly psychopathic, Munzer became more and more unstable. Imagining himself to be a new Gideon commissioned with "the sword of the Lord" to lead the people to victory, he introduced a fanatical element into the peasant revolt which very largely defeated the cause he

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1-See George Fox, p.70.
championed.¹ In the swirl of this fanaticism the principle of the Inner Light lost its effectiveness. Fortunately, other and saner leaders took up Munzer's idea, so that the mystical principle found expression in all the books and tracts of contemporary spiritual reformers and of those of the succeeding generation.

The Swabian chronicler and historian, Sebastian Tranck (1499-1542), took up the idea of the Inner light and considered it as the true principle of the Reformation. He did his best to give it interpretation, but his lack of organizing ability prevented him from doing anything more than casting his seed forth and leaving it to germinate at a later time when the soil was prepared for it. It was Franck's primary idea that the soul of man possesses a native capacity to hear the inward Word of God. The hope that at some future time all men would come to see this truth as he saw it led him to give up everything that he might teach and share it. He was influenced considerably by Plato, Plotinus and Hermes Trismegistus whom he refers to as his teachers, who "had spoken to him more clearly than Moses did."² Following the doctrine of these Greek teachers he insisted that we come "not in entire forgetfulness and not in utter nakedness," but that there is a divine element, an innermost essence in us, in the very structure of the soul, which is the starting-point of all spiritual

²-Apologia, p.3.
progress, the mark of man's dignity, the real source of all religious experience, and the eternal basis of the soul's salvation and joy. To this inner capacity or endowment he gives many names. It is "the word of God" (Wort Gottes), "the power of God" (Kraft Gottes), "the Spirit" (Geist), "the Mind of Christ" (Sinn Christi), "the Divine Activity" (gottliche Wirkung), "the Divine Origin" (das wahre Licht), and "the Lamp of the soul" (das innere Ampel Licht). "The inward Light," says Franck, "is nothing else than the Word of God, God Himself, by whom all things were made and by whom all men are enlightened." This inward Light, being "the Word of God" or "God Himself," is not a capricious subjective impulse, or something to be discovered in sudden ecstatic experiences. On the other hand, neither is it something entirely objective and transcendent. It is, rather a common ground and essence of God and man. It is God in his self-revealing activity; God in His self-giving grace; God as the immanent ground of all that is permanently real, and at the same time this divine endowment forms the fundamental nature of man's soul: "Gottes Wort ist in der menschlichen Natur angelegt." It is the original substance of his being. To be conscious of one's self is indicative of the fact that one can be conscious of God, for both consciousness of God and consciousness of self have one fundamental source where God and man are unsundered. Franck says:

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1-See The Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries, p.53.
2-Alfred Hegler's Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck, p.98.
"No man can see or know himself unless he sees and knows, by the Light and Life that is in him, God the eternally true Light and Life; wherefore nobody can ever know God outside of himself, outside that region where he knows himself in the ground of himself. . . .

Man must seek, find, and know God through an interrelation—he must find God in himself and himself in God."1

As far as anyone is a person he possesses within himself this deep ground of inner reality. It is the steady, constant illumination of the soul. Everything else is transitory, but this Word is eternal. In our deepest center, like Adam, we possess a substantial essence which is not of earth, not of time and not of space. It may become overlaid with the rubbish of the earth and lie buried in it, but it is always distinct from its earthly environment and is always rediscoverable. We have but to return to ourselves to find the God who has never been sundered from us and who could not separate Himself from us without leaving Himself. There is no need for us to cross the sea to find Him or to climb up to heaven to reach Him—"the Word is nigh thee, the Image is in thy heart, turn home and thou shalt find Him."2

In the Person of Jesus Christ, who is, as Franck declares, both God and man, this abysmal nature of the human soul first makes its appearance. In Christ the invisible, eternal and self-existent God is found clothed with flesh and become man.

1-Die guldin Arch, Preface 3b-4a
2-Paradoxa, sec. 101.
And thus it is that in Christ we have the perfect "pattern" (muster) by means of which we can shape our lives. We must not stop, however, with Christ as "pattern," as Christ without; for Christ can be the means of our salvation only when He is born within and has become the life of our lives. We must eat His body, drink His blood until our nature is one with His nature and our spirit is one in will and purpose with His spirit.¹

Franck's influence is profoundly in evidence in Jacob Boehme (1575-1624). It was Boehme's belief that every man's life is inwardly bottomless and that it opens from within into the immeasurable depth of God. Eternity reveals itself in every person. Every soul is essentially eternal, spiritual, and abysmal; it is a little drop out of the Fountain of the Life of God, a little sparkle of the Divine Splendor.² The soul of man he tells us, "has come out from the eternal Father, out from the Divine Centre."³ The soul does not have to go any distance to find God, for as soon as it has entered the innermost Birth it is discovered that near and far in God is one thing. This is true because the inward ground and centre of the soul, with its divine capacity of response to Grace and Light, is an inalienable possession of every man.

"There is in every man an incorporate ground of Grace, an inner Temple of Christ, the soul's immortal Dowry." No man can sell or pawn this ground of Grace, this habitation and dwelling-

¹-Paradoxa, sec.99 and 138.
²-The Three Principles, xiv. 89; First Epistle, 42.
³-The Three Principles, x. 13.
place of Christ. It remains unlost in
the possession of God—an inward Ground
and spiritual substance."

Boehme believed with Franck that in Christ we have eternity
revealed in time. He is the wedding chamber of God and man.
He is God and man in one undivided Person. Christ is actually
God and essentially man through whom humanity is brought into
touch with the Eternal God. Boehme’s conception of the prin-
ciple of the Inner Light is concisely stated in what he calls
his own book of life.

"Finding within myself a powerful contrarium,
namely, the desires that belong to flesh
and blood, I began to fight a hard battle
against my corrupted nature, and with the
aid of God I made up my mind to overcome
the inherited evil will, to break it, and
to enter wholly into the Love of God. ... .
This, however, was not possible for me to
accomplish, but I stood firmly by my
earnest resolution, and fought a hard
battle with myself. Now while I was
wrestling and battling, being aided by God,
a wonderful light arose within my soul. It
was a light entirely foreign to my unruly
nature, but in it I recognized the true
nature of God and man, and the relation
existing between them, a thing which
heretofore I had never understood."6

The idea of the Inner Light came to England through the
English spiritual reformers. John Everard (1575-1650) one of
the early representatives of this group translated Franck’s
book Of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil and put it

1-Mysterium Magnum, Chap.lxxiv. Sec.20-23.
2-De signatura rerum, Chap.xi. Sec.80.
3-Prayer in True Repentance.
4-Three Principles, Chap.xxii. Sec.81.
5-Mysterium Magnum, Chap.lxx. Sec.7-10; Three Principles,
 Chap.xviii. Sec.80; and Supersensual Life, Sec. 27.
6-Von Hartmann's Life and Doctrines of Jacob Boehme, p.50.
in circulation with a number of other mystical writings which he translated. Practically all of his own sermons which he published were full of these mystical ideas which he got from the continent. Giles Randall, Francis Rous, William Dell, John Saltmarsh, and Peter Sterry were all solid intellectual English interpreters of this interior principle of religion in the period just before George Fox began his ministry. It is also of importance to note that practically all of Jacob Boehme's writings were translated and published in book form between the years 1645 and 1661; and long before they were printed, some of his writings had been circulated in script. Boehme's biography appeared in English as early as 1644 and already at that time there was an enthusiastic Boehme cult.

It is quite evident, therefore, that George Fox, the founder of the Quaker movement, did not originate the idea of the Inner Light. What he did was to take up and to carry on a teaching which had already received extensive interpretation. We cannot say that Fox consciously appropriated this principle or even that he read any of this mystical literature. But mystical ideas had become part of the environment of his age and it is highly probable that indirectly, if not directly, the source of his teaching about the Inner Light can be traced to the work of these early English spiritual reformers who transmitted the principle as they found it in Franck and Boehme.

The unique and novel thing in Fox was that he incarnated the

1—See George Fox, pp. 68-72.
idea. He effectively championed it; he had the organizing ability that Franck and Boehme lacked. Fox was thus able to make this idea the living and central principle of a religious Society which he fondly believed was the seed and germ of a new universal Church of Christ in the world.

"How, it may be asked, did the gospel of Fox differ from previous doctrines of the Inner Light? If it differed at all, the difference must be found in the closeness of his attention to the practical consequences of his principle and in his resolute endeavour to build up a Christian fellowship on its basis. In other words, he grasped more firmly than most the social applications and the social significance of the Inner Light." 1

"With this brief review of the doctrine of the Inner Light as it appeared in the pre-Quaker period, let us examine the principle as it is found among the early Quakers. For these early Friends, the Inner Light was not merely an idea, it was an experience. The fundamental thing that stands out in early Quakerism is the conviction which the founders felt that they had actually discovered God and that He was in their own lives. It was this experience of God within one's own life that they considered of primary importance. All of these early prophets have the same thing to say: "I have experienced God." Nowhere does the principle that God is within receive such reiteration and such uncompromising practical application as it does in the pamphlets and journals of the founders of Quaker movement." 2

2-See _Social Law in the Spiritual World_ , p.143f.
Isaac Penington, in his description of what happened to him while attending a meeting at Swannington in 1654, gives us an intimate and personal account of this type of experience:

"I felt the presence of the power of the Most High. . . . Yea, I did not only feel words and demonstrations from without, but I felt the dead quickened, the seed raised, insomuch that my heart said, 'This is He, there is no other: this is He whom I have waited for and sought after from my childhood'. . . . But some may desire to know what I have at last met with? I answer I have met with the Seed. Understand that word and thou wilt be satisfied and inquire no further. I have met with my God; I have met with my Saviour. . . . I have felt the healings drop into my soul from under His wings. I have met with the true knowledge, the knowledge of life."¹

Robert Barclay, in an impressive passage, testifies to a similar experience:

"I myself am a true witness who came to receive and bear witness to the truth by being secretly reached by this life, for when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them which touched my heart, and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me and the good raised up."²

Barclay says further, "the people of these 'silent assemblies' sat together in 'an inward quietness and retiredness of mind,' that 'the witness of God' arose in their hearts."³

²-Barclay's Apology, see his Works (1831), Vol.II. pp.355 & 357.
³-Ibid. p.357.
For Fox, the founder of the Quaker movement, the conviction of the Divine Presence rested not so much upon some one passing vision or contact as upon the continuous sense of the Divine Life enfolding his own. This consciousness of the continuous presence of the Divine Life is implied in his Journal:

"I heard a voice which said 'There is One, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition.'"

"I now had fellowship alone with Christ, who had the key and opened the door of Life and Light to me."

"Inward Life sprang up in me."

"I saw by that Light and Spirit which was before the Scriptures were given forth."

"I was wrapped up in the love of God."

"As I walked toward the jail (in Coventry), the word of the Lord came to me, saying, 'My love was always to thee and thou art in my love.' I was ravished with a sense of the love of God."

These three men, Isaac Penington, Robert Barclay, and George Fox, appear convinced that they were in direct communication with the Source of life and light. On the basis of their own experience, they jumped to the wide conclusion that every human life partakes of God. They were mastered by the conviction that they had discovered God and that they were dealing directly with Him. They were aware that as a result of

1-These passages are quoted by Professor Jones in his Social Law in the Spiritual World (p.145f) from the eighth London edition of Fox's Journal (pp.11-47). Some changes have been made in the wording but not enough to affect the meaning.
their own experiences their lives had become heightened; that truths and principles were revealed to them of which they were not previously conscious. They had discovered an inner energy which seemed to widen the self. Without any critical analysis they jumped to the conclusion that this new power and illumination that had come into their lives was the Eternal Christ come again to human consciousness. Another observation which they made was the fact of the inner unity of their lives and the verifiable results in character and action which their inward experiences produced. Barclay says: "As I gave way to this power, I felt the evil in me weakened and the good raised up." George Fox, also, saw the practical consequences involved in his experiences, so much so that he was, as William Penn says, "a match for every occasion." He saw clearly into moral and spiritual issues and spoke with assurance concerning them.

The belief in the Inner Light was for these Quakers primarily an experience; and on the basis of this experience they formulated their belief. There were three things which they included in their formulated doctrine of the Inner Light: (1) that there is something of God in every human soul; (2) that the Inner Light is a principle of revelation; and (3) that it indicates that whatever is spiritual must be within the realm of personal experience. As to the first part of the doctrine, Barclay says:

"As the capacity of a man or woman is not only in the child, but even in the very embryo, even so Jesus Christ himself,"
Christ within, is in every man's and woman's heart, as a little incorruptible seed."1

Again Barclay says:

"we understand this seed to be a real spiritual substance... a holy substantial seed which many times lies in man's heart as a naked grain in the stony ground."2

The second part of the doctrine, that the inner light is a principle of revelation, is stated clearly by Fox:

"I have had a word from the Lord as the prophets and apostles had."3

The third part of the doctrine states that not only is there something divine in every soul where revelation takes place, but that this spiritual transaction must be personally experienced. In other words, religious truth is capable of self-demonstration. Says Fox:

"I turned them to the Spirit in themselves that they might know God and Christ and the Scripture aright."4

"I was commanded to turn people to the inward Light that they might know their salvation."5

"The Light is that which reaches the witness of God in yourself."6

This same idea seems to be expressed by it. Paul when he says, "the Spirit beareth witness with our spirits that we are the

1- Barclay's Apology (1831) p.177.
2- Barclay's Apology p.139 and 140.
5- Ibid. Vol.I. p.36.
children of God"; or by the writer of the epistle of John when he says, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself." 2

By way of summary, we may say that an interest in the idea of the Inner Light as the common meeting ground of God and man is traceable to the mystics of the fourteenth century; that it was appropriated by Munzer, Franck and Boehme and given central emphasis in their teaching; that it reached England through the spiritual reformers Everard, Randall, Rous, Bell, Saltmarsh and Sterry; and that it was finally formulated as doctrine by the Quakers, Fox, Penington and Barclay.

In chapters II, III and IV which follow, we shall attempt to show that the religious teaching of Rufus Jones centres around this doctrine of the Inner Light and that his teaching can be treated under the three aspects of that doctrine. In chapters V and VI we shall indicate the effect of this teaching upon his conception of the Church and his consequent attitude towards the Scriptures and Sacraments.

1—Romans viii.16.
2—I John v.10.
CHAPTER II

THE HUMAN AND THE DIVINE

"God and the human spirit belong together, in as real a sense as the light and the eye do, or beauty and the artist's soul, or harmony and the musician's ear." 1

As we have seen, the first aspect of the doctrine of the Inner Light, as developed by the early Quakers, is the essential relationship of the human and the Divine. This is, also, one of the essential phases of the religious teaching of Professor Jones. He has shown that the belief that there is something of God in every human life lends itself to psychological support. 2 Every ideal and every intimation of finiteness, he suggests, points to a Divine Person who reveals Himself in us. The fact that there is in man something which reveals his sin to him, points not only to his own finiteness but also to an infinite aspect within him which transcends the finiteness of which he is aware. "Thou wouldst not seek God," says Pascal, "if thou hadst not found Him." The analysis of personality, it would seem, suggests that God and man are inherently bound up together. Personal consciousness is seen in the light of an infinite background; the deeper we probe

1-A Dynamic Faith, p.5.
2-The specific arguments which Professor Jones gives for the relationship of the human and the Divine were discussed in Section II.
into the self the closer we come to God. This is the truth
the early Quakers felt and which they attempted to formulate
into the first phase of their doctrine of the Inner Light.

The way this aspect of the doctrine was sometimes
formulated, however, is open to damaging criticism. Barclay
treats it as De Cartes treats "innate ideas," that is, as
something that is injected into the soul. Man and the "Seed"
have not the same origin; man has one origin and the "Seed"
another. The "Seed" is something put into the soul and foreign
to it; it never becomes adjusted to its human environment, it
remains forever foreign. The human and the Divine, therefore,
can never be united; and man remains dual unto the end.¹

In view of what we have thus far discussed concerning
Professor Jones' position, we should not expect him to agree
with Barclay, or with any other point of view that places an
unbridgable gulf between the human and the Divine. Barclay's
absolute dualism regarding the relationship of God and man
does not seem to be founded on the testimony of experience.
This false separation of the two natures creates difficulties
which are beyond our powers to solve. It continues the
traditional heresy of the dualistic conception of man, leaving
an unbridged and an unbridgable gulf between the human and
the Divine, and doing away with the possibility of a unified
personality. Barclay never gets beyond a mechanical view of

¹While we may grant that Barclay may have over-emphasised the
transcendency of the Divine, we must also realize that he may
have consciously done so in the hope of preserving the
transcendent element for Quakerism.
the two natures. Human nature remains forever human and un-
spiritualized, capable only of receiving into itself irruptions of a Nature which is entirely contrary to its own. On the basis of such reasoning God would always remain unknowable; that is, unless He revealed Himself by means of a miraculous appearance in consciousness. This view considers the person as a mere passive channel; it encourages the ecstatic state and discourages the strenuous preparation of life.

"The idea that God and man are not so related that the whole man may be spiritualized is the false formulation of the Inner Light, and wherever it has prevailed confusion and weakness have gone with it."1

The true Quaker principle goes much deeper than Barclay's interpretation of it. The facts are: men found God in their own lives; they became aware that finite and infinite were not sundered, but were known in the same consciousness. It would seem, therefore, that a truer view of the Divine-human aspect of the doctrine of the Inner Light would be that which considers God as the inward principle and ground of the personal life, the life and light of the soul which permeates all of life's activities. The spiritual man is the Divine-human person in whom the human and Divine natures have become organic and vital. The truth that comes to him, then, is not an injected truth or something attained by means of miraculous intervention.

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1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.156.
but something that emerges as the genuine fruit of an ever-
expanding Divine-human personality.

"Instead of regarding the Inner Light as something foreign, it should rather be thought of as the Divine Life personally apprehended in an individual soul. It is both human and Divine. It is the actual inner self formed by the union of a Divine and a human element in a single, undivided life."  

There is no necessary dualism between man and God. This fact is primary and fundamental. The human and the Divine are not foreign and unrelated. They belong essentially together, sin being the only thing that can cause their separation. Sin, like a cataract, may destroy the vision, but not the light; for when it is once removed the two spirits are seen again in their true relationship. However, that which is able to wedge itself in and destroy this relationship is no illusion; it is something which is as real as night is real. Everything can be considered under the category of sin that tends to turn one away from the Perfect One to "that which is in part." Sin is, furthermore, a matter of choice. The separation of the human from the Divine seems to be the immediate result of choice and is not, therefore, to be considered as indicative of an essential state or condition. As the entire process of the personal life involves choice, sin, being involved in that process, must also be the result of choice. The destiny of the soul is not in the stars; it is in the soul itself. Every

2-See Theologica Germanica, p.5.
conscious turning away from the Unchangeable Good to the narrow, private, "isolated self," is a matter of our own choosing. Sin springs out of freedom and is an act which tends to defeat the Divine movement towards holiness; it is an act which takes its place in the spiritual universe as something to be triumphed over.¹

In stressing the element of freedom involved in all sin, Professor Jones is in accord with the teaching of Sebastian Franck and George Fox. Franck taught that sin was the free choice of something for one's private and particular self instead of the selection of life-aims which by their nature extended beyond one's narrow self to include the good of the whole of mankind—the universal Will of God.² Similarly, Fox believed that man, in order to be man, had to be free to choose what he would become; he must be free enough to distinguish between good and evil and to condemn the wrong course and to approve the right one.³ As "the law," for St. Paul, seemed hollow and futile for spiritual purposes, and as pious "works" for Luther seemed similarly ineffective, so the entire system of Calvinistic theology seemed useless to Fox. The attitude

¹-For a discussion of the problem of freedom and determinism see "The Possibility of a New Event; or The Problem of Freedom in Willing," in The Friends' Quarterly Examiner, Vol.43, pp. 33-45; in which it is pointed out that a "new event" on the basis of man's being an interconnected part of the nature-system is impossible; and that it is just as impossible to apply the mechanical idea of causality to the processes of the psychic life, as in some cases it seems that the self is an immanent cause.

²-See Moriae Encomion, p.111. Paradoxa, passim, especially sec. 28-32. See also Alfred Hegler's Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck (Freiburg), 1892, pp.127-136.

³-See George Fox, p.76.
of Rufus Jones towards traditional theology does not seem to be unlike that of Franck and Fox. He proposes to make a new start and to make that start from the inside rather than from something built externally. He joins George Fox and the spiritual reformers in pointing to the testimony of experience, to the revelation of God in man's soul. He believes that in every person there is an inward Light; that there is "something of God in man."

"There is something of God in a man, in this man here, in that man there, in the man that is high and lifted up, in the untutored dweller in the forest, and, as well, in the denizen of the city slums, and in the man who is flung into a loathsome dungeon to be forgotten or to be hustled to the gallows, and in the man who is to be sent off in soldier's garb to be a human pawn in the swirl of battle."1

God and the human spirit belong together in just as real a sense as the light and the eye do, as harmony and the musician's ear do, as beauty and the artist's soul do. The eye needs no proof that the light is shining, the musician's ear needs no proof that the harmonies which it detects are there, the artist's soul needs no proof that the beauty which it feels is real, and the inner life of a religious man needs no proof that God is a vital part of its environment. It is difficult to prove to a blind man that the sun is shining, or to a deaf person that Beethoven's symphonies are full of harmony, or to a color-blind individual that a particular sunset is beautiful.

1-George Fox, p.76.
There is only one convincing authority and that is the appeal to self-consciousness.

"This appeal to consciousness carries conviction and wins assent because it is not wholly foreign in nature to Him who is the truth. As we come into this world so furnished in the structure of our mind that we must view all objects 'in space' and all events 'in time,' so also we come with souls capable of recognizing truth and of responding to love and of assenting to righteousness when they present themselves; otherwise we never could learn to prize such things."

The nature of the human spirit, therefore, gives us a clue to the basis of religion. We are religious, or seek God, because, as Pascal explains, we have already found Him.

Wherever spiritual operations are manifested, God and man are there working together and are in those operations as essential to each other as are the convex and concave sides to a curve. God does not have to come from somewhere to meet us, He is already within us. It took man thousands of years to discover that he was living in an environment that was filled with electrical energy; that this energy touched and penetrated his very being. However, when he succeeded in organizing matter so as to construct a dynamo, he became conscious of the nearness of these electric forces and of the possibility of storing and of transmitting them. It also took man a long time to realize that God was a natural part of his inner environment; that His Spirit was at work there storing up

Spiritual energies and assisting in their transmission.

We may here pertinently raise the question: "If life is a combination of divine and human elements, what need is there for a gospel of redemption such as the New Testament furnishes?" An answer to this question must take into consideration the freedom of the soul; that it is free to live either unto God or unto self. If the soul is to be good, it must be made so by deciding to follow some force which is attractive enough to be made part of the soul's environment. It is just this drawing influence that is found in Christ.

The affirmative Christian mystic would not deny that Christ is the crown and culmination of divine revelation; that in His life and person, the mind, the will and the heart of God are made visible and vocal. On the contrary, he affirms that in Christ is to be found the manifestation of the Eternal in time; the revelation of God Himself in a definite period of history and in a particular human form. In living a life of limitless love and forgiveness, in choosing the way of the Cross with its agony and suffering, and in victoriously defeating death, Christ proved himself to be a new type of spiritual life—so thinks the true mystic of Christ. Christ becomes for him the head of a new race, the first of a new series, the founder of a new kingdom, the revealer of a new way of living.

"His divine love, wooing, pleading, appealing, enduring all things, suffering with those who sin, and sharing the common tragedies of
life with us, is the power unto salvation
for all who understand and see its
amazing significance."1

The Quakers, like the mystics, have stressed the im-
portance of the historic Christ for the redemption of man. They
have never as a body claimed that man is so inherently good
that he can by his own power lift himself up into a life of con-
summate truth and beauty. On the contrary, when we catch the
deeper note of their faith we find that the Quakers have been
as eager as any Christians to secure the facts of the gospels
and to obtain a sound and clear knowledge of the Jesus of history.

"They have been very desirous to see vividly
and effectively that wonderful person who
lived and preached and healed, and helped
and loved and died and rose again. They
have not usually blurred or slighted the
outward life lived in the frame of time
and space. But, like St. Paul, they are
most concerned with the inward Christ. He
is the source of their life and power."2

Rufus Jones also emphasises the importance of the historic
Jesus; he continues loyal to the best Quaker tradition. He
thinks of Christ as the type and goal of the race; he sees in
Him a revelation of the spiritual norm and pattern of what man
at his highest is meant to be.3 This seems to be the way Paul
thought of Him: "Till we all come in the unity of the faith,
and the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto
the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."4 Again,

1-Later Periods of Quakerism, Vol.1 pp.xvi,xvii.
2-The Quakers’ Faith and Practice, p.50.
3-See article "The Church and Secular Education" in The
4-Ephesians iv.13.
he says, "Whom he did foreknow, he did predestinate to be con-
formed to the image of his Son that He might be the first-
born among many brethren." 

"The actual fact is that this Life has, profoundly or remotely touched every personal life in Europe for a thousand years and has been the goal and standard for all aspiring souls. He is the pattern in the mount, the a fronte force which has drawn the individual and the race steadily up to their higher destiny. On the spiritual side of 'the great divide' the goal is in sight, and the goal is an efficient factor in the process of the evolution of the man within man."  

But this is only the pattern-aspect of the Christ life. Professor Jones would go still further and say that Christ is God humanly revealed. On the basis of his belief that God and man are "conjunct," he finds no metaphysical difficulty in the way of an actual incarnation of God. He is not interested in the old problems of how two natures—a human and a divine—could exist in one person, whether Christ suffered as God or as man, or whether He foresaw or did not foresee all things. He is more concerned with the fact that in Christ we have a single life in which was revealed to us the nature of God and the nature of man: what God is, and what man may become.

1—Romans viii.29.
2—The Double Search: Atonement and Prayer, p.29f. See also Quakerism, a Religion of Life, pp.29,30; Studies in Mystical Religion, pp.xxxiv,xxxv,469,475,479,480.
3—Professor Jones, in rejecting the scholastic accounts of Christ's metaphysical nature and yet holding that Christ is God humanly revealed, is following the best mystical tradition. See Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries, p.44.
4—See A Dynamic Faith, p.12f.
If we accept Professor Jones' fundamental principle that personality is always a revelation of the ultimate reality of the universe, then the incarnation is what we should expect. If we are to think of God as being something more than mere force, if He is to be thought of as Love, and tenderness and sympathy, then only a person can reveal Him. And if our personality is not interrelated with His, then it is difficult to see how any revelation of God can get to us. But if, as our own self-consciousness implies, we are "conjunct" with Him, then a complete manifestation of Personality "in the face of Jesus Christ" becomes the crown of the whole divine process.

"The view that I am presenting holds the ground that the universe from the beginning onward and upward is a revealing process, is a spiritual adventure. There are 'peak-moments' in this long process when the meaning and significance of it break through in a unique way and when something new comes in sight. In Christ the unique feature that breaks through is that of tenderness, love and grace --and God is like that."1

The conviction that God was in Christ enables one to be free, as Paul and John were free, to leave the how or the method of the union wrapped in mystery. Regarding the nativity, Paul simply says: "God sent forth His Son born of a woman."2 He stops there. He does not attempt to give us any details. John's language is equally as simple; "The word became flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld His glory."3 The story of the

1-Pathways to the Reality of God, p.145.
2-Galatians 4:4.
3-John 1:14.
nativity as found in the synoptic gospels, with its appeal to the deepest instincts in us, has impressed men of all ages; but the how of Christ's coming as given to us in those gospels must not be forced.

"That He came out of our humanity we shall always believe. That He came down out of the highest divinity we shall equally believe. That He was a babe and increased in wisdom, that He learned as He grew, that He was tempted and learned through temptation, are all necessary steps, for there is no other path to spiritual Personality, and He must have been 'made perfect through sufferings,' or He could not have been the Captain of salvation."1

Speculations and dogmas have had a tendency to take the thoughts of men away from verifiable facts. The unmistakable fact connected with the life of Christ is, that in Him we find a life which settled for ever that the ultimate reality is Love. He succeeded in weaving into the fabric of His personal life those qualities of character which belong to an infinitely good being. Conscious of that fact, He announced with simplicity and assurance, "If you see Me you see the Father."

Christ as the revelation of our human goal and as the unveiling of the divine Character belong together. As a diamond, when brought into the light, is the occasion of a double revelation—the revelation of the beauty of the jewel and that of the new glories in the light itself—so Christ shows us at once man and God.

1-The Double Search: Atonement & Prayer, p.32f.
"In a definite historic setting and in the limitations of a concrete personal life, Christ has unveiled the divine nature, and taught us to say 'Father,' and He has, in doing that, showed us the goal and type of human life. The Son of God and the Son of Man is one person."

This historic incarnation was "the supreme instance of God and man in a single life," "the type of continuous Divine-human fellowship"; suggesting the possibility that the revelation of God is continuous with the developing life of man. As Athesnusius happily put it, He became man that we might become divine. In Christ we find the prophecy of a new humanity—a humanity penetrated with the Life and Love of God. Professor Jones considers this continued personal manifestation of God through men as "Christ inwardly and spiritually revealed"; an inward experience with a definite historical setting:

"The supreme education of the soul comes through an intimate acquaintance with Jesus Christ of history."2

One who wanted to learn how to paint would go to a master of color and form who could put them on canvas as well as lecture about them; one who wanted to become a musician would go to a master of harmony who could produce or interpret on some instrument the harmony that he felt; and so, one who would realize the presence of God must go to Him who was the highest human revelation of God.

1-The Double Search: Atonement & Prayer, p.34.
2-The Double Search: Atonement & Prayer, p.35.
"... any man who wishes to discover the meaning of the inward voice, and to interpret the divine breathings which come to human souls, needs to be informed and illuminated by the supreme revelation of the ages."

The information and illumination which result from adequate consideration of the historic Jesus takes the form of an inward presence, the "spiritual Christ"; the continuation of the revelation which was made in Him. This Jesus who lived such an extraordinary personal life and who performed the deeds of love and sacrifice recorded of Him becomes

"an ever-living, environing, permeative Spirit, continuing His revelation, re-living His life, extending His sway in men of faith."

It would appear, therefore, that two things may be said about the incarnation in Jesus: (1) that it was not a general, timeless or impersonal manifestation, it took place in a particular individual at a definite point of time in history and was highly personal; and (2) that rather than argue for limited date and locality it suggests the possibility of continuity. God willingly presents Himself to all responsive human hearts. As the atmosphere is present to breathing lungs, and the sunlight to growing plants, so is the Spirit of God in Christ present everywhere and available to every individual. It is just as impossible to lose this spiritual Christ of experience as it is to lose the sky. The spiritual

1-Ibid. p.39.
2-The Inner Life, p.93.
life which is made possible by the spiritual Christ is no vague principle of logic; it is a warm, tender, intimate, concrete personification of Life, Light, and Love, which reveals, as in Christ, the nature of God and the possible glory of man. Christianity is therefore definitely something more than a historical religion; it is a message which proclaims the immediate availability of Christ. We can be assured that Christianity is

"bound up forever with the incidents of its temporal origin. It is as much a present fact and a present power as electricity is. It is rooted in an inexhaustible source of Life. It is as dynamic as the central springs of the universe, and it is perpetually supplied from within by invisible fountains of living energy."  

The interpretation of the Inner Light as the presence of the "spiritual Christ" in the soul has always been followed by those leaders of Quakerism who really understood the principle as enunciated by George Fox. Rufus Jones in interpreting the principle in this way joins the outstanding leaders of the movement. He makes it clear that the Inner Light as he understands it is not a prolegomenon to Christianity, an a priori possession with which we approach the historical Christ and His teaching; but that it is rather

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1-The Inner Life, p. 94.
2-"He had been slowly coming to see that Christ is not a dead Christ but a living One, that His vital work for man's salvation did not terminate on the Cross, but that He is operating continuously as a real presence in the world, and that all spiritual processes have their sphere within the soul of man and not outside in 'sacred' places." George Fox, p. 30.
the climax of the Christian faith, the presence of Christ Himself. It is this interpretation of the Inner Light which he finds in the highest manifestation of Quakerism:

"Our supreme testimony, as a Society, has been the testimony to the real presence of Christ, as an ever-living Spirit, who reveals Himself to all souls of vision and loyalty." ¹

In holding to the human and divine phase of the doctrine of the Inner Light, Professor Jones saves himself from the common error of supposing that when the Divine comes in, the human goes out; that when the Infinite comes in, it suppresses and supplants the finite and operates instead of it. He has seen clearly that any view which disregards the finite is not only contrary to Scripture but contrary, also, to psychological possibility. What really happens, he suggests, is that the human spirit, because of its awakened appreciation, and through it, is able to appropriate the divine Life into its own life; to acquire what was always near and what was always meant for it.² Auguste Sabatier states this view concisely and adequately. It might well have been written by Rufus Jones. He says:

"It is not enough to represent the Spirit of God as coming to the help of man's spirit, supplying strength which he lacks, an associate or juxtaposed force, a supernatural auxiliary. Paul's thought has no room for such a moral and psychological dualism, although popular language easily permits it. His thought is quite otherwise

¹—Quakerism; A Religion of Life, p.17.
²—See: The Double Search; Atonement & Prayer, p.41.
profound. There is no simple addition of divine power and human power in the Christian life. The Spirit of God identifies itself with the human me into which it enters and whose life it becomes. If we may so speak, it is individualized in the new moral personality which it creates. A sort of metamorphosis, a transubstantiation, if the word may be permitted, takes place in the human being. Having been carnal it has become spiritual. A 'new man' arises from the old man by the creative act of the Spirit of God. Paul calls Christians properly speaking, 'the inspired.' They are moved and guided by the Spirit of God. The Spirit dwells in them as an immanent virtue, whose fruits are organically developed as those of the flesh. Supernatural gifts become natural, or rather, at this mystical height, the antithesis created by scholastic rationalism becomes meaningless and is obliterated."

There are no known limits of the translation of this Spirit of God—the eternal Christ—into human personality. The degrees and the varieties of its appearance in individuals are as numerous and as varied as the degrees and varieties of physical life. As the daisy and the oak differ in size and yet are both largely transformed sunlight, too, human beings differ in their capacity for appropriating the Spiritual Life, and in their manner of revealing it. And as the daisy and the oak continue to appropriate sunlight and to transform it, so humanity continues to be a revealing place for the Christ-life.

"Thus the revelation of God in the flesh goes on from age to age. The Christ-Life propagates itself like all life-types—the last Adam proves to be a life-giving Spirit. He is the first born among many brethren. The actual re-creation, the

1-Auguste Sabatier: The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit, p. 307/
genuine identification of self with Christ may go on until a man may even say—'Christ lives in me': 'I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus'; 'it has pleased God to reveal His Son in me.'

The incarnation means that there is something in man that is not foreign to God, that in the nature of things there is something in man that would make an incarnation possible. Here was one Personality who lived entirely open to God, a complete expression of divinity and humanity. It is not a metaphysical puzzle; it is a spiritual truth. One life has expressed both God and man.

"Deity and humanity form no stubborn dualism, The two natures belong together, and in Christ they were together—not as two natures, but as one nature expressing both."2

The incarnation would lose its meaning if it did not bring with it the implication that the union of humanity and divinity is grounded in the nature of man as a rational and spiritual being. The two natures belong together and it is this fact that gives us our basis for religion. Professor Jones, then, in stressing the human and divine aspect of the doctrine of the Inner Light is not only loyal to the best of Quaker tradition but faithful to a truth which in the light of psychology and history proves to be the foundation of our religious experience.

1-The Double Search: Atonement & Prayer, p.44. 2-A Dynamic Faith, p.13.
"The supreme test of a revelation is the degree to which it opens our eyes to what is or to what ought to be."

The second part of the doctrine of the Inner Light, as developed by the early Quakers, is the certainty of revelation. Professor Jones continues the interpretation of this phase of the doctrine. There can be revelation from God, he would say, only because there exists some kinship between human and divine natures. This interrelationship, or first part, of the doctrine of the Inner Light, is the basis for his theory of revelation. In this chapter, we shall discuss briefly some of the traditional arguments that have been given for the existence of God, pointing out the insufficiency of logic for an adequate revelation of Him, and showing that any revelation from God with which we can be acquainted must be revealed in a person and subject to certain definite tests.

We cannot doubt the reality of the revelation with which our Christian era began. But it is a great mistake to believe that all revelation from God is confined to that period, and that the God who was then known in experience can now be known only by report. The truth is, nobody's experience, no

1—Dynamic Faith, p.8.
matter how rich it may be, can ever be a substitute for my own. If we say that God revealed Himself to Jesus and to the early Christians, but that He no longer makes Himself known to men, we are left with the dilemma of believing either that God's nature has changed, so that He can no longer reveal Himself to us, or that man has become incapable of receiving such revelation. There is no reason, however, why we should believe that all revelation took place during the first century. The fact of this first century revelation should assure us in our personal search for God rather than check us in that quest.

"... the revelation in the first century is the supreme warrant for our faith that God is essentially self-revealing and that man can find Him and know Him and become His organ of manifestation. The nearer we get to the original record and its real meaning, the less is it possible for us to stop satisfied with a record."1

We may be assured of this first century revelation and convinced of what it indicates, but can we be equally certain as to the method whereby the self-revealing God is found? For example, does the God who revealed Himself to Jesus seem to be a God who is to be found by means of logic? Consider, for instance, the argument which proceeds from cause to effect. Logic says that every object must have been made or caused; the world, therefore, must have some First Cause or Maker equal to the task of producing it. This Factor, says logic,

1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.25.
can be called God. All that can be said, therefore, for the argument of causation is that back of every event there is an infinite chain of causes. God, according to this argument, would Himself have to be caused and would of necessity have to be finite.

The evidence from design, logic's next argument, is equally disappointing. Things in the world seem adapted to ends. They seem made for uses and functions. Design and adaptation, says logic, presuppose a designer. The eye as well as the watch implies a creative artist. Creation everywhere seems to point to some Being who planned it. The teleological argument succeeds in showing us how inadequate is a materialistic conception of creation; but it is less convincing when by this means alone it attempts to prove the existence of a personal God. Such argument convinces those who are already convinced. A subjective element is involved in all such reasoning; personal interests usually decide whether or not we find any design in an object or in any combination of objects. If one wanted to make music, one would see more design in a harp or a violin than in a walking stick. All that we can say for the argument from design, therefore, is that one finds designs and ends and purposes in one's own world. If one leaps from design to designer all that one can say of this Artist is that His thought influences matter; but his character would have to remain unknown.
Logic’s final argument, the ontological one, reasons as follows: the presence in thought of the idea of a perfect Being implies the existence of a corresponding perfect Being. The most that can be said for this argument is that if we think of a perfect Being, we must think of Him as existing. Whether He really exists or not must be proved in some other way.¹ It would seem that the existence of God cannot be proved by a purely logical, speculative argument.²

"The logical chain has always proved too weak to carry us from a finite—whether it be an event, or a design, or an idea—to an infinite and absolute reality. If we have no method of 'proving' except the method of logic, then it is true that 'nothing worth proving can be proved, nor yet disproved.'³

Logic when applied to religious institutions must also appear inadequate. The Church can of course help us in our search for God, but it cannot take His place. There was a time when the voice of the Church was thought to be the voice of God; there was no need of searching for Him, His agent the Church had all power to loose and bind. This easy faith, however, has greatly disappeared and it is difficult to see how its former prestige can be revived.

Our age-long search for God seems to have revealed two false conceptions of His nature. The first of these is the

¹-See The World Within, p.75f. See also, The New Quest, p.179f.  
²-See Pathways to the Reality of God, p.50.  
³-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.30.
belief that God is an object to be "found." Like the bottom of the sea or the top of Mr. Everest, He is hard to reach; but it is claimed, He is, nevertheless, there to be found. He has created all things and in His infinite wisdom directs them, interfering with their natural course whenever it seems to Him necessary. Paulsen says of this view:

"The belief in gods as individuals resembling human beings, having an empirical existence somewhere, and occasionally acting upon our world, is dying out and will never be revived. And it is immaterial whether we assume several such beings or a single one. A monotheistic scheme, which conceives God as an individual by the side of others and permits him occasionally to act upon the world as upon something external and foreign to him, does not essentially differ from Polytheism."

The other false conception is the belief that God is in a realm above and "beyond" finite things; because we cannot enter this realm, we cannot find Him. The first view states that God is an object among other objects, capable, as an object, of being found; this second view, the other extreme, declares that He is in a totally different realm from that of objects and therefore cannot be found. According to this latter view, He must forever remain "the unknown God." This latter position has been largely responsible for what has been called, in a previous section, "negative" mysticism. On the basis of either one of these two false conceptions of God there could be no belief in a continuous revelation; according to the one view, God is found just as a tree or a mountain top is found, the revelation being limited to the moment of dis-

1-Friedrich Paulsen, System of Ethics, p.426.
covery; and according to the other view, God is incapable of revealing Himself, as He must remain forever beyond all finite experience.

Fortunately, we are not limited to sense-experience or to thought-experience for our knowledge of God. Such a limitation of knowledge would strip away all ideals. Everything which leads us to higher endeavour would, under such circumscription, disappear; we would become as unspiritual as any other object of nature. Love, sympathy, goodness and patience must count for something. We may not be able to bring these qualities of life under a microscope as we do describable objects in space and time; however, this limitation should not imply that they are in any way inferior to material facts: they may belong to a higher order—an order which deals with the facts of personal life. We know the reality of these life qualities because we appreciate them, act upon them and are conscious of their spiritual direction.

"There is a personal Mind, a personal Heart, a personal will working in all things and through all things, forever making man, bringing all things up to better, and overcoming evil and hindrance through love and good-will."1

If we are to be successful in our search for a God who can continually reveal Himself, two things would seem apparent: (1) we must insist that "knowledge" be taken in its highest and not in its lowest sense; and (2) we must look for God where he can be found, that is, in the spiritual realm. The

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1-Quakerism, A Religion of Life, p.32.
true path to God, it seems, is through personality.¹ We were anticipating, therefore, when in the previous chapter, we emphasised the importance of the divine-human relationship. There is only one sure path to the divine Person and that is through the human person. The only continuous revelation must be found in persons or it cannot be found at all. To the extent which human life is able to appropriate spiritual qualities, to that extent it will reveal God.

"The reality of God for us does not rest upon the necessity to find by causal regress a creator of an external world, but rather upon the necessity to explain the time-transcending and space transcending features of our own experience, the junction of the finite and the infinite, of time and eternity, within ourselves, and upon the fact that we cannot interpret any of our supreme values of life—like beauty, truth, love, and goodness—without relating ourselves with a God in whom we live, the Life of our lives."²

Any revelation, therefore, that comes to us from God must come to us expressed in human terms. It must be expected, considering this medium of revelation, that everything revealed will bear traces of human imperfection.³ This does not depreciate its value. On the contrary, it is only because revelation comes to us through human capacity that we are able to appreciate it. We know a particular revelation is from God only because we are able to see that it is in accord with our

¹-See The Quakers’ Faith and Practice, p.42.
³-Practical Christianity, p.21.
conception of Him and because we are able to interpret it in human terms and to apply it to human uses. If we are to have revelation at all, we must have this treasure "in earthen vessels." The Scriptures put it this way: "God spoke through holy men, who were moved."

Because the mathematician has learned the fundamental nature of the figures of space, he is able to discover a new planet; so it is because a man has been striving to be his best moral and spiritual self that he is able to discover new spiritual truth. God does not use such a good man merely as a telephone to talk through or as a stringed instrument to send music through. God uses such a person because He finds in him an individual holy enough to grasp spiritual truth and with adequate capacity to put it into human terms.¹

"He 'moves upon' him, and the holy man apprehends what the moving means. The message does not come apart from his personality, but through it, otherwise any other man would do for the communication as well as a holy man."²

Revelation, coming as it does through personality, depends wholly upon the particular person through whom it comes, just as the particular note that comes from the flute depends upon the stop that is fingered. The essential thing, in a revelation, it would seem, is not infallibility, not a dictated

¹-This theory of revelation which takes its origin in Schleiermacher is countered and contradicted by the Barthian School which claims that the ability to reveal is not conditioned by ethical fitness. Cf. E. Brunner's The Word and the World: esp. p.18, where it is claimed that ethical teaching is general, timeless, impersonal and opposed to the "Word of God" of the Christian faith which is particular, historical and personal.

²-Dynamic Faith, p.9.
word, but

"... a divine message spoken through a human personality, tested in a personal life and preserved for our use to-day because it has proved its supreme worth through all the siftings of the ages." ¹

The divine-human aspect of the doctrine of the Inner Light, is, therefore, the basis for Rufus Jones' belief in divine revelation. The two fundamental truths expressed in the first phase of the doctrine, (1) that there is something in man to which God can speak, and (2) that a man's personality is capable of becoming so highly sensitised and spiritualised that God can reveal truths through him that lie above the level of ordinary men, furnish ground and foundation for divine revelation to man. The value of this revelation, however, depends upon its power to make us see.² Its authority is simply the authority of truth. It is not an authority that compels blind submission, but one which by means of convincing vision opens the eyes of our soul to spiritual truth. It would seem that inspiration comes to a man because he is made in such a manner as to enable God to speak through him, and that this inspiration becomes a revelation when and because it enables other men to see the same or a similar vision.

God is still speaking: His revelation is continuous. We have in this fact, a permanent assurance that truth, past and future, has its ground in the nature of things, and will abide.

¹-Ibid. p.9.
"... our real test and assurance of past truth and of former revelation is to be found in the fact that God still speaks to us to-day, that human souls are not isolated from God and that we are immediately conscious of truths which form a necessary part of the eternal process of truth, which has its source in God."1

It is the nature of God to show Himself. If He were self-contained and self-regarding He could not be God. It is the nature of man, on the other hand, to know God when He is revealed. That God is a self-revealing God and that man is so constructed as to be able to receive this revelation is one of the fundamental beliefs of the Christian religion.

"Whoever does not believe that God can work His wonderful works through His 'Friends' to-day, as He did in the times of the Old and New Testament, that men is not a Christian, for he does not believe that the Divine power remains the same throughout the centuries."2

However, every bit of inspiration, before it becomes revelation, must pass some very severe tests. The Scriptures, a Church or the Spirit have at various times been held as testing grounds of revelation. These tests, however, are too individualistic. When these criteria are applied there is always the danger of allowing an individual to assume the final seat of authority: ultimate authority is given to the one who interprets the Scriptures; or to the one who happens to be the head of the Church; or to the individual who claims

1-A Dynamic Faith, p.88.
2-The Book of the Nine Rocks, (ascribed to Rulman Lerswin but thought by some to have been written by his secretary Nikolaus von Lowen).
to have the revelation. Tests other than these traditional ones will have to be found. The practical test, for George Fox, was the urgency of the prompting. But urgency itself is not an adequate criterion, as is seen in the unfortunate Lichfield episode. No amount of examples which we can cite can establish urgency as a sure test of spiritual guidance; for every example where it has worked there are ten to show that it is unsafe. A man is not to have the right of way merely because he enjoys the conviction of infallibility.

Robert Barclay gives us a negative test. Whatever is contrary to the Scriptures, he says, may be justly rejected as false.

"Whatsoever any one, pretending to the Spirit, does contrary to the Scriptures may be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil." 

This negative test will do to mark off extreme errors and to shut out impulses which tend toward plain immorality; but it will not do to judge, justly, any new spiritual illumination. In fact, this test is merely a negative way of stating the old test of Scriptural infallibility. It still means that man must find a text to support his claim for inspiration.

All spiritual leaders have pointed out that the surest test of Divine guidance is to be sought in (1) life-results. It seems that the fruit of the Spirit will always be some

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1-We are too familiar with the urgency of fixed ideas in minds, which in all other respects are sane, to consider an idea infallible just because the one who has it says it is.

2-Robert Barclay, Apology, Prop.III.,p.86.
permanent spiritual product, such as "love, joy, peace, endurance, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, self-control."
The justification of an intimation cannot always be found in its origin; it may justify itself by the way in which it is able to further life and to construct a permanent character.
Revelation must be judged by its "fruits," not by its "roots."
The vital question is, not where the revelation comes from, but whether it is of such a character as will unify and construct the life that has it, whether it will lead to a richer personality and to a more trustworthy and reliable character.
And, furthermore, we must ask whether revelation will generate power towards an endless life, and whether it will make the individual fit for such a life. It is questions like these that every claim for spiritual illumination must answer.

"If the thing manifested is of God it will tend to construct a unified spiritual life which will better show the divine nature in the world."

The formation of spiritual character is the goal of all divine promptings. All divine revelation has for its purpose the production of a sound inner life.

Inspiration must be tested, further, by (2) the spiritual life in other men. The individual must read his revelation in and by the light of the social, spiritual group. "The spirit in one man must be tested by the spirit in many men."

1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.167.
No individual can be an independent organ of God. He can take part in the divine life only as he is an organic member of a spiritually organized community. It is essential that one should know God's will not only in his own inward bubblings, but by sharing in a wider spiritual organism through which God is revealing Himself.¹

"Living to live is living as an organic part of a kingdom, a fellowship, which expresses in visible and temporal fashion, in ever-growing and unfolding degrees, the will of God—the heart and purpose of the divine Life."²

Social psychology teaches us that an objective stimulus will give the necessary suggestion for the fusing of many selves into an organic self which will act as a whole. A goal made at a football game will make primitive men out of otherwise mild-mannered folk. An emotional evangelist, when the audience is at white heat, no longer has individuals before him; he has rather a social group fused into a unit by the emotion of one man.

But may not lives also be unified from within? The meetings of the Quakers furnish testimony that a unifying and directing Spirit may make all who are present aware that they do not and cannot live apart unto themselves; that they exist for, and have their being in, a common central Life.

¹—All of life's greatest teachers have insisted that a personal life must be found and fulfilled in some sort of group life. Plato in his Republic tells us that the microcosm, or the individual, must be found in the larger social macrocosm; similarly, Aristotle sees every trait of "the good man" revealed in and through the individual's relationship with others.
²—Fundamental Ends of Life, p. 60.
"Every person, whether male or female, who receives the demonstration of the Spirit and finds himself joined to the Lord, as a member, is a propagator of this holy order, this spiritual society, this City of God, this Kingdom of Heaven, this priesthood of saints."¹

On those occasions when the inner Spirit fuses the body of worshippers into one whole, there is rarely any jarring note of discord. These moments of high social communion are, unfortunately, rare. But when they do occur the group attains a very high and delicate sense of truth by means of which all professed individual inspiration or "openings" can be tested with unerring accuracy. But the group does not have to wait for these highest moments of spiritual sensitivity to be able to judge whether revelation is true or false. Wherever a group is composed of spiritualised members, it usually manifests the ability of testing the spiritual quality of any individual utterance. The individual is compelled to test his "opening" by the larger revelation which comes to the fellowship of co-believers.² And these co-believers must test their light by a still larger revelation which has come down to them through the prophets, apostles, saints and martyrs.

The revelation from God is never-ending; and it is in the light of this continuous revelation that the faith of every Christian and of every Christian body must be tested. It is

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¹-Practical Christianity, p.197f.
²-See Fundamental Ends of Life, p.60.
only by referring to revealed truth and by keeping in harmony with its divine communications that new Life and Light can come to groups and to individuals. Our claim to inspiration to-day can be best proved by realizing and fulfilling the truth which has already been revealed.¹

"Our word is quick and powerful in so far as it is an unbroken continuation of the Word of God."²

But there is still another test of spiritual guidance. No individual "opening" can be considered revelation if it merely meets with the approval of the person experiencing it, and of the group to which he belongs. Personal and group consent are important; but revelation is finally and effectively tested by (3) the extent which it is able to make the individual a more dynamic person in the whole of society in which he lives. The question of greatest importance is not whether the individual's experience has brought him an inward thrill, or whether as a result of his experience he has arrived at a clearer understanding of such spiritual qualities as sympathy, goodness and love, but to what degree the new insight has furnished the individual with power to bring these newly-discovered life-qualities to bear upon the world in which he lives.

"And the test now will be, will obedience to this prompting construct not only a better person, but a better social group, a truer and a diviner fellowship?"³

¹ See Pathways to the Reality of God, p.125.
² Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.178.
³ Ibid. p.179.
Revelation is known by its fruits. When we see a person whose life has been transformed and fortified as the result of his inspiration, and when we see that individual busy in society giving a public demonstration of what he has experienced, then we may be sure that that individual has been spiritually guided. The surest evidence which we can produce in support of the fact that a man has had communication with God is what such a man does with his life, what he suffers for love's sake, and what he endures for the sake of the truth which he has seen. Heightened effectiveness and increased capacity for social reconstruction combined with power of leadership to carry one's vision into practical, social operation is the best proof which can be adduced for belief in the reality of one's revelation.\(^1\)

The Divine sanction is to be found in a mighty social tissue through which God's life and purpose and will are slowly expressing themselves; through which, and in which, every deed of ours must prove its fitness. The something "of God" in us and our revelation of Him which we express in word and deed must fit into "this spiritual order of our common humanity" and must prove its value by raising the level of life in this order.

"In this social fabric every deed and word is tested. That deed is fit which adds one more thread to the web of spiritual life, which makes the pattern in the mount more clearly visible in our actual human society."\(^2\)

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1-See Fundamental Ends of Life, p.114.
2-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.181.
In summing up the second part of the doctrine of the Inner Light, as may be seen in the works of Rufus Jones, we may say that the nature of God is such as to be continuously self-revealing; that He is not revealed by means of logic—as the causal argument leads but to an infinite chain of causes, as the argument from design depends upon personal interests for conviction, and as the ontological argument leads not to the existence of God but only to the thought of His existence; that the true path to God is through personality, as all revelation must be expressed in human terms and subject to human imperfection; and that because of this element of imperfection, all revelation must prove its genuineness by the heightened effect it has on the character experiencing it, by the sanction of the group to which the individual belongs, and by the power and leadership which it generates to put the vision into practical, social operation.
CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AS EXPERIENCE

"The Light within is no abstract phrase. It is an experience of God revealed in the soul of man."¹

Throughout all of his works, Professor Jones constantly stressed the fact that religion is primarily a matter of experience. In assuming this attitude towards religion he seems to be continuing the teaching of the third aspect of the doctrine of the Inner Light which states that it is a spiritual transaction, personally experienced. Religious truth, he claims, is not unlike other truth, "it must spring out of living experience."² Its convictions and aspirations can become "orthodox" only as they are proved and verified and are shown to fit in with those convictions and aspirations of the time. The fact that there have been heroes of the faith who have been devoted to their glimpse of truth, and have died for it, does not relieve us from our obligation of personal decision and present-day action.

Experience was the key note of the message of early Quakerism. The light which one possessed had to be his light. No other man's truth or faith could be an adequate substitute for his own. The key that unlocked the door to spiritual life, they claimed, did not belong to Peter or to some designated

²-The Quakers' Faith and Practice, p. 46.
official. It belonged "to the individual soul, that finds the light, that discovers the truth, that sees the revelation of God and goes on living in the demonstration and power of it." ¹

For this personal experience there is no substitute. One can be saved, they taught, with very little theology; but one can not be saved who does not himself want to be saved, who does not intend to be saved, and who does not meet the proffered grace of God with "an inward swing of affirmation." The importance of personal religious experience will be readily appreciated when it is considered that the type of experience which one has depends very largely upon the character of the superior power that is believed to be authoritative. The kind of experience felt by primitive peoples is the result of equating this supreme power with force; and the form of experience generated by traditional religions is the outcome of failing to differentiate this principal power from custom, tradition and venerable antiquity. Much of what passes for Christianity to-day is of this traditional type. The religious habits of a long line of ancestors have become sacred and authoritative in their own right.

But there is a higher kind of authority than that of mere force or custom. It is the authority of facts. The appreciation of religious facts, and the interpretation of the

¹-The Quakers' Faith and Practice, p.47.
supreme power in the light of these facts, leads to a different, and higher religious experience.

For people of to-day, demonstration has become the last word in every field of activity. When Galileo demonstrated that the earth moved on its axis and around the sun, it was useless for any organization or dogma to attempt to change the truth of that demonstrated fact. He could be forced to recite an abjuration of what he discovered and knew to be true, but no amount of persuasion could change the fact itself. After reciting and signing this recantation he could truly have said: "Eppur si muove."

The Quakers have always accepted this last kind of authority. They have always attempted to build their religious faith upon the inherent authority of truth: they have never strayed very far from "the test of experience." It has been their demand that insight must be tested by the laws and principles of life and character; and that its worth must be measured by the extent that it constructs a richer and holier life, and by the degree with which it penetrates society with a nobler spirit. Reared and educated in a religious atmosphere where such importance was given to "the laboratory of life," it is not to be unexpected that Professor Jones should continue this emphasis in his religious teaching.

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1-For a copy of the abjuration which the Inquisition forced him to sign, see J.J. Fahie's Galileo, His Life and Work, pp.313 ff. 1903.
Rufus Jones believes that religion is something which can be as thoroughly and practically tested as can any facts of the universe.¹ There is something within the consciousness of the believer, he would say, that corresponds to what Paul calls "the demonstration of the spirit."² The external world is known to us only because we trust in the reality which appears to us. Likewise, the law of right or of duty is something which we find in the very structure of our being and which we trust because we feel an inner compulsion to lean towards an ideal direction. There is within us an "oughtness" from which we feel it is impossible to alienate ourselves. The power of ideals leads us forward, not because we see a definite goal before us, but because we feel within us the law of a fuller life which we must realize. In a like manner, God and all the truths of religion are discovered and certified.

"It is the kind of evidence of the laws of mathematics which an astronomer has when a new planet appears just where his calculations said it must be; it is the kind of evidence an experimenter has of the power of electricity when the current from the dynamo thrills through him to the ends of his fingers and to the roots of his hair."³

Some sort of primary faith is involved in every man's act, and is explainable only on the assumption of an unproved conviction. The value of this faith and the validity of the convictions connected with it are tested by each successive act. This testing process goes on until the one possessing the faith

²-1 Cor. 2:4
³-A Dynamic Faith, p. 90.
forgets that he is in a world of unproved ultimates and begins to form laws of the universe. Religious faith does not operate in a totally different manner. It is not mere belief in the testimony of some foreign authority; "it is the immediate response of the soul to a spiritual fact." One experiences a living Presence which one feels to be true because this experience brings with it a conviction of reality that is, for that one, unmistakable.

Faith, whether used in the field of science or in the field of religion, is a way of dealing with reality. There can, therefore, be no legitimate separation of faith and knowledge; that is, if we consider knowledge in its broad sense. All knowledge, no matter what field it may be in, is the result of some primary trust or faith. The distinction which is made between religious faith and the narrower conception of knowledge as the result of scientific study, can be questioned.

"Faith does not controvert any of the conclusions of science that have been reasonably verified or that have any hope of verification. It does not require science to prove any peculiar conclusions of its own. But it values its own experience as knowledge. It has experienced the reality and power of infinite love and righteousness. It has the conviction empirically verified that the world is the work of God and is realizing His ends. For science to deny the reality of these experiences of faith, and to insist that they are not knowledge, is pure dogmatism. . . . Ultimately science must recognize the primacy of faith." 1

Knowledge of description can deal only with that which is limited, bounded and quantitative. The world of reality, however, is surely richer than the world which science gives us; for in order to reduce the world to description science is compelled to ignore all estimates of worth or value. In the eyes of science, the microbe has the same worth as the genius who is killed by it. Science is interested only in what is, not in what ought to be. Yet, our experience teaches us that things do have worth. We put an estimation of worth on all the situations with which we deal. All our choices are guided by some ideal, which suggests that there is a kingdom of ends and that description does not tell the whole truth. When we say that we "know" an object we usually mean that we have some estimate of its worth; that we can appreciate rather than describe it. When I say that I "know" my friend I do not mean that I can scientifically describe him. I mean that I have discovered, and am able to appreciate, his ideals. I have an estimate of his worth. I come upon his reality by successive testing of his worth as fast as I appreciate it; my estimate of worth becomes enriched, and what was once a faith of insight is transformed to a faith of experience. I have found the inner life of my friend by my "sense of value," and I test its reality by practical experience. This is faith.

Science follows this method. It assumes that nature is

1-Pathways to the Reality of God, p.51.
uniform; that the particular things which we study belong to a total whole; and that the universe with which it deals is rational. No one can prove these principles to me; yet they must be presupposed, taken at a venture and used. Because progressive knowledge has tested these principles, they no longer belong to the realm of assumptions; they become the backbone of our surest knowledge. But we have arrived at this knowledge only because we practiced our faith. As to the method of gaining knowledge, therefore, both science and religion join hands in regarding verification as the final court of appeal.

It is evident that description cannot help us in the world of beauty; it is the appreciation of worth that counts here. Through appreciation, a beautiful object may become a window into an eternal reality. The appreciated beauty hints and suggests the infinite which carries us into a world which we feel is as it ought to be. Such a world is won by our trust in our need for such a world, our capacity for a perfect unity, and our growing standard of worth.

Description, likewise, does not help us in discovering the realm of goodness. And yet, all our acts presuppose faith in goodness. We act in a certain way because we believe in the reality of the goodness which we seek. We seem to possess a will which leads us to act "as though we knew for the sake of an end which we seek." The validity of this faith is

1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.196.
tested by the way it organizes and realizes an actual truth or goodness for us.

But it would be a mistake to stop with beauty or truth or goodness as things in themselves. As there can be no rationality apart from reason, so there can be no goodness except as "the expression of the will and purpose, the heart and character of a self-conscious Being."

"The entire progress of the race toward goodness belongs to the eternal nature of things that the spirit in us corresponds with an absolute Self-conscious Life in whom all our ideals of worth and goodness are at once realities, and all our valuations are fulfilled."1

No person can consider himself spiritual until he knows why he acts. Thus, based upon an insight into the significance of his act, he must pass from an instinctive reason for acting to a conscious choice. Faith, in its religious sense, therefore, should pass over from mere belief in the permanence of the values by which we live to "a personal and conscious relation of the soul with God."2 And that is what actually happens. Faith begins with a trust in a dimly shadowed goodness and changes into an inner principle of spiritual relationship which makes the Divine Life as certain as our own finite existence. By showing its actuality in us, and by expressing itself through us, the world of spiritual reality and of perfect goodness confirms itself in us and comes to have the same reality that our own consciousness has.

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1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.196f.
2-Ibid. p.197.
"Our faith, then, is on its higher side an actual appropriation of the Divine Life, a positive realization of spiritual goodness, which steadily moves toward a conscious relationship of the soul to God."  

Accordingly, God can no longer be considered as a foreign being who is accepted merely on authority. He becomes the Life that operates and organizes a spiritual life in us. And our faith at this stage is the consciousness that in Him we live and move and are. When we reach this point, we become conscious that we know as much about God as we have been able to appreciate and realize in our lives. This knowledge gives us additional faith that we may go on appreciating God eternally, and that we can possess more and more of this Life which organizes our own. The isolation which sent us on our search for Him and the feeling of His foreignness now disappears, for our life has now found itself in its Source.

The type of religion which is built on authority, or on the deposits of tradition, can stand securely only so long as the "authority" or the "tradition" can maintain itself in the face of investigation. But the religion which witnesses itself in the soul, which refuses to stop short of anything but a "demonstration of the spirit," need have no fear of investigation; it is as certain as is self-existence and has in itself a prophecy of "a period co-eternal with the revealing God."

Modern science has its strength in the fact that every

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1-Social Law in the Spiritual World, p.200.
law which it announces is at once tested by facts. It rejects everything that does not square with the nature of things. It has not, however, been without its failures. Every department of science is strewn with the wreckage of discarded theories, untenable hypotheses and rejected "laws," rejected because they refused to square with facts. In science, nothing endures that cannot pass this test. In religion the same thing must be true. Religion must meet every conceivable test: that of fact, of life and of experience. We must believe in God, not because some remote race has experienced Him, nor because some authoritative church or dogmatic theology proclaims Him; but because we ourselves find Him, because we discover that we have our being in Him, and because the moment we begin to act as though He were present we find that He is by our side.

Christ claims to prove His divinity by making us sons of God. We believe this claim because we can test the power of His life in our own lives. He professes to be able to take a man who has lived a self-centered, sinful life and to transform him into a spiritual being who partakes of the divine life. This claim can be as carefully tested as can any law of the universe. We believe in the law of gravitation because we see every particle of matter in the universe obey it. Similarly, we believe in Christ's claim to impart divine life to men

2-See Practical Christianity, pp. 17-20.
because we test His claim by trying Him, and find that the experiment of trying Him results in an actual experience of the type of life which he professes to produce: new avenues of activity open and life becomes enhanced and richer.

"No one who has ever seen a saint made by the power of God in Jesus Christ can doubt that there is something dynamic in such a religion. One may doubt the truth of transubstantiation, or question the value of outward baptism, but he knows that only a spiritual power can change hate to love, sullenness to sweetness, harshness to gentleness, impulsiveness to calm patience, and fretful discouragement to confidence and victory."1

"When we see the old corrupt order changing, the relics of paganism being weeded out, the evils of centuries yielding, new revelations arriving, prophets appearing, men becoming more civilized, more humanized, more spiritualized and more Christ-like, as a result of trusting the claim of the Son of God, then we know that God is present among us and that His hand is at work; not because we believe only, but because the facts are unmistakable.

"There is a serene Providence which rules the fate of nations, which makes little account of time, little of one generation or race, makes no account of disasters, conquers alike by what is called defeat and by what is called victory, thrusts aside enemy and obstruction, crushes everything immoral as inhuman, and obtains the ultimate triumph of the best race by the sacrifice of everything which resists the moral laws of the world. It makes its own instruments, creates the man for the time, trains him in poverty, inspires his genius and arms him for his task."2

1- Dynamic Faith, p. 96f.
2- Emerson’s "Abraham Lincoln."
When we begin to live by a Christianity which declares that God is not somewhere afar off, but that He is present in every spiritual fact and process of life and history, manifesting Himself in every triumph over sin; then we have found a stronghold of faith which survives the tests of spiritual facts, meets all questions, doubts and scepticism and positively establishes our truth.

The application of the scientific method to religion reveals with certainty that God and man are not isolated one from the other, and bears testimony to the truth of their "conjunct" relationship. It reveals also that there are two central and definitely religious facts which form the pillars of religion: atonement and prayer. Professor Jones calls these two facts "the double search": God's search for us and our search for God.¹

Experience teaches us that sin is no abstract dogma. It is not a debt that someone else can pay for us. Sin is a fact within our own lives. It is a condition of heart and will. Apart from a sinner there is no sin. Wherever there is sin, there is always a conscious deviation from a standard. To sin is to realize the existence of a higher self and to deliberately follow a lower one. No one has given us a better description of what sin is than has the apostle Paul: "For that which I do I allow not," he says, "for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I."² The cumulation of

²Romans vii,15.
consequences of sin on the life of a person is a solemn fact. Each sin "sets" the individual's nature to that extent and contributes its thread towards the weaving of habit; until there is formed what Paul calls, a law of sin.

"Sin, real sin, and not the fictitious abstraction which figures in theories, is a condition of personal will and action much more than a debt to be paid or forgiven."¹

Relief from penalty and forgiveness are not enough. The man in whose life sin has become a "law" and a fact seeks deliverance not from penalty and debt, but deliverance from his life of sin. There is only one possible remedy, and that is to experience a transformation of personality.

Not only does sin spoil the sinner's life, it separates him from God. Sin, and not metaphysical speculation, is the only thing that can produce a chasm between the individual and his God, a gap that is not artificial. It is possible in such a state to see God only through the veil of one's sins. The same experience happens in our relations with men. We injure a person and a chasm opens between our life and his. We have no comfort in his presence; and we interpret all his actions through the shadow which our deed has created. Our sense of wrong-doing makes us afraid of the person wronged.

The child who has disobeyed his father feels instinctively the need of some sacrifice. He must soften his father by giving him something. He breaks open his bank and brings his

¹-The Double Search: Atonement & Prayer, p. 51.
father his pennies. He wants to close the gap which he has created; he feels that it will cost him something to get it closed. That is human nature. Wherever man is found we find him conscious of the fact that sin separates; that something costly and precious is required to close the chasm. Sacrifice has its origin far back in history and is one of the deepest and most permanent facts of spiritual life. The tattered papyrus, the fragment of baked clay, the pictorial inscription of the most primitive sort, all bear witness to the important part sacrifice has played in religious life.\(^1\) It is bound up with man's sense of guilt, and was born where conscience was born.

The two fundamental facts of sin, then, are: (1) its inward moral effect upon the sinner; and (2) its tendency to separate man from God.

How does Christ meet this human situation? In place of the pagan conception of an angry sovereign demanding justice, Jesus reveals God as a Father whose very nature is love and tenderness and forgiveness. We must accept this view of God or give up the parable of the Prodigal Son. This conception of God as Father whose inherent nature is love, fits in with the entire Gospel. When John said that "God is Love," he was only uttering what Jesus taught more effectively by His life and by His death on the Cross.

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1-The historic theories of the atonement, inherited from the Roman Church, were all formulated under the sway of the idea of an angry God who must be appeased.
"To surrender this truth, and to start with the assumption of a God who must be appeased or reconciled or changed in attitude, is to surrender the heart of the Gospel, and to weave the shining threads of our message of salvation in with the black threads of a pagan warp. . . . Either God is love, or we must conclude that Christ has not revealed Him as He is."1

But because God is a loving Father, it is not to be assumed that He will lightly overlook sin. True love is never so thin and weak that it becomes unconcerned about the character of the one loved. A father does not cease to love his child because, in order to impress upon him the reality of moral distinctions, he punishes him. On the contrary, it is because he loves his child that he corrects and chastises him. All true punishment for the purpose of correction flows out of love.

Not only does true love include the necessity of punishment, it involves vicarious suffering. Love is an organic principle which carries with it the necessity of sharing life with other persons; and in a world as imperfect as ours is, it means sharing not only in triumphs but also in losses and defeats. It is not possible for a man to sin in a sin-tight compartment. His sin has social consequences. The innocent have to suffer along with him. Immediate relatives and friends, together with persons far remote in time and space, who may feel the effects of his sin, also have to suffer. And it seems that as long as life is organic, there will be vicarious suffering.

1-The Double Search: Atonement & Prayer, p.57f.
However, that is only one side of life. If no man can sin unto himself, neither can any man be holy unto himself. There are no holiness-tight compartments. Be a man's holiness never so slight, he must share it. He must contribute to those who lack; he must take up his task of making others holy. That task costs something: it requires the price of love and sacrifice.

"It is the tragedy of human life that we must suffer through the sin of others, and we must suffer also if we would carry goodness or holiness into other lives."

The principle of vicarious suffering does not stop with man. Christ has revealed to us that it goes on to the top of the spiritual scale until it finds its complete and final expression in God Himself. It cost God the Cross to make us His sons. In other words, the original movement to bridge the chasm which man has made by his sin comes from the Divine side. What man could not do with his offerings of lambs and doves, God Himself has done. In order to show the sinner that the only obstruction to peace and reconciliation is the sinner himself, God has taken on Himself the sacrifice and the cost.

"This is love, not that we first loved Him, but that He loved us." And this is the sacrifice: not that we offer bulls and goats to please Him, but that He gives Himself. It costs Him something to make sons of God out of men like us. It is for this reason that the Cross is the dynamic of the Gospel. It

1-The Double Search: Atonement & Prayer, p. 61.
2-1 John iv,10.
exhibits in space and time the eternal fact that God suffers over his sin; and that His love is ever ready to redeem the most sin-scarred wanderer. St. Paul finds the dynamic of salvation, the operative power of it, in the sacrificial love of God revealed through the cross of Christ. The Cross reveals for him God in Christ suffering through our sin, taking on Himself the pain and agony of it, bearing its tragic cost and enduring the distress it entails for a tender, loving Heart. Here in the Cross of Christ the suffering love of God breaks through into visibility. It speaks two things to the responsive beholder: (1) the immeasurable love of God which St. Paul calls Grace, and (2) the awful cost of that spilled ink which we call sin.  

However, if the divine energy of Grace is to be effectual in our lives, we must desire it and appropriate it. Salvation is not a transaction that takes place in some realm foreign to the individual himself. It is not a plan or a scheme; it is an actual deliverance, a new creation. In short, it is a redeemed inward nature. But such a change cannot be made without the consent of the sinner himself. Salvation cannot be wrought by a tergo compulsion; it must be the result of a positive winning of the will. There must be in man a dynamic faith which cooperates with the energy from God. Man must identify himself with Christ and re-live His life; as He

1-The New Quest, p.200.
2-See The Abundant Life, p.11.
3-See The New Quest, p.193-202; also, Spiritual Reformers, p.194.
identified Himself with sinning humanity, so we must identify ourselves with His victorious Life. Man must die to sin and rise to a new life, continuing thereafter steadfast in his love for the One who loved him. That, in brief, was Paul's conception of salvation. It is not repeating the words of Christ that saves us, it is re-living His life. We must die with Him, rise with Him, and enter with Him into the common task of redeeming a world of sin to a kingdom of love and holiness.

The outstanding spiritual reformers of the past have all held this view of salvation. Says Jacob Boehme:

"All fictions, I say, and devices which men contrive to come to God by are lost labour and vain endeavour without a new mind. Verbal forgiveness and outward imputation of righteousness are false and vain comforts—soft cushions for the evil soul—without the creation of a will wholly new, which loveth and willeth evil no more."¹

The grace of Christ must be resident and operating in us, says Boehme, before we can become the children of God.² Salvation is obtained not by means of merit, nor by the outward appropriation of Grace; it is an inward process. Christ is efficacious and effective only because He lives and operates in us. He says:

"The suffering and death of Christ avail only for those who die to their own will in and with Christ, and are buried with Him to a new will and obedience, and hate sin; who put on Christ in His suffering, reproach, and persecution, take His cross upon them and follow Him under His red banner. . . . No one

¹-The Resignation, 30-41. See also his treatise on The Incarnation.
²-First Epistle, 6.
has a right to comfort himself with Christ's merits unless he desires wholly to put on Christ in himself."1

Similarly, salvation is for George Fox, a victorious life. The incorruptible seed of God, he maintains, can, and ought to, produce a holy and sinless life. He was asked at Derby in 1649 whether he was "sanctified." "And," he says,

"I answered, yes; for I was in the paradise of God. Then they asked me, If I had no sin? I answered 'Christ, my Saviour, has taken away my sin, and in Him is no sin'."2

Fox and the early Quakers, as well as those teachers of the Inner Light who preceded them, all taught that it is impossible to form and nurture the soul of man upon forensic systems and theories of salvation. It is as impossible to do this, they would say, as it is to bring up a child upon a book about mother-love.

"To be saved, then, would be to live by the impact and inspiration of His life, to feel the appeal of His personality, the contagion of His spirit, the drawing force of His unspeakable love, the operation of His invisible and eternal presence within, making the old life impossible and re-creating in the inner man a new will, a new heart, a new mind and a new-natured self, so that the old self with its instinctive tendencies no longer lives, but Christ lives at the centre as the force and spring of action and makes all things new."3

For these men, salvation is a vital thing. It is a process of regeneration and transformation and the attainment of the type

1-Tenth Epistle, 16-19.
2-George Fox, p.38f.
of life which Christ exemplifies, rather than a forensic justification.

Christ does not suffer in our stead, He suffers on our behalf. His is an appeal of love to share His life as He shares ours.

"Whatever it has meant in the past, in the ages when the races were sloughing off their paganism, in the future the atonement must be vital and dynamic. It must be put in language which grips the heart, convinces the mind, and carries the will. It will name for us the Divine-human travail for a redeemed humanity. It will cease to signify a way by which God was appeased, and it will come to express, as it did in the apostolic days, the identification of God with us in the person of Christ, and the identification, by the power of His love, of ourselves with Him."

This conception of the atonement as stressed by Professor Jones enables us to pass from those terms which have been associated with magic and ancient sacerdotal rites to those of experience. Illustrations drawn from law courts and judicial decisions have been abandoned for the actual facts of inward, personal experience. The drama is seen to take place not in some far off realm apart from consciousness; but in human consciousness itself, the battleground of holiness and sin. The tears and blood which tell of the cost of sin creates in response a passion for God, who is seen, in Christ, to be attempting to reach us through love. No fictitious righteousness is

1- ÿwερ not ἀνεύ
2-The Double Search: Atonement & Prayer, p.70.
considered satisfying; a demand is made for an actual redemption of the entire self, which becomes righteous because it lives, in Christ's power, the life which He lived.

Prayer as well as atonement meets the test of experience. Men have tried to explain the origin of prayer on the basis of physical hunger; but prayer, similar to joy and beauty, refuses to be placed into utilitarian systems. It is an element of the soul and it cannot be "explained" until the origin of the soul itself is understood. Others raise the question as to whether prayer can exist in a universe where every event seems to be caused.1 To the scientific thinker, all prayer is fruitless; to ask for the interruption of the march of atoms, seems to him, to be an absurd delusion. Some religious teachers have evaded this difficulty by holding that God has made the universe, is the Author of its "laws," is Omnipotent, and therefore can change them at will, or can admit exceptions in their operation. But this view carries us back again to a world of caprice where almost anything may happen and where nothing can be calculated upon with assurance. It is a crude view of God. It postulates a Being above and beyond the world who makes "laws" only to change them to meet a new situation; and who is after all only "a bigger man in the sky, busily moving and shifting the scenes of the time-drama as requests reach him."

The real difficulty with our generation is that it has

1—See A Dynamic Faith, p. 102.
placed prayer on too low a plane. It has made the mistake of believing that faith is endangered by the advance of science. But the truth of the matter is, the chief enemy of faith is not science but the stagnation of religious conceptions. If religion comes to a dead halt at some primitive level and science marches on to new conquests, a clash between the two cannot be prevented. The way out of the difficulty is not by fettering science but by promoting religion. On the higher religious plane there is no collision between prayer and science. We need to cleanse our sight until we can see beyond the conception of prayer as an easy means to a desired end.

There is plenty of experimental evidence to prove the energy of prayer. Its effects upon mind and body have no assignable bounds. Every sweep of the soul out into the wider regions of the spiritual world heightens the powers of the person who experiences it. Profound changes in physical and mental conditions occur, bearing witness to incoming energy from beyond the margin of what we usually call "ourselves." The God whom we find responding thus to our prayer is not a God who is somewhere "off there" above the sky, who can deal with us only through "the violation of the physical law"; He is rather a God "in whom we live and move and are." There is no separation between us unless we make it ourselves.

True prayer is an end in itself. It has its own excuse for being. It is a kind of "first fruit of the mystical nature

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2-See Clement of Alexandria, p.22.
of personality." There is in the soul a native yearning for intercourse and companionship which takes it to God as naturally as the home instinct of the pigeon takes it to the place of its birth. If there were no response to the soul's search for God, it would, along with the dead hypotheses of science, be weeded out of the race. It is because prayer has stood the test of experience that it continues as a vital part of spiritual life. Prayer arose out of its native need for a heavenly Friend, and it has, in experience, verified itself as a safe guide to reality.

True prayer, then, is immediate spiritual fellowship. Even if it were possible for science to prove that prayer was unable to effect utilitarian results, it would, in its higher conception, remain untouched. If nothing more could be said, it could at least be affirmed that prayer is itself the victory. "The seeking is the finding, the wrestling is the blessing."

It is, like love, an end in itself: It is its own reward. It is no mere subjective instinct; it is a subjective need which implies that there is an objective stimulus which has provoked the need. As John Fiske has shown, there is no hunger for anything not tasted. There is no search for anything which is not in the environment, for the environment has always produced the appetite. Is it not possible to say, then, that our desire for God has risen out of the divine origin of the soul? During his later years Professor James found the impulse

1-See Concerning Prayer, p.118.
2-As Leuba suggests; see his A Psychological Study of Mysticism.
3-See his little book Through Nature to God.
to pray, not alone in the idealizing tendency of the human spirit but in the experience of direct transaction between the soul and God:

"The consciousness which individuals have of an intercourse between themselves and higher powers with which they feel themselves related." ¹

He says further that this "intercourse" is felt to be "both active and mutual," "a give and take relation," "a sense that something is transacting," which seems to indicate, he says, "the fact that the conscious person is continuous with a wider self through which saving experiences come." ²

Auguste Sabatier likewise finds the ground of religion in what he calls "an intercourse, a conscious and voluntary relation" between the finite spirit and the mysterious power upon which it feels itself to depend; and prayer, he believes, has its root in, and springs from, "this vital act." He concludes:

"Prayer is religion in act; that is, prayer is real religion. It is prayer which distinguishes religious phenomena from all those which resemble them or lie near to them, from the moral sense, for instance, or from the aesthetic feeling. If religion is a practical need, the response to it can only be a practical action. No theory would suffice. Religion is nothing if it is not the vital act by which the whole spirit seeks to save itself by attaching itself to its principle. This act is prayer, by which I mean, not an empty utterance of words, not the repetition of certain sacred formulas, but the movement of the soul putting itself into personal

¹-Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 465.
²-Ibid. p. 515.
relation and contact with the mysterious power whose presence it feels even before it is able to give it a name. Where this inward prayer is wanting there is no religion; on the other hand, wherever this prayer springs up in the soul and moves it, even in the absence of all form and doctrine clearly defined, there is true religion, living piety. ¹

Prayer, then, is not confined to a few chosen spirits of the genius type. It is a common experience. The mystics of history from whom our data on prayer are obtained are persons who possess the literary gift to report the experiences of God that were granted to them. But Prayer itself is an element of the soul; and whereas it may need religious genius to relate it, the ordinary individual can, and does, experience it. It is not limited to any one type of piety: it appears in those who are mystical and in those who are emphatically evangelical.²

"... both in its origin as the homing instinct of the soul and in its consummation as the joyous practice of the presence of God, in the experience of the ripest and richest souls, this inner way of communion is an impressive fact of life. I believe we are justified in going still farther, and in asserting that it is the central act of prayer, the living ground and basis of religion. It is surely in some sense because of this experience that we have gained the abiding assurance that—'The whole round earth is every way bound by gold chains about the feet of God.'³

Prayer, however, would always be vague and formless apart from the personal manifestation of God in Jesus Christ.

²-See Concerning Prayer, p.128f.
³-Concerning Prayer, p.132.
As soon as we know God as Father and He becomes identified with our own humanity as suffering with us and loving us even in our imperfection, then prayer, in this actual social fellowship, is seen and felt at its best. The soul can never be its highest self until it enjoys God as Father and prays out of sheer love. A prayer of communion and fellowship needs no logical argument for the existence of God. It wants no more proof than the experience of beauty or love does. This type of prayer, springing as it does from a living faith in an Infinite Person who is corporate with our lives, supplants the conception of God as a lonely Sovereign, complete in Himself and infinitely separated from us.

Individual selfishness is the only obstacle to effectual praying. To want those things which benefit one's self only, to ask for something which, if granted, would result in loss and injury to others, is to lose not only the thing sought but to lose one's self as well. There is an inner kingdom of spirit, a kingdom of love and fellowship, and an ordinary individual like one of us can influence its Divine Heart; but we can do so only as we want what everybody can share, by seeking those blessings which have a universal implication.

In the Lord's prayer there is no I or me or mine. One prays spiritually when one feels that one is an organic member of a living group. Divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood are born together. Prayer at its highest,
... involves the most strenuous life that ever was lived. To pray seriously for the coming of the kingdom of heaven means to contribute to its coming. It has come in any life which is completely under the sway of the holy will, and which is consecrated to the task of making that holy will prevail in society. It is no far off event. It is always coming. In a plain world, it is the total task of humanity through the ages. It is the embodiment in temporal order of the eternal purpose. It is the weaving in concrete figure and colour of the Divine pattern... Fellow labourers with God in truth we are. Prayer ends in labour and labour ends in prayer."1

In atonement and prayer we touch the very pillars of religion. If God's search for us is not real and if our search for Him is not real then religion has no permanent ground of reality. We have found, however, that these truths do not rest on the dogmatic assertion of the past, but upon the verified facts of experience. They rest on the elemental basis of life, upon which we live our common social life together.

Rufus Jones holds that religion is valid because it meets the test of experience; 2 that its two tested facts, which form its basis, are atonement and prayer; that the need of atonement arises from the fact of sin, its experience from the result of appropriating the love of God as seen seeking us in the life and death of Christ, and its proof from the consequent transformation of personality; and that prayer, in

1-The Double Search: Atonement & Prayer, p.98f.
2-For a discussion of "Mysticism and Faith" see Appendix F.
that it is universal, rising from the native need of the soul for God, and energy producing, also meets the test of experience. Prayer, he would maintain, is experienced at its best when God is conceived as Father with whom fellowship is enjoyed, when it is uttered not for selfish ends but on behalf of the social group, and when the experience leads the individual into some form of activity which will help make actual the desired blessing.
CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH

"There is, after all, in spite of all our gaps and chasms, only one Church. It is the Church of the living God."¹

We have discussed the religious teaching of Professor Jones as a reinterpretation of the doctrine of the Inner Light; we shall now attempt to show what effect this teaching has upon his conception of the Church.

From what has been said, it seems that the Church must face a more adequate interpretation of the universe. It cannot be right to limit the spiritual freedom of man to the intellectual framework of the apostolic age or of any other age. There has been a tendency to imitate some superficial aspect of primitive Christianity and thus fail to grasp comprehensively the central meaning and spirit of the truth and life that come through the great Galilean. Regardless of the quality of genius a man may exhibit, he cannot succeed in "restoring" the Church of the first century. Religious movements do not go backward; they go forward.

"In order to 'restore' the apostolic Church, we should need to 'restore' the mental outlook, the intellectual conceptions, the sentiments, habits and civilization of that time. Religion is not something apart from life and thought which can be dropped into an age from some other epoch and be superimposed upon its own peculiar life and thought."²

²-The Quakers' Faith and Practice, p.38.
we can, and ought, to go back to the headwaters of our faith so that we can revisualize and revalue the Life of the one who is the source of our Christian religion. Our minds and our hearts, also, need to be refreshed by renewed contacts with the men who were largely responsible for the growth of the Christian faith. Every line that gives us a glimpse of their lives is important; and every lesson we can learn from their problems is worth all the effort it takes to gain it. But their experience must ever remain different from ours. Their thoughts are not our thoughts. Edens and apostolic Churches cannot be restored. The best we can hope to do is to adjust the Church to the climate and atmosphere of our time so that it will be the Church best fitted to produce the truest type of life and service.

"The important point to emphasize is this: that in all religious matters, as many members as possible should be drawn into active service and made to feel personal responsibility for the life of the church and for the advancement of truth."1

We have seen that it is necessary, first of all, for religious truth to be truth; it must not, therefore, any more than truth in medicine or physics, be determined by the views which prevailed in a former century. It is necessary for the individual believer to be free to believe what his deepest being finds to be true; he must not be asked to believe anything which refuses to square with the facts of his universe.

1-The Quakers' Faith and Practice, p. 63.
or with the testimony of his soul. This does not mean that the prophetic insight of those who have gone before is to have no consideration. On the contrary, we must consider this insight as precious; it can assist us on the way toward the fullness of truth and life. But it is not possible for us to take over unchanged the world view or the intellectual outlook of the age responsible for this insight.

On the other hand, one reared in the Church is surprised to discover that many things identified with it have a very small place in the teaching of Jesus. For example, our Lord says nothing about valid ordination, sound creed or efficacious sacraments—there is much, however, that He says about the Kingdom of God. Nor do we find Him explicit concerning His expectation of apocalyptic intervention—but we do find Him clear as to the type of life which points towards a new kind of world; one in which competition and self-seeking give way to the constructive power of love, of grace, and of co-operation. This new order of humanity is not built by the propagation of a theory; it is formed by the practice of the spirit of self-giving. Wherever this ideal has been held, rather than the legalistic, sacramentarian one, great things have happened: hospitals have been built; children have been cared for; woman has been elevated; and the problems of health and healing have been recognized and dealt with. Wherever there has been the

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1 For a discussion of "The Kingdom of God" see Appendix E. (Cf. Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, where the eschatological point of view is maintained; see also Adolf Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul; and Wm. Manson's Commentary on Luke (3:21) also his Christ's View of the Kingdom of God.
spirit of consecration to others, freedom and enlargement of human life have resulted. Throughout this essay we have been stressing the close association of body and spirit; when this relationship has been appreciated, Christianity has always been at its best. In the third century, Clement of Alexandria defined salvation as complete spiritual health; if we could realize this once more we should be well on our way towards building a Church which would be busy with the tasks of remaking and transforming human life and society.¹

Faith, Experience, and Service should be the three sacred words of Christianity. It is, of course, much easier to initiate one into the Christian life on the basis of a creed or a catechism than by means of faith, experience and service. One is definite and requires merely the training of the memory; the other is vague and requires the training of the soul. According to the latter, the individual must work out his own salvation; he must face the fact that God is not a being whose activities are confined to the pages of a book, but a reality who is to be found and loved and worshipped. He must discover that religion is not something added to life but rather something which underlies life and is a vital part of it; the inspiration which raises daily living to the stage of joy and power. The Church, then, is not to be thought of in terms of what it has but in terms of what it is.

¹-See A Dynamic Faith, pp. 39-41.
The organization of the Church, as a system of thought, is antiquated. To some, the antiquity of the structure is its claim for reverence. The serious person, however, looks for his evidence of divinity in processes, in development, in achievement and in effectiveness rather than in origins. It is the same with conscience, we estimate its value by its moral illumination and power, not by its primitive origin—by what it does, not by where it came from.

There is no evidence that Christ was concerned about founding an institution. Jesus was more interested in a way of life than He was in the construction of a Church.

"At first, only a sort of community of followers, without organization, had gathered itself round Him, and the first beginning of any special marking out of this circle is the Lord's Prayer. But the possession of this prayer did not imply that the disciples of Jesus were separated from the Jewish community."2

Even during its early states the Church was more of a fellowship than an authoritative organization.3 System and structure had not yet appeared. There was group life and power of growth; but the apostles had no map or plan. They met the emergencies as they arose. They did not claim that their solution was the only possible one, or that the road forward was on a divine chart which they had in their hands. A large freedom and scope characterized the early churches; we find

1-See Adolf Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul, p.144f.
2-Ibid.p.145.
3-Ibid.p.256.
among them more than one form of organization, just as the early interpreters of Christian truth gave more than one form of interpretation. They were all searching for the most effective way to transmit the truth and life which had been committed to them; it was with this work that they were vitally concerned. The Church has always been in the making; there have been many temporary builders. They all have followed the highest light and leading; but none of them has had specific and infallible instructions.

There are two well-known and inadequate ways of dealing with the spiritual contribution of the past. There is (1) the way of the authoritarian which declares that the past settles what is to be accepted and venerated. The structure which has been built by the holy hands of the fathers carries itself a matchless authority. Every part is essential to the whole and cannot suffer change. The authoritarian, therefore, finds his criterion of spiritual truth and certainty not in our own souls, but rather in the immemorial authority of the institution. If we should change one jot or tittle, the whole world would lose its efficacy and we should lose our hope of salvation. W. L. Knox says:

"... the Church has a divine authority, in virtue of which it can claim the absolute assent of the reason and conscience of all mankind."1

The actual word "infallibility" is not used in connection with

1-W.L. Knox, Belief of Catholics, p.98.
the Church until quite late. There is no definition on the subject in the Tridentine Decrees and Canons. They speak often of "the Roman Church, which is the mother and school-mistress (magistra) of all churches," and refer to her authority in various terms; but there is no definite reference to the absolute authority of the Church. What authority the Church has is gained by the presence in it of the Holy Spirit. The "Creed of Pius IV" (1564) does not anywhere make explicit claim for the infallibility of the Church; it merely pledges the convert to acknowledge the supremacy of the Church and to reject what heresies the Church has rejected. The "Roman Catechism," however, lays down definitely that the Church cannot err in handing on the discipline of faith and morals:

"haec una Ecclesia errare non potest in fidei ac morum disciplina tradenda, cum Spiritu sancto gubernetur."  

In 1794 Pope Pius VI issued a bull condemning certain propositions promulgated by a diocesan conference at Pistoria;

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1-Gregorius VII (1073-1085) laid it down "Quod Romana ecclesia numquam erravit nec in perpetuum scriptura testante errabit" (Mirbt 146 [42]).

2-Conc.Trid. sess.xiii.praef. (Mirbt 304 [31]): "catholica ecclesia, ab ipso Jesu Christo Domino nostro et eius Apostolis erudita, atque a Spiritu sancto illi omnem veritatem in dies suggerente edocta. . . .”


4-This extreme conception of the Infallibility of the Church is held by High-Anglicanism as well as by Catholicism. Pusey, Eiren. 91,93 ("It is matter of faith that the whole Church shall never be led into any formal acceptance of error by virtue of our Lord’s promise"); See also Gore, Rom. Cath. Claims, 37,49,60 n.3,73,173; Toner in Cath. Encyc. vii (1910) 791a; Stone, Eng. Cath. 18f,22.

5-Catech. Rom. F.x.19.
and in which he extends the authority and power of the Church beyond the limits of faith and morals. He concludes:

"We therefore command all the faithful of Christ of either sex that, concerning the said propositions and doctrines, they presume not to think, teach, (or) assert otherwise than is declared in this our constitution, so that whoever teaches, defends, (or) publishes them or any one of them, conjointly or separately, or even treats of them in public or private discussion, unless perchance adversely, shall by that very fact and without further notice (being given) be liable to the ecclesiastical censures and other penalties legally laid down for those who do such things. . . . Furthermore we enjoin our venerable brothers, the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops and other ordinaries of places, also the inquisitors of heretical pravity, that they by all means coerce and compel (all) gainsayers and rebels whatsoever, by means of the aforesaid censures and penalties and other remedies of law and action, calling for this purpose, if need be, even the aid of the secular arm."1

There is a sort of peace that one gets by submitting will, reason, and conscience to the decrees of an institution with its authoritative tradition and leadership, but it is peace purchased at a very high price—at the cost of those very faculties which make for personality.

The other inadequate way of dealing with our spiritual heritage is (z) the way of the rationalist. He disregards the authority of the past, unless it has factual support. Antiquity, 1-See the long bull Auctorem Fidei (partially printed in Mirbt 412f and fully in Tauchnitz edit. [1842] of Conc. Trid. 292-327), prop. 3-5, 7-12, 14, 28, 42-45, 50, 54, 62, 74, 80, 82f, and the closing paragraphs. See also Cecil John Cadoux, Catholicism And Christianity, p.32f. London, 1928. For the conception of papal infallibility see also, Merry del Val, Papal Claims, p. 20; Van Hove in Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol. VII, (1910) 324a; and Torner in Cath. Encyc. 795a,b, 795b, 800a.
for him, supplies no title-deeds to truth; he makes everything run the gauntlet of scientific enlightenment. Verifiable facts alone are authoritative; one must build only on what one knows and can prove. Sacred writings and venerable institutions are powerless to stir the sympathies of the rationalist. He abhors superstition and dogmatism; Scriptures and institutions, therefore, regardless of how sacred and venerable they may be, have great difficulty in getting accepted by him. He insists on their writ of quo warranto; he is irreconcilably opposed to the authoritarian. The following extracts from Bertrand Russell's Scientific Outlook will introduce us to the rationalist's temper:

"... science is that sort of knowledge which gives causal understanding, and that this sort of knowledge can in all likelihood be completed, even where living bodies are concerned, without taking account of anything but their physical and chemical properties. In saying this we are, of course, going beyond what can at present be said with any certainty, but the work that has been done in recent times in physiology, biochemistry, embryology, the mechanism of sensation, and so on irresistibly suggests the truth of our conclusion."2

"I do not myself think that the moral to be drawn from modern science is at all what the general public has thus been led to suppose. In the first place, the men of science have not said nearly as much as they are thought to have said, and in the second place what they have said in the way of support for traditional religious beliefs has been said by them not in their cautious, scientific capacity, but rather in their capacity of good citizens, anxious to defend virtue and property."3

1-He refers here to E.D. Adrian's, The Basis of Sensation, 1928.
3-Ibid. p.105.
"We have reviewed in this chapter a number of different apologies for religion on the part of eminent men of science. We have seen that Eddington and Jeans contradict each other, and that both contradict the biological theologians, but all agree that in the last resort science should abdicate before what is called the religious consciousness. This attitude is regarded by themselves and by their admirers as more optimistic than that of the uncompromising rationalist. It is, in fact, quite the opposite: it is the outcome of discouragement and loss of faith. Time was when religion was believed with whole-hearted fervour, when men went on crusades and burned each other at the stake because of the intensity of their convictions. After the wars of religion theology gradually lost this intense hold on men's minds. So far as anything has taken its place, its place has been taken by science... It is not by going backward that we shall find an issue from our troubles. No slothful relapses into infantile fantasies will direct the new power which men have derived from science into the right channels; nor will philosophic scepticism as to the foundations arrest the course of scientific technique in the world of affairs. Men need a faith which is robust and real, not timid and half-hearted. Science is in its essence nothing but the systematic pursuit of knowledge, and knowledge, whatever ill-uses bad men may make of it, is in its essence good. To lose faith in knowledge is to lose faith in the best of man's capacities; and therefore I repeat unhesitatingly that the unyielding rationalist has a better faith and a more unbending optimism than any of the timid seekers after the childish comforts of a less adult age."

Something of the same strain is found in Professor Hogben's book, The Nature of Living Matter. He says:

"The apologetid attitude so prevalent in science to-day is not a logical outcome of the introduction of new concepts. It is based upon

1-The Scientific Outlook, pp.138, 139.
the hope of reinstating traditional beliefs with which science was at one time in open conflict. This hope is not a by-product of scientific discovery. It has its roots in the social temper of the period. For half a decade the nations with Europe abandoned the exercise of reason in their relations with one another. Intellectual detachment was disloyalty. Criticism of traditional belief was treason. Philosophers and men of science bowed to the inexorable decree of herd suggestion. Compromise to traditional belief became the hallmark of good citizenship. Contemporary philosophy has yet to find a way out of the intellectual discouragement which is the heritage of a World War."\(^1\)

The authoritarian and the rationalist each presents a half truth. The spiritual Church of the future will not be modeled after either of these extreme positions. It will not follow the authoritarian type as its authority will be inward and not outward; nor will it attend the way of the rationalist with its cold scientific nourishment. However, because there is a refusal to conform to a particular external authority, it is not to be claimed that Christians are bare atomic individuals who can live an unrelated life. On the contrary, participation in the divine life, which we have found to be the primary fact of true religion, involves organic relationship. Each individual member of this future spiritual society will make his independent contribution, not apart from the organic whole, but because he is taken up into it and is enabled to realize his life by means of the fellowship, association and power of the body in which he participates. The Church, then, is not a mere aggregation of individuals; it is not a mere composite of atomic elements which can stand to-

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\(^1\)Hogben, *The Nature of Living Matter*, p.28.
gather only so long as some authoritative creed holds it together. Such a church would lack the necessary inward power to adjust itself to a changing environment. On the other hand, a church which is formed by spiritual relationship through a common divine centre has all the capacity of adjustment that life itself has; as life progresses, its grasp and apprehension will change, and no conclusions of one age will have an arbitrary and eternal authority over other ages. The permanent authority will be the self-consistent central life.

Ecclesiastical officials and church councils, therefore, cannot be authoritative in the hierarchal sense. No individual or ecclesiastical decision has a right to interfere with the soul's spiritual attitude. Yet, the Church is authoritative in a very real way; it is authoritative not in that it exercises compulsion but in that it furnishes inspiration.

"It is an authority which makes its way, not by forcing assent, but by winning it through an appeal to that which is 'likest God within the soul.'"¹

Life involves organic relation. Spiritual life advances in proportion as it finds its spiritual source, and unites itself with it and is revitalized by it;² this union involves, further, the organic relations with all the members of the spiritual organism.³ "That they may be one in us, as thou Father art in me and I in thee," are significant words;⁴ it

¹-A Dynamic Faith, p.20.
³-Gal. 4:13f.
⁴-John 17:21.
does not seem possible for a man to be a spiritual creature and live an independent life. He must lose his isolated life in order to find his organic life. This interpretation of the Church as an organism rather than an organization\(^1\) was one of the features of early Quakerism; it is an interpretation which Rufus Jones believes essential to the continuation of faith.

"This participation of the believer in an organic spiritual whole, so that each is a living stone in a spiritual temple, indwelt and vitalized by the Holy Spirit; so that, to use another figure, each is an articulated member in a living body, each functioning with all and receiving its life and power from its Head, is a fundamental view of early Quakerism and one which cannot be lost without endangering the whole system of our faith."\(^2\)

The person who has experienced the significance of God's love, that is, one who has had an inward revelation of Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, becomes, by his consequent spiritual transformation, a centre of spiritual power, possessing authority to the extent of his spiritual insight.\(^3\) Each person of this type is a nucleus of a church. Each such person is a priest, and there is, therefore, no place for a priestly class or for any other kind of class. All are priests.\(^4\) This principle annihilates priestcraft and official tyranny in the church; it establishes the priesthood of believers. Libertinism and solipsism are guarded against by subjecting every individual insight to the spiritual authority

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2-*A Dynamic Faith*, p.36.
3-*Gal. 2:20; 5:27; Eph. 3:17; Phillip. 3:10*; See also Dean Inge, *Outspoken Essays*, i. 213, 224f.
4-*I Peter 2:5,9; Rev. 1:6; 5:10 & 20:6*; See also *Matt. 16:19*. 
of the group and by giving precedence to those individuals who manif est natural and spiritual capacity.\textsuperscript{1} Believers in Christ constitute an organism, and no one member, although authoritative in his sphere, has a right to rule or wreck the whole. This conception of the church leaves the soul free to attain whatever height of experience that lies within its range. It avoids both tyranny and anarchy. Its interpretation of the royal priesthood leaves no ground for either tyranny or for fossilization. Its historic positions are not considered as possessing sacramental virtue; like any other body it lives in an environment and conforms to it. It would seem that this is indeed the New Testament conception of the church.

The rationalist's conception of the church is no less adequate than that of the authoritarian. Our new Christianity will not consent to be clipped and pared down to the cold residuum of the rationalist. It will not, as Tertullian, defy rationality; but it will insist on the recognition of the whole of life; intellect, will and emotions. Sentiments and emotions are real and are as deeply rooted and significant as is the intellect.

"We are what we are as much because we feel as because we think, and when we clap down the lid on our feelings we have wrecked our capabilities as men."\textsuperscript{2}

As persons, we do more than argue and prove; we build ideals.

\textsuperscript{1} A Dynamic Faith, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{2} The Quakers' Faith and Practice, p.12.
We want a religion that knows, but we also want one that loves and believes and appreciates.¹ Our new Church, therefore, if it is to speak to our time, must have authority, but it will be the authority of spiritual life; it must, also, have wisdom and insight, but it will be the wisdom and insight of experience rather than of formal logic and of reasoning.

There have always been diversities in the Christian Church, and it is highly probable that there always will be. It is improbable that complete uniformity in thought or in forms of worship or in ways of interpreting religious history will ever be attained; it is questionable whether such uniformity is desirable.² There are characteristic varieties of mental type. Our outlooks and needs are different. Each individual should belong to that religious group which best fits his needs and aptitudes. It would be a mistake to confuse unity with uniformity. It is not at all clear that anything would be gained by merging all believers into one uniform mould in one vast structure. Each believer should have his own denominational home and should worship where he finds himself in most sympathetic accord with others. But he must recognize that the group with which he worships and serves is but one branch of the great Church of Christ; that other religious groups are also true branches. Consequently, one's narrow isms and one's excessive sectarian spirit with its rivalries and jealousies must vanish. In this way each individual will

contribute to the one growing, expanding Church of the Spirit.  

It is this interest in the spiritual life rather than in an external system that attracted the spiritual reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Inner Word of God, the Voice of the Spirit speaking within which clarifies the mind and trains the spiritual perceptions by a progressive experience made itself felt among these reformers; they claimed to know the Truth because it was formed within themselves. The "inner circle of those who know" the truth, they maintained, is the true Church. Christian Entfelder says:

"The Church is a chosen, saved, purified, sanctified group in whom God dwells, upon whom the Holy Ghost has poured out His gifts and with whom Christ the Lord shares His offices and His mission." 3

1-The principle of the Inner Light leads, then, to the conception of the Church as an "invisible Church." Augustine, as the result of his conflict with Donatism, was the first Christian writer to make the Church, as such, the subject of systematic thought. Medieval ecclesiasticism accepted this systematized structure. There is, however, another view of the Church to be found in Augustine. As one reads Augustine, one becomes conscious of his broader vision, of his true conception of the Church as an organism which cannot be entirely identified with an organization. The true church is the "Kingdom of God," and is to be found wherever Christ is enthroned in a human heart. Augustine believes with his age in the intercessory powers of churchmanship, asceticism, miracles and relics, but strongly dissuades us from "placing our hope" in them: "noli facere." If we go to God in prayer alone we shall be more likely to benefit by its intercession: "non solum tibi non succensebunt; sed tunc amabunt, tunc magis favebunt." Sermon 46:17.

2-See Studies in Mystical Religion, p.300, for interpreters of an invisible Church during the thirteenth century.

3-Entfelder to his brethren at the end of his first book: Von Ærspaltungen.
The invisible Church is also Franck’s central loyalty, he writes:

"The true Church is not a separate mass of people, not a particular sect to be pointed out with the finger, not confined to one time or one place; it is rather a spiritual and invisible body of all the members of Christ, born of God, of one mind, spirit, and faith, but not gathered in any one external city or place. It is a fellowship, seen with the spiritual eye and by the inner man. It is the assembly and communion of all truly God-fearing, good-hearted, newborn persons in all the world, bound together by the Holy Spirit in the peace of God and the bonds of love—a Communion outside of which there is no salvation, no Christ, no God, no comprehension of Scripture, no Holy Spirit, and no Gospel. I belong to this Fellowship. I believe in the Communion of saints, and I am in this Church, let me be where I may; and therefore I no longer look for Christ in lo hers or lo thers."  

For Caspar Schwenckfeld also, the Church, in its true life and power, is a continuation of the spiritual type. He was not interested in the formation of a sectarian denomination; and he was decidedly opposed to any State-Church system. The true Church, he says, cannot be identified with any kind of temporal, empirical organization. It is a spiritual, invisible community including all persons in all regions and religious communions who are joined in life and spirit to the Divine Head. He says:

"No outward unity or uniformity, either in doctrine or ceremonies, or rules or sacraments, can make a Christian Church; but inner unity or spirit, of heart, soul and conscience in Christ and in the knowledge of Him, a unity in love and faith, does make a Church of Christ."  

1-Paradoxa, Vorrede, sec. 8.
2-Schriften, ii. p.785.
George Fox and the early Quakers, making the principle of the Inner Light central in their teaching, arrived at a similar conception of the Church.

"Fox was always endeavouring to leave a spiritual legacy which could be inherited only by persons who should themselves renew it and freshly achieve it from generation to generation."¹

Professor Jones, continuing this tradition, is led to consider the true Church as "invisible."² The original Church, he maintains, was a spiritual fellowship; an organic body held together by a common experience and by internal forces of life and guided by gifted persons rather than by technical officials.

"Its driving power was a consciousness of the Spirit, and its entire method of organization tended to promote inward mystical experience. It was a mystical group, and the body of the membership was thought of as an organ of the Spirit."³

¹George Fox, p.146.
²See the Jerusalem Conference Report, 1928, pp.299,335.
"It is, (the experience that God is still revealing Himself) of course, not a substitute for history—the slow verification of truth by historical process; nor is it a substitute for Scripture, the loftiest literary expression of religious experience. There is no 'substitute' for either of those ways of divine revelation. Anyone who neglects the unfolding of the will and purpose of God in history and in Scripture can never make up for this neglect by stressing his claim to be the recipient of private revelation. No one can break the organic connection with the spiritual movements of the past, and confine himself to his own thin channel of supplies, without suffering loss. But at the same time, it is clear, on the basis of the Quaker faith, that Scripture cannot be thought of as the one source of truth and revelation, the one and only word of God. It takes its place rather as pattern spiritual literature, rich with experience of saintly human lives and raised by unmistakable inspiration to an incomparable religious value."1

A discussion of the Inner Light would hardly be complete without some reference to its effect on scriptural and sacramental theories. In the preceding chapter we endeavoured to show that Professor Jones, under the influence of the principle of the Inner Light, has been led to conceive of the Church as a spiritual fellowship rather than as an institution. This position concerning the Church has direct bearing upon

1-Friends' Quarterly Examiner, Vol.54, 1920, pp.70,71.
his attitude towards the Scripture and the Sacraments.

A book which did not of itself speak to human needs, or bear a living message to the heart of man, says Professor Jones, could not, by any process of canonization or declaration of infallibility, be provided with a spiritual content. Nor is it possible for any conclusion of scholarship, touching origin or source or date to destroy the intrinsic spiritual value of a book which comes to a man with such a message. The ultimate test of the divine quality of Scripture is its effect upon its readers. Man never has given up anything that has passed the supreme test of worth. Nor is it conceivable that he ever will.

"A book that has come through a holy human life when God moved the man, and which bears a living message to all who go to it for help and comfort, is safe in any sort of crucible."1

Theories of scriptural inspiration are never decisive; the question whether the Bible is composed of such living messages is merely a question of fact. The books which now remain have come down to us through centuries of sifting; many books, because they have proved unable to pass the high test of spiritual worth, have been rejected. The books which have passed this test of quality and are now in our Bible will last just as long as they continue to inspire those who go to them for spiritual help; which, it would seem, will be as long as men hunger for knowledge of God and desire perception of

1—A Dynamic Faith, p.10.
spiritual realities. The value of a book, then, depends upon the quality of its message. Coleridge used to say, "I believe in the Bible because it finds me." That the books of the Bible "find" us is the true test of their inspiration. Because of the loftier experiences and visions of God and of His truth which they contain they exercise a spiritual power over our lives; they seem able to prepare us to rise to the significance and meaning of the master-revelations which they portray. The attempt to prove their authenticity by an appeal to miracle or by referring to the decision of an infallible council is futile; their trustworthiness can be revealed only by demonstrating that they are profitable for the shaping of spiritual lives and saintly character.

"The supreme test of the Scriptures is the practical one of their power over us when we use them rightly."1

If Scripture can stand that test, it need fear none other. But if not, it is impossible for any dogmatic assertion to be of much saving assistance. Our faith in Scripture is based upon the fact that we do feel its power and that it actually is dynamic in the making of spiritual lives. We may approach Scripture experimentally, but we end with an experience. Every time we test its value our conviction of its inspiration is increased until we become so sure of its divine character that we ask for no further proof.2

1-*A Dynamic Faith*, p. 93.
2-Similarly, creeds and doctrines are true, not because they have been declared to be so by some ecclesiastical body, but because they are supreme facts of spiritual life and because they abide the deepest tests of life.
According to this interpretation of scriptural authority the relation which the soul has with God, being grounded on experience, is not seriously affected by the discovery of new dates or new authorship for any or all of the biblical books. Whether Job or Jonah is literally historical becomes immaterial; for the one who interprets Scripture after this manner is not interested in a dogmatic "theory of Scripture," but in discovering a spiritual message. As we saw in a previous chapter, all revelation must come in terms of the life and thought of the people who receive it; it must, therefore, be progressive. Much ancient theology, consequently, must succumb; each new century will have to reshape the crystallized thought of previous ages. But everything which shows God or His purpose will minister to life in the future as it has done in the past.

"Every book which has come out of the heart of the universe and which speaks to the heart of man will survive all tests and will continue to inspire men, regardless of its date, and wholly apart from the mere fact that this man held the pen rather than that. But we shall learn to use it not as a fetish, but as a source of spiritual light to be taken for what it is worth."1

The spiritual reformers who held to the principle of the Inner Light and who believed in an "invisible Church," had an attitude towards Scripture similar to the one outlined above. The true and essential Word of God, says Sebastian Franck, is the divine revelation in the soul of man. This divine

revelation is the prius of all Scripture and is the key to its spiritual meaning. To substitute Scripture, he says, for the self-revealing Spirit is to put the dead letter in the place of the living word. A written Scripture, because of its inherent nature, says Franck, cannot be the final authority in religion. He gives four reasons in support of his view: (1) the written word is external, while the seat of religion is in the soul of man; (2) it is transitory, as language changes and written words have different meaning to different ages and peoples; (3) Scripture is full of mystery, contradiction and paradox which only the inner experience of the heart can unlock; and (4) Scripture at best brings only knowledge and lacks the power to deliver from the sin which it describes; it cannot create faith or love or will-purpose which are necessary in order to win that which Scripture portrays. No amount of "ink, paper, and letters," he says, can make a man good; for religion is not knowledge, but a way of living, a transformed life, which requires a resident creative power. "In Pentecost," he says, "all books are transcended."  

Henry Nicholas (b.1501) the founder of the "Family of Love," has a similar attitude towards Scripture. The following passage, although written a hundred years earlier, reads as though it were taken from Fox's Journal or from Barclay's Apology:  

1-Paradoxa, Vorrede, sec.4.  
2-Alfred Legler's Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck, p.104.
"The written word of the letter is not the word itself, that cleanseth and sanctifieth the man, or which procreates the life. But it is a shadow or figuring out of the holy and true word, a serviceable instrument whereby we are made well-affected inwardly in our souls to the true word of vivification, to the end that through belief and love we might in the spirit of our minds be made of like-being with the nature and being of the Good Life; even as the words of Scripture witness."¹

Says Jacob Boehme:

"If I had no other book except the book which I myself am, I should have books enough. The entire Bible lies in me if I have Christ's Spirit in me."²

"What would it profit me if I were continually quoting the Bible and knew the whole book by heart but did not know the Spirit that inspired the holy men who wrote that book, nor the source from which they received their knowledge? How can I expect to understand them in truth, if I have not the same Spirit they had?"³

George Fox, also, turned to this spiritual principle in man's soul as his new basis of authority in religion. He refused to call the Bible "the Word of God;" he reserved that phrase for the living, eternal, ever-present Christ who alone can adequately reveal God. Scripture to be of any spiritual value must be translated and interpreted by men who possess the same Spirit that gave them forth. Scripture texts do not work by magic, nor as fetishes; they are effective only when they are spiritually apprehended and spiritually applied. They have meaning and significance for us because we partake of

¹-An Introduction to the Glass of Righteousness, Chap. vii. sec. 29. (Printed in English in 1649).
²-Apology to Tilken, ii, 298.
³-Ibid. sec. 72.
the same Spirit as was possessed by the men who wrote them. Scripture, therefore, can never take the place of Spirit; its function is to show us how the Spirit manifests Himself to a responsive instrument. It does not do away with the necessity of a present revelation of God in the soul, nor preclude the search for further divine truth. The Bible, assuredly, contains the master literature of the Spirit of God; but in order to so appreciate it, each Christian must live in the Spirit which gave it forth.

"Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out and say, 'Oh, no; it is not the Scriptures!' and I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave knowledge of all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star. They persecuted Christ and His apostles and took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried without the Holy Ghost."¹

¹George Fox, p.54. The above is a description of what Fox said when he interrupted the Nottingham minister's sermon. Such interruption was illegal and led to Fox's imprisonment.
God, the communion of the Holy Spirit—these are the supreme spiritual contributions to the life of the race, the most precious legacy from the past.¹

Many translations of the Bible have been made; but it seems that we must translate the Bible into one more language—the language of life. Our generation must see Christ as the true type and goal of life, always girded for action and always exhibiting the meaning of His words: "For their sakes I sanctify myself."

If the true Church is "invisible" and Scripture is authenticated inwardly, so also, is the true sacrament inner and spiritual.² Says Schwenckfeld:

"God must Himself, apart from all external means, through Christ touch the soul, speak to it, work in it, if we are to experience salvation and eternal life."³

Johann Bunderlin⁴ in the same strain declares that the period of signs and symbols is passing away and that the religion of life and spirit, which he takes to be the religion of the New Testament, is coming in its place. As fast as the religion of the Spirit, the new religion, comes in, the religion of the sacraments, the old religion, will vanish. Christ's baptism is with power from above, and He cleanses from sin not with water but with the Holy Ghost and the burning fire of love. As soon as the spiritual man gains possession of "the Key of David," and has entered upon "the true Sabbath of his soul," he no longer considers outward forms as of vital

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¹-Quakerism: A Religion of Life, p.33.
²-See A Dynamic Faith, p.78f.
³-Caspar Schwenckfeld, Schriften, i.p.768 b.
⁴-See Dr. Alexander Nicoladoni's excellent monograph on Johannes Bunderlin, Berlin, 1893.
importance.

"When the Kingdom of God with its joy and love has come in us we do not much care for those things which can only happen outside us."1

The Quakers, like these earlier reformers, were determined not to establish anything which would be a substitute for the first-hand experience of the individual or that would result in merely recurrent practice or empty custom. Professor Jones, true to this Quaker heritage, and consistent with his emphasis on religion as experience and life, likewise considers external sacraments as of secondary importance. In the Gospel of John, he says, the emphasis is put on qualities of life rather than on ritual observances. The writer of this Gospel, instead of recording the Supper narrative of the other Gospels, tells how Jesus went from one to the other of His disciples and washed their feet; consciously aiming, it would seem, to focus attention upon a spirit of love and service rather than upon a rite.2 In this Gospel, Professor Jones finds, as did the early Quakers, a form of Christianity which seems to consist essentially of life and love. What seemed to be of most importance to the writer of this Gospel was not the baptism of water but the creative, initiatory work of the Spirit within which brings the soul up out of its submerged and buried life to a real "birth" into a spiritual kingdom of life—"the water that I shall give you shall be in you as a well of water

1-Johann Bunderlin, Aus was Ursach, p.53.
springing up into eternal life."

However, Professor Jones does not overlook the fact that for some people symbols are indispensable; and that one's need of symbols depends very largely upon the type of imagination which one possesses. Some people feel hindered by the use of religious symbols while others can make no spiritual progress without some visible, or tangible, or auditory stimulus—what Robert Browning calls "mid-way" helps. It is, therefore, impossible to lay down any fixed rule concerning them. As it is a psychological situation which is involved, it would be a mistake to have only one type and method of worship for all mankind.

"The different types need to be recognized as psychologically and characteristically different. There will be good persons, spiritual persons, persons of depth and insight among the symbolisers, and equally so among the non-symbolisers, and there will be some who are at home in both types."

when the early Quakers were criticized for not obeying the positive commands of Christ to keep definite ordinances which He Himself instituted, they replied by saying that they found no clear evidence that He commanded and instituted such external ceremonies. There are now sound spiritually minded scholars of different Christian communions who take this position. Professor Julicher said in 1896, "Jesus inaugurated nothing, instituted nothing." Professor Spitta, at the same

1—John iv. 14.
2—Cp. John Oman The Natural and the Supernatural, pp. 86–95 (Cambridge, 1931) where he suggests three stages in the progress of religion: (1) the affirmation of a reality of absolute value; (2) the subordination of all else to it; (3) a tendency to regard its nature less materially.
3—The Quakers' Faith and Practice, p. 80.
date, wrote: "All thought of an intention to found a rite for the observance of the Church is out of the question." Professor T. R. Glover says, in his Conflict of Religions:

"There is a growing consensus among independent scholars that Jesus instituted no sacraments, yet Paul found the rudiments of them among the Christians and believed he had the warrant of Jesus for the heightening which he gave them."1

Dean Hastings Rashdall, in his Bampton Lectures on The Idea of the Atonement says:

"The words, 'This do in remembrance of Me', may certainly be regarded as a later addition—If we set these words aside, there is nothing to suggest that our Lord had the intention of founding an institution or permanent rite of any kind."2

The slower and surer methods of historical research seem to be verifying the position which the early Quakers reached by intuition and by their constant use of the Fourth Gospel.

"Spiritual practices and acts of worship and communion should not in any case rest upon commands as their basis. It ought to be seen by every penetrating worshipper that Christianity is not a religion of commandments and ordinances, but a religion of life and spirit. The real test of a method of worship is to be found, not in its origin, but in its function and its power."3

There can be no doubt, however, that the apostolic Church had sacraments. Throughout the New Testament period they are plainly in evidence. They were at first very simple,

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1-T.R. Glover, Conflict of Religions, p.158.
3-The Quakers' Faith and Practice, p.83.
but vital. The little fellowships gathered together to partake of a community meal, which was eaten as a memorial and with the sense of Christ's invisible presence. The fellowship was considered as a time of communion with Christ, the head of the group, who was felt to be present.

"If we examine the discourse in Chapter vi (John) from its very beginning, we shall see that this spiritual conception of the sacrament as a communion with a Christ of the Spirit dominates the thought all through."3

This simple community meal was expanded and reorganized first in Corinth.4 From that time on, there was a tendency for the Supper to pass from its simple original meaning to a mysterious and magical event which was believed by the participant to be "the medicine of immortality and the antidote of death."5

Baptism had a similar humble origin. At first it was a simple way of initiation, a sign by means of which it was made known that one had entered into the life of the fellowship. It marked a break with one's old life and associations, the separation and cleansing being symbolized by the application of water. The New Testament instances of the act indicate that it was a way of entering His fellowship, and that it was performed "in the name of Christ." It could not have been considered of very great importance as the accounts of it

1- ἀνάρρη
2- κοινωνία
4-I Cor. 11:17-24.
5-Ignatius, Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. 20.
are neither specific nor detailed. Nor could St. Paul have considered it as having much significance. He says:

"I baptized the household of Stephanas, but no one else, as far as I remember. Christ did not send me to baptize, but to preach the gospel."  

John actually goes out of his way to emphasize the fact that Jesus did not baptize. The trinitarian formula appended to Matthew indicates that the importance of baptism began to be stressed at a very early period. By the time of Tertullian, baptism was already considered as "the medicinal bath of regeneration" which destroyed the germ of sin. Says Tertullian:

"without pomp, without any novel preparations, and without cost, a man is sent down into the water and baptized, a few words are spoken and he rises out of the water again, little or nothing cleaner, but with his attainment of eternity settled."  

whatever view one may take concerning the apostolic origin of these two sacraments, no one with sound historical judgment can suppose that they existed in the sense implied by the words of Ignatius and Tertullian when the Church was new.

It would appear that Professor Jones' position is not without support; it would also appear that he is making an honest effort to take the last step which the Reformation failed to take. He is attempting to exhibit a genuinely spiritual religion every step and stage of which is a living

1-1 Cor. 1:16,17.
2-John 4:2.
3-About 150-225 A.D.
4-Tertullian On baptism, 4.
Process: a religion whose Church is "invisible"; whose Scripture is inwardly authenticated; and whose true sacrament is inner and spiritual.

"It is well that we should learn to view all these matters of faith with breadth, with charity, with liberality and with catholicity. But conviction and inward sincerity are also great traits of life. The world will always need those who care more for what is true than for what is ancient and customary, those who have inward vision and can live by invisible realities. Nothing is more important than the slow, age-long task of building up a spiritual humanity, of leaving the swaddling clothes of childhood for the deeper experiences of the full-grown man."

Eufus Jones continues the interpretation of the doctrine of the Inner Light as found in its pre-Quaker setting, re-interpreting it in the light of modern knowledge, maintaining that there is psychological, historical, and religious evidence: (1) that the human and the divine are interrelated; (2) that there is divine revelation through personality, which can be tested by the quality of life it produces in the individual, by the sanction it receives from the group and by the new power of leadership which it generates to put the vision into practical, social operation; (3) that religion is valid because it meets the test of experience, its two tested facts being atonement and prayer; and (4) that the Church best suited to this conception of spiritual and experiential religion is "invisible" whose Scripture is authenticated inwardly and whose true sacrament is inner and spiritual.

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1-The Quakers' Faith and Practice, p.87.
CONCLUSION

We have come a long way. Perhaps an awareness of an increased interest in mysticism was at first responsible for the attention we have given it: we could hardly have called our interest, at this first stage, more than curiosity. Being unfavourably influenced by modern historical and psychological interpretations of mysticism, we were, at the outset, considerably biased. However, the consideration that the autobiographies and expositions of past mystics might possibly submit to positive examination, although justifiably viewed negatively, led us to a more serious attitude towards the subject. The importance of what we felt to be a new and healthy conception of mysticism made us see the need of an attempted definition, one in which would be considered adequately the fact that mysticism in its positive expression works towards (1) the formation of a permanent God-consciousness which (2) leads to a higher level of life and (3) to increased practical activity. We selected Rufus Jones as one who we believed, as mystic and interpreter of mysticism, was, in America, most closely allied to this point of view.

By means of discussing man's conjunct relationship with the social and the Supernatural, which seemed to be a basic theory in the works of Rufus Jones, we journeyed a step towards indicating the possibility of the permanency of man's
consciousness of God; we became aware that personality could be understood at all only as it was seen to be consciously and dependently interrelated with the social organism in which it found itself, becoming realized by the social provision of attractive ideals, the practice of self-sacrifice and the influence of the sub-conscious life; and we became aware, further, that personality could be understood fully only as its ideals and intimations of finiteness pointed towards the organic interrelationship of its fragmentary self with an all-embracing Divine Power.

The next step, which brought us closer to our goal, was the careful examination of the literature of the mystics. This critical inquiry suggested that Rufus Jones is not in error when he recommends the possibility of discriminating between negative and affirmative types of the mystical experience. We became convinced at this point that the "mystic way" which involves the negation of all finiteness is a way which cannot have the approval of those who believe that the Supernatural is revealed in a human person; and we became assured that mysticism at its best was affirmative, being volitional as well as emotional and intellectual. The result of this assurance was the conviction that in this affirmative type we were in touch with a form of mysticism which seemed to be in harmony with the requirements which we considered necessary to a satisfactory definition: we became acquainted with mystics whose experiences caused the level of life to be raised, whose joy was found in action which was at the same time practical
and social.

Our next step was to get better acquainted with the definite religious teaching of Rufus Jones; we saw that it was possible, considering his conception of personality and his attitude towards mysticism, to treat his teaching as a reinterpretation of Quakerism. With this possibility in mind, we traced the history of the idea of the Inner Light, watching it take the form of a three-fold doctrine which (1) stressed the presence of God in the soul of man; (2) considered that fact as the basis of Divine revelation and which (3) held that the experience man had of God must, therefore, be spiritual and personal. The consideration of his religious teaching under these three parts of the doctrine of the Inner Light rather than injure his teaching permitted us to give it the advantage of historical connexion and to show more clearly the meaning of the psychological and historical evidence submitted, which interpretation we considered to involve: (1) the interrelation of the human and the divine, (2) verified divine revelation through personality and (3) the validation of religion by the experience involved in atonement and prayer.

... ...

We have come to the end of our journey. Perhaps it is not the end. It may be but the beginning; a prelude to an age whose religion will be that of true mysticism and charity.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A-ANNOTATED WORKS OF RUFUS JONES

1-BOOKS

In which an attempt is made by the author to tell how his life as a boy formed itself and what the nature of the environment was that assisted in this formation. The secondary purpose of the writer is to preserve a particular type of Quakerism that has now passed away.

This book suggests that a dynamic faith is a faith that moves to loyalty, to self-sacrifice and to death.


In which it is shown that the new age cannot live on "naturalism" or "secularism," or on religious faiths which are out of harmony with known truth or cut adrift from the fundamental intellectual culture of the age. An attempt is made to rediscover the foundations of a victorious religious faith.

Records the course of the American Friend's Relief work in Europe 1917-1919. There is an appendix containing a list of American Reconstruction workers in France.

A selection of passages from the works of the lesser known mystics of the seventeenth century.

Christianity must present a living interpretation of Christian faith, one which takes consideration of discovered and verified scientific and historic truth.

Selections from Clement.


An autobiographical story of formative years.


Believing that we have used our mastery of natural forces for wrong ends and that a better world is not possible by the mere extension of scientific conquests, the author calls attention to vision and dynamic which lead to an increased power to become better men and to a deeper appreciation of the significance of personal life. The author sums up the answers of Plato, Christ and Kant to such questions as: What does life mean? What do we want most in life? Why do we want it? One chapter considers "Mystical experience as an end in life." He calls for a deeper consideration of the interior life and is quite confident that he presents clues which point to life's spiritual source. The six lectures were originally given at Oberlin and Yale.


William James said of George Fox that "everyone who confronted him personally from Oliver Cromwell down to county magistrates and jailers, seemed to have acknowledged his superior powers." Here is an account of his life—the story of a man unswervingly faithful to the service of truth and of his fellow men.


A history of the Quaker College, Haverford, founded in 1833; written in commemoration of the centenary.

In which the Quaker principles of the Inner Light, lay-religion and the practical life are briefly presented with the assertion that any faith can live only as it corresponds with its changing intellectual and social environment.


A brief, sympathetic biography of an outstanding Quaker personality.


A picture of an evolution in English religious thought and practice from Roman Catholicism through Anglicanism, Puritanism and Separatism to the Baptist, Seeker and Quaker positions.


A sympathetic examination of the mystical nature of religious experience. Lack of objectivity, it is insisted, is not a characteristic peculiar to religion: "there is no way of proving that our unmediated sensations of color, of sound, of odor, of taste, of roughness or smoothness or hardness, stand for objective realities precisely like our subjective experience of them." Furthermore, "the method of psychological diagnosis, which is believed to destroy the objective validity of mystical experience would also destroy all objective validity in every field of experience." There is a lengthy refutation of the claim that mysticism is a symptom of abnormality; there are also discussions regarding the relations of mysticism to asceticism, to religious education, to the organization of thought and knowledge and to religious experience.


The complex nature of man suggests that there are many pathways which lead to an understanding of the reality of God: there is the pathway of the scientific method which clarifies man’s conception of God, suggesting where ultimate reality may be found and intimating what kind of ultimate reality to expect; there
is also the pathway of history, which through events shaped by ethical and spiritual ideals, points to a real Source of spiritual values; there is the pathway of philosophy which sees in physical fragments and appearances a significance which indicates a consistent and intelligible whole; and there is also the pathway of the religious experience of prayer, and of the love of God revealed in Christ.


A series of short essays illustrating and interpreting phases of the Practical Christian life.

**Quakerism: A Religion of Life.** London: Headley Brothers, 1908. 47 p.

In which Quakerism is presented as a religion of experience.


The fifth William Penn lecture: religion is considered as real, vital and necessary to life.


A symposium. The three chapters by Professor Jones deal with the subjects "God," "Christ" and "The Spirit."


The fourth unification address on the Arthur Emmons Pearson foundation, given by Professor Jones at the International Congress of religious liberals held in Copenhagen, 1934.


A story of the life and work of St. Paul written primarily for young folk in a semi-fiction form; St. Paul, because of his dedication to truth is pictured as a hero.

**Social Law in the Spiritual World.** London: Headley Brothers, 1904. 248 p.
In which appear a number of studies on the nature and meaning of personal life, with special emphasis on their religious implication. The personal life is conceived as being necessarily "conjunct" which fact is taken to have profound religious significance, implying that God must be interrelated and conjunct with us. As the title implies, it aims to show through psychology, as Drummond showed through biology, that life can be unified from top to bottom: that the laws and principles which our outer life reveals enable us to discover also the nature and spirit of the infinite Person with whom our finite lives are bound up.


It is indicated that the mystic comes into immediate contact with environing spiritual reality in much the same way that one comes into contact with material objects through the senses, though the latter form of experience has the advantage of being conveyed in more convincing terms. It is claimed to be a very common experience to have a feeling of certainty that cannot be explained or based on detailed facts. The mystic, it is pointed out, often has a convincing experience of God which is as certain as sense experience. Other chapters treat of mysticism as found in Plotinus, Eckhart, Luther, Browning, and Whitman. The final chapter treats of mystical life and thought in America.


A companion volume to the author's *The Inner Life* and *The World Within*; especially valuable for those seeking a rational basis for religious experience while preserving its true content intact.


An attempt to cultivate the imagination by suggesting noble traits of life and by presenting heroic persons facing the issues of life, believing that the right type of story-telling is important to moral education.


This volume works out the Christian lineage of the Quakers from primitive Christianity down to the end.
of the English Commonwealth. This is done with such thoroughness that it is doubtful whether there exists another single work that contains so much information concerning the mystics whom it discusses. It contains a fruitful study of not only the better-known mystics like Scotus Erigena and Saint Francis, but also of a remarkable series of societies and movements of the people of the general type of Anabaptism. Special stress is laid upon the necessity of measuring a religious experience by its social value. The via negativa which has proved attractive to many mystics is considered here as an illusory by-path.


A number of thoughts which originally appeared as Editorials in the American Friend. They are suggestions which enable the reader to participate in a fuller and more abundant life.


Believing that the first step in religion, as in art, is to see, and believing further that we love the highest when we see it, Professor Jones has written these stories to help young people see Jesus as He lived, worked and associated with His little group of friends.


A readable, popular study in church history. The heretics are represented as sometimes stimulating the life and thought of the Church (e.g. Pelagius); heresies are seen as being occasionally absorbed by the Church (e.g. aspects of Gnosticism).


A booklet built on the foundations laid in the Social Law in the Spiritual World. The starting-point is the doctrine of the „conjunct self”; and the effort to maintain this divine-human interrelationship is seen in a double search: God's search for man and man's search for God. Atonement and prayer, are, therefore, seen as vital aspects of the religious life.

An interpretation of the history, ideals and achievements of Quakerism.


A stimulating collection of various beautiful contributions towards the better understanding of the inner life. The author is careful to point out that while emphasizing the inner way of religion care must be taken not to encourage the heresy of treating religion as a withdrawal from the world "or as a retreat from the press and strain of the practical issues and problems of the social order."


In which the complicated story of Quakerism from the 17th to the 19th centuries is told clearly and impartially. It is not an apology for Quakerism but rather an unbiased presentation of the historical unfolding of a religious movement. A valuable introduction deals with the basic differences between mystical and evangelical Christianity.


The moral nature of the cosmic universe is to be discovered by a study of the moral nature of man. An examination of conscience indicates that it is not an isolated factor, that it is man's whole, integral, developing self: it is both divine and human.


Modern education should give due consideration to the spiritual element of experience, as the best things enjoyed in life are those related to the ideals of beauty, truth, goodness and love, and as the highest experience of life is companionship with God.

A group of essays in which an attempt is made to solve the spiritual problems of our age. In a "seeking attitude" and convinced that he has found some particles of truth, the author presents his interpretations of reality. No attempt is made to defend any particular creed or theory.


A history of the Quakers during the colonial period. Three of the five books of this work are by Professor Jones. The plan provides for an account of the settlement of Quakers in various sections and their relation to the political, social, and religious development of each. Not an unimportant interest and purpose is "to discover how a group of men and women wrought out their soul's faith in an earlier century" and to describe their attempt "to make a fresh experiment in spiritual religion." The introduction states the main points developed in the book: the existence of groups in the colonies before the arrival of Quaker missionaries, who held religious views akin to those of the Quakers; the collision between Puritans and Quakers; the failure of the movement to expand; and the two contributions of Quakers to American religion—the production of saints and the spread of lay religion.


An interpretation of the idea of the remnant and of its function and mission in the history of reforms, together with its historical significance and its value as a method of achieving social and spiritual gains.


A search for the sources of the Quaker movement. One source is found in the "Spirituals" and "Latitude Men" of the 16th and 17th centuries. The main stream of the Reformation found in Luther and Calvin exponents who made doctrine more important than inner experience. The Spirituals, despite their "enthusiasm" and their symbolism, seem to be related to the Quakers in their appeal for freedom of conscience, their search for another type of religious experience than the legal schemes of salvation and atonement, and in their rejection of any authoritatively formulated inflexible doctrine. Denck, Franck, Schwenckfeld, Coornhert, Weigel, Boehme, whichcote, and many less-known writers are given a sympathetic
interpretation. The work is written from the sources and is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the religious and ethical forces of the period.


An autobiographical sketch of Professor Jones' life at college, in which he shows what a constructive and creative force this period can be. He tells of "something from within" "a something more than human wisdom" which seemed to guide him in making those decisions which were best for the purposes of his life.


To be read with two earlier books which deal with two stages of the author's life: Finding the Trail of Life and The Trail of Life in College. This book continues the autobiographical story through the years 1894-1912.


Religion is a personal experience of communion with God, through which, usually in prayer, new spiritual energies are discovered. Religion is not to be accepted as a way of ease and security:"It is time for us to discover the sacramental way of treating this precious water which our ancestors drew for us. We cannot use it for our private enjoyment, we cannot save it for our children, we cannot treat it as ours, we must pour it out in uncalculating, self-forgetful devotion." An affirmative answer is given to the question whether man is immortal, the assurance being the conviction that "there is a Person or super-Person at the heart of things who really cares,—who guards and guarantees the rationality and moral significance of the universe."

2-ARTICLES


True mystical experience intensifies one's sensitivity to social injustice.


Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.


An analysis of the prophetic character of George Fox and an examination of his reforming ideas, especially his conception of salvation as "away to live."


It is claimed that psychology, which limits mysticism to a subjective experience, is a science of mental phenomena and does not invade the realm of philosophical interpretation. The central values of human life such as truth, beauty, goodness and love carry objective reference; the mystic's conviction of activity and his refashioned attitude towards all that constitutes life is also cited as objective evidence.


An interpretation of God to be of value must consider God in connection with the intellectual and spiritual problems of the world, and as related to the inward life of man with its outward historical setting.


An outline of mysticism as it has appeared in the Scholastic period of the Middle Ages, in the pre-Reformation, in the early forerunners of science, in the Counter Reformation, in Commonwealth England, in the English literature of the 19th century and as it appears in recent times.


A discussion concerning the revival of interest in mysticism; a distinction is made between "historical mysticism" and mystical experience.


It is maintained that religion is essentially a mystical act. The "mystic vision," which is identified with the central act of prayer, is defined as an interior experience of relationship with invisible reality, resulting in a state of inner unity, integral wholeness and joy.


A critical analysis of scientific psychology in which behaviorism and "mind-state" psychology are found inadequate as a basis for religion. The subconscious and
the conscious life cannot, it is maintained, be cut apart into two dissociated selves: the only unit we can properly talk about is our unique personal self in conscious relation to an environment.


Quietism is not a sporadic type of religion; it is a deep and widespread movement of the 17th and 18th centuries: "a bold venture of the soul to find a direct way from the failure and ruin of the finite self to complete recovery through union with the Infinite."


Religion, like beauty, is not something scientifically describable; it is rather an inward spiritual appreciation of what is considered to be the highest and most real in the universe.


The task of the Church consists in presenting a living interpretation of the Christian faith in the light of all discovered and verified scientific and historic truth.

Seekers Then and Now. Friends' Quarterly Examiner, lxii (1928), p.185-199.

The part the Seekers played in the formation of the Quaker Society with a discussion of the significance of the Seeker movement in the world to-day.


The level of American civilization can be appreciably raised only as the American parent contributes a larger degree of moral and spiritual guidance to the development of his child.


An examination of a movement which paralleled the Protestant Reformation; its contribution is seen as one of ideas rather than one of organization.

Green's criterion for estimating goodness of action—"the ultimate as perfection of the human spirit, resting on a will to be perfect"—is found to be practical, to square with facts and social institutions and with the progress of human life.


Excessive "naturalism" and "secularism" lead to depression, the breakdown of morality and the collapse of the social structure of civilization.


A normal experience supplied by an intuitive personal relationship with God and not by esoteric communication, trance or ecstasy. It heightens all of life's capacities and activities; it is verified by slow laboratory effects.


The family, the true social unit, is the nursery of vital spiritual culture.


On the basis that man is a rigidly interconnected part of the nature-system, a "new event" is impossible; but the processes of the psychic life, for in some cases it seems that the self is an immanent cause, suggests that there is freedom in willing and a "newness" which characterizes the appearance of certain events.


Biologically, death has played an important role in raising life from the low unicellular type to the rich complex forms of higher organisms; spiritually, death has brought to consciousness a deeper meaning and significance of personal life.


The formulations of any faith, including those of Quakerism, can live only as they "correspond" with the ever-changing intellectual and social environment and express its ideals and aspirations.


The "Transcendent God" of theology leads to a dualistic conception of the universe, cutting the self apart from the object with which it deals. The theory of an Immanent God is more plausible; in ordinary experience the mind is related to its object; moral imperatives suggest kinship with the transcendent; the consciousness of finiteness suggests something more and the testimony of mystical prophets invests the theory of immanence with certainty.


There are moral and spiritual grounds for economic and financial confusion as well as purely economic ones.


A recognition and appreciation of the spiritual power of prayer.


Man is more than something limited to aspects of life which can be described with mathematical accuracy and explained in terms of antecedent causes.


Professor Jones became a Quaker because of the Quaker environment into which he happened to be born. He continues to be a Quaker because the Friends stress the cultivation of the inner life, emphasize sincerity in word and deed, consider religion as something to be done and stand for verification as the basis of authority in religion.


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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE THEORY OF MECHANISM

"In a word, then, every effect is a distinct event from its cause. It could not, therefore, be discovered in the cause; and the first invention or conception of it, a priori, must be entirely arbitrary."

The breakdown of the mechanistic theory of the universe has been due largely to the changing attitude towards the law of cause and effect.

Practically every person who has been reared in our present social order, and who has come under the influence of the method and spirit of science, believes that nothing can happen without there being some cause for it. The principle of causality has become part of our mental pride.

This belief of ours in the thorough-going uniformity of nature is a conviction that has emerged from the experimentation of the last few hundred years. The savage man saw in nature nothing but the capricious, and it was only after years of experience and observation that the simple uniformities began to make their appearance. First, uniformity was seen in the movements of the heavenly bodies, and then the same regularities began to be detected in the terrestrial mechanical systems. And it is not to be wondered at, after physics witnessed its increasing successes in the mastery of increased complexity, that it found itself almost forced to believe these

1-David Hume, Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding, Section IV.
2-I am particularly indebted to Professor Daniel Lamont of New College, Edinburgh, for pointing out to me the religious significance of the changed attitude toward the principle of causality.
series of achievements were, rather than accidents, the expression of an underlying principle responsible for the uniformity and predictability of nature. When it was discovered that as the precision of measurements was increased the predictions that these measurements made possible became better, there arose the conviction of the possibility of the predictability of the future down to the last detail.

However, this mighty law seems to be crumbling before us, and all the hopes that we had built upon it are tumbling down. The startling developments made in physics recently have shaken the scientific world to its very foundation; and physicists, at least, are finding themselves unable any longer to hold to the absolute validity of the law of cause and effect.¹ This change of attitude has arisen primarily from the discovery of new experimental facts. These new facts, however, will not influence facts previously found to be true. As Professor Bridgman of Harvard University says:

"Physics never has to retract statements about experimental facts when these statements are made with sufficient care to reproduce the physical situation with fidelity, that is, when due regard is paid to the limits of experimental error."²

Although physics will not have to retract any statement about actual experiment, it will, nevertheless, have to make some retractions concerning what it anticipates. The

expectation of science centered around the conviction that increased accuracy of measurement would enable us to make more accurate predictions about the future. This has not proved to be the case. It has been discovered, when the refinement of our instruments is increased beyond a certain point and we enter a domain of small things hitherto inaccessible, that the new domain is found to be full of capricious irregularities which are not like the irregularities in the domain of ordinary experience. This being the case, no amount of refinement of measurement enables us to increase predictability in this particular sphere. The new domain in which we meet these perplexing irregularities is far removed from the everyday affairs of life, and it has only been quite recently that we have been able to refine our physical methods sufficiently to gain even an entrance into this territory—this domain of the single electron. Professor Bridgman sums up the situation in one little paragraph:

"Our new understanding of the experimental situation can be made in the following bold statement: 'As a matter of fact, events are not predictable in the realm of small things.' This is practically equivalent to saying that in the realm of small things the law of cause and effect does not operate." 1

Let us, for example, imagine a large-scaled situation such as a billiard ball rolling on a table top without friction or interference. The table is marked with lines a foot apart.

1-Ibid. p. 542.
Starting from the first line, the ball travels to the next one, or one foot, in one second; during the next second it travels another foot, etc. We are, in this case, because of our observation, able to predict accurately a certain uniformity of behavior. But experiment shows us that if we substitute an electron for the billiard ball, such accuracy of prediction is no longer possible. If, at a particular point in time, we observe the electron on the first line, and a second later a foot distant on the next line, we might, at the end of the next second, find that the electron had travelled not one more foot but ten feet, or seven, or that it had jumped back six inches.

If the billiard ball acted in such a capricious manner, we should begin to look for something of which we did not initially take account. We should look for some missing feature, and what is more, we should find it. But with the electron no such procedure is possible: in its case the missing feature does not exist. If we take, for instance, two systems with initial conditions which are completely identical, the electron will sometimes appear at seven feet and sometimes at five. There is, it would seem, very little basis for making a successful prediction of the future of a single electron; and it also seems clear that if any basis at all is to be found for predicting the behavior of a single electron, it must be some basis other than that of ordinary experience.

If the law of cause and effect has not been shown to
work in the domain of small events, it is not due to any lack of activity on the part of the physicists. The reason for its inadequacy is rather to be found in the adequacy of the physical theory known as "wave mechanics" or "quantum theory." At the foundations of this theory is the hypothesis that the individual electrons, as also the individual units of radiation, have the fundamental property that in any specific situation their behavior as individuals is not predictable. Their behavior, according to this theory, is predictable only when they are in large numbers.

Heisenberg's Principle of Uncertainty is one of the principles deduced from this theory. According to this principle, the more we succeed in increasing the accuracy of one kind of measurement, the less successful we become with regard to the accuracy of some other kind of measurement. Professor Bridgman sums up the principle as follows:

"Specifically, I cannot measure the position and the simultaneous velocity of the electron with any desired accuracy, but if I increase the accuracy of my measurement of position, my measurement of velocity becomes less accurate in such a way that the probable value of the product of the two inaccuracies is of the order of magnitude of Planck's constant, h, divided by the mass of the electron."

The principle applies as well to the position and velocity of ordinary bodies, but it is of more importance to the electron as the mass of the electron is so very much less than that of

1-Ibid. p. 543.
any ordinary body; and when Planck's constant is divided by
the mass of a single electron, the result is a very large
number, or, in other words, a very large amount of uncertainty.
In the case of ordinary bodies, the mass is so large that when
the constant, $h$, is divided by it, the uncertainty is so small
that it escapes our ordinary methods of detection.

The statement of the principle as given by Professor
Bridgman does not seem at first glance to involve predictability
at all. But if we go back to our illustration of the electron
we shall see that it does. The velocity with which the prin-
ciple is concerned is not the first velocity, that is, the
speed with which the electron travels from line (1) to line
(2), but the second velocity, the speed with which it travels
from line (2) to its next position. The only way one can
determine this second velocity is to predict where the electron
will be found at the end of the next point of time. The
Heisenberg Principle states that this prediction cannot be made
with precision and is, therefore, no less than a statement of
the impossibility of predicting the course of the electron.

The way by which this uncertainty gets into the situation
is through the act of observation. It has been discovered that
the electron cannot be observed in any way without making a
difference to the electron. The process of observation may
cause the electron to send off an atom of radiation, or do
something equivalent; but the important fact is that
observation will always interfere with the motion of the
electron to a degree that is unpredictable and incalculable. The unpredictable amount of interference caused by observation is an integral part of the theory.  

As the principle of causality was an outgrowth of experience, it is now experience that is judging it and finding it wanting: it fails to prove valid for small-scale events.  

We should not be antagonistic towards this verdict of experimentation. Rather, we should accept it as readily as we do all experimental results.  

While the causality principle prevailed we were gravely in danger of losing the spiritual side of life and of narrowing and hardening down to the material aspect of things. The stress that has been laid upon this materialistic and mechanistic aspect of life has thrown our focus upon tangible results and has tended to neglect the assets of the soul. This extreme  

1-In our endeavor to point out that the Heisenberg Principle of Uncertainty has brought about a change of attitude towards the principle of causality, we must not overlook what others are saying about it and how they are interpreting it. There are those who make use of the conclusions of the Heisenberg Principle, but in another way. They claim that the causality principle is still valid but that we have not as yet been able to make those measurements that the principle demands. At present, they claim, there is uncertainty, but when those measurements are made that are required, prediction will be possible. (See Bertrand Russell, The Scientific Outlook, p.112; see also J.E. Turner's article in Nature, Dec. 27, 1930, where it is maintained that the principle of Indeterminacy has to do with measurement and not with causation.) But the fact is that the uncertainty is not due to any fault of our own—it is due to the law of nature and not to any ignorance or failure on our part.  

2-It must be pointed out that the legitimacy of the cause and effect theory where large-scaled events are concerned still holds good; it is the absolute character of the theory that has been questioned and upset.
emphasis on matter and mechanism has caused life to become unreal. The new attitude towards the law of cause and effect brought about by Professor Heisenberg's principle will tend to make more allowance for the spiritual element in life and to give to life its needed balance. Modern writers have not been slow to recognize that the mechanistic explanation of the world gave us no information about the real nature of a cause. Says Rufus Jones:

"It does not tell us how we can avoid the irrationality of a cause behind each cause in an infinite causal regress, which leaves us at last with no intelligible explanation and with no basis for significance or ultimate meaning."1

But, whereas men recognized the inadequacy of the causality principle, it was not until Heisenberg's pronouncement, supported as it was by leading physicists, that scientific evidence could be produced to reveal its insufficiency.

If the progress of the scientific method has forced religion to refine its concepts, its further progress has compelled science itself to alter some of its fundamental conceptions. Evolution has conquered again. For a long time it was thought that evolution was the great enemy of religion. It is evolution, however, that is now proving to be religion's greatest ally; it is the doctrine of evolution that militates most against the mechanical method. "The doctrine of evolution," says Dean Inge, "rehabilitates history and destroys the rigidity of the mechanical method."2

The way is now open for a reinterpretation of the Christian doctrine of God: God (1) as Creator, (2) as Ground of the universe, and (3) as Personality influencing and influenced by other personalities.

APPENDIX B

AN EXAMPLE OF A MYSTICAL LADDER

The author of the *Theologia Germanica*, like most of the mystics of his group and time, had a definite scheme or ladder-form whereby the individual assisted his soul on its upward path. His spiritual ladder had three main stages, and three sub-stages for each of these main ones. The first main stage in the author's scheme is "Purification." Its three degrees or sub-stages are: (1) sorrow for sin; (2) full confession of sin; and (3) hearty amendment of life. The next important step is "Enlightenment." Its three progressive grades are: (1) escape from sin; (2) practice of virtue and good works; and (3) endurance of trial and temptation. The third significant stage is that of "Union." Its three degrees of advance are: (1) purity and singleness of heart; (2) love; and (3) contemplation of God. It is made clear, although these are distinct stages, that at every stage the individual progressing towards the Light, Love and Vision of God "must live by God as the body liveth by the soul."
The attempt to establish a complete parallelism between mind-functions and brain-functions has broken down. It is nearer to fact to say that the mind uses the brain as a musician uses his instrument. That the higher forms of consciousness cannot be explained in terms of brain action and that there is no well-defined physical correlate to the highest and most central psychical processes is made clear by the psychological studies of Bergson and McDougall.

When we pass from bare sensory experiences to the consciousness of meaning, says McDougall, we step beyond the animal stage and come into possession of the differentiating characteristic of personal consciousness. The "meaning" of a work of art, a piece of music, or of a moral truth, as we contemplate it, suddenly flows into consciousness and transforms it. This consciousness of "meaning" is an integral unitary whole, and there does not seem to be a corresponding unitary whole in the brain which could stand as its physical correlate.

"The simple sensational experiences correspond in some way to parallel brain processes but these elemental experiences are merely cues which evoke higher forms of psychical 'meaning' that have no physical or mechanical correlate in the brain."3

1-Cf. The Inner Life, p.146-163.
2-Cf. Titchener's Beginner's Psychology, p.19.
3-The Inner Life, p.155.
Similarly, the higher forms of memory depend upon a single act of mental apprehension. McDougall says:

"... the whole process and effect, the apprehension and the retention and the remembering, are absolutely unique and distinct from all other apprehensions and rememberings."  

This higher kind of memory is "unique," it cannot be treated as lower and more mechanical forms of memory are treated; it cannot be treated as if it were linked with permanent brain paths. It involves "meaning." As soon as "meaning" comes in, complicated wholes of experience become our possession. This higher unitary consciousness of a remembered whole seems to have no assignable physical correlate in the brain-processes.

In the higher aesthetic sentiments and volitional processes the mechanical and physical is again transcended. The aesthetic joy of poetic creations is possible only because there is a spiritual power which combines many elements of experience into an object which surpasses any object given to sense. In this experience one attains a unified whole of consciousness that has no correlate among brain processes. On the other hand, the higher forms of pleasure effectively influence the physical system, suggesting that new and heightening energy is poured back from consciousness into the cerebral processes and drained down through the system.

William James gives an account how pleasure and pain, as

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1-Body and Mind, p.335.
Spiritual energies, affect physical activities, indicating that the physical process is partly determined from within.

He says:

"Tremendous as the part is which pleasure and pain play in our psychic life, we must confess that absolutely nothing is known of their cerebral conditions. It is hard to imagine them as having special centres; it is harder still to invent peculiar forms of process in each and every centre, to which these feelings may be due. And let one try as one will to represent the cerebral activity in exclusively mechanical terms, I, for one, find it quite impossible to enumerate what seem to be the facts and yet to make no mention of the psychic side which they possess. However it be with other drainage currents and discharges, the drainage currents and discharges of the brain are not purely physical facts. They are psycho-physical facts, and the spiritual quality of them seems a codeterminant of their mechanical effectiveness. If the mechanical activities in a cell, as they increase, give pleasure, they seem to increase all the more rapidly for that fact; if they give displeasure, the displeasure seems to damp the activities. The psychic side of the phenomenon thus seems somewhat like the applause or hissing at a spectacle, to be an encouraging or adverse comment on what the machinery brings forth."

Again, in the case of a persistent will, psychical reality overtops the mechanism through which it works. The entire nervous mechanism is organized and reinforced by a single moral ideal or purpose. The whole phenomenon of attention cannot be worked out in brain terms; some psychical core within us lifts us above the plain of mechanism and makes us autonomous creative beings.

"Effort may be an original force and not a mere effect, and it may be indeterminate in amount." 1

It would seem that there are modes of consciousness which have no traceable counterpart in the physical sphere and which presuppose that at the heart of personal life there must be some kind of spiritual reality, the existence of which is explainable only in reference to a wider self-existing, self-explanatory, environing consciousness which is sufficiently personal to be the source of our developing personality.

APPENDIX D

THE ULTIMACY OF THE INNER LIGHT

The doctrine of the ultimacy of the Inner Light has not, heretofore, been worked out with sufficient clearness and thoroughness as to gain the general appreciation and acceptance of Christian people. Yet, it is not a new teaching. It has been stated with clearness even in pre-Christian times. The philosophical germ of it appears in Protagoras' doctrine that "Man is the measure of all things." The adverse handling of this theory by Plato and Aristotle shows the natural reluctance of man to reconcile himself to his own limitations.

"The ancient mind, it is often said, was defective in its failure adequately to recognize the principle of individuality; and this, no doubt is true."3

There is much biblical evidence suggestive of the importance of an Inner Light theory. Old Testament thought seems to be moving in its direction when Jeremiah conceives the notion of Yahweh's putting His law in men's inward parts and writing it on their heart;4 and when the writer of Proverbs discovers that "The spirit of man is the lamp of Yahweh."5 In the teaching of Jesus what is truest and best in man is considered a clue to the nature and will of God.6 Paul's

1-See C.J. Cadoux, Catholicism and Christianity, p.117-144. 2-Plato, Theaetet, p.152 ff; Kratylos, p.386; cf. Grote, History of Greece, viii, p.171 f; Plato, ii. 325 ff, 507 ff; Martineau, Essays, ii. 295 f. 3-Rawlinson and Parsons in Foundations, p.177. 4-Jeremiah xxxi. 33; cf. Isa.11.7. 5-Proverbs xx.27, Toy's paraphrase is: "Conscience is God's searchlight." 6-Mt.vii.11; Lk.xi.13; Lk.xv.
doctrine of the indwelling Spirit of God is for him the basis of belief in God's Fatherhood and of the conviction of man's sonship. In the Johannine writings, the Holy Spirit is recognized as possessing supreme authority.

The doctrine of the Inner light was maintained throughout the Middle Ages as a part of orthodoxy, but its significance was imperfectly seen. Even the leaders of the Reformation very often failed to grasp it. Nevertheless, the Reformation paved the way for a fuller appreciation of the sovereignty of the individual conscience and the freedom of personal judgment.

"The Reformation . . . . established the principle of private judgment in matters of religion. Even converts to Roman Catholicism from Protestantism exercise that Protestant right, by resolving to change from one religious profession to another. Roman Catholic propaganda is, then, simply one of the natural effects of the freedom which resulted from the Reformation."

Calvin with his doctrine of the "testimonium Spiritus Sancti internum" went further than the others; he did not mean by this, however, that individuals were free to accept or reject

1-Gal.iv.6 f; Rom.viii.14-18,26 f.
2-Jno.xvi.13; cf.1Jn.ii.20 f, v.10; Grubb, Authority, p.98.
3-Cf. Lecky, Rationalism, 1. 364 f; Fairbairn, Catholicism p.136 f, 193, 234 f; Horton, England's Danger, p.94; von Dobschutz in H. E.R.E. ii (1909) 591a; Boudinhon in Encyc. Brit. xiv.511s; Salmon, Infallibility p.48 f; Hase, Handbook, i. p. x 70; Cf. also Carlyle, Hero as Priest.
4-Edward Longman in Hibbert Journal, July 1924, p.797.
Scripture or even to interpret it as they chose.¹ The Arminians used the principle of the Inner Light to combat the excessive bibliolatry of their time.² William Chillingworth may have declared in 1637 that "the Bible only is the religion of Protestants," yet he asserted the freedom of the individual conscience in its interpretation.³ In 1647 the Westminster Divines reaffirmed Calvin's doctrine of "the inward work of the Holy Spirit" as the ground of our confidence in Scripture. They did this, however, without giving up belief in the latter's "infallible truth" and "entire perfection."⁴ We have seen in our discussion of the doctrine of the Inner Light that the Quakers went a step further and subordinated the authority of Scripture to that of the Inner Light of the Spirit.⁵ Similar views in regard to the ultimate basis of faith were adopted by

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² Lecky, Rationalism, ii. 60 f; Green, Short History, p.600; Encyc. Brit. vi. 162b.
³ Westminster Confession, i.4-10; cf. Curtis in H.E.R.E. vii (1914) 263a. Channing (Works, i. 29 n.) observes that Milton's Treatise on Christian Doctrine contains several passages to the same effect.
⁴ Cf. Fox, Journal, ch.ii (ed.Penney,24) (1649); R.Barclay, Apology (1676) p.114 n. 5. Cf. the appreciation and criticism of Dean Inge (Authority, 16-19, 27-29) and Dr. W.F. Paterson (Rule of Faith, 78-91, 167).
Ralph Cudworth, the Cambridge Platonist (1617-1688), and John Locke (1632-1704). On the Continent, Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), of "Dictionary" fame, advocated toleration on the ground that moral intuition takes precedence of all external revelation. It was probably because, in the eighteenth century, the doctrine of the Inner Light fell into the hands of the Deists that it came into disrepute. Matthew Tindal says:

"Do not these instances. . . . plainly show . . . . that we sin against that Reason, which was given us to distinguish between Good and Evil; Religion and Superstition; if we do not by it examine all Doctrines whatsoever, and by whomsoever delivered?"

The principle of the Inner Light which the mystics reached by a flash of intuitive insight and for which the Quakers found support in their experience and in their group-testimony, received confirmation from leaders of thought and creators of literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) laid a solid foundation for this conception of man. Rather than conceiving of man as possessing a passive mind into which, as an empty receptacle, the external world conveys ideas of its nature and of its

1-Mark Pattison in Essays and Reviews, p.290 f.; A.C. Fraser in Locke, 257. (Locke's arguments tended "to transfer the foundation of Christianity from unreasoned or dogmatic assumption. . . . to the response which it finds in the conscience and spiritual constitution of man"); G.K. Hibbert, Inner Light, 23.

2-Lecky, Nationalism, ii. 60-63.

3-Matthew Tindal, Christianity as old as the Creation 1730, p.245.
activities, as did Locke. Kant thought of man as a self-conscious being, a creative center which cooperates in the making of the world which he beholds. Kant showed us that space and time are forms of man's own consciousness and not "things" which he finds already made. Cause, too, and the other relationships which link the parts of the world into one ordered whole, making law and purpose appear everywhere, are facts of the mind, and not facts somewhere outside of the mind. And these minds of ours which are loaded with spiritual implications reveal a still deeper world of moral sublimity. A categorical imperative, Kant believed, is imbedded in the structure of every self-conscious mind, impelling the individual to act in such a manner so as to treat every person as an end rather than as a means to an end. This creative person, Kant saw, presupposes a foundational spiritual universe underlying and unifying all persons into one spiritual kingdom to which and in which each individual is significantly related. The philosophical idealism developed by Kant was bound to produce a movement towards subjectivism in theology: and this is primarily represented by the names of Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Ritschl (1822-1889). The finality of the

1-The Metaphysic of Morality, p.242-311.
2-Critique of Pure Reason, p.34-73.(second edition)
3-Ibid. p.200-294.
4-Cf. Selbie in H.E.H.E. xi (1920) 908 f.
* Cf. also Prof. Kemp Smith's Commentary; and Prof. John Watson's Selections from Kant, p.22-36, 225-250.
inward test appears in the literature of Coleridge (1772-1834),\(^1\) Byron (1788-1824),\(^2\) Carlyle (1795-1881),\(^3\) William George Ward (1812-1882),\(^4\) Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892),\(^5\) and Mrs. Craik (1826-1887).\(^6\) Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the place of the doctrine of the Inner Light in theological and philosophical controversy has become more central. A writer in *Essays and Reviews* (1859) spoke of the "verifying faculty" or "the witness in ourselves" as the justification for biblical criticism; and another urged that

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1-Cf. *Aids to Reflection* and *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*.
2-The *Island*, I.vi:
   "Whatever creed be taught, or land be trod, Man's conscience is the oracle of God."
3-*Hero as Priest*. "The sorriest sophistical Bellarmine, preaching sightless faith and passive obedience, must first, by some kind of conviction, have abdicated his right to be convinced. His 'private judgment' indicated that, as the advisablest step he could take."
4-Cf. B. Ward, *G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p.231: "the objections to the subjective nature of his theory have their real origin, in part, in a deficient appreciation on the part of his critics of the subjective character of nearly all deep beliefs, so far as their ultimate basis is concerned. Their true grounds are in great part subjective. Either must there be latent and subjective grounds for religious belief, or there are no sufficient grounds."
5-Cf. *Review of Reviews*, July 1896, 50b., where Tennyson is quoted: "God is unknowable as He is in Himself, but He touches us at one point. That point is the conscience. If the conscience could be further developed, we might in some sense see God. . . ."
6-She makes Olive say: "I follow no ritual, and trust no creed, except so far as it is conformable to the instinct of faith—the inward revelation of Himself which He has implanted in my soul—. . . ." *Olive*, p.274.
the truth of Christianity found its supreme guarantee in its "moral and internal proof" and not in its miracles. Dr. R. Dale (1874) vindicated the right of private judgment in relation to religion and the Scriptures. Rev. W.L. M'Farlan, of Lenzie, a minister of the Church of Scotland, advocated the ultimacy of private judgment in a sermon which he contributed to a volume of sermons published in 1860. Dr. Fairbairn in 1885 stated that true authority "corroborates and develops the native godliness of the mind." Robertson Smith (1846-1894) is reported to have 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 man in Christ Jesus. . . . 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.'"

Martineau in several essays and in a large volume published in 1890 worked out the thesis that the foundations of religious knowledge are laid by God in the reason, the conscience, and the heart of man. Since that time the ultimacy of the Inner

1-Rowland Williams and Baden Powell in Essays and Reviews, pp.83, 122-124.
2-Dale, Ultimate Principle, 9-58.
3-Scotch Sermons, 1850, p.195-218.
4-Fairbairn, Catholicism, p.230.
5-In Denney, Studies in Theology, p.204 f.
Light has been alluded to and discussed in the works of Protestant theologians.  

1. G. Stanton, Authority (1891) p. 65, 88, 188-194; A. B. Bruce, Apologetics (1892) p. 310 ("... the divine in us bearing witness to the divine in the books of Scripture"), p. 320 (on Calvin's theory); A. S. Bruce, Social Aspects of Christian Morality (1905) p. 259 f; Oman, Vision (1906) p. 57, 104; Leckie, Authority (1909) p. 76-78, 82, 220 f; von Dobschütz in E.R.E. 2 (1909) p. 591 a; Garvie in Encyc. Brit. xiv. p. 647 b (Calvin's doctrine "wide enough to leave room for our growing modern knowledge of the Bible"), p. 648 a; Inge, Authority (1912) passim; Petterson, Rule of Faith, p. 7 f (Christianity shines by its own light); Forsyth, Authority (1915) p. 55, 82-84 (recognizes that the seat of authority is subjective to us, but stresses the obvious and admitted fact that this authority is derived, not from ourselves, but from God); A. A. Curtis in E.R.E. vii (1914) p. 255 a (belief in infallibility implies one's own), p. 276 a, 277 a; H. C. Ackerman in Construct. Quart. Sept. 1916, p. 553 ("... . Subjective truth, therefore, is the substance of faith; the individual mind's own decision is the only criterion, and faith is not real unless it is personally individualistic ..."); Theodore Kruger, Das Verhältnis des historischen und des mystischen Elements in der christlichen Religion (1918; reviewer Theol. Litg. 1922. 24. 533 says: "Kern der Religion ist Freilich das 'mystische' Erlebnis, etc."; L. Griffith-Jones in Leake's Commentary (1919) 9 a; Coulton, Christ, St. Francis, etc. 1919, p. 124; George Milligan in Expos. Dec. 1921, p. 422 f; A. T. Cadoux, Essays (1922) p. 81-84, 89. ("Nothing is inspired for us unless we are in some true sense inspired, and all authorities must defer to that which is within ... "); L.P. Jacks in Hibb. Journ. Jan. 1923, p. 395 (power to believe divinity of Christ presupposes knowledge of God); Orchard, Foundations iii. pp. 81, 91, 95; Selbie, Positive Protestantism, p. 20 ("The ultimate authority, therefore, is the Holy Spirit speaking in and through the divine word") p. 23-25; There are a number of very important articles by C. J. Cadoux: "The Subjective Element in Churchmanship" in Construct. Quart. Sept. 1919, p. 517-530; "The Crux of the Problem of Christian Re-union" in Venturer, Aug. 1920, p. 407-412, "The Proposed Creedal basis for Christian Re-union" in Journ. of Relig. Nov. 1921, p. 592-607; "Anglicanism and Re-union" in Construct. Quart. Mar. 1922, p. 1-19; "The Christian Concern with History" in Journ. of Relig. May 1923, p. 225-237; "The Spiritual Meaning of Biblical Criticism" in Congreg. Quart. April, 1924, p. 184-195; "A Good Word for Individualism" in The Gryphon.
The failure of the principle of the Inner Light to receive general recognition is due in part to the complexities of the question itself and in part to the conscious or unconscious unwillingness to accept arguments which will imperil one's denominational position.

June 1925, p.211-215; and "God, History, and Ourselves" in Congreg. Quart. April 1926, p.152-166. See also E. Grubb, Authority (1924: passim, esp. p.36-39, 98); G.K. Hibbert, Inner Light (1924); and R.M. Jones, Conscience (1920).
Albert Schweitzer, following Johannes Weiss, insists that when all modern ideas have been eliminated from the Kingdom of God, we arrive at a conception that is entirely future; as is implied in the petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy Kingdom come." The Kingdom is present, he would say, only as a cloud may be said to be present which throws its shadow upon the earth; the paralysis of the Kingdom of Satan announces the nearness of the Kingdom of God. Jesus does not "establish it," He merely proclaims its coming and waits for God to bring it about by supernatural means. The missionary journey of the disciples was not, Schweitzer believes, for the purpose of extending the Kingdom of God, but merely to proclaim its nearness. In fact the work of Jesus was not dissimilar from that of John the Baptist:

"The ministry of Jesus is therefore not in principle different from that of John the Baptist: there can be no question of a founding and development of the Kingdom within the hearts of men."3

Jesus is distinguished from the Baptist only by His consciousness of being the Messiah. The Messiahship which He claims is not

1-Cf. C.H. Emmet, The Eschatological Question in the Gospels; also William Manson's Christ's View of the Kingdom of God.
2-Matt.xii.25-28. Because Jesus casts out the demons, the Pharisees are bidden to recognize in this act the failing power of Satan and his Kingdom; which fact announces the nearness of the Kingdom of God.
3-Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, p.239.
a present office; it belongs to the future. Schweitzer con-
cludes:

"The Jesus of Nazareth who came forward publicly as the Messiah, who preached the ethic of the Kingdom of God, who founded the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth, and died to give His work its final consecration, never had any existence. He is a figure designed by rationalism, endowed with life by liberalism, and clothed by modern theology in an historical garb."1

Deissmann, on the other hand, observes that Jesus' thought of the Kingdom of God moves between a mood that is related to the Jewish understanding of the Kingdom, and one which goes far beyond this Jewish conception. The Kingdom is not "of" this world; yet, it comes upon this earth. There shall be a renewed earth upon which God shall reign over redeemed, sanctified, and good men; the indispensable precondition for participation in this Kingdom is change of mind, repentance.2

"With this ethical strengthening of the idea of the Kingdom, Jesus is raised high above the popular expectation."3

A great deal of misunderstanding has been caused by the passage in John 18.36: "My kingdom is not of this world." Some have understood it to mean that the Kingdom of God is purely other-worldly, that it has nothing to do with the

1-The Quest of the Historical Jesus, p.396. See also W. Wrede, Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien, Gottingen, 1901, and Albert Schweitzer, Das Messianitats und Leidensgeheimnis, Tubingen and Leipzig, 1901.
2-Idolf Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus and The Faith of Paul, p.112.
things of this world. All that the Greek text means, however, is that the origin of the Kingdom of God is not from this world, which is under the rule of Satan, but from the other world, God's world; and it implies that the Kingdom of God is to come from the world of God, into the world of Satan. Jesus' position, according to Deissmann, can be made clear through the following simile:

"He grafted ethical demands into the wild stock of the popular hope of the Kingdom. So His Kingdom of God does not mean a fantastic, sensual Mohammedan heaven on earth, but a humanity led by God Himself, because it has been transformed by God Himself."

The Kingdom is not merely future. There were moments when Jesus' prophetic insight led Him to see that the presence of the Kingdom of God among men would be characterized by a certain high quality of life similar to His own. He says to the Pharisees: "The Kingdom of God is now in your midst." Jesus is conscious of the fact that He is the way to total spiritual health, "the secret of salvation;" and that wherever one finds the type of life which He represents, one will find the presence of the Kingdom of God.

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1- ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐως τὸν ἐκκλησία τότε τοῦ Κόσμου Τούτου
2-The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul, p. 114 f.
3-Lk. 17:21, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Σωτήρ ἐντὸς ἰδίων ἑστίν.
APPENDIX F

MYSTICISM AND FAITH

It is not impossible, with Ritschl, to assume that mysticism is characteristicly a form of Catholic Piety. This position, of course, implies that mysticism is not native to Protestant Christianity. The statement of this Ritschlian view is found vigorously expressed by Wilhelm Herrmann, who understands mysticism to be the Neoplatonic, negative type of piety which, he feels, tends towards the rejection of the historical element of religion and towards an emphasis on subjectivity which results in an empty conception of God. An experience, says Herrmann, which depends upon the negation of the world for its conception of Deity belongs "outside of Christianity." In the person of Jesus, he says, one finds a fact that is richer in content than one's feelings and which establishes for one a certainty of God, justifiably supported by reason and conscience. It is the failure of mysticism to consider Christ as central in religious experience which at once betrays its greatest weakness and indicates its severest criticism. Merely to use Christ as a way to God, which way is dispensed with when

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communion is obtained, is, says Herrmann, definitely unchristian. The Christian's experience of God, he says, never gets "beyond" Christ; all the knowledge of God the Christian obtains is found "in" Christ.

Everything which Ritschlianism says of mysticism is true, provided it is granted that mysticism can be confined to its Neoplatonic form—provided we agree to identify it with negation. However, there seems to be sufficient evidence in the literature of the German mystics, in the experiences of the Quakers and in the works of Rufus Jones to assure us that mysticism has its affirmative as well as its negative expression. To identify mysticism with Neoplatonism is truly to void its usefulness to Protestant Christianity. But it would seem that the immediate consciousness of God, which is the thing most essential to mysticism, is quite independent of systems of philosophy. An experience may reflect one's philosophy, but it is in itself something quite different from the philosophy expressed. If it is said that the affirmative mystical experience is something different from systems of philosophy and from theories of religion, it is not to be implied that we mean thereby to indicate that it is separated from reason, divorced from morality or "beyond" the historical Christ. On the contrary, the experience involved in affirmative mysticism is a tested one: it is an experience which is forced to submit itself to the test of facts, the test of life, and to
the test of experience in general. The affirmative mystic does not ignore the historical element of his religion; he recognizes that Jesus Christ is the datum of Christianity and that beyond Him there can be no valid Christian experience.

If we agree with Von Hugel that the three fundamental elements of Christianity are ones of history, intellect and experience, there is then eliminated the possibility of considering any experience Christian which does not include within it an expression of all three of these elements. Therefore: an activity which is merely intellectual and experimental cannot be Christian; an activity which includes only the historical and the experimental cannot be Christian; and an activity which is but historical and intellectual cannot be Christian. We can claim an activity to be Christian only when it shows signs of being at once Christ-centered, rational and experienced. To indicate the weakness and unchristian character of negative mysticism is to do service to our faith; but to void mysticism in its affirmative expression is to void experience, and to void experience is to void Christianity itself. Even Herrmann tells us that he felt "inwardly grasped of God" and that he was aware that God was touching him. If it were not for the fact that he felt it necessary to stress, one-sidedly, the ethical element of Christianity, we might have had in Herrmann himself a conscious example of affirmative mysticism: he chose to emphasize Goodness at the expense of
Beauty and Truth. The ethical element in religion will of course always need emphasis. When it is absent, religion degenerates into sentiment and dogma; but when that emphasis is one-sided, there is the other danger of religion's degenerating into a narrow and cold moralism.

It would appear that it was not so much mysticism that Ritschl and Herrmann opposed as it was the subjectivity of the mystical experience. One's feelings, they claimed, were as shifting as the sands of the sea; something more stable than feeling, they insisted, must be considered as the basis of religion. The foundation sought for was believed by them to be found in the categorical imperative and in the historical datum of Jesus Christ. In these two facts they felt that they had something much more secure than mystical feelings. This Ritschlian emphasis had its advantage and its danger. It is evident that the insistence upon Moral Law and upon Christ as the pathway to God, is definitely and genuinely Christian. The contention, however, that Christ is the only way to God is not without its hazard; it may lead to condemning all other religious life as worthless, which involves the denial of a native human capacity for God—the position to which it would seem the Barthians have now come. If there is not some capacity within man, and native to him, which enables him to appreciate God, how then is it possible for him to appreciate the life and worth of Christ? An experience in which one feels
"inwardly grasped of God" would seem to indicate an inward capacity for such an experience. To consider every such experience as pure subjectivity, and religiously worthless, is to ignore a vital part of religion and to deprive man of a vital part of his religious experience. Faith consists of something more than duty, it constitutes something more than the acknowledgment of an historical datum—it involves an experience of the duty recognized and of the datum acknowledged. That conception of faith cannot be adequate which does not provide for the expression of all three elements of positive religion: a valid conception of faith must be historical, rational and experimental. As experience without history and reason is blind, so history and reason without experience are empty. Mysticism cannot be limited to feeling any more than it can be limited to Catholicism.

Recently, the Barthians have taken up the Ritschlian warfare against subjectivity; and the logic of the Ritschlian position has been carried out in good faith. They have seen that the complete denial of subjectivity involves the denial of human experience, and they have not hesitated to take that step. There is no relationship, they claim, between time and eternity. All human experience, being necessarily in time, is limited to time and in no way can contain within itself any intimation of eternity. It is impossible, therefore, for man to find the Divine; reason, will and feeling, being involved
in human experience, are all helpless to bring him to God. The assumption that man through his own experience can reach God, is, according to Barth and Brunner, decidedly unchristian. Christianity deals with "revelation" and "faith" which are, they insist, antithetical to mystical experience. They are convinced that there is no approach to God from the manward side; but revelation and faith, unlike mystical experience, come from God. There is nothing in them that can be considered as belonging to man, nothing that could possibly be involved in human experience.¹

The value of Barthian transcendence is to be found in its effective reaction to modern humanism. The harm done by this extreme one-sided emphasis, however, more than offsets its reactionary value. To place an unbridgeable gulf between faith and religious experience must in time be seen to be an arbitrary and unfortunate theological assumption. Revelation and faith unless appreciated through experience must forever remain bare and empty abstractions. That the Barthian conception of personality is faulty becomes evident when it is considered that the consciousness which entertains and discusses such things as revelation and faith expresses by that function certain judgments regarding them—these judgments are human ones and are, therefore, involved in human experience. If revelation and faith were not in some way tied

¹-B. Brunner, Die Mystik und das Wort, p.388.
up with human experience we should never know anything about them—not even enough to give them names. Personality must be considered as composing both human and divine elements if we are to believe in the possibility of revelation or in the consciousness of faith. There must be in man a common meeting ground where the human and the divine can get together; either that, or we must deny the possibility of knowing or of receiving divine truth.

One must appreciate the good service these schools have rendered by their persistent attack upon extreme subjectivity. The subjective experience which results in general negation is to be avoided and condemned. No subjective experience, for instance, can be valid which denies or ignores the historical Christ and His conception of God. But this appreciation must not prevent us from rescuing a type of experience which is affirmative, spiritual and genuinely Christian. It is the type we find in Paul and John, an affirmative mystical experience which depends for its validity upon the experient's faith in Jesus Christ and in the God whom He revealed. This type of mystical experience is definitely related to faith. Experience and faith are interdependent and inseparable: faith produces experience and experience vitalizes faith.
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