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# Then and the Eternal Now: Thomas Kelly In and Beyond Historical Context

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Harvard's Leigh Eric Schmidt recently put Quaker mystic Thomas Raymond Kelly in his critical crosshairs and pocked the Quaker's posthumous halo full of holes.<sup>1</sup> Kelly's image needed some picking apart: "When the members of [Westwood Community Methodist Church in Los Angeles] built a new sanctuary," Kelly's sister Mary Farquhar relates, "they included thirty stained glass windows depicting 'heroes of the Faith.' One of these windows portrays Thomas R. Kelly 'as one of our century's most adequate representations of dynamic and radiant Christian living." Kelly's Testament of Devotion, published in 1941 after the Quaker's fatal heart attack at the age of forty-seven, quickly entered the unofficial

canon of the classics of Christian devotion. Already in 1964 Kelly appeared alongside Rufus Jones – and John Donne and Martin Luther – in a popular collection of Protestant devotional literature introduced by W. H. Auden.<sup>3</sup> And in 1978 eminent church historian E. Glenn Hinson selected portions of Kelly's text for *The Doubleday Devotional Classics*.<sup>4</sup>

Since Hinson, in 1978, no major scholar had paid attention to Kelly, though A Testament of Devotion remained in print with Harper. No major scholar had ever presumed to historicize Kelly's devotional work. With Restless Souls in 2005 Schmidt filled in these scholarly lacunae. His assessment of Kelly will set the stage for a closer analysis of Kelly's devotional writing

#### itself. He allows that

there were no doubt ageless qualities to Kelly's Testament of Devotion, evocative ways in which the spiritual life it presented was resonant with the seventeenth-century Carmelite Brother Lawrence... Certainly Douglas Steere, Kelly's initial biographer, and Rufus Jones, his proud teacher, thought it was most important to see Kelly's quest in the light of eternity rather than, say, the immediate crises that engulfed the United States during the Great Depression and World War II. Devotional books and their admirers are always prone to minimizing cultural context, to the downplaying of time and place in order to lay claim to the eternal. Kelly was as given to that gesture as anyone.... Those calling his book a "classic" were, in effect, diverting attention from the present in order to establish capital-P Presence, a theological ploy (or affirmation) designed to lift devotional books - and spirituality generally – above the limits of culture and history.... Kelly's little book, though, is better read with his immediate world left in rather than left out. He was all too clearly a frail and flailing man of his time, a spiritual seeker speaking to other similarly situated seekers about what they lacked and hoped to find.<sup>5</sup>

In assessing Kelly's life from his birth in Ohio in 1893 to his mystical transformation in 1937 while a professor at Pennsylvania's Haverford College, Schmidt concludes that "Kelly was drawn to... intellectual brusqueness and unyielding meritocracy, even as it made him intensely anxious and

self-doubting." Attending Harvard as a postdoctoral student (having earned a Ph.D. in Philosophy from Hartford Theological Seminary), Kelly "became determined (almost maniacally so) to complete another Ph.D."6 The Harvard faculty hesitated to give Kelly the chance to earn yet another doctorate in philosophy, so Kelly returned to his teaching post at Earlham College in Indiana, "out of money and a little shamefaced." In 1934 Kelly accepted a job offer from the University of Hawaii, to start in fall 1935; "in coldly calculating terms he called it an opportunity 'to be used now, to be exhausted and then left, if possible." He worked feverishly to finish his Harvard dissertation before leaving Indiana. (Schmidt erroneously locates Kelly's assiduous dissertation work and attendant nervous breakdown in Hawaii, not Indiana.) Yet completion did not satisfy him; he wanted it published. So he borrowed against his life insurance to pay Princeton University Press the permission costs. "His wife worried explicitly about his self-absorption; if he was ever going to be happy, she thought, he needed to control his 'selfishly acquisitive' attitude toward academia and become more self-giving."7

While in Hawaii, Kelly accepted a post in Rufus Jones's philosophy department at Haverford - "one of the slickest small men's colleges in the East,' he crowed, with 'blisteringly high' standards." Craving the academic recognition a Harvard doctorate would bring him, "Kelly showed again his penchant for vainglorious academic decisions" by traveling to Harvard in the fall of 1937 to give an oral defense of his already-published dissertation. "He completely froze"8 before his examiners. "In what, by all accounts, was a bewildering display of incoherence and blankness, Kelly failed the oral and was denied any chance of sitting for the degree again." Kelly fell into despair. His wife feared for his life, and friend and Haverford colleague Douglas Steere kept vigil with Kelly. But Steere was "Phi Beta Kappa, a Harvard Ph.D., and a Rhodes Scholar, so it is hard to know how Kelly could have taken too much heart in his presence at this moment of crisis." Schmidt tepidly glosses Kelly's transformation in the months of November and December 1937: "Only after several weeks did Kelly reemerge from the dense fog of shame and despair."

Even after Kelly "reemerged," Schmidt finds him "employing the deceptive indirection of the first-person plural" as he rails against worldly attachments, "still hammering on the nails of his own selfrenunciation."10 His identification with Abraham Joshua Heschel's spirituality, upon meeting the young rabbi in Germany in 1938, is "naïve." Schmidt grants Kelly "a moment of exquisit illumination"12 - but only before Kelly's great change, not after. However, Schmidt does analyze keenly and sympathetically Testament of Devotion. "Kelly had a definite picture of his intended audience - not monks or solitaries, but hurried, well-educated professionals living in the 'here and now, in industrial America."13 Through habitual, inward, and often wordless prayer, Kelly offered a spiritual program that "shifted away from the Transcendentalist emphasis on ephemeral moments of spiritual awareness...to sustained 'inward practices of the mind."14 Kelly stressed "obedience and self-abnegation," "not renouncing his liberal ideals as much as critically engaging their own internal tensions."

Liberal religion cherished the quest for autonomy and feelings of dependence upon God; it simultaneously valued mystical experience and social reform, a spirituality of individual epiphanies and a progressive gospel of institutional transformation, solitude and society. Playing upon such tensions, working back and forth between them, worrying that one or the other had the upper hand, was a major part of what it meant to be a religious progressive in the first half of the twentieth century. Come hell or high water, the double affirmation of the Inner Light within each individual and the obligations of the beloved community had to be maintained.<sup>15</sup>

Ultimately Kelly insisted "on a larger coherence" between mysticism and the social gospel, that the former led inexorably to the latter.<sup>16</sup>

Schmidt judges Kelly's personal life too harshly. Ironically, Schmidt's contextualization of Kelly omits crucial contextual elements. Schmidt also omits Kelly's own critical self-assessments. In trying succinctly to complicate Kelly's reputation, Schmidt simplifies too much. Perhaps Kelly's developmental break from and subsequent abasement of academic ambition makes the impeccably pedigreed Schmidt squirm. Or perhaps Schmidt thought he needed to sandblast the angelic patina off Kelly's tarnished life. Either way, Schmidt misses the mark. And in so doing, he might persuade certain of his readers to read Kelly cynically or not to read Kelly at all.

### Pertinent Biographical Sketch

Kelly lost his father in 1897 when he was only four years old. Schmidt makes nothing of this biographical detail.<sup>17</sup> Hinson, on the other hand, does: "Thomas Kelly learned early the importance of responsibility and

perhaps, like many others in similar circumstances, developed the drive which compelled him always to perform at the very highest level." Hinson here gives a plausible psychological explanation for Kelly's "almost manical" ambition, to use Schmidt's words, an explanation that should inform one's reception of Schmidt's portrayal of Kelly as irrationally and selfishly driven. Recalling the years after his father's death, Kelly wrote to his future wife, Lael Macy, in 1917,

I don't know whether you realize that I have had *very little* home life, as you have had. You know how we have always been in school, or away from home, and Mother was not at home in the daytime either [she worked to support the family]. We never did have that wonderful atmosphere you have been brought up in, because we just couldn't. You can't imagine what a magic word HOME is.<sup>19</sup>

Certainly Kelly's lack of stable home life growing up, as much as his academic acquisitiveness, later combined with the economic privations of the Depression to goad him on toward an ever-receding horizon of security.

Kelly acknowledged the burdens his ambition laid on his wife. After graduating from Wilmington College in Ohio in 1913, studying for a year at Haverford under Rufus Jones, and teaching at a preparatory school in Newmarket, Ontario, for two years, Kelly served the YMCA in England near the end of the Great War. From there he wrote Lael of "the desire to get into a college. But that will be many years yet, and will require a great deal of money and more sacrifice on your part than I want you to make for me."<sup>20</sup> Though conscious of the cost of his dream, Kelly doggedly pursued

it. After a B.D. from Hartford in 1918, he taught at his alma mater in Ohio for two years. He then returned to Hartford for his Ph.D., after which he and Lael served the American Friends Service Committee in Germany for fifteen months. After Germany, Kelly taught at Earlham for five years, during which his daughter Lois was born, then he took two years' leave of absence to study under Alfred North Whithead and Clarence I. Lewis at Harvard. He returned to Earlham for three years, taught a year in Hawaii, and then assumed a post at Haverford, where his son would be born and where he would teach until he fell dead on his kitchen floor on 17 January 1941.

This constant movement could hardly have provided him or his family stability. But as Kelly's son and biographer, Richard, remembers, Kelly did not drag his wife with him; she followed him willingly. "Though she never fully shared his heights of intellectual ambition or religious vision, she faithfully supported and encouraged him throughout the years of struggle and sacrifice, and they shared a rich life of love and devotion."21 When they set sail from Hawaii for the mainland in 1936, "She would have liked nothing better than to settle down in one spot to build a home for her family. But she loved here husband too much to hold him back in his restless search for satisfaction."22 After Kelly's renewal he traveled in the ministry to Germany over the summer of 1938. From there he wrote his wife "of being laid hold on by a...gentle, loving, but awful Power": "it takes away the old self-seeking, self-centered self, from which selfishness I have laid heavy burdens on you, dear one."23 Kelly owned his selfishness. He did not excuse or justify it. Schmidt gives no hint of Kelly's selfawareness and -judgment.

Schmidt also gives no hint of Kelly's

dedication to his family. His daughter Lois remembers,

Unlike many whose concern for the world as a whole crowds out home life, Thomas Kelly cared deeply and primarily for his home. Lael Kelly was his devoted friend, confidante, and helper, her personality complementing his in many ways. When he felt called to move to a new place, she would sell their home, pack their belongings (most of which were books), and go with him to new surroundings and new friends. They shared illness, debt, and absence from each other, but their love for each other was beautiful and ever growing. He endeavored to give to us all possible happiness, variety of experience and real friendship. If, in those last years, any shred of worldliness remained in him, it was in his ambition for us, his longing for us to have the "very best."24

Kelly was magnanimous as well as selfish, and his selfishness might have stemmed from an almost congenital insecurity caused by his father's tragic death. So no reader should discount Kelly's writings because of the man's seeming vanity. His life until 1937 was a prelude anyone born into his circumstances might have played. But not just anyone would have learned from such a life "to live... in another key than he had previously lived," 25 as Kelly did. It is time now to analyze the major devotional score Thomas Kelly wrote in this new key.

### Theology

Kelly was born to evangelistic Quaker parents who inculcated in young Thomas a Christocentric Christianity that stressed instantaneous conversion to Iesus and the personal holiness of sanctification. These mid-western Quakers worshiped in lowchurch Protestant style, not in the silencebased mode of group mysticism prevalent along the Eastern seaboard. Young Tom drank deeply from his holiness roots. When playing with his friends, he "usually was the 'preacher,' and always included the little insects and bugs running up and down the tree trunk." When bad weather shut the family in on a Sunday, Tom would convene Meeting at home. He admired and mimicked the evangelists and rituals of other Protestant groups. After watching a baptism, "a similar service at home the following week was fatal to a few of the poultry flock when the watering trough in the barnyard served as a baptismal font." 26 In A Testament of Devotion Kelly worries that "I'm talking like an old-time evangelist. But I can't help that, nor dare I restrain myself and get prim and conventional. We have too long been prim and restrained. The fires of the love of God, of our love toward God, and of His love toward us, are very hot."27

For all of Kelly's religious liberalism, his devotional theology remains essentially Calvinistic, in that God and God alone both initiates and sustains the religious life. Even the "secret habits of unceasing orientation of the deeps of our being about the Inward Light"28 to which Kelly urges his fellows even these merely respond to the Presence already within. "For though we begin the practice of secret prayer with a strong sense that we are the initiators and that by our wills we are establishing our habits, maturing experience brings awareness of being met and tutored, purged and disciplined, simplified and made pliant in His holy will by a power waiting within us."29 "We may suppose these depths of prayer are our achievement, the precipitate of our own habits at the surface level

settled into subconscious regions. But this humanistic account...misses the fact that this inner level has a life of its own, invigorated not by us but by a divine Source."<sup>30</sup> "And all our apparent initiative is already a response, a testimonial to His secret presence and working within us."<sup>31</sup>

Further, God is sovereign and uncompromising: Totalitarian are the claims of Christ. No vestige of reservation of "our" rights can remain.... Unless the willingness is present to be stripped of our last earthly dignity and hope, and yet still praise Him, we have no message in this our day of refugees, bodily and spiritual.... But actually complete detachment is vastly harder than intended detachment. Fugitive islands of secret reservation elude us. Rationalizations hide them. Intending absolute honesty, we can only bring ourselves steadfastly into His presence and pray, "Cleanse thou me from secret faults." And in the X-ray light of Eternity we may be given to see the dark spots of life, and divine grace may be given to reinforce our will to complete abandonment in Him. For the guidance of the Light is critical, acid, sharper than a two-edged sword. He asks all, but He gives all.<sup>32</sup>

Almost thirty years later a Trappist monk by the name of Thomas Merton would sound a similarly stark note, when talking about the Desert Mothers and Fathers:

We cannot do exactly what they did. But we must be as thorough and as ruthless in our determination to break all spiritual chains, and cast off the domination of alien compulsions, to find our true selves, to discover and develop our inalienable spiritual liberty and use it to build, on earth, the Kingdom of God.<sup>33</sup>

Kelly found "spiritual liberty" not in the cloister but in the world. Herein lies Kelly's paradigmatic example for Christians today. He shows that self-surrender and devotion may subsist even amid the "raveling friction of home and office and school and shop."<sup>34</sup> Kelly's program of spiritual subsistence is simple and concrete, but hard:

In the early weeks we begin with simple, whispered words. Formulate them spontaneously, 'Thine only. Thine only.' Or seize upon a fragment of the Psalms: 'so panteth my soul after Thee, O God.' Repeat them inwardly, over and over again.... But the time will come when verbalization is not so imperative, and yields place to the attitudes of the soul which you meant the words to express.... If you find, after a time, that these attitudes become diffused and vague, no longer firm-textured, then return to verbalizations and thus restore their solidity.35

Kelly expressly acknowledges his debt to Brother Lawrence and the monk's Practice of the Presence of God.<sup>36</sup> Douglas Steere compares the two men in an article Steere titled "Thomas Kelly: A Brother Lawrence for Our Time."37 Yet neither Kelly nor Steere note that the two spiritual guides share a common accent on the nether side of Presence - Absence. Kelly writes, "we learn to submit to the inner discipline of withdrawing of His gifts. For if the least taint of spiritual pride in our prayer-growth has come, it is well that He humble us until we are worthy of greater trust."38 Brother Lawrence writes: "God has many ways of

drawing us to Himself. He sometimes hides Himself from us; but faith alone, which will not fail us in time of need, ought to be our support, and the foundation of our confidence, which must be all in God."39 Imaging God as a Person and the Source of grace necessitates Kelly and Brother Lawrence to ascribe the ebb and flow of their spirituality to the personal will of God. Such theology tends toward the especially Calvinist tenet of the sovereign arbitrariness of God. Kelly and Brother Lawrence domesticate God's will by confining its dealings with humanity to personal prayer and spiritual practice. Yet their image of the taskmaster God cracks open the Pandora's Box of inscrutable, even cruel, theodicy.

In the last of the five essays that constitute A Testament of Devotion, Kelly, perhaps influenced by Hinduism's thousand names for God, employs a wonderful array of metaphors for God that dislodge God the Father from the religious imagination. God is "the Silence," "a divine Abyss," "a holy Infinite Center, a Heart, a Life," a "holy Whisper," the "Root of all living," "the Eternal," "the Cosmic Patience," "inner holy Presence," "the Beyond that is within."40 These metaphors suggest that a non-personal God may still deal personally with humanity. They do not make God less than a person, they simply make God other than a person. This depersonalization of God allows one to ascribe the ebb and flow of spirituality not to God's will but to the incomprehensibility of the movement of Spirit in the world. Such surrender to mystery compels one never to stabilize one's image of God, let alone God's will. It even urges one not to image God at all, if possible. It reminds one that Reality lays ultimately not in conception but in perception. Immediacy, not imagination, brings one in touch with God.

Alluding to Hebrews,<sup>41</sup> Thomas Kelly says of his immediate encounters with Presence, "It is an overwhelming experience to fall into the hands of the living God, to be invaded to the depths of one's being by His presence, to be, without warning, wholly uprooted from all earth-born securities and assurances, and to be blown by a tempest of unbelievable power which leaves one's old proud self utterly, utterly defenseless, until one cries, 'All Thy waves and thy billows are gone over me' (Ps. 42:7)."42 This is an Old Testament God, the God of Job, an awful and omnipotent God who, whenever He so wills, may conquer the helpless human soul. On the whole, Kelly's theology is anything but liberal.

#### Christology

Kelly's Christology, on the other hand, is liberal. Through his early twenties, Kelly was "red-hot to win souls to Jesus." From his YMCA canteen in England in 1917 Kelly wrote Lael,

Tired? I should say so. And completely "sore" at the English Y.M.C.A. I can't remember whether I've told you my grievance but it's this: they seem not to realize the real object of the Y.M.C.A., but place too much emphasis on the canteen. Our complete strength is taken up with serving the men... cakes and tea, plus our housework, and no time is left for Christian work. [I wonder if they know] that we can get three or four decisions in a night, on slack nights, when there are few men in camp?<sup>44</sup>

Yet the mystical leaven Rufus Jones kneaded into Kelly's soul during Kelly's year at Haverford in 1913-14 would eventually cause a Logos Christology to rise within the

evangelical Quaker. In 1928 Kelly traced what he called this "opening" to his missionary work in Germany in the mid-1920s:

For [Lael and I] were equals [with the Germans] — if not inferiors sometimes. The old-fashioned superior-inferior relationship did not obtain there. For an American to give a message in Germany we saw to be the same problem of giving a message to highly cultured Indians. It's a brotherhood relationship in a joint search for truth.

Ironically, Kelly's evangelicalism prompted him to consider missionary work in the first place. In his 1915 application to the international Student Volunteer Movement, he wrote, "The love of God in me made me desire that all men should learn of His love shown in Christ. The degradation of heathen peoples, and their hopeless condition without Christ led me to long to bring to them the gospel." Now Kelly's missionary work has birthed what Schmidt calls Kelly's "moment of exquisite illumination" the consideration of exquisite illumination.

But it was after leaving Germany and getting a perspective upon it that I found within myself that Quakerism is essentially a mystical fellowship, which transcends the ordinary barriers of religious organizations. The meaning of the Inner Light, the Logos, in every man, the essential Christ in all people, glowed out suddenly. I saw that something of the God-life and God-character... was planted in every man, not artificially, but at the very core of his being, his ideal potential self... I saw that the Incarnation is not an isolated fact,

occurring once, in the case of Jesus, but that it is the fundamental basis of all human lives. Incarnation is a world-process, in which God eternally re-clothes himself in humanity. I found myself suddenly akin to Jesus. He was no longer an oddity. He was a brother, a fellow man, who had become fully aware of his oneness with the Father in a way that I was only beginning to glimpse. I saw the whole world of men, and all religious faiths, as a striving mass of people in whom the Divine Light, the Logos, dwelt, all reaching out, by that leading to the Source, the Indwelling God, who moved them to himself. I suddenly felt a great nearness to people of all religions who "lifted hands in prayer."47

This is Kelly's mature Christology. Notwithstanding its Western paternalism toward other religions and cultures, breaching their integrity by identifying their perhaps peculiar truths as the Logos of Christianity and Western philosophy, Kelly's mature Christology provokes from him a genuinely ecstatic embrace of all of humanity. Or his ecstatic embrace of all of humanity provokes from him this Logos Christology. Either way, Kelly's liberality of spirit channeled his evangelical emotionalism away from supercessionism and into religious liberalism.

A Testament of Devotion contains mere vestiges of Kelly's former Christocentrism: "In the Eternal Now all men become seen in a new way. We enfold them in our love, and we and they are enfolded together within the great Love of God as we know it in Christ." "Marks of glory are upon all things, and the marks are cruciform and blood-stained." Testament has no soteriology. Yet it also has little sophiology

or "moral influence" theory either. It does not worry over salvation or wisdom or ethics. (It does worry over personal purity, but in response to God's invading Presence, not Christ's example.<sup>50</sup>) No, Testament concerns itself almost exclusively with concrete practices of immediate surrender to God. These practices, this surrender, might bear salvific, gnostic, and ethical fruits; but fruits need roots, and in Testament Kelly seeks to drive devotional roots deep into his readers' hearts. Jesus functions as the great exemplar of the practice of the presence of God: "This practice...is the secret, I am persuaded, of the inner life of the Master of Galilee. He expected this secret to be freshly discovered in everyone who would be his follower."51 Kelly asserts a participatory Christology, and never more so than when working out a theodicy of suffering: "God, out of the pattern of His own heart, has planted the Cross along the road of holy obedience. And He enacts in the hearts of those He loves the miracle of willingness to welcome suffering and to know it for what it is - the final seal of His gracious love."52

Testament treats Christ not as an object of worship, a medium of salvation, or even a great teacher, but as a living example of what each human being may become if he or she practices the presence of God and suffers willingly as a consequence of that practice. The apple of Kelly's theology might not have fallen from the evangelical tree, but that of his Christology fell and rolled a great distance off. Only its accent of suffering marks his Christology as having roots in the evangelical tradition.

#### Anthropology

Kelly's anthropology might not have fallen from the evangelical tree either. Hinson states, "He employs always a positive psychology, founded upon the Quaker high estimate of human nature and potential."<sup>53</sup> A close look at *A Testament of Devotion*, however, might invalidate Hinson's claim. Twice Kelly calls human beings "unworthy."<sup>54</sup> Twice Kelly bemoans the self-reliance of "this humanistic age."<sup>55</sup> And twice he decries the vanity of human aspirations. This last dyad especially showcases Kelly's anthropological pessimism.

But what trinkets we have sought after in life, the pursuit of what petty trifles has wasted our years as we have ministered to the enhancement of our own little selves! And what needless anguishes we have suffered because *our* little selves were defeated, were not flattered, were not cozened and petted!<sup>56</sup>

Positions of prominence, eminences of social recognition which we once meant to attain – how puny and trifling they become! Our old ambitions and heroic dreams – what years we have wasted in feeding our own insatiable self-pride, when only His will truly matters! Our wealth and property, security now and in old age – upon what broken reeds have we leaned, when He is "the rock of our heart, and our portion forever!"<sup>57</sup>

Here Schmidt accuses Kelly of "employing the deceptive indirection of the first-person plural, still hammering on the nails of his own self-renunciation." Perhaps Kelly's pessimism does in fact result from the fall of his own towering ambitions and his loitering in their rubble. Yet he makes no allowance for guilt: "Humility does not rest, in final count, upon bafflement and discouragement and self-disgust at our shabby lives, a brow-beaten, dog-slinking

attitude." It "rests upon a holy blindedness, like the blindedness of him who looks steadily into the sun. For wherever he turns his eyes on earth, there he sees only the sun." Even here, though, God and not human effort lifts the fallen soul.

One may second Hinson and resist any counterclaim by citing Kelly's program of habits of mind. Surely, if Kelly held to human depravity, he would not assign humanity the task of turning habitually to God's Presence. Yet Kelly's alreadydiscussed Calvinistic theology posits a prevenient grace that enables humanity to develop the habits of mind Kelly prescribes: "And all our apparent initiative is already a response, a testimonial to His secret presence and working within us."60 One may do nothing holy of one's own will. Only God can move a person to holy obedience. This is not a global pessimism, yet it is hardly a "positive psychology."

## **Beyond Analysis**

History and biography mold Kelly's devotional writing. Yet Kelly's smoldering experience of Presence evinces from him remarkable literary expressions that, like poetry, may burn through the mold of time and place and seep into the soul of anyone with ears to hear.

The basic response of the soul to the Light is internal adoration and joy, thanksgiving and worship, self-surrender and listening. The secret places of the heart cease to be our noisy workshop. They become a holy sanctuary of adoration and of self-oblation, where we are kept in perfect peace, if our minds be stayed on Him who has found us in the inward springs of our life. And in brief intervals of overpowering visitation

we are able to carry the sanctuary frame of mind out into the world, into its turmoil and its fitfulness, and in a hyperaesthesia of the soul, we see all mankind tinged with deeper shadows, and touched with Galilean glories.<sup>61</sup>

Kelly's writing and life offer windows into the symbiosis between mysticism and social justice, into interfaith fellowship, and into many other regions of religious experience that cannot fit into this modest paper. Yet, following this last quotation, one may say with Hinson, "Need we say more?" 62

#### **Endnotes**

- <sup>1</sup> Leigh Eric Schmidt, Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality (San Francisco: Harper, 2005), 239-256.
- <sup>2</sup> Mary Kelly Farquhar and T. Canby Jones, *Thomas* R. *Kelly: A Sketch of His Life* (Wilm-ington, OH: Wilmington College, 1962), 18.
- <sup>3</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 252.
- <sup>4</sup> The Doubleday Devotional Classics: Vol. III, edited by E. Glenn Hinson (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978).
- <sup>5</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 252-253.
- <sup>6</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 241.
- <sup>7</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 242
- 8 Schmidt, Restless Souls, 243.
- <sup>9</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 244. Schmidt fails to cite any "accounts" of Kelly's fateful day at Harvard. Douglas Steere gives this account: his examiners "told him that he must not return and subject himself to this ordeal again; that he had the necessary degree [from Hartford]; and proved himself a fine teacher; and should return to Haverford and forget the unnecessary business of the Harvard PhD. degree." 216-217.
- <sup>10</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 253.
- <sup>11</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 248. I requested Max Carter's unpublished paper on Heschel and Kelly's meeting but never received it.
- 12 Schmidt, Restless Souls, 245.
- 13 Schmidt, Restless Souls, 253.
- <sup>14</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 254.
- <sup>15</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 255, emphases Schmidt's.
- <sup>16</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 256.
- <sup>17</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 239.

- <sup>18</sup> Hinson, ed., *The Doubleday Devotional Classics: Vol. III*, 167.
- <sup>19</sup> Quoted in Richard Macy Kelly, *Thomas Kelly: A Biography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 22, emphasis Kelly's.
- <sup>20</sup> Quoted in Kelly, *Thomas Kelly*, 39.
- <sup>21</sup> Kelly, Thomas Kelly, 32.
- <sup>22</sup> Kelly, Thomas Kelly, 89.
- <sup>23</sup> Quoted in Kelly, *Thomas Kelly*, 102, emphasis Kelly's.
- <sup>24</sup> Quoted in Kelly, *Thomas Kelly*, 115.
- <sup>25</sup> Hinson, ed. *The Doubleday Devotional Classics: Vol. III*,167.
- <sup>26</sup> Farquhar and Jones, *Thomas R. Kelly*, 3.
- <sup>27</sup> Thomas Raymond Kelly, *A Testament of Devotion*, with a "Biographical Memoir" by Douglas V. Steere (New York: HarperOne, 1941, 1992), 95. Kelly spells out both the subjective and the objective sides of the genitive construction in "love of God."
- <sup>28</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 5.
- <sup>29</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 14.
- <sup>30</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 17.
- <sup>31</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 4.
- <sup>32</sup> Kelly, *A Testament of Devotion*, 22, emphasis added. Kelly probably posited Christian totalitarianism as a foil to National Socialism.
- <sup>33</sup> The Wisdom of the Desert: Sayings of the Desert Fathers from the Fourth Century (New York: New Directions, 1970), 23-4.
- <sup>34</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion,, 38.
- 35 Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 16-17.
- <sup>36</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 12, 97; Reality of the Spiritual World, 41.
- <sup>37</sup> Douglas V. Steere, "Thomas Kelly: A Brother Lawrence for Our Time," in *The Lamb's War: Quaker Essays to Honor Hugh Barbour*, eds. Michael L. Birkel and John W. Newman (Richmond, IN: Earlham College Press, 1992), 211-222.
- <sup>38</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 14.
- <sup>39</sup> Brother Lawrence, *The Practice of the Presence of God*, translated by Anonymous (Old Tappan, NJ: Spire Books, 1958), 58.
- <sup>40</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 92-98.
- <sup>41</sup> "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God" (Heb 10:31 KJV, NRSV).
- <sup>42</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 30.
- <sup>43</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 244.
- <sup>44</sup> Quoted in Kelly, A Testament of Devotion 36, emphasis added.
- <sup>45</sup> Quoted in Kyle Jolliffe, "A Bright Comet Appears: The Canadian Sojourn of Thomas Kelly, 1914-1916," *Canadian Quaker History Journal* 57 (Summer 1995): 5.
- <sup>46</sup> Schmidt, Restless Souls, 245.

- <sup>47</sup> Quoted in Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 54-55, emphasis Kelly's.
- <sup>48</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 74.
- <sup>49</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 30.
- <sup>50</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 38-39.
- <sup>51</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 6, emphasis added.
- <sup>52</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 43.
- <sup>53</sup> Hinson, ed. *The Doubleday Devotional Classics: Vol. III*, 166.
- <sup>54</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 39, 98.
- <sup>55</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 4, 17.
- <sup>56</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 36, emphasis Kelly's.
- <sup>57</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 20.
- <sup>58</sup> Schmidt. Restless Souls, 253.
- <sup>59</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 35.
- <sup>60</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 4.
- <sup>61</sup> Kelly, A Testament of Devotion, 4.
- <sup>62</sup> Hinson, ed. *The Doubleday Devotional Classics: Vol. III*, 176.