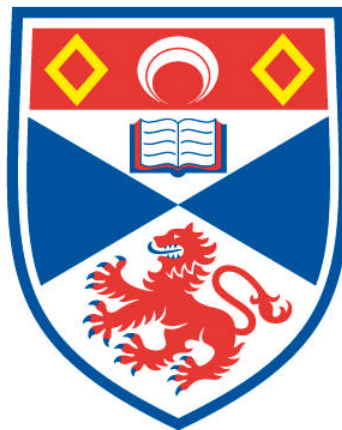


**THE BARON, HIS NIECE AND FRIENDS : FRIEDRICH VON  
HÜGEL AS A SPIRITUAL DIRECTOR, 1915-1925**

**Robyn Wrigley-Carr**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



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The Baron, his niece and friends:  
Friedrich von Hügel as a Spiritual Director,  
1915-1925.

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD  
at the  
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April, 2013

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## ABSTRACT

While the practice of spiritual direction is widespread and increasingly popular, there has been relatively little research on the practices of those perceived to be exemplary spiritual directors. The primary focus of this dissertation is Baron Friedrich von Hügel's spiritual direction of Gwendolen Greene, during the final decade of his life (1915-1925). It also analyses his direction of nine other individuals during this same period, enabling one to recognise and evaluate recurring trends in von Hügel's approach to spiritual nurture.

The key to the interpretation of von Hügel's approach is his conception of the 'Three Elements of Religion,' the Mystical, Intellectual and Institutional Elements. The thesis illustrates through analysis of von Hügel's correspondence and diaries the extent to which these shape his whole approach to spiritual direction.

The research is archival, focusing on von Hügel's letters of spiritual direction and his personal diaries. The methodology is critical historical research, based on a close reading and assessment of the materials available. To this end, a great deal of original material is unearthed and discussed for the purposes of articulating and evaluating the nature of von Hügel's role as a spiritual director.

The findings of this investigation indicate strengths and weaknesses in von Hügel's approach to spiritual direction. His primary contribution is his articulation and utilisation of the 'Three Elements of Religion.' These provide a balanced and holistic approach to spiritual direction. The primary weaknesses in his approach to spiritual direction are evident when he succumbs to values more indicative of the age in which he lived, than of the essence of the Christian tradition.



## BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

- BUTLER, Cuthbert (1858-1934). Benedictine monk of Downside Abbey, Church historian and friend of Friedrich von Hügel's.<sup>1</sup>
- BURNS, Tom (1906-1995). Catholic publisher and editor and close friend of Gwen Greene's.
- CHAPMAN, Adeline (1848-1931). Close friend of Hügel's, mother of Mildred Mansel and grandmother of Juliet Mansel.
- CLUTTON, Margaret (1875-1969). Sister of Maud Petre, mother of Arthur and Hügel's directee.
- COCK, Albert A (1883-1953). Professor of Philosophy, member of the LSSR.<sup>2</sup>
- DOWSON, Mary (born 1848). Author of theological and mystical works using the pseudonym, William Scott Palmer; friend of Hügel's.
- GARCEAU, Henri (1904-1930). A French boy who lived across the road from Hügel. Henri and his brother, Gilbert, both had weekly religious instruction from Hügel for many years.
- GLADSTONE, William (1809-1898). British Prime Minister four times (1892-1894), and was close friends to Mary Hügel's family, the Herberts.
- GLADSTONE, Catherine (1812-1900). William's wife and close friend of Mary Hügel's mother, Lady Herbert of Lea.
- GREENE, Alexander Plunket (1832-1990). Gwen Greene's grandson, Richard Greene's son and husband of Mary Quant (both were designers).
- GREENE, Gwendolen Plunket (nee Parry) (1878-1959). Daughter of Sir Hubert Parry and Maud Parry (nee Herbert), and niece of Hügel.
- GREENE, Harry Plunket (1865-1936). Gwen's husband and an Irish Baritone singer.
- GRISEWOOD, Harman (1908-1997). A radio and television executive and controller of the BBC *Third Program*.
- HERBERT, Sidney (1810-1861). A political statesman, husband to Lady Herbert of Lea and Gwen's grandfather.
- HOCKING, Raymond (dates unknown). A Dutch Dominican priest who gave Hügel spiritual direction in Vienna in 1872.
- HÜGEL, Mary (nee Herbert) (1849-1935). Hügel's wife and sister to Maude Parry.
- HÜGEL, Gertrud (1877-1915). Hügel's first daughter who died in Rome in 1915.

---

1 Friedrich von Hügel will be referred to as 'Hügel' for the remainder of the thesis due to word limit constraints.

2 London Society for the Study of Religion, an ecumenical group Hügel initiated in 1904.

HÜGEL, Hildegard (1879-1926). Hügel's second daughter who never married but stayed with the family at home.

HÜGEL, Thekla (1886-1970). Hügel's third daughter who became a Carmelite nun (Sister Thekla of Jesus).

HUVELIN, Henri Abbé (1830-1910). A French, Catholic priest of Saint Augustin's, Paris and Hügel's spiritual director.

JARRETT, Father Bede (1881-1934). The priest who accepted Gwen into the Catholic Church and gave her spiritual direction after Hügel's death.

KEMP-SMITH, Norman (1872-1958). A Scottish philosopher, Professor at the University of Edinburgh (1919-1945) and close friend of Hügel's.

LILLIE, Frances Crane (1869-1958). An MD and Chicago Philanthropist who converted under Hügel's influence.

LOISY, Alfred (1857-1940). A French, Catholic priest and Biblical scholar deeply involved in the Modernist crisis. He was excommunicated in 1908.

LUSHINGTON, Susan (1870-1953). A single, family friend of the Parry's.

MANSEL, Juliet (1893-1982). Daughter of Mildred Mansel and granddaughter of Adeline Chapman, she lived with the Hügels while attending a London school. Hügel thought of her as his fourth daughter and gave her extensive spiritual direction.

MANSEL, Mildred (1868-1942). Mother of Juliet Mansel and member of the Women's Social and Political Union.

NORLIND, Emilia Fogelklou (1878-1972). A Swedish Quaker writer, theologian and directee of Hügel's.

PARRY, Sir Hubert (1848-1918). English composer and Head of the Royal College of Music, London, and Gwen's father.

PARRY, Lady Maude (née Herbert) (1851-1933), wife to Sir Hubert and mother to Dolly and Gwen.

PETRE, Maude (1863-1942). A Catholic writer deeply involved in the Modernist controversy. She loved Tyrrell and was denied the Sacraments.

PONSONBY, Dolly (1876-1963). Gwen's sister and Arthur's wife.

PONSONBY, Arthur (1871-1946). A British politician and Dolly's husband.

PONSONBY Laura (birth-date unknown). Gwen's living great-niece and Dolly's granddaughter, who manages Shulbred Priory Archive.

RUSSELL, Kate (nee Ponsonby) (birth-date unknown). Laura Ponsonby's sister who lives at Shulbred Priory.

SÖDERBLOM, Nathan (1866-1931). Archbishop of the Church of Sweden and Hügel's friend.

SR MARY OF ST PHILIP (birth-date unknown). Living Prioress of the Discalced Carmelites Priory at Nottingham who cared for Sister Thekla Hügel in her final years of life.

TALBOT, Edward Keble (1877-1949). Anglican priest and curate of a London Church before later becoming Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield (1922-1940). Gwen attended some spiritual retreats led by Talbot when she was receiving spiritual direction from Hügel (early 1920s).

TYRRELL, George (1861-1909). A Jesuit priest and Modernist writer who was expelled by the Jesuit Order. He had the Sacraments suspended and was denied a Catholic burial.

UNDERHILL, Evelyn (1875-1941). Author in theology and mysticism, retreat leader and spiritual director. She was one of Hügel's spiritual directees.

VESCI Evelyn de (1851-1939). Mary Hügel's cousin and a recipient of Hügel's spiritual nurture.

WARD, Josephine (1864-1932). Wife of Wilfred Ward and novelist.

WARD, Leo (1896-1842). Wilfred and Josephine's youngest son who became a missionary in Japan. He came to Hügel for spiritual direction while a student at Oxford.

WARD, Maisie (1889-1975). Wilfred and Josephine's oldest child who became a writer and publisher.

WARD, Wilfred (1856-1916). Catholic writer, editor and lecturer who asked Hügel for spiritual direction when he was dying from cancer.

WATKIN, E. I (1888-1981). Convert to Catholicism and author who received spiritual direction from Hügel.

WAUGH, Evelyn (1903-1966). English novelist, Catholic convert and friend of Gwen's and the Greene family.

WEBB, CCJ (1865-1954). Professor of Philosophy, Oxford University and Hügel's close friend.



# REFERENCING

## I. Referencing Schema

The archival nature of this research requires constant footnoting. Given the word count constraints, I have devised a consistent means of referencing these materials that succinctly provides the essential information while minimising the impact on word count.

Footnotes for archival materials are as follows:

Manuscript number:Archive abbreviation:Date.

Footnotes for published materials are as follows:

Author's name:Date of publication in bibliography:Page number.<sup>1</sup>

## II. List of Abbreviations for Archives

BA- Burns' Family archive, London

BOU- Bodleian, Oxford University

BL - British Library

CPA- Carmelite Priory Archive, Nottinghill

CRMA - Community of the Resurrection Mirfield, Archive

DAA- Downside Abbey Archive

EUA - Edinburgh University Archive

DAA- Downside Abbey Archive

GTUSC- Graduate Theological Union Special Collections

GUA- Georgetown University Archive

HCA- Haverford College Archive

PAA- Pricknash Abbey Archive

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<sup>1</sup> If an author has two works published in the one year, the first work is marked 'a' and the second work 'b'.

SAUL- St Andrews University Library Special Collections

SPA- Shulbred Priory Archive

SSC- Sophia Smith Collection

USFSC- University of San Francisco Special Collections

### **III. Abbreviations for archival materials**

D- Hügel's diary.

GDL- Letters from Gwen Greene to Dolly Ponsonby

GEWL- Letters from Gwen Greene to Evelyn Waugh

GPL- Letters from Gwen Greene to Hubert Parry

GTL- Letters from Gwen Greene to Tom Burns

RDL- Letters from Richard Greene to Dolly Ponsonby

APD- Arthur Ponsonby's Diaries

DPD- Dolly Ponsonby's Diaries

HPD- Hubert Parry's Diaries

SLD- Susan Lushington's Diaries

MPD- Maud Parry's Diaries

PP- Petre Papers

All underlined material in sources is quoted in italics. All italics are from the original material unless noted as 'Author's emphasis.'



#### **IV. Abbreviations for published works by Hügel, Huvelin or Gwendolen Greene**

##### **IV.i. Hügel**

*EAI- Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion, First Series*

*EAII- Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion, Second Series*

*EL- Eternal Life*

*SL- Selected Letters*

*GS- German Soul*

*LN- Letters to a Niece*

*MEI- The Mystical Element of Religion, Volume 1.*

*MEII- The Mystical Element of Religion, Volume 2.*

*RG- The Reality of God*

*SWFG- The Spiritual Writings of Father Grou*

##### **IV.ii. Huvelin**

*ATW- Addresses to Women*

*SSG- Some Spiritual Guides of the Seventeenth Century*

*TLOG- The Love of God*

##### **IV.iii. Gwen Greene**

*MZ- Mount Zion*

*TW- Two Witnesses*

*TPC- The Prophet Child*



## **Acknowledgements**

In submitting this thesis I gratefully acknowledge my supervisor Professor Alan Torrance of the University of St Andrews for his encouragement throughout the writing of this thesis.

In conducting my research, I have been helped by many archivists, academics and family members of Hügel's directees. I wish to call particular attention to the warm hospitality provided by Laura Ponsonby and Kate Russell and the support and enthusiastic interest in my research shown by Dr Tom Ryan. I also want to thank Dr Eugene Peterson for introducing me to von Hügel's writings.

Special thanks go to my husband, Gavin, and three daughters, Hannah, Laura and Emma, who moved to the other side of the world to live in Scotland so that I could research 'the Baron.'



# Table of Contents

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX.....	ii
REFERENCING.....	vi
I. Referencing Schema.....	vi
II. List of Abbreviations for Archives.....	vi
III. Abbreviations for archival materials.....	vii
IV. Abbreviations for published works by Hügel, Huvelin or Gwendolen Greene.....	viii
IV.i. Hügel.....	viii
IV.ii. Huvelin.....	viii
IV.iii. Gwen Greene.....	viii
Acknowledgements.....	x
Chapter 1: von Hügel's Context and Biography.....	1
I. Introduction.....	1
II. Methodology, Significance and Structure of this Research.....	3
II.i. Methodology .....	3
II.ii. Research sources.....	5
II.iii. Relevant prior research.....	6
II.iv. Archival Research.....	8
II.v. Significance of the Research.....	8
II.vi. Thesis Structure.....	12
III. Hügel's Context.....	13
III.i. Advances in scientific research and historical methods .....	13
III.ii. The aftermath of the Catholic Modernist movement.....	14
III.iii. Immanentism versus Transcendence.....	16
III.iv. Subjectivism and Projectionism versus the 'givenness' of God .....	17
III.v. English Nineteenth Century Catholicism .....	18
III.vi. Resurgence of interest in Mysticism and Spiritualism.....	18
III.vii. World War 1.....	19
III.viii. The Suffragette Movement.....	20
III.ix. Friendships.....	21
IV. Hügel's Biography.....	22
IV.i. A cosmopolitan mind developed during Hügel's youth.....	23
IV.ii. Hügel's education and intellectual development.....	24
IV.iii. Hügel's Spiritual Development.....	26
IV.iv. Hügel's published works.....	29
IV.v. Hügel as husband and father.....	31
IV.vi. Personal Accolades.....	35
V. Coda.....	39
Chapter 2: Huvelin's Spiritual Nurture of Hügel.....	40
I. Introduction.....	40
II. Abbé Huvelin.....	42
III. Huvelin's character and teaching.....	44
IV. Huvelin's spiritual discernment .....	47
V. The delivery of Huvelin's direction .....	48
VI. Huvelin's dealing with spiritual intensity.....	49
VII. Huvelin's instruction regarding prayer.....	51
VIII. Huvelin's attitude towards the scholastics.....	52
IX. The French, seventeenth century scholar-saints.....	53

X. The Influence of the Scholar-Saints on Hügel .....	54
XI. Scholarship and Mystical Experience.....	56
XII. Huvelin on suffering.....	57
XIII. Huvelin in Hügel's works and letters .....	59
XIV. The impact of Huvelin's spiritual direction on Hügel.....	61
XIV.i. The balance of work.....	62
XIV.ii. Transparency.....	64
XIV.iii. Suffering.....	65
XIV.iv. Mortification and Asceticism.....	66
XV. Conclusion.....	67
XVI. Coda.....	68
Chapter 3: Introduction to Directees.....	70
I. Introduction.....	70
II. Gwendolen Greene (1878-1959).....	71
II.i. Upbringing (1878-1889).....	72
II.ii. Gwen's marriage (1899-1919).....	75
II.iii. Gwen's separation and life with her children (1919-1936).....	78
II.iv. Gwen's Bright Young People.....	79
II.v. Gwen's conversion .....	82
II.vi. Harman Grisewood on Gwen.....	83
II.vii. Gwen's reclusive lifestyle on Longleat Estate (1936-1959).....	84
II.viii. The nature of Hügel's relationship with Gwen.....	86
II.ix. Hügel's face-to-face interaction with Gwen .....	86
III. Juliet Mansel (1893-1982).....	88
IV. Evelyn Underhill (1875-1941).....	92
V. Wilfred Ward (1856-1916).....	96
VI. Henri Garceau (1904-1930) .....	102
VII. Emilia Fogelklou Norlind (1878-1972) .....	104
VIII. Frances Crane Lillie (1869-1958).....	105
IX. Gertrud Hügel (1877-1915).....	107
X. Adeline Chapman (1848-1931).....	110
XI. Norman Kemp Smith (1872-1958).....	112
XII. Miscellaneous directees.....	113
XIII. Coda.....	119
Chapter 4: The Institutional Element.....	120
I. Introduction.....	120
II. Balancing the three Elements.....	121
II.i. Friction between the Elements.....	122
III. The role of the Church in spiritual formation.....	123
III.i. Directees encouraged to Church involvement.....	123
III.ii. Church as Costly.....	124
III.iii. Church as Safeguard.....	125
III.iv. Church as Community.....	126
III.v. The Limitations of Church.....	129
IV. 'Spirit and Sense'.....	129
IV.i. Living in Two Worlds.....	129
IV.ii. Sacraments.....	132
IV.iii. The Eucharist.....	133
IV.iv. The Body.....	134
V. History and Christ.....	137

VI. Coda.....	141
Chapter 5: The Intellectual Element.....	142
I. Introduction.....	142
II. Theology and Spiritual Formation.....	143
II.i. Hügel's Doctrine of God.....	143
II.ii. The Trinity - Multiplicity in Unity.....	148
II.iii. Christ.....	149
II.iv. The Holy Spirit.....	150
III. History and Spiritual Formation.....	151
IV. General Education.....	156
V. The Limits of the Intellect.....	157
V.i. Balancing the Intellectual with the Mystical.....	157
V.ii. An experiential knowledge of God given to the humble .....	158
V.iii. The necessity of childlikeness.....	160
V.iv. A 'dim' knowledge of God rather than 'clever' clarity.....	161
V.v. Dimness echoed in Hügel's published works.....	163
VI. Dimness and Clarity: 'get this very clear'.....	164
VII. Coda.....	165
Chapter 6: The Mystical Element.....	166
I. Introduction.....	167
II. Essential posture: from self-focus to God-focus.....	167
III. Humility.....	169
IV. Spiritual Disciplines.....	171
IV.i. Prayer .....	171
IV.ii. The mixed life.....	175
IV.iii. Visiting the poor.....	175
IV.iv. Spiritual/Devotional Reading.....	177
IV.v. Literary texts and spiritual formation.....	180
IV.vi. A moderate asceticism.....	181
IV.vii. Retreats.....	182
IV.viii. Confession.....	183
IV.ix. Spiritual practices when spiritually dry.....	185
IV.x. Non-religious Interests.....	186
IV.xi. The importance of rest.....	188
V. Moderation.....	190
V.i. Developing a 'leisurely' spirituality.....	190
V.ii. Moderation in spiritual practices.....	192
V.iii. Don't strain.....	193
V.iv. 'Drop' never fight directly.....	194
VI. Suffering.....	194
VI.i. Enduring suffering.....	196
VI.ii. Transformation through suffering .....	198
VII. Union with Christ and human transformation.....	201
VII.i. Transformation through 'Christ-Spirit' indwelling .....	201
VII.ii. Cultivating Eternal Life.....	202
VII.iii. The effect of Eternal Life – spiritual formation.....	203
VIII. Coda.....	205
Chapter 7: Appraisal of Hügel as spiritual director.....	206
I. Introduction.....	206
II. 'Living the Letters': Gwen Greene and Mount Zion.....	207

II.i. Major themes in MZ.....	208
II.ii. Dominance of the Intellectual Element and subsequent loss of the Mystical Element.....	208
II.iii. Regaining the mystical element: the Holy Spirit.....	210
II.iv. The practice of contemplative prayer.....	210
II.v. Death to self through gazing upon Christ.....	212
II.vi. The mixed life – living in two worlds.....	213
II.vii. Knowing God experientially.....	214
II.viii. Suffering.....	215
II.ix. The Institutional Element: the Church's role in spiritual formation.....	216
II.x. Gwen's Assessment of Hügel.....	216
III. Hügel's self-critique.....	217
III.i. Expecting too much of directees.....	217
III.ii. Too intense.....	218
III.iii. Proselytizing and silencing.....	219
IV. Assessment of Hügel by directees.....	220
IV.i. Positive assessments.....	220
IV.ii. Positive assessment by directees' families.....	221
IV.iii. Negative assessments by directees: the light-blue pencil.....	221
IV.iv. Disregard for the poor.....	223
V. Scholarly assessments of Hügel's spiritual direction .....	224
VI. Hügel's personal qualities as spiritual director.....	225
VI.i. Additional personal qualities.....	231
VI.ii. Qualities not evident in Hügel's spiritual direction.....	233
VII. Hügel's practices as spiritual director.....	233
VIII. Unique features of Hügel's spiritual direction.....	237
VIII.i. Taking the Eucharist of behalf of directees.....	237
VIII.ii. Suffering for directees.....	238
IX. Contemporary emphases in spiritual direction.....	239
X. Critiquing Hügel.....	244
X.i. Asymmetry in the Director-Directee Relationship.....	245
X.ii. The impact of Hügel's deafness.....	246
X.iii. The Place of Suffering.....	247
X.iv. Hügel and activism.....	248
X.v. Gender issues.....	249
X.vi. Miscellaneous questions.....	250
XI. Learning from Hügel.....	251
XI.i. Tension and Friction.....	251
XI.ii. The Three Elements of Religion.....	251
XI.iii. Spiritual direction grounded in theology, not psychology.....	252
XI.iv. The particularity of the individual.....	253
XI.v. Miscellaneous challenges.....	254
XII. Conclusion.....	256
Appendix 1: Hügel's contacts with Gwen Greene (1899-1924).....	258
Appendix 2: Hügel's contacts with Juliet Mansel (1899-1924).....	278
Appendix 3: Shifts in Hügel's conversations with Juliet over time.....	298
Appendix 4: Hügel's contacts with Evelyn Underhill.....	301
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	302
I. Selected von Hügel Bibliography.....	302
I.i. Books.....	302
I.ii. Selected Articles and Reviews.....	302

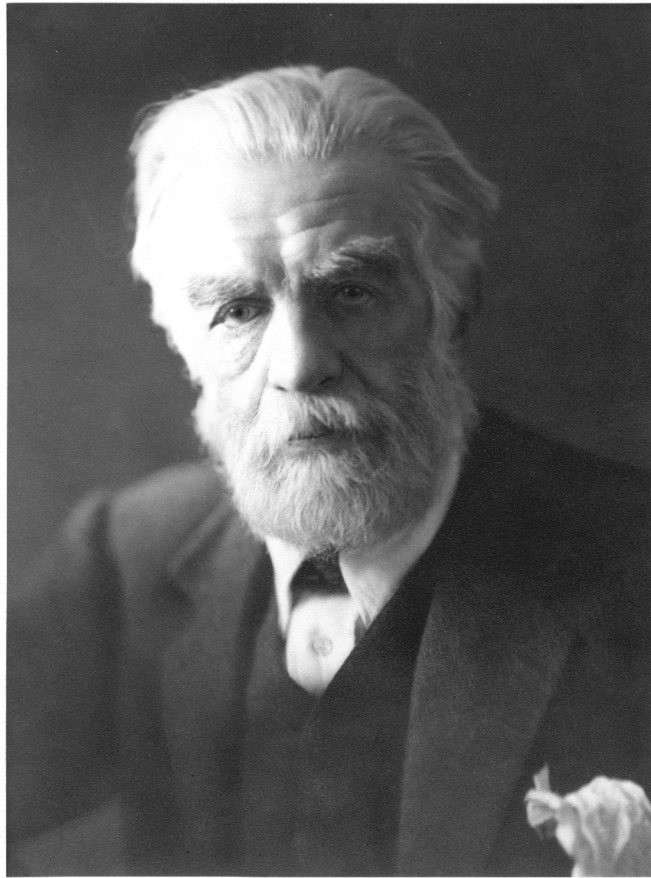


II. Selected General Bibliography.....304



# Chapter 1: Hügel's Context and Biography

'[T]he baron walking in the streets of Kensington in top hat, massive cloak, and black woollen gloves, edging his escort onto the pavement as he leant over shouting, as a deaf man does, the most intimate spiritual advice.'<sup>1</sup> (Bedoyère describing Hügel)



*Hügel in 1921. SAUL:ms37194/54*

## I. Introduction

Baron Friedrich Maria Francois Charles von Hügel was born on May 5th, 1852. At his death in 1925, many praised him for his academic scholarship. He was described as 'the greatest religious thinker after Newman,'<sup>2</sup> 'the most learned man living,'<sup>3</sup> 'a religious genius,'<sup>4</sup> and 'our greatest theologian.'<sup>5</sup> William Temple described Hügel's *The Mystical Element of Religion [ME]* as 'the most important theological work written in the English language during the last half-century.'<sup>6</sup> Yet Bedoyère, Hügel's biographer, suggests:

---

1 Bedoyère:1951:20.

2 Williamson and Angelo Crespi both quoted in Bedoyère:1951:xi. Similarly, D'Arcy wrote 'he was so outstanding, his stature so far above most of the Catholics of his time.' D'Arcy:1991:77.

3 Charles Gore in Bedoyère:1951:xi.

4 CCJ Webb Journals:Mss-Eng-Misc-d1117-Fol-34:BOU:17/1/1925.

5 William Inge, quoted in Steere:1985:42.

6 Bedoyère:1951:xi.

scholarship and learning were in themselves the least of the claims which Hügel has made on posterity. Far beyond them are Hügel... the unique personal explorer and guide into the deepest things of the spirit... the special genius of the man showed itself, offering help and guidance to so many.<sup>7</sup>

Douglas Steere echoes Bedoyère, arguing that Hügel's 'service of spiritual counselling was the central axis that... set the frames for his intellectual contribution' and that he will be 'chiefly remembered... as a guide and encourager of souls.'<sup>8</sup> Given these accolades, it is surprising that the Baron's spiritual direction has been so little explored.

This thesis aims to contribute to this exploration by addressing the question: 'What is the nature and value of Hügel's spiritual direction to Gwendolen Greene and others, 1915-1925?'<sup>9</sup> Hügel's approach to spiritual direction is described and critically evaluated, with the discussion structured in terms of Hügel's three 'Elements of Religion,' which are central to his practice of spiritual direction. These Elements of Religion are outlined in Hügel's magnum opus, *The Mystical Element of Religion [ME]*, and are the three components Hügel saw as being required for a full and balanced Christian life. They are the Institutional Element (including Church involvement, the Sacraments, community, and tradition), the Intellectual Element (rational and theological) and the Mystical Element (experiential and devotional).<sup>10</sup> Hügel argued that all three Elements of Religion, operating in tension, are necessary for spiritual growth, and to omit one impoverishes our response to God. The Three Elements are an explicit organising principle for Hügel's life and for his practice of spiritual direction and thus provide the organisational structure for this thesis.

The final decade of Hügel's life was the period that contained most of his letters of spiritual direction.<sup>11</sup> Bernard Holland, the editor of Hügel's *Selected Letters*, states that 'late in life, the Baron became more widely known, his letters, especially to English friends, increased in number and were more carefully preserved.'<sup>12</sup> Also in Hügel's old age, he was 'more freely and easily' able to express 'his life of spiritual discovery.'<sup>13</sup> In addition, it seems that the death of his daughter, Gertrud, in

---

7 Bedoyère:1951:xii;xiv.

8 Steere:1964:5.

9 'Spiritual direction' is a term understood in various ways today. In this thesis I am using the term as described by Barry and Connolly: 'helping a person directly with his or her relationship with God.' (1968:5).

10 The Three Elements of Religion has been critiqued by some commentators. For example, Cock argues that it is 'too neat, too schematic, even a little mechanical...' (1929:209).

11 Daly splits Hügel's life into three periods: pre-Modernist (1852-94); Modernist (1895-1910) and post-Modernist (1911-25). Daly:1980:119.

12 *SL*:68.

13 Bedoyère:1950:Foreword:*LN*:2.

1915, was a defining moment for Hügel. Josephine Ward suggested a 'change' in Hügel 'was completed' by the death of Gertrud: 'For months he was in Rome silently visiting the churches, praying constantly, waiting on God's will in fullest submission beside the death bed of the dearest being in his world.'<sup>14</sup>

After Gertrud's death, Hügel's niece, Gwen Greene, became the person Hügel most nurtured spiritually. Hügel told Gwen, 'I do not think I have cared to try and serve and feed any soul as much as yours.'<sup>15</sup> Thus Gwen is the focus of this research as Hügel's main directee. Discussion about Gwen is enhanced, however, by examining the Baron's spiritual counsel of some nine others, chosen because of the availability of letters and diary entries. Comparison between these ten directees enables us to identify emphases and recurring patterns in Hügel's practice of spiritual direction. Although Hügel was cosmopolitan and had many friends on the Continent, the focus here is on the English context where he lived and had his main spiritual directees.<sup>16</sup>

## **II. Methodology, Significance and Structure of this Research**

### **II.i. Methodology**

The research methodology used in this thesis is critical historical research, based on a close reading of all available materials between Hügel and his directees for the period under consideration. Barmann's critique of Whelan's book, *The Spirituality of Friedrich von Hügel*,<sup>17</sup> highlights a number of methodological issues used to frame this research.<sup>18</sup> Firstly, Barmann criticises Whelan for using his materials in an ad hoc 'quarry fashion,' 'picking and choosing' from the available materials based on the writer's personal taste and requirements, rather than being more comprehensive and allowing the materials to speak for themselves.<sup>19</sup> This is a somewhat subjective criticism (as is seen by the fact that Loomer subsequently criticises Barmann for *his* arbitrary selection of letters).<sup>20</sup> However, it does underscore the importance of making as comprehensive a review of the available material as is realistic, and letting the material speak for itself as much as possible. Loomer also critiques Barmann's overuse of Hügel's diaries and consequently failing 'to rise above these details by

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14 Ward:1937:507-8. Bedoyère similarly argues that Gertrud's death was a turning point where Hügel left Modernism behind, was more critical of Loisy, and became focused on the central truths of life and death. Bedoyère:1951:288-9.

15 LN:123:22/2/1921.

16 Hügel's only overseas travel in his final decade was to see Gertrud in Rome in 1915.

17 Whelan:1971.

18 Barmann:1977.

19 Barmann:1977:65-66.

20 Loomer:1973:29-30. (Barmann's *Baron Friedrich von Hügel and the Modernist Crisis in England*, 1972a).

distinguishing the decisive from the irrelevant.<sup>21</sup> It is hoped that this research manages to balance the necessary attention to detail with the ability to discern the significant and important themes that underlie Hügel's spiritual direction.

Another criticism Barmann makes of Whelan's work is that he has not paid sufficient attention to Hügel's historical context:

By taking ideas from Hügel's writings without due regard for their personal and historical context Whelan has given us a "spiritual doctrine" which is a hybrid construct of his own mind, though based in Hügel's thought.<sup>22</sup>

Barmann further comments:

The more one can focus on the real, historical person the more one sees in the concrete whatever is see-able of his spirituality... it is only the real historical person who was, and who can be yet, a genuine spiritual guide to religious seekers.<sup>23</sup>

This research accordingly attempts to situate Hügel clearly within his historical context, and take seriously the cultural and religious milieu within which he worked. Having a clearly defined historical period (1915-1925) and a fairly circumscribed research question (Hügel's spiritual direction to ten people) should help in keeping the scope of the context relatively manageable.

In addition, this research is deliberately biographical, and so examines (albeit at a cursory level) the biographies of Hügel, Huvelin, Gwen Greene and the other nine directees, in an attempt to take the personal contexts of their spiritual direction seriously. In so doing we examine three generations of spiritual direction, tracing the influence of Huvelin upon Hügel, and then in turn the way Hügel affects those he directs. In being biographical, we are following Hügel himself, who used a 'biographical study' of Catherine of Genoa to study mysticism.<sup>24</sup> He wanted a 'long, close contact with a soul of most rare spiritual depth... that presents... the greatness, helps, problems and dangers of the mystical spirit.'<sup>25</sup> Having focused upon Catherine's 'Mystical Element,' Hügel discovered how

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21 Loome:1973:29-30.

22 Barmann:1972b:78.

23 Barmann:1977:66-68. Bedoyère echoes this: 'Hügel's books, papers and letters... will never be studied and loved as they should be if that far more evanescent thing, Hügel the *man*, is not... brought back to life' (1951:xii).

24 *MEI*:86.

25 *MEI*:vi.

'absorption in the Infinite can still find room for the Historical and Institutional elements of Religion.'<sup>26</sup>

## II.ii. Research sources

One of the by-products of Hügel's partial deafness is that letter writing was his main vehicle for spiritual direction. Letters tend to be the least studied yet one of the most revealing expressions of the soul. Here they provide the main source material, and are an unusually complete record of his spiritual direction.

Many archives provide the letters researched: St Andrews University Special Collections; Gwendolen Greene's family Archive, Shulbred Priory, Surrey; Downside Abbey, Bath; Burns' Family Archive, London; King's College Archive, London; Bodleian, Oxford University; British Library, London; Borthwick Institute, York; Edinburgh University Archive; Community of the Resurrection Archive, Mirfield; Carmelite Monastery Archive, Notting Hill; Somerset Heritage Centre Archive; Wiltshire and Swindon Records Office; Chicago Historical Society Archive; Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton; Gleeson Library, San Francisco University; Haverford College Archive; Georgetown University Archive, DC; Pricknash Abbey Archive, Gloucester; Hawarden Records Office, and Bundesarchive, Koblenz.

Alongside letters, the careful scrutiny of Hügel's diaries is another essential source of data.<sup>27</sup> They provide a daily account of Hügel's personal contacts, activities, and mail received and written. Also hidden amidst the mass of daily appointments are Hügel's insights and reflections about directees, as well as repeated names of directees for whom we have no letters. Weaver sees the diaries as a 'gold mine of source material.'<sup>28</sup> She goes as far as arguing that any studies of Hügel without close reading of the diaries are 'inadequate'.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, Hügel's published works are drawn upon where they are relevant, particularly those written during the period studied. His unfinished work, *RG*, and thirteen essays in *EAI* and *EAII* were written during his final decade.

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26 *MEI*:vi.

27 The 43 volumes (1877-79;1884-1900;1902-24) at SAUL provide a detailed account of Hügel's life.

28 Weaver:1973:415. Leonard's chapter on Hügel as 'The Spiritual Guide' also shows some evidence of briefly consulting the diaries but only provides a short introduction to Hügel as spiritual director.

29 Weaver:1973:415.

### II.iii. Relevant prior research

Previous research concerning Hügel falls into four groups. Hügel's religious philosophy and Catholic Modernist involvement provide the main two areas of research. Less extensive are discussions of Hügel's theology and spirituality, while Hügel's spiritual direction is hardly researched. Prior research also falls into two categories: books and articles written by contemporary eye-witnesses, and works written by academics after Hügel's death.

The most significant philosophical discussion of Hügel comes from Kelly (1983).<sup>30</sup> Hügel's philosophy provides important background to the current research, but has already been explored in detail, and is not a focus here. Similarly, Hügel's Modernism has been extensively explored elsewhere and is not a focus of this research.<sup>31</sup>

Hügel's theology has been much less explored. The main eyewitness accounts are Underhill (1933) and Dakin (1934). Nédoncelle (1937) is the most significant secondary resource, however he concentrates on Hügel's published works and barely examines Hügel's letters of spiritual direction.<sup>32</sup> Hendrie (2001) is a later scholar who examines Hügel's ecclesiology, but again largely ignores Hügel's letters, apart from occasional mentions of letters to Gwen.

The major secondary resource discussing Hügel's spirituality is Whelan (1971).<sup>33</sup> Again this research relies primarily on Hügel's published works, only briefly quoting from three published letters to Juliet Mansel.<sup>34</sup> Whelan does not discuss Hügel's role as a spiritual director. A more recent scholar is Johns (2004) who discusses Hügel's mysticism and ethics. He argues for the significance of Hügel's *incarnational* mystical approach, but draws predominantly from Hügel's published writings, ignoring Hügel's spiritual direction and unpublished letters.

Surprisingly little substantial research has been carried out on Hügel's spiritual direction. Hügel's spiritual nurture of Evelyn has been explored by some researchers.<sup>35</sup> By contrast, the baron's

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30 James Kelly is the last researcher to have made extensive use of the Hügel collection at SAUL (early 1980s). The main eye-witness accounts concerning Hügel's philosophy are Lester-Garland (1934) and Cock (1953).

31 Hügel's involvement in Modernism is covered by his contemporaries, Petre (1937b) and Ward (1937). The main more recent scholars are Barmann (1972), Looime (1979), Heaney (1969), Vidler (1934;1972) and Daly (1980).

32 The English translation was critiqued by Evelyn Underhill before publication.

33 This book contains several errors. For example, the photo of Hügel provided is a photo of Friedrich's brother, Anatole (Whelan:1971:2).

34 The letters to Juliet mentioned are only briefly quoted without discussion (148-9;152). One long letter to Juliet is provided with no commentary whatsoever (226-236). It is curious that Whelan thought he could discuss Hügel's spirituality without significantly referring to his letters or diaries. Whelan briefly quotes from Hügel's published letters to Gwen on nine occasions, providing no discussion (Whelan:1971:33,37,50,64,84-5,102,108,177).

35 Steere:1964;Cropper:1958;Greene:1998.



spiritual direction of Gwen Greene has scarcely been touched. The only previous research is a dissertation by Godelieve Peeters, examining Hügel's spiritual direction of Gwendolen Greene.<sup>36</sup> It draws only from Hügel's *LN*, and Gwen's *Two Witnesses [TW]*, with no reference to Gwen's other published books and articles. Accordingly, it is much more limited in scope than the current work, and it does not compare and contrast Hügel's spiritual direction to Gwen with that of his other directees, or use the material available in the diaries.

Other previous research about Hügel's spiritual direction is in the form of articles or chapters. Steere's writings provide the most insight into Hügel's role as a spiritual counsellor.<sup>37</sup> His 1964 chapter discusses Hügel's nurture of Evelyn Underhill and is the most penetrating study available.<sup>38</sup> The value of Steere's writing comes from his years of 'close and affectionate touch' with Hügel's letters and published writings. Steere notes, however, that his research 'does not in any way exhaust the materials at our disposal in studying the Baron's gift of spiritual counsel.'<sup>39</sup>

Leonard's book, *Creative Tension*, discusses Hügel's 'spiritual legacy' and devotes seventeen pages to discussing Hügel as 'spiritual guide' to four directees.<sup>40</sup> This brief discussion only touches the surface of Hügel's spiritual direction to these individuals, however, referring to only a few of the available letters. Also, Leonard makes no attempt to look for trends in Hügel's spiritual direction of the four individuals.<sup>41</sup>

Fenton is scathing in his attack of Hügel's spiritual direction. He describes it as 'sinister',<sup>42</sup> 'inept' and 'undesirable',<sup>43</sup> 'not... acceptable'<sup>44</sup>, 'hopelessly faulty... strikingly ignorant' and capable of causing 'serious spiritual harm.'<sup>45</sup> The reason for this string of negative epithets comes from his conviction that Hügel's involvement in Modernism revealed a lack of respect for ecclesiastical authority, and his improper attitudes to the Church marred him for life. He also critiques Hügel for giving guidance to Anglicans about the Eucharist and confession<sup>46</sup> and Hügel's tolerance of other denominations and faiths.<sup>47</sup> However, Fenton does not look closely at anything Hügel wrote, but

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36 Peeters:1970.

37 See Steere:1948;1964;1986.

38 Steere:1964:1-34.

39 Steere:1964:21.

40 Leonard:1997:99-116.

41 Leonard also wrote two articles about Hügel's spiritual direction but they are brief, general and only draw from a very limited sample of Hügel's letters. (Leonard:1991;Leonard:1994).

42 Fenton:1955b:113.

43 Fenton:1955b:114.

44 Fenton:1955a:37.

45 Fenton:1955b:126.

46 Fenton:1955b:125.

47 Fenton:1955b:121.

simply dismisses him because of his friendships with Loisy and Tyrrell and his Modernist involvement.

The remaining articles and chapters about Hügel's spiritual direction applaud Hügel as an exemplar for contemporary spiritual direction. Maeder (1972) writes a thoughtful article about Hügel as a spiritual director but only draws on *LN* and no unpublished letters. Similarly, Maddock's (2003) article is very brief, general and only refers to a few published letters. Hinson's (1993) article compares Hügel to Douglas Steere but does not go into any depth and similarly only refers to published sources.

#### **II.iv. Archival Research**

This research is archival and focuses on personal, private genres: Hügel's letters and personal diaries.<sup>48</sup> To date, James Kelly and Lawrence Barmann are the only Hügel scholars to substantially include Hügel's diaries in their source material, exploring Hügel's philosophy of religion and Modernism respectively.<sup>49</sup> In this research, Hügel's published works are also touched upon where they elucidate or contradict material in the letters or diaries.<sup>50</sup>

#### **II.v. Significance of the Research**

Firstly, the originality of this research lies in its focus and scope. As has been alluded to above, this is the first major piece of research to evaluate Hügel as a spiritual director using all the extant source material available. Others have used these materials for other research questions, but no research into Hügel as a spiritual director has been done to this depth or with these materials.<sup>51</sup>

Secondly, this research reports newly-discovered letters relating to Hügel and Gwen Greene not previously consulted by other scholars. These are:

- 13 letters from Hügel to his mother, 1883, Bundesarchive, Koblenz,<sup>52</sup>

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48 In this research, Hügel's diaries were examined from 1908 to 1925 in order to gain a taste of his transition from the end of his involvement in Modernism to the death of Gertrud in 1915, and then focus on the decade under investigation.

49 Kelly:1983;Barmann:1972.

50 Steere argues that 'The rich harvest of spiritual counsel which Baron Hügel had to give was not confined to his letters but... is sprinkled throughout his profound works on the philosophy of religion and may even be seen to set the frame and purpose of these writings.' Steere:1964:101.

51 In addition, Huvelin's letters to Hügel were translated from the French for use in Chapter 2.

52 All letters are dated 1883 (N:1757/38).

- 2 letters from Sr Thekla Hügel to Sr Mary Assumpta at Birkenhead Carmel, July 1963, Nottingham Carmelite Priory Archive;
- 1 letter from Sr Thekla Hügel to Bedoyère, Georgetown University Archive;<sup>53</sup>
- 4 unpublished letters from Hügel to Gwen Greene, Burns' family Archive, London;<sup>54</sup>
- Jeremy Bunting, an elderly Cambridge graduate, donated newly discovered Hügel resources to SAUL while the author was researching in St Andrews. These materials had belonged to Alec Vidler and sat forgotten, in a bottom drawer for 55 years. Letters donated include: 3 letters from Hügel to his wife, Mary; 1 letter from Evie Lance to Bedoyère; 1 letter from Mary Servii to Bedoyère describing Hügel; 23 letters from Hügel to Wilfred Ward; 1 letter from Hügel to Josephine Ward; 7 letters from Wilfred Ward to Hügel; 20 letters from Hügel to Algar Thorold; Hügel's 12 pages of notes for an interview with Algar Thorold; 38 letters from Hügel to Edwyn Bevan; 6 letters from Hügel to Clement Webb; 1 letter from Hügel to Mrs Webb; 1 letter from Clement Webb to Bedoyère; letters from Hügel to Rev. Lloyd Thomas; letters from Hügel to Emilia Fogelklou Norlind; Emilia's personal notes about her conversations with Hügel on 14/9/1910 & 29/9/1910; 1 letter from Emilia Fogelklou Norlind to Bedoyère;<sup>55</sup>
- Letters from Frances Lillie on religious topics (1921-1925), Box 10, folder 4, Crane family & Lillie family papers, Chicago History Museum;
- 2 letters from Hügel to Gwen Greene at SAUL that the author discovered were incorrectly catalogued. One letter came originally from the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, where Gwen must have loaned it to Edward Talbot. It had been incorrectly catalogued at SAUL as 'Letter to a Child.'<sup>56</sup> The other letter, addressed to 'Darling Child' was found in Hügel's library in *A Critical Exposition of Bergson's Philosophy*. Gwen must have borrowed the book and left her letter in it. It was catalogued in SAUL as 'Postcard to [ ]';<sup>57</sup>

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53 This letter was incorrectly catalogued as being from 'Sister Thikla of Jorno' (Michael de la Bedoyère Papers, Box1: Folder 28; GUA).

54 These letters were read by both Kelly and Looome when they visited Burns' archive, but they did not publish materials from them.

55 All in ms38776:SAUL.

56 ms37766/70f:SAUL:21/2/1920.

57 [ ] denotes unknown recipient. ms36998/59:SAUL:29/1/1923.

- Letters from Hügel to Frances Lillie, Grand Theological Union Special Collections, Berkeley;
- Letters between Francis Lillie and Ellen Gates, Sophia Smith Collection, Northampton;<sup>58</sup>
- 2 letters from Hügel to Edward Watkins, plus Hügel's notes for a talk with Watkins, George Tyrrell Modernist Controversy Collection, University of San Francisco Special Collections;
- Over 500 letters from Gwen Greene to her sister, Dolly Ponsonby; 34 letters from Gwen to Hubert Parry; 9 letters from Gwen to Maude Parry; Shulbred Priory.
- The diaries of Hubert Parry, Maud Parry, Dolly Ponsonby, Arthur Ponsonby and Susan Lushington, Shulbred Priory;
- Unpublished letters from Hügel to Hildegard; letters from Hügel to Gertrud; Hildegard to Edmund Gardner; Tyrrell to Gertrud; Hügel to Abbot Butler; Kemp Smith to Hildegard, Downside Abbey Archives;<sup>59</sup>
- 1 letter from Hügel to Mr Rawlinson concerning his lectures on Prayer, Community of the Resurrection Archive, Mirfield;<sup>60</sup>
- 5 letters from Lady Herbert (Mary Hügel's mother) to Catherine Gladstone, Hawarden Records Office;
- 10 letters from Emilia Fogelklou Norlind to Douglas Steere, 4 letters from Dom Michael Hanbury to Douglas Steere, and many letters from CCJ Webb to Douglas Steere, Haverford Archive;
- 2 letters from Mary Hügel to sister, Belle; 2 letters from Sidney Herbert to Mary Hügel; and 2 letters from Reggie Herbert (brother) to Mary Hügel, Wiltshire & Swindon Records Office;
- 2 letters from Mary Hügel to Friedrich Hügel, Shulbred Priory;
- 3 letters from Hügel to Evelyn Underhill; Underhill's notes relating to her spiritual development under Hügel; Kings College Archive, London;

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58 Box9:folder-220-24:SSC.

59 There is some evidence that Leonard read some of these materials, but she does not quote from them extensively.

60 The author wrote to the archivist at Mirfield to see if they had Edward Talbot's letters. They did not, but instead sent the author a letter from Hügel to Mr Rawlinson that they had just discovered.

- 1 letter from Mary Hügel to Norman Kemp Smith, Edinburgh University Archive;
- 2 letters from Edward Talbot to directees concerning Hügel, Borthwick Institute for Archives, York.
- 10 letters from Gwen Greene to Tom Burns and 9 letters to Harman Grisewood, Georgetown University Archive;<sup>61</sup>
- 20 letters from Gwen Greene to Dom Michael Hanbury, Pricknash Abbey Archive;
- 15 letters from Gwen Greene to Evelyn Waugh, British Library, London;
- 1 letter from Hügel about their nanny to her future employer, found at 4 Holford Place, Hampstead by the current owners.<sup>62</sup>
- CCJ Webb Journals, The Bodleian, Oxford University;
- School photo of Juliet Mansel, The Abbey School, High Wycombe, London;
- One photograph of Hügel and two of Evelyn Underhill, Kings College Archive, London;
- Photos of Gwen Greene and family, Shulbred Priory;
- Photographs of Hügel, Mary Hügel and family, Downside Abbey Archives;
- Photos of Hügel and family, Nottingham Carmelite Priory Archives, London;
- Photos of Hügel, Grand Theological Union Special Collections, Berkeley.

#### Interviews:

- Interview with Sr Mary of St Philip, the novice who looked after Sister Thekla Hügel in her final years, Parlour, NCP.<sup>63</sup>

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61 These letters were donated to the University last year after being at Tom Burn's home archive for decades.

62 The author visited both of Hügel's London homes. At his Hampstead home, the residents invited the author in for a tour and then showed her a letter from Hügel that they had found in the house. At the Kensington home, the resident looked through the window but did not answer the door.

63 14/8/2010.

- Interviews with Gwen's living relatives - Laura Ponsonby and Kate Russell (Gwen's great-nieces) and David Plunket Greene (Gwen's grandson).<sup>64</sup>
- Interview with Dr James Kelly, the last person to have extensively researched the SAUL Hügel collection.<sup>65</sup>

Thirdly, this thesis is the first to examine Gwendolen Greene's work, *Mount Zion [MZ]*, in any academic work and certainly the first to discuss it in terms of Greene's reflections on the spiritual direction she received from Hügel.<sup>66</sup>

Fourthly, this research attempts to identify elements of Hügel's spiritual direction that made him such a profound influence on those he directed, evaluate him critically in the context of current theology and spiritual direction, and suggest what, if anything, the Baron might still have to teach us a century on.

## **II.vi. Thesis Structure**

This chapter introduces Hügel, outlining key elements of his context and biography. Chapter 2 discusses the spiritual direction Hügel received from his primary spiritual director, Abbé Huvelin. Chapter 3 briefly outlines biographical highlights from the ten directees selected for examination, and the nature of the spiritual direction Hügel gave to each. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 provide Hügel's spiritual direction to these ten directees, discussing the Institutional, Intellectual and Mystical Elements in separate chapters. Chapter 7 begins by considering Gwen's reflections on Hügel's spiritual direction in her work *Mount Zion*, and concludes by critically evaluating Hügel's spiritual direction as a whole.

## **III. Hügel's Context**

To properly assess the nature and value of Hügel's spiritual direction, it is necessary to consider the context of the period in focus, 1915-1925. This section briefly outlines some of the more significant intellectual and religious issues that were important during this period, and the particular challenges Hügel was responding to.

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64 I had several conversations with Laura and Kate between September 2009 and August 2011.

65 I visited James Kelly in Dublin and had a two hour talk in 2010.

66 Securing a copy of *MZ* took much effort as very few copies exist worldwide. Only two short reviews of *MZ* ever appeared in print: Underhill:1929:775;S.C.:1932:182-3.

### III.i. Advances in scientific research and historical methods

With the dawning of the twentieth century came developments in historical and scientific methods, Industrialisation, and new inventions and technologies. The world was being shaped by critical, historical studies, and by advances in science. The Church's reactions to these changes were varied. Beatie comments:

On the one hand were those who rejected religion outright feeling it to be unjustifiable either scientifically or rationally, and on the other hand, were those who... tended to effect a complete separation between their scientific and religious convictions.<sup>67</sup>

An all-pervading atmosphere of scepticism brought about through progress in history and science elicited Hügel's attempts to reconcile Church teachings with the new scientific developments. Hügel wanted to make the Roman Church as 'inhabitable *intellectually* as possible' so he applied new historico-critical methods to Scripture and to historical studies of the mystics.<sup>68</sup> He wrote:

I grew up with a keen interest in entomology and geology; they helped to develop in me, I think, a double consciousness, of cumulative evidence as an instrument of knowledge, [and] of successive stages of development as a subject-matter of knowledge.<sup>69</sup>

Hügel's 'long training and faithful handling of precise documents'<sup>70</sup> influenced his treatment of Scripture and theology.

### III.ii. The aftermath of the Catholic Modernist movement

Hügel was very involved in the Catholic Modernist cause between 1890 to 1909.<sup>71</sup> Although the period of focus in this research is well after Hügel's engagement with Modernism, his involvement had a residual impact on his later spiritual direction.<sup>72</sup> Barmann argues that any research into Hügel's spirituality needs to be earthed in the Baron's identity as a Modernist as 'the framework for

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67 Beatie:1969:79. The compartmentalisation of science and religion was addressed through Modernism.

68 LN:165.

69 *The Historical Method and the Documents of the Pentateuch*, quoted in Bedoyère:1951:17.

70 RG:25.

71 Most experts agree that the movement occurred during this time frame. The personal cost of this Modernist involvement was seen by Emilia Fogelklou Norlind in 1910. Hügel talked to her about life being an 'expensive thing.' Emilia observed, 'There he bent his head, and I felt through his voice all the agony he must have passed since 's death.' ms38776/8:SAUL:14/9/1910. Hügel's Modernist involvement meant that in Hanbury's words, many Catholics were 'rather shy of him... wondering if he was really Orthodox!' ms12-26346\_02:HC:13/5/1965.

72 Barmann (1972) has documented Hügel's involvement in the Modernist crisis and it is only extremely briefly touched upon here.

his lived faith and his religious search.<sup>73</sup> Further, *ME* was written between 1899 and 1908, years when Hügel's was highly involved in the Modernist cause. His 'Three Elements of Religion' is partly a response to the issues Modernism raised.<sup>74</sup>

Barmann overemphasises the influence that Modernism had on Hügel's later life. However, in a letter Hügel wrote to Maude Petre in 1918, he made it clear that his involvement in the Modernist crisis was a 'strictly circumscribed affair, one that is really *over and done*... ending with the death of Fr. Tyrrell [1909] and with Loisy's alienation from the positive content that had been fought for.'<sup>75</sup> Petre had asked Hügel for his published works written after the Modernist crisis to include in her book on Modernism. Hügel replied, 'I do not really see what my own... writings, since that definitely closed period or crisis, have to do with your subject-matter.'<sup>76</sup> He added, 'I have come to see... how much of serious... danger there was... in many of the philosophical (strongly subjectivist) theories really held which *Pascendi* lumped together.'<sup>77</sup>

Some 10 years on from the Modernist crisis, this is a clear indication that Hügel saw himself as having moved on from Modernism. On the other hand, he still believed in the need to bring faith into engagement with modern scholarship, which he described to Petre as a second type of Modernism:

[a] set of attempts to express the old Faith and its permanent truths and helps – to interpret it according to what appears the best and the most abiding elements in the philosophy and the scholarship and science of the... latest times... to it I still try to contribute my little share.<sup>78</sup>

Hügel's Modernist involvement affected the way he was viewed by others for life. Some people were 'offended' that Hügel escaped condemnation himself, while some of those he influenced, like , were excommunicated.<sup>79</sup> Several theories were put forth as to how Hügel managed to escape condemnation: his aristocracy as a Baron, having a wife from 'an influential English family which

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73 Barmann:1977b:77.

74 Modernism tended to reduce religion to the mystical or spiritual experience alone, independent of the truth of dogmas and the disciplines of institutional, religious practices. Hence the three Elements provided balance. Steere argues that when the Encyclical came in 1907, Hügel was 'increasingly estranged from the most radical of the modernists by their growing scorn of the institutional element of religion, their leaning toward subjectivism, and their reduction of religion to a form of sheer humanitarianism.' Steere:1948:167.

75 *SL*:248;13/3/1918 (italics added).

76 *SL*:248. Barmann sees everything through Modernist eyes and ignores these words of Hügel.

77 *SL*:248-9.

78 *SL*:248.

79 The criticism of people like Maude Petre and Maisie Ward is 'unjustified' argues D'Arcy. (D'Arcy:1991:68).



Rome might hesitate to injure...,<sup>80</sup> his lay status, and that his books were incomprehensible to the Catholic authorities so would not be read by many people.<sup>81</sup> Whatever the reason, following his death, Hügel explicitly distanced himself from the Modernist movement. He explained his 'caution' came from fear of being denied the Sacraments.<sup>82</sup> He was also aware of having three daughters to marry off, so he wanted to 'avoid directly prodding or worrying the powers that be.'<sup>83</sup> But though he escaped excommunication, he was still somewhat 'tainted' by his association with the Modernists. Following the Modernist crisis, the Baron was 'a figure deeply loved and respected by a small élite, but viewed... with... suspicion and distrust by the bulk of his co-religionists.'<sup>84</sup> Even after his death, Abbot Butler feared that Hügel's writings might be posthumously placed on the Index.<sup>85</sup>

It should be noted that Hügel's association with Modernism was always critical and alive to theological problems. This was particularly the case as Loisy and other Modernists became more influenced by Immanentism and began to question Christ's divinity. Hügel argued that in Modernism 'the controversies with regard to Christ to have been by far the most important and difficult.'<sup>86</sup> The emphasis of Loisy on the humanity of Christ, to the exclusion of His Divinity, led to Hügel's emphasis on the need to hold God's transcendence as paramount. In 1910, Hügel wrote to Loisy, 'As for the divinity of Christ... you put it to one side, as foreign to the subject of a scientific teaching on the history of Jesus... one abandons faith in a transcendental, ontological God.'<sup>87</sup> Hügel repeatedly tried to counter Loisy's growing Immanentist trend and scepticism.

### III.iii. Immanentism versus Transcendence

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, traditional beliefs concerning God's transcendence began to be questioned. By the first two decades of the twentieth century in Britain, 'idealistic immanentism, "God in us", had swept the field.'<sup>88</sup> A doctrine of divine immanence began replacing understandings of divine transcendence.<sup>89</sup> This was illustrated in Campbell's book, *The New Theology* (1907): 'my God is my

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80 Steere:1948:168.

81 Neuner:1989:59;SL:31.

82 Bedoyère:214:14/12/1908. As Bedoyère argues, the Sacraments meant *everything* in life to Hügel. (Bedoyère:206). Even as an old man, sick in bed, he had a priest bring him Holy Communion each Thursday morning, (eg. D:18/12/1924;D:11/12/1924).

83 Bedoyère:161:28/1/1904&5/2/1904.

84 Hanbury:1951:128.

85 Brinkman:1983:238. After his death, some people deliberately played down Hügel's Modernist involvement. For example, Holland chose letters for SL that didn't focus on Modernism.

86 SL:355:8/6/1922.

87 Loisy:*Mémoires*:iii:155,156.

88 Steere:1964:50.

89 Beatie:1969:82.

deeper self, and yours too.<sup>190</sup> Hügel recognised 'prevalent Immanentism, as the danger'<sup>191</sup> and his writings were 'a passionate protest against it.'<sup>192</sup> Repeated criticism of Immanentism is evident in Hügel's diaries. He critiqued Loisy's 'holding God in sense of an *anima mundi*, itself reabsorbing into it all individual consciousness.'<sup>193</sup> Hügel similarly criticised an article Loisy wrote that viewed 'God, the Transcendent' as a 'mere ideal.'<sup>194</sup> Also, he wished 'a distinctly sceptical, purely Immanentist current were not now painfully evident in *some parts* of L[oisy]'s own work.'<sup>195</sup> Hügel expressed his 'grave' concern about the London Society for the Study of Religion [LSSR] having '6 pure Immanentists.'<sup>196</sup> Similarly, Hügel 'discovered sadly' that a colleague 'explicitly denies ontological distinctness from man of God.'<sup>197</sup>

Hügel had a 'horror of Pantheism' and believed 'we escaped it through Christ.'<sup>198</sup> He was convinced that Pantheism left 'no room... for humility, for contrition, for adoration, because [it provides] no room for sin or for God.'<sup>199</sup> For this reason, Hügel urged the need to be 'on our guard against Pantheism.'<sup>100</sup> In 1916 he wrote, 'Agnosticism is going, going, gone... Pantheism is now... the danger of Religion.'<sup>101</sup>

Hügel responded to the growing threat of Pantheism by emphasising the ontological difference between God and humanity and the place of a true sense of transcendence. In so doing, he 'recovered for the Anglo Saxon religious world the dimension of transcendence in the Christian faith and thus did much to correct a current strain of subjectively-tilted psychologism in liberal religion.'<sup>102</sup> In reaction to Modernist immanentism, Hügel responded with a '*transcendent* immanentism something that we do not make but find.'<sup>103</sup>

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90 Campbell:1907:33.

91 D:11/12/1912; Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, asked him to write against this Immanentism.

92 Lillie:1925:2. Hügel critiqued the idea that 'man... is God.' RG:32.

93 D:13/4/1908.

94 D:14/3/1910.

95 SL:177:2/4/1910. Loisy retaliated in his *Mémoires* that Hügel's attempts to bring him back to belief in God's transcendence was a form of mental impairment. (Bedoyère:1951:243). Petre wrote that Hügel found Immanentism so repugnant, he sometimes suspected its presence where it did not exist. (Petre:1925:85).

96 ms38776/6:SAUL

97 D:6/7/1918 (Pringle-Pattison).

98 LN:xxxvi. This was Sadhu Sundar Singh's experience. D:11/3/1920.

99 RG:32.

100 RG:36.

101 Bedoyère:1951:291.

102 Steere:1964:5.

103 EAIL:121, (Italics added).

### III.iv. Subjectivism and Projectionism versus the 'givenness' of God

Hügel reacted to the subjectivism and projectionism of his day with an emphasis on the 'given' reality of God. He believed it made 'an enormous difference whether we come to religion with the habit of... rejoicing in realities distinct from ourselves... or... with subjectivist habits of mind.'<sup>104</sup>

Hügel wrote, 'as I get older, I grow more sensitive to... subjectivisms, more sad over them and with less confidence as to being able at all to check them by any words of mine.'<sup>105</sup> However, Hügel had some success, as Cock declared, Hügel 'saved me from the snares of subjectivity...'<sup>106</sup> Hügel emphasised a realist philosophy, stressing 'the given, *is-ness* of God.'<sup>107</sup> Bedoyère describes this 'givenness' of experiences as Hügel's 'unique contribution' to religious thinking.<sup>108</sup>

Hügel also countered projectionism with scientific observation of traces of God. He wrote, 'Geology... made the notion that the human mind creates reality a preposterous one.'<sup>109</sup> Hügel saw science, Evolution in particular, as able to make a 'distinction between the objects studied and the mind of the explorer,'<sup>110</sup> adding, 'how little... constituents of the individual plant... are mere concepts of the mind.'<sup>111</sup> He therefore encouraged his directees to observe and see God at work.

### III.v. English Nineteenth Century Catholicism

Leonard provides a good background to Hügel's context regarding the English Catholic Church in the nineteenth century.<sup>112</sup> In general, the Catholic leaders in England (Manning then Vaughan) tended to be 'more Roman than Rome', supporting papal infallibility and Ultramontanism.<sup>113</sup> From the outside, a great deal of suspicion and mistrust was directed towards Catholics by both the general British populace and the State.

Hügel's mother-in-law, Mary Herbert of Lea, experienced this negativity towards Catholic converts first-hand. When she converted to Catholicism in 1866, her children were taken from her and brought up as wards in Chancery, and baptised into the Church of England. A year later, we see

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104 RG:6.

105 SL:246:10/1/1918.

106 Cock:1929:195.

107 Bedoyère:1951:328.

108 Bedoyère:1951:71.

109 RG:4.

110 RG:44. Despite his embrace of Darwinism, Hügel was also aware that it brought a challenge to the presence of God in people's daily lives. An illustration of this is revealed in Hügel's reflections on a discussion he had with Lady Dene Paul about 'man's mind and God's action.' Hügel reflects, she spoke 'too much under evolutionary influences.' D:10/10/1919.

111 RG:47.

112 See Leonard:1997:14-20.

113 Leonard:1997:18-19.

Lady Herbert's thanks to Catherine Gladstone for her 'kindness to my child... She is looking so well thanks to your kind care... renewed thanks for all you have done for my Molly.'<sup>114</sup> Hügel was an outsider to English Catholicism as a European, and largely stood outside English Catholic conservatism. He 'looked to the church of the past for his inspiration,' discovering 'wisdom' in the 'pre-Reformation Catholic tradition.'<sup>115</sup>

### **III.vi. Resurgence of interest in Mysticism and Spiritualism**

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw a resurgence of interest in spirituality and mysticism. Houston views this as 'a cultural reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment, which had suppressed the human spirit in its emphasis on thinking rather than living.'<sup>116</sup> Evelyn Underhill's publications, particularly *Mysticism* (1911), played a role in this renewal. Hügel largely valued this reaction to rationalism with its emphasis on the importance of intuition, feeling and the heart. But along with this shift came a rise in Spiritualism.

Gwen writes, 'I cannot remember anything that really seemed to disturb' Hügel 'except Mrs Besant and Theosophy and Christian Science.'<sup>117</sup> Hügel recognised their 'power for harm' as 'almost infinite.'<sup>118</sup> The fascination with Spiritualism was seen by Hügel as the result of an over-focus on the Intellectual Element of Religion: 'how greatly an exclusively mathematical or physical science mentality and education exposes men to the crassest credulity in such matters.'<sup>119</sup>

Hügel's diaries document this abhorrence of secular spiritualities. He was 'alarmed' to see a close friend 'taken up violently with Theosophy... Strange.'<sup>120</sup> He described people 'obsessed with the miserable mysteries of Spiritualism,'<sup>121</sup> including a 'parish much infected by Spiritualism' adding, the Vicar has 'little discrimination.'<sup>122</sup> Hügel assembled a reading list of the 'wisest and most penetrating' writings on Spiritualism to assist another Vicar.<sup>123</sup>

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114 'Molly' was Mary, Hügel's future wife. GG785:Hawarden Records Office:18/12/1869.

115 Leonard:1997:20. His choice of Catherine of Genoa for his *ME* displays this pre-Reformation preference.

116 Houston:2006:64.

117 *TW*:144.

118 *TW*:144.

119 Barmann:1981:156.

120 Barmann:1981:171.

121 Barmann:1981:156.

122 Barmann:1981:1423

123 Barmann:1981:143.

Given the openness to supernatural phenomena in his day, Hügel received many letters from people about supernatural phenomena: 'Angelic apparitions',<sup>124</sup> 'Spiritualism'<sup>125</sup> and 'Reincarnation'.<sup>126</sup> Rev. Wane wrote to Hügel about Miss Chapman, a mystic in his congregation.<sup>127</sup> Hügel sent Wane advice for 'how to deal with it', his *EL*, and significantly, returned 'Miss Chapman's ms book, unread.'<sup>128</sup> Professor Vezzam, 'an Occultist,' visited Hügel and the Baron lent him 3 papers<sup>129</sup> and talked with him about 'Mysticism, Church, Reincarnation.'<sup>130</sup> Hügel's neighbours, the Garceaus, asked the Baron to meet a Princess who was a Spiritualist. Hügel refused, stating, 'I am the least spiritualistic of men... all of it left me absolutely uninterested... it is only religion and that which prepares for it *in a normal manner*, that interests me.'<sup>131</sup>

### III.vii. World War 1

The Victorian world-view was shattered in World War 1. Once the war began, England became more secular and discussions about divine immanence and transcendence largely came to a halt. Suddenly the problem of evil and suffering were more pressing issues. Beatie suggests, 'the immanent God and the transcendent God seemed equally inadequate on the battle-field... one was too deeply implicated in the world's evils, the other too far above them.'<sup>132</sup>

During the war, Hügel was sometimes viewed as 'an enemy alien.'<sup>133</sup> In the summer of 1914, fearing bomb attacks on London, the Baron sought refuge in Somerset. His German accent, dark trench coat and use of geological hammer scurrying over surrounding hills, caused some locals to regard him as a German spy.<sup>134</sup> On the day Britain declared war on Austria, the Baron gave up his Austrian citizenship and was naturalised a British citizen on 8th December, 1914.<sup>135</sup>

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124 Sister-Juliana:D:20/3/1918.

125 Ida-Lea:D:11/5/1919;Miss-Liddell:D:19/6/1919.

126 Muriel-Herbert:D:6/3/1919;Dom-Casciola:D:20/10/1923.

127 D:6/4/1917;D:12/4/1917;D:13/4/1917.

128 D:27/4/1917;D:26/5/1917.

129 D:4/5/1920.

130 D:19/5/1920.

131 Garceau:1935:286. We see a sharp contrast between Hügel's attitude towards Jung - 'that nasty Jung!' and Augustine - 'an oasis... [of] utterly undying truths.' Whelan:1969:34:5-6/11/19.

132 Beatie:1969:108.

133 Ward:1937:465.

134 Beatie:1969:43.

135 D:8/12/14.

### III.viii. The Suffragette Movement

A major social change during 1915-1925 was the impact of the Suffragette movement. Hügel's directees influenced him regarding women's issues. Juliet Mansel's mother, Mildred Mansel, joined the Women's Social and Political Union and was arrested in June 1909.<sup>136</sup> Also, Gwen Greene's mother, Maud Parry, was a Suffragist.<sup>137</sup> Adeline Chapman, Juliet's grandmother, lent Hügel a Women's Movement Address.<sup>138</sup> Also, Hügel's diaries document a number of conversations with Rhoda von Schubert<sup>139</sup> and Evelyn de Vesci<sup>140</sup> about Suffrage, revealing his attempts to understand the issues and respond. England was shifting from a culture of the male elite, to a mass culture that slowly started to recognise women.



*Suffragette Parade, Littlehampton, 1913. Maud Parry is the middle woman of the three in front, dressed in black. SP.*

### III.ix. Friendships

Hügel's diaries reveal the many letters Hügel wrote to friends. He described letter-writing as 'the divinely intended and specially blest means... of such most precious touch with our friends.'<sup>141</sup> However, by 1919, Hügel had to limit his letters, telling Adeline, 'letter writing leads promptly to white nights...I will... have to choose between author's work and correspondence.'<sup>142</sup> Despite this, he recognised the necessity of living thinkers to 'work with and for... working with whom I learn so much... I do not find that the dead can develop one in the ways I mean.'<sup>143</sup> He told Kemp Smith,

136 Crawford:2001:374. Hügel went to Mildred's hearing and wrote her a long letter 'trying to determine her to keep quiet... for sake of cause itself, and her own balance... [and] usefulness at home.' D:1/7/1909.

137 Hubert Parry also had enthusiasm for women's Suffrage. (MPD:6/5/188:SP).

138 D:30/4/1911.

139 D:19/12/1912.

140 D:11/12/1909.

141 SL:374.

142 ms37184/49a:SAUL:9/8/1919.

143 Ward:1937:161.

'What a pleasure it is to have friends whom one can admire, nothing surely makes one grow like that.'<sup>144</sup>

When living in Hampstead, Hügel saw 'a walk on the Heath' as 'the best form of interview.'<sup>145</sup> Hügel walked each afternoon and was often talking with a friend. When he moved to Kensington, he walked daily in Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park. In addition to daily walks, Hügel had a steady stream of visitors and had a special gift for friendship. CCJ Webb 'reverenced' Hügel 'above all other living men,' and wrote, 'I count my friendship with him among the chief blessings of my life.'<sup>146</sup>



*Hügel talking with friends. DAA:BoxIX1272.*

Hügel enjoyed friends from many ecumenical backgrounds. Some close friendships included , Montefiore, Troeltsch, Kemp Smith, Wilfred Ward, Duchesne and Newman.<sup>147</sup> However, his friendships with both Loisy and ended sourly. Hügel was a loyal friend to Alfred Loisy, endlessly promoting his work, and hoping he would eventually discover 'a clear... warm theism.'<sup>148</sup> But as Hügel earnestly prayed for Loisy, the Frenchman was 'laughing at him behind his back.'<sup>149</sup> Loisy had apparently given up his faith in 1886 and was privately comparing Genesis texts to Cinderella!<sup>150</sup> Similarly, Hügel's relationship with declined in the latter years of his life.<sup>151</sup>

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144 Barmann:1981:219.

145 Bedoyère:1951:27.

146 CCJ Webb Journals:BOU:Mss-Eng-Misc-d1117-Fol-34-35;17/1/1925.

147 Newman influenced Hügel towards his three Elements of Religion through his Preface to the third edition of his *Via Media*. Hügel wrote of Newman, he 'first taught me to glory in my appurtenance to the Catholic and Roman Church, and to conceive this my inheritance in a large and historical manner...' (*MEI*:xv).

148 Bedoyère:1951:353.

149 Bedoyère:1951:215.

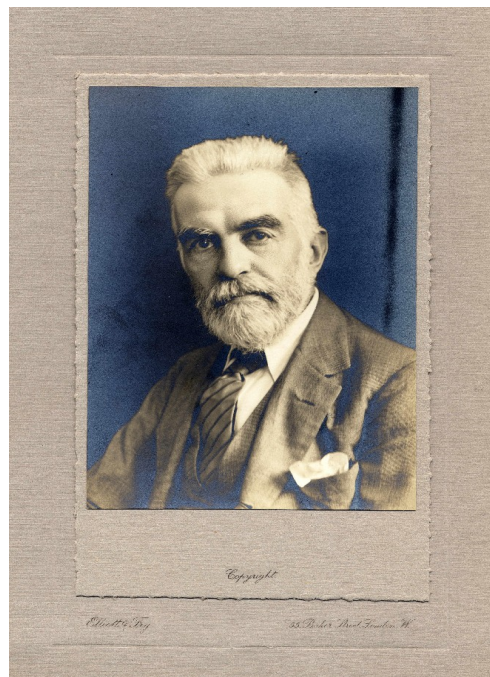
150 Bedoyère:1951:96.

151 mocked Hügel to a friend: 'The Baron has just gone. Wonderful man! Nothing is true; but the sum total of nothings is sublime.' Bedoyère:1951:214.

Hügel was also friends with many women. Some were authors such as Evelyn Underhill and Mrs Dowson. Others were simply bright women such as Adeline Chapman and Evelyn de Vesci. In his diaries we see many recurring names of women he talked with and sent books to. Underhill wrote, 'he left no-one unchanged by his friendship.'<sup>152</sup>

#### IV. Hügel's Biography

To know the persons and ideas that dominated a man's childhood is to know, to some extent at least, the man himself.<sup>153</sup> (Barmann)



*Hügel. Bedoyère:1951:2.*

Hügel's childhood and life have been described well in Bedoyère's biography.<sup>154</sup> The reliability of Bedoyère's portrait is provided by Hügel's daughter, Thekla, who wrote regarding the biography:

I like every word of it... so much... has been misunderstood in my father... he has vindicated him so well... bringing out the... true character & aim of my father's life & soul.<sup>155</sup>

152 ms30628:SAUL:30/1/1925.

153 Barmann:1972:1.

154 Bedoyère:1951.

155 Michael-de-la-Bedoyère-Papers Box-1-Folder-2:GUA:10/6/1951



Similarly, Herbert Wood told Bedoyère he had written 'a true and convincing portrait.'<sup>156</sup> Here we simply highlight some of the more important features of Hügel's biography that relate to the man that he later became as a spiritual director.

#### **IV.i. A cosmopolitan mind developed during Hügel's youth**

Hügel was born in Florence, the eldest son of a Rhineland Baron in the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic service.<sup>157</sup> Hügel admits that he never really knew his father who was 57 years old when he was born, with his mother, Eliza, only 21.<sup>158</sup> Hügel had a younger brother, Anatole, and a younger sister, Pauline.<sup>159</sup>

The nature of Carl's diplomatic vocation meant that the family moved around Europe. They lived in Florence for Hügel's first eight years.<sup>160</sup> In 1860, the family moved to Brussels, where they lived for seven years, before Baron Carl retired from his diplomatic service to Torquay, England. This cosmopolitan upbringing meant that Hügel always had a sense of being a foreigner:

I am a man with his friends scattered across Europe, and with his roots, apparently, deeply struck, in no place under heaven... one of the great trials of my life... My ideal has ever been a strong rootedness in local and patriotic ties.<sup>161</sup>

What made Hügel's cosmopolitan upbringing and sense of cultural dislocation even more acute was the diversity of his family lineage: Baron Carl was German and his mother, Lady Farquarson, was Scottish. Hügel's first language was German and he maintained a strong German accent throughout his life. Hügel lived his adult life in England,<sup>162</sup> but he 'never remotely succeeded in becoming or looking an Englishman.'<sup>163</sup> He always felt 'a certain subtle difference in temper and instinct' from even his 'dearest... English friends.'<sup>164</sup> Hügel, however, found 'this consciousness of difference and

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156 Michael-de-la-Bedoyère-Papers:Box1-Folder-30:GUA:14/5/1951.

157 Hügel was named after his godfather, Prince Liechtenstein. (en.wikisource.org/wiki/Chrarels\_von\_Hügel/Events\_in\_the\_life;accessed 18/3/2013).

158 After his father died, Hügel spent much time restoring his father's reputation as the one who rescued Prince Mittenstein. (See his letters to his mother - N1757-38:Bundesarchive Koblenz).

159 Anatole was the first curator, and the 'Von Hügel Institute' in Cambridge is named after him. Pauline became a nun and died in 1901. We learn from Hügel's diary that his mother had a still-born son before he was born. (D:13/7/1912).

160 Hügel described his 'utter heartbreak' when his English nurse left him when he was eight. *RG*:80.

161 Bedoyère:21-22.

162 However, he had 'nine winters spent in Rome, a summer in Westphalia, and two short visits to Jena, Heidelberg and Würzburg, and one (further) visit to the Tyrol.' *GS*:122-123.

163 Bedoyère:1951;20. When he first arrived in England, a man said he would not walk with Hügel as he was not wearing the correct tie. *EAI*:255.

164 *GS*:123.

isolation' disappeared with 'Scotchmen,' who he believed, 'rejoice in thought and contemplation.'<sup>165</sup> This contrasted with what he saw as the 'English habit of light speech and trifling.'<sup>166</sup> Hügel believed that his 'German-Scotch blood' made 'a life without much thought and interiority... *something intolerably childish and philistine*,<sup>167</sup> and that the 'German half of my blood'<sup>168</sup> made him 'earnest and serious-minded.'<sup>169</sup> This clash of cultures within himself meant that his German half was 'radical' but his English half 'cautious... wisely conservative.'<sup>170</sup> And while accepting and celebrating his ethnicity, Hügel was also aware of the blindness that can come from our nationality.

#### **IV.ii. Hügel's education and intellectual development**

This rich, international and rootless upbringing influenced Hügel's life and character. Most obviously, he gained fluency in several languages, enabling him to communicate with intellectuals across Europe.

Hügel never attended school, but had his education provided by a variety of tutors from varying religious backgrounds.<sup>171</sup> This experience gave him an appreciation for different perspectives and varied religious persuasions. In Florence, Hügel's tutor was an Anglican friend of his mother's who taught him the rudiments of religion from a Roman Catechism. In Brussels, Hügel was tutored by a Lutheran pastor and his studies were arranged by a German, Catholic historian. Whilst in Torquay, a Quaker and broad-minded Victorian scientist taught Hügel geology.<sup>172</sup> In adult life, Hügel learned Hebrew from a rabbi. Although he always affirmed himself a Roman Catholic, these varied, educational influences contributed to Hügel being deeply ecumenical. His religiously diverse education meant that as a Catholic, Hügel understood the Protestant mind, and could provide spiritual direction effectively for Protestants.

Hügel's desire to cross-fertilise insights from a variety of Christian traditions resulted in his setting up and coordinating the London Society for the Study of Religion [LSSR] in 1904. Scholars in this group were deliberately chosen to represent a variety of denominations. Hügel recorded the impact of his discussions with non-Catholics:

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165 *EAI*:91. Hügel similarly described feeling isolated from the English but not the Scots. *GS*:123.

166 Blythe:1941:222.

167 ms30994:SAUL.

168 *GS*:120.

169 Blythe:1941:222.

170 Bedoyère1951:21.

171 Hügel's father was not overly Catholic and his mother, a Presbyterian, converted to Catholicism after marrying.

172 Hügel was friends with the Quakers from the age of 15. *SL*:234.

I find myself, I a convinced Catholic, profoundly helped in the development of my thought, and precisely in this Catholicism of my soul, by the Lutheran Troeltsch and the Calvinist Kemp Smith, more or less against the Catholics.<sup>173</sup>

Hügel never attended a university, to which many attribute the originality of his thinking, not having been 'flattened out' by a fixed curriculum of formal education.<sup>174</sup> His lack of institutionalised education coupled with his sense of being a foreign outsider gave Hügel a freedom from fads in scholarship resident in particular locations. He critiqued those 'misled... by too much attention to the immediate fashions... of the day.'<sup>175</sup> In this vein, Hügel's friend, CCJ Webb, celebrated the Baron's 'perfect intellectual freedom,'<sup>176</sup> and the 'more free and individualised flowering of his intellectual and emotional, richly human nature.'<sup>177</sup>

Another interesting aspect of Hügel's education was a strong interest in science. Hügel viewed his geology as 'a valuable balancing corrective... to purely metaphysical and religious thinking,'<sup>178</sup> which helped him develop a double consciousness that carefully examined the evidence. Science provided Hügel with a methodology 'from the known to the unknown,'<sup>179</sup> with a 'starting point' of 'life as it is and as it surrounds us from the first.'<sup>180</sup> Even as a child, Hügel observed black crickets and leaf-lice, making careful observations.<sup>181</sup> This approach of 'discovery' was adopted into his religious studies: 'More and more to live the spiritual life, increasingly to penetrate into the living Realities it reveals, and to express my discoveries... this alone I can strive to do.'<sup>182</sup>

Hügel had a learning posture that was open to whatever truth there was to find. He approached the study of Scripture and mysticism as a careful and meticulous exploration from all angles, emphasising a posture that was relational, humble, and lived. He contrasted the 'narrow-minded, jeering, *superior* person' with 'the man who... seeks, God and His reality... keep[ing] himself open to learn more.'<sup>183</sup>

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173 SL:334.

174 Gibbard:1975:13.

175 ms37184/47a:SAUL:14/2/1918.

176 CCJ Webb Journals:BOU:Mss-Eng-Misc-d1117-Fol-34:17/1/1925.

177 SL:4.

178 SL:4.

179 RG:28.

180 RG:29.

181 RG:37.

182 Hügel:1921b:860.

183 RG:27.

Hügel's delicate health also forced his scholarship to be balanced by other activities. He could only manage work at his academic studies in the morning, and so spent his afternoons having his daily walks, resting, talking with friends or directees, or visiting Church. When he was unwell, he spent days lying still. Hügel's ill-health gave him the opportunity to reflect and pray through his intellectual studies, giving his writings time to percolate, allowing him time - 'living and growing into it.'<sup>184</sup> Hügel described these 'enforced breaks' as 'the greatest of my crosses,' but he hoped his 'poor work may bear certain qualities about it which, otherwise, it would not.'<sup>185</sup> Hügel's experience of coping with ongoing illness added authenticity to his teaching. Hügel's daughter, Hildegard, described him when unwell in 1918:

speaking of what a splendid school suffering is... how it teaches one more than any amount of learning – how he feels these days have been given to him to get nearer to great Realities... that all this will only deepen and strengthen his work by a greater and deeper experience of the greatest Grace, Suffering. It is wonderful to see his face illumined with joy when he speaks of it.<sup>186</sup>

#### **IV.iii. Hügel's Spiritual Development**

Hügel recorded his sense of God's presence as a young child, both in the natural world, and in the silence of the Florentine churches:

a religious sense, so strong... sprang up in me on occasion of... a vivid sense of the... external nature as environing me... at five or six years of age, I possessed a sense, not only of God in the external, especially the organic, world, but of a mysterious divine Presence in the churches of Florence. Thus historical religion was with me, together with metaphysical (and natural) religion, from the first.<sup>187</sup>

By age 13, 'the religious sense... was already strongly awake...'<sup>188</sup> Hügel wrote, 'my young mind... [was] penetrated and saturated by a Spirit distinct from what I was.'<sup>189</sup> He described his religion as 'the mystical type,' with 'its thirst and support' drawn 'from existence... *what is*.'<sup>190</sup> From childhood,

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184 Bedoyère:1951:191-2.

185 ms3570.VII.A.3.f:DAA:22/5/1905.

186 SL:255-6.

187 RG:80. cf. Nédoncelle:1937:2.

188 RG:79-80.

189 RG:79-80.

190 RG:81.

Hügel had a strong sense that 'Beauty and the sense of Beauty come from God.'<sup>191</sup> He would comment later, 'How narrow and hard, or vague and empty, remains the specifically religious sense in souls greatly lacking in the aesthetic capacity.'<sup>192</sup>

Alongside aesthetics, Hügel developed early the conviction that a complete response to God required the senses and body, not just a response from the mind. He recorded an episode in his boyhood, when a man spoke to him, teaching 'principles and prejudices of anti-body, anti-senses.'<sup>193</sup>

My fine young friend... insisted... religion... has nothing to do really with anything but the mind, with certain thoughts instilled into this mind by the other mind, God... thoughts as to my sinfulness and my already accomplished redemption... by Christ... mind without, or previous to, the energisings [sic] of the body... I found it unassimilably [sic] thin, abstract, doctrinaire, inhuman, driving me into endless self-preoccupation and scruples instead of unto God... this teaching would not do for my own poor soul.<sup>194</sup>

He recalled, 'The braininess of the thing... his more than Pauline Paulinism.'<sup>195</sup> Hügel saw this as terribly unbalanced, missing 'the body and its senses as occasions and vehicles of the awakening of spirit.'<sup>196</sup>

Hügel was nurtured by several people in his youth. As a boy, he would visit Canon Agar:

a saintly soul. What noble prospects he used to enfold to me... he would speak about worldliness in the church, and... its constant need of saints... [He] represented to me the old church at its mellow, majestic best.<sup>197</sup>

A turning point in Hügel's conviction that God answers prayer came from an experience as a youth outside Mainz Cathedral. He saw a woman run into the church, clutching her baby who had just died. As she threw herself upon the altar, her sobs gradually quietened. She left the church peaceful with a radiant, glowing face.<sup>198</sup> Hügel recalled this image throughout his life.

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191 *RG*:95.

192 *RG*:95.

193 *EAI*:98-99.

194 *EAI*:98-99.

195 *EAI*:97.

196 *EAI*:98.

197 ms38776/8:SAUL:6/4/1912.

198 *Bedoyère*:1951:18.

Shortly after his father's death in 1872, Hügel suffered a severe attack of typhus at age 18, that left him relatively deaf, a condition that worsened over the course of his life.<sup>199</sup> This was a tremendous trial for Hügel, and meant that engaging in social intercourse was difficult,<sup>200</sup> and is probably the reason why the majority of his spiritual direction was given via letter. It also contributed to Hügel's tendency to lecture rather than engage dialogically.<sup>201</sup>

Following his typhus, Hügel spent a year in Vienna and underwent a religious crisis. Father Raymond Hocking trained Hügel in his spiritual life that year, and particularly introduced him to the practice of asceticism. Hügel described Hocking as an 'utterly unforgettable example, silent influence... a mystically minded but scholastically trained Dutch Dominican.'<sup>202</sup> 'What a splendid man he was! What I learnt from him! He saved me from sin.'<sup>203</sup> Hocking taught Hügel that his ascetical lifestyle was lived for God 'to keep alive in this world the spirit that the world forgets – the spirit of renunciation, sacrifice, the supernatural life.'<sup>204</sup> At this time in his life, Hügel was experiencing the world as 'distant, cold, shallow'<sup>205</sup> and Hocking taught him that the Christian life meant 'winning and practising much desolation.'<sup>206</sup> Hügel would later reflect that Hocking's 'nobly costing, richly fruitful self-renunciation... has braced me... these thirty years.'<sup>207</sup>

When Hügel returned to England, a number of diverse influences further developed Hügel's spiritual life. His spiritual practices included an annual Jesuit retreat,<sup>208</sup> weekly confession, and bi-weekly Mass and communion.<sup>209</sup> Frequent visits to the Blessed Sacrament, Hügel insisted, provided 'greater peace and effective affection' than he 'otherwise' could have had.<sup>210</sup> Butler described walks with Hügel, discussing all manner of spiritual topics, when Hügel would excuse himself, enter a Catholic Church and be suddenly rapt in awe in front of the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>211</sup> Similarly, Father Brodrick recalled Hügel in the chapel with his 'eyes fixed on the tabernacle, lost to himself and his

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199 The typhus also left him permanently suffering with nervous ill-health.

200 Thekla writes, 'Being deaf since 18 and very delicate all his life kept my father very isolated.' Sr-Thekla-to-Sr-Mary-Assumpta:July-1963:NCPA.

201 Father D'Arcy recalls a talk Hügel gave to Oxford students in 1918 where he defended the reality of evil and the devil. A stormy discussion broke and Hügel told D'Arcy, 'I thank God for my deafness because during the discussion period I think they were rather critical of me, but I couldn't hear and was able to say my prayers.' D'Arcy:1991:79-80.

202 Steere:1985:43-44.

203 LN:xxiv.

204 LN:xxiv.

205 Steere:1985:43-44.

206 LN:85-86.

207 Bedoyère1951:19&26/12/1900.

208 Bedoyère:1951:23.

209 Bedoyère:1951:23.

210 TW:139-140. Hügel's diaries frequently have the word 'Visit', indicating this practice. For example, D:17/10/1918.

211 Butler:1930:184.

surroundings in prayer.<sup>212</sup> As Dr Sauer wrote, 'Those who have not seen him so, know only half the man.'<sup>213</sup>

Another lifelong practice was daily spiritual reading. The *Imitation*, *Confessions*, Psalms and Gospels were the main texts Hügel fed upon.<sup>214</sup> Hügel was constantly aware of wanting to learn from 'the great minds of the past,'<sup>215</sup> 'standing on their shoulders, I may be able to see still further than they did... if I stood on my own feet alone, I should certainly see much less far than any of them saw.'<sup>216</sup>

#### IV.iv. Hügel's published works

Hügel was 56 years old when his first book, *The Mystical Element of Religion [ME]*, was published in 1908.<sup>217</sup> He wanted to 'find how a soul that had developed so great a taste for the Infinite could still make room for the historical, the institutional, and the intellectual elements in her religious life.'<sup>218</sup> His second book, *Eternal Life [EL]*, was published in 1912, followed by *The German Soul [GS]* in 1916.<sup>219</sup> For financial reasons, he chose to have 11 of his papers compiled into the volume, *Essays and Addresses [EAI]*, in 1921.

His final years were spent working on *The Reality of God [RG]*. Hügel's daughter, Hildegard, described his 'beloved book' which he was 'straining every nerve to finish.'<sup>220</sup> He was even dictating to his secretary the night before he died. Hügel wrote it is 'only within the last few years that I have attained to anything like clearness concerning the roots of... faith.'<sup>221</sup> So all of Hügel's published works are those of a mature thinker, predominantly in his final decade.

Several of Hügel's works were published posthumously: Volume 2 of *Essays and Addresses [EAI]* (1926), *Selected Letters [SL]* (1927), *Letters from Baron von Hügel to a Niece [LN]* (1928), *Some Notes on the Petrine Claims* (1930),<sup>222</sup> and *The Reality of God [RG]* and *Religion and Agnosticism*

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212 Whelan:1969:24.

213 SL:49.

214 LN:xxxii,130. Hügel told Gwen he had 'tried to live the *Confessions* at their deepest these last fifty years...' LN:45. At the end of his life Hügel wrote that the *Confessions* is still able to teach much. (RG:22).

215 RG:23.

216 RG:22.

217 Hügel told that writing *ME* had a 'considerable' effect upon him: 'I have become a good bit more a person... of the right, the spiritual-humble sort...' SL:102-3.

218 Steere:1948:169.

219 *ME* and *EL* both began as articles but Hügel 'became so engrossed' in his subject he allowed his composition to grow as long as he saw necessary. *EL*:v.

220 GB237Coll-1038:EUA:24/3/1925.

221 RG:3.

222 A letter composed to Rhoda von Schubert in 1893.

[RA] (1931).<sup>223</sup> In addition to these published volumes, Hügel wrote many articles and a few reviews.<sup>224</sup>

Hügel's writings are described by Norman Kemp Smith as 'being the outcome of a life's rich experience.'<sup>225</sup> Hügel himself spoke of the necessity of 'quiet listening to the heartbeat of real life... genuine, gentle receptivity'<sup>226</sup> in effective writing. Hügel's writing style, however, has been criticised by many. T.S. Eliot described it as 'heavy, difficult, Germanic...[and] long-winded.'<sup>227</sup> Similarly, Lester-Garland criticised Hügel's 'over-long sentences, excessive use of quotations, and a tendency to over-elaboration and obscurity.'<sup>228</sup> However, he also added:

He often breaks out into flashes of extreme brilliancy, sentences in which the phrase used seems the perfect and inevitable vehicle of the thought, concise and effective epigrams, original and telling figures of speech. And there are passages... of a great master of English prose.<sup>229</sup>

Lillie recognised the difficulties of Hügel's style, yet excused him because 'an intense personal life penetrates the whole mass and makes it glow.'<sup>230</sup> Petre recognised a 'greatness' in his books but argued, 'his character, his presence was still greater.'<sup>231</sup>

#### **IV.v. Hügel as husband and father**

In 1873, at the age of twenty-one, Hügel married the English woman, Lady Mary Herbert.<sup>232</sup> The Anglican Herberts of Pembroke didn't think Hügel was good enough for Mary.<sup>233</sup> Gladstone's diaries and letters indicate opposition to Mary marrying 'the German boy' on grounds of class and religion. Gladstone described a dinner at Lady Herbert's, just after the engagement announcement,

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223 Hügel's literary remains provide his book, *The Reality of God*, and his earlier unfinished writings about Sir Alfred Lyall. Hügel found in Lyall an agnostic soul with 'a spirit that ever hungered after the Invisible, the Eternal, the Abiding...' (SL:190).

224 See Kelly:1983:18-24 for a full list of published articles.

225 Barmann:1981:145.

226 Barmann:1981:256.

227 Eliot:1928:109. Hügel attributed the 'clumsiness' of his writing to 'owning too many languages' and the 'German half' of his blood. Barmann:1981:66:16-19/2/1920.

228 Lester-Garland:1933:7-8.

229 Lester-Garland:1933:7-8.

230 Lillie:1925:6-7.

231 Petre:1925:78.

232 Shortly after their marriage, Mary converted to Catholicism.

233 Even those who married into the Herbert fold didn't approve. Arthur Ponsonby wrote Hügel 'could argue most convincingly that black was white.' APD:nd.SP. Hubert Parry wrote Hügel 'does not impress much, on acquaintance...' HPD:Oct-Nov1893:168-9:SPA.



as 'a painful occasion.'<sup>234</sup> Hügel wrote to Mary of his disappointment at entering 'a family, at best tolerated, where there might be more.'<sup>235</sup> However, after they married, Hügel told Mary, 'I never dreamt of such happiness.'<sup>236</sup>



*Mary Hügel, before her wedding.*  
SP.



*Mary Hügel as an older woman.*  
DAA.

In 1876, the young couple settled in London, living at 4 Holford Road, Hampstead before moving, in 1903, to 13 Vicarage Gate, Kensington. The close proximity to Hampstead Heath and Kensington Gardens in each case, meant Hügel would take daily afternoon walks with his Pekinese dog.<sup>237</sup>

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234 13/11/1873 in Matthew:1982:410 (Volume 8).

235 Bedoyère:1951:9.

236 Bedoyère:1951:9. Marrying into the Herbert family opened doors in terms of British aristocratic circles.

237 Hügel bestowed great affection on his dogs. They 'seemed to the baron to stand in regard to their masters in a way analogous to that in which man stands to God – hence many a telling spiritual and moral lesson.' (Bedoyère:1951:270). We see Hügel's love for 'Puck' when he had to be 'put down' in 1922: 'He had lain looking at me with deep love and perfect confidence till his eyes broke.' (D:18/10/1922). Puck was 'always given the best chair.' (Mansel:1951:2).



*Hügel's first home: 4 Holford Place, Hampstead. (Author's photo).*



*Hügel's second home: 13 Vicarage Gate, Kensington. (Author's Photo)*

Hügel was a devoted father to his three daughters, Gertrud, Hildegard and Thekla. Given the majority of Hügel's directees were female, fathering three girls provided essential preparation for relating to women. Hügel managed his daughters' education himself teaching them Catechism, history and languages. He set them twice-yearly examinations that friends described as more difficult than those of Universities.<sup>238</sup>

Perspectives on Hügel's fathering are provided by his daughters. Hildegard, the least academic of the three, commented, 'All through my life he took the very greatest interest in anything that interested *me*, though it was probably... outside any interests of his own.'<sup>239</sup> Hildegard also wrote, 'he loved to play with us... He loved nature, and taught us about birds and animals and trees on our constant walks with him.'<sup>240</sup> Thekla reported:



*Plaque outside 4 Holford Place, Hampstead, London. (Author's photo).*

238 Bedoyère:1951:53.

239 *SL*:66.

240 *SL*:54.

He was a devoted father and husband and took every pain to bring us up well, was immersed in learned books and people and Greek and Hebrew etc in his study, but it was for God – from a boy of 18 or earlier his one longing was for God alone.<sup>241</sup>

Juliet Mansel, Hügel's directee who lived with the Hügels, described the 'unique atmosphere' at Vicarage Gate: 'the warmth, the charitableness, the humorous tolerance which enveloped all the incongruous people who came to the house; men of learning to see the Baron, artists and musicians to call on Lady Mary.'<sup>242</sup> Frances Lillie, another directee, described the Hügels as a 'united and devoted family.'<sup>243</sup>

Hügel's wife, Mary, was very different to him and they appeared to live fairly independently.<sup>244</sup> Frances described Mary as 'kind... but apparently not widely read.'<sup>245</sup> Mary did not appear to share Hügel's love for learning and reading and never understood or shared his convictions. Hügel told his 'dear wife' only shared his attitudes 'by affection.'<sup>246</sup> Hügel's diaries describe them as largely going on separate holidays and outings, having separate friends and going on their own retreats.<sup>247</sup> Mary spent much time at music concerts without Hügel. The only events they consistently attended together were family outings, Church services and cinema trips.<sup>248</sup>

In their early days of marriage, Hügel's letters were very affectionate. Later on there are occasional signs of disagreement and challenges. In one letter, Hügel wrote of 'praying and thinking [about] all... you so kindly put before me' and how my 'over-intensity and absorption... makes you suffer.'<sup>249</sup> In another, he spoke of his 'fear lest my Moll should become one of those women who live in their feelings instead of the will... Oh, let us be living, struggling, acting souls.'<sup>250</sup>

In another letter to Mary, there is an indication that she was threatened by Hügel's attention to others in his spiritual direction. Hügel reassured her that:

my friendship both for Addis and Duchesne and Huvelin and M.T. and Rhoda and Evelyn

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241 Sr-Thekla-to-Sr-Mary-Assumpta:July:1963:NCPA.

242 Mansel:1951:1.

243 Barrows:1969:123.

244 Initially, Hügel suggested to Mary they could read the Greek and Latin classics together: 'I like the idea uncommonly, don't you?' That apparently did not occur. (Bedoyère:1951:6).

245 Barrows:1969:123.

246 Add.ms44928.155:BL:5/2/1940.

247 For example, Mary goes alone on a weekly retreat in 1921. D:13/8/1921.

248 Hügel's diaries repeatedly mention their attendance at Church together and their frequent trips to see films.

249 Bedoyère:1951:86.

250 Bedoyère:1951:12.

is in its origin and essence wholesome, useful, loyal to you and to all... I am interested in and, please God, helpful to... kittle-cattle souls.<sup>251</sup>

A revealing comment occurs in Dolly Ponsonby's diary in 1922. She quotes Hügel as speaking 'in a curiously detached way' of Mary who 'always needed to be amused... and... had friends not worthy of her on the same account.'<sup>252</sup> This may have been a reference to Boris Lensky, who was a friend of Mary's over the period 1917 to 1922, and over whom Hügel and Mary had some kind of ongoing disagreement.<sup>253</sup>

However, many of Hügel's letters to Mary reveal his affection for her: 'My dear old thing,'<sup>254</sup> 'My darling Molly'<sup>255</sup> and 'my never old Molly.'<sup>256</sup> In 1923, we see Hügel and Mary celebrate their Golden Wedding Anniversary and give each other new wedding rings.<sup>257</sup> It had been, in Hügel's words, a 'half century of holding together in sunshine and in storm.'<sup>258</sup>

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251 Bedoyère:1951:86.

252 DD:15/9/1922.

253 From 1917, there are mentions of Mary and Lensky having 'a little stay' at Henley on Thames (D:3/11/1917), and later that month going to Wilton together (D:13/11/1917). In November 1918, Lensky stayed with the Hügels when he was unwell. Later that month, we read 'M[ary] in great state over one of L[ensky]'s moods.' (D:28/11/1918). The following day, Hügel wrote an '*important letter to Lensky*' (D:19/11/1918). Then in July 1919, Hügel wrote to Mary saying that Lensky cannot stay with them at Clonboy for more than 48 hours. (D:1/7/1919). The climax of this saga came while Hügel was away at Thursley in August, 1921 and Lensky arrived wanting to stay at Vicarage Gate. Hildegard got Lensky to move out and Hügel wrote to Hildegard 'approving of her action.' (D:19/8/1921). Then the following month, we read: '[Lensky] turned up feverish after one his injectising. M[ary] anxious; he is sleeping here tonight.' (D:19/9/1921) We then read in early October, 'Very poor night' D:3/10/1921) and 'very wakeful night... Imp[ortant] note to Lensky.' (D:4/10/1921). In March 1922, we read 'Poor M[ary] in state of terrible anxiety about Lensky – not heard from him for over a month.' (D:26/3/1922) The following day we read, 'M[ary] heard from Lensky... A great detente.' (D:27/3/1922). It's not completely clear what was really going on in the Lensky saga, but Hügel's letters to Hildegard do indicate some frustration and uncertainty about how to talk with Mary about Lensky.

254 SL:28.

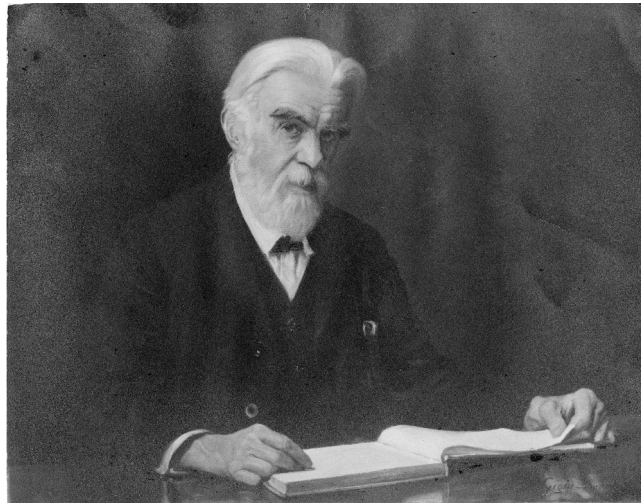
255 ms387767/9:SAUL:9/8/1920

256 ms387767/9:SAUL:9/8/1920.

257 D:27/11/1923. Gwen Greene was also reasonably uncomplimentary about Mary, writing that the Catholic Church has its 'Aunt Marys (dear old thing!)' (GDL:1/9/1926:SPA.D:27/3/1922); and that 'Poor Aunt M – as you can imagine – put me off dreadfully for a time' from converting. (GDL:21/9/1926:SPA). In another letter, Gwen wrote, 'I have had a bad attack of Aunt Mary – as we call humbugs.' (GDL:n.d:SPA).

258 ms38776-4/36:SAUL:27/11/1923.

#### IV.vi. Personal Accolades



*Hügel. Graduate Theological Union Special Collections:510/649-2523.*

The choice of Hügel as an exemplary spiritual director is supported by the many accolades he received during his lifetime and shortly after his death by academics, religious leaders and directees. After his death, Mary received endless letters from directees speaking of Hügel's profound influence on their lives. One unnamed woman wrote:

He has taught me all that I know which seems worth knowing, and to how many people it must appear the same. For he stood quite alone in the world in his deep insight, sympathy and comprehension, coupled with his profound piety and devotion.<sup>259</sup>

Other letters echoed these sentiments: 'I owe him, literally, everything I value most, and hundreds will be telling you the same, for no one could be in contact with him and remain unchanged.'<sup>260</sup>

The impact of Hügel's public utterances is reported by several people. Anatole describes a long lecture Hügel gave and 'a young mechanic and his wife sitting motionless in a position of great discomfort... their eyes never left the lecturer's face while he talked with sufficiently difficult phrases of deep truths and ultimate realities.'<sup>261</sup> Similarly, D'Arcy relays an Aussie bushman who listened to Hügel and exclaimed, 'I didn't understand a word of it... but I could sit and listen to that man for a week!'<sup>262</sup> A friend of Hildegard's also describes talking with Hügel: 'I have forgotten the

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259 *SL*:55.

260 *SL*:55. Another wrote he 'cured my soul of sickness...' *SL*:56.

261 Ward:1937:513.

262 D'Arcy:1991:79.

words, but never the beauty and ripe wisdom they expressed, nor his generous outpouring of it.<sup>1263</sup> After Hügel's death, during LSSR discussions, D'Arcy reports that someone would quote the late Hügel and 'whatever the Baron has said, Unitarian, Jew, Catholic and the rest would all accept without more, so strong was the impact of this genius... Wherever he went, he seemed to produce that effect.'<sup>1264</sup>

We gain a vivid picture of Hügel's appearance from descriptions by various contemporaries. He is remembered as looking 'like Darwin, with Darwin's kind of coat and hat.'<sup>1265</sup> He was 'a unique figure... with his large panama hat and cream umbrella.'<sup>1266</sup> Another interesting portrait of Hügel is provided in the character of 'Comte' in Josephine Ward's novel, *Out of Due Time*.<sup>1267</sup> Fr. Martindale writes, 'Of course people could not but say – 'Comte' for Baron... there is more beauty and nobility in the Baron than in d'E., I think.'<sup>1268</sup>

The Swedish Archbishop, Nathan Söderblom, wrote that 'no other man in our age has, as far as I can see, become a teacher and an initiator to seeking and believing souls in all the chief sections of the entire Church and communion of Christ, as Hügel.'<sup>1269</sup> Despite their disagreements, Maude Petre described Hügel as "'a great liberator" opening the door to many imprisoned souls.'<sup>1270</sup> When Hügel died, she felt 'like a piece of life [was] hacked out;'<sup>1271</sup> as if 'an Alpine range had disappeared.'<sup>1272</sup>

Interestingly, Hügel's main admirers tended to be Anglicans or those not belonging to denominations.<sup>1273</sup> Bedoyère writes that Hügel 'succeeded in impressing those who met or read him with that personal, utterly sincere, splendidly courageous living of the whole Christian way.'<sup>1274</sup> Louth argues that Hügel's 'writing on prayer and mysticism, and indeed his own work on spiritual direction, have had such a profound influence throughout England... at the turn of the century.'<sup>1275</sup>

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263 Bedoyère:1951:151.

264 D'Arcy:1991:80.

265 Barrows:1969:124.

266 Bedoyère:1951:20.

267 Ward:1906.

268 Ward:1937:240.

269 *SL*:53. He described Hügel as 'a model and teacher' to 'many of us in different denominations and other groups of faith...' Misner:1981:53;17/7/1923. Söderblom also wrote 'you, to whom I owe so much in spiritual things...' ms3069:SAUL:4/4/1921.

270 Petre:1937a:255.

271 Add.ms52376:BL:30/1/1925.

272 Petre:1937b:6.

273 Hanbury:1972:73.

274 Bedoyère:1950:Foreword:LN:1.

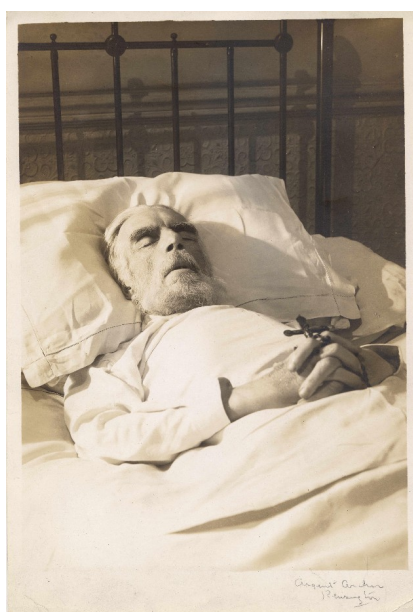
275 Louth:1991:15.



Another window on Hügel is provided by his sister-in-law, Isy, who viewed his body after his death and described his face:

as if transfigured by something that had come as the spirit passed; there is no other word than transfiguration – absolute peace – and life shining not on but through... When one came back to him the strange look still was there - immovable yet living... Everyone felt a great wonder of spiritual beauty... it was far and away the greatest thing ever done to me.<sup>276</sup>

Hügel was buried beside his mother and sister at Downside Abbey, Bath.



*Hügel on his death bed with rosary in his hands, 1925.  
KK:GB0100 KCLCA K/PP75.*



*Hügel's cross just behind Pauline's (sister) and Elizabeth's (mother), Downside Abbey. (Author's photo).*

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276 Ward:1937:514-5.



*Hügel's gravestone, Downside Abbey. (Author's photo).*



*Hügel's gravestone inscription:  
'Friedrich von Hügel  
Born in Florence 8 May 1852  
Died in London 27 Jan 1925'  
Downside Abbey. (Author's photo).*

## V. Coda

Having sketched some of the major elements of Hügel's historical context and biography, we now turn to look at Hügel's spiritual director, Abbé Huvelin. Hügel wrote that Huvelin 'stands out, undimmed, as the deepest and most salutary influence exercised upon me by any man known to me in the flesh.'<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> Hügel continues on saying 'And any limits or defects in my outlook or performance I ever feel not to come from him, to be indeed still, thank God, in process of being sweetened and softened by that splendid light and warmth from beyond the veil whither that strong suffering saint has now gone...' PP:BM:15-16/12/1910.



## Chapter 2: Huvelin's Spiritual Nurture of Hügel

'I learnt all that I know from Huvelin...  
What a great saint he was! And what he taught me!'  
(Hügel)<sup>1</sup>



*Abbé Henri Huvelin. Saint-Augustin.*

### I. Introduction

Abbé Henri Huvelin has been described as 'one of the greatest spiritual directors of the nineteenth century.'<sup>2</sup> Hügel wrote, 'I owe more to this Frenchman than to any man I have ever known.'<sup>3</sup> This chapter outlines Huvelin's spiritual direction of Hügel, through examining Huvelin's letters, 'Sayings' and sermons. We explore who Huvelin was and how he influenced Hügel, before raising some critical questions concerning the extent of Huvelin's influence upon Hügel.<sup>4</sup>

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1 *LN*:xv.

2 Nédoncelle:1937:4.

3 *EAI*:286. Hügel described Huvelin as someone 'whom I owe incalculably much' (*EAI*:96). Similarly, his 'deepest and most salutary influence...' *PP*:BM:15-16/12/1910.

4 Bedoyère emphasised Huvelin's influence on Hügel's 'deepened and enlarged spiritual formation' (Bedoyère:1937:50). Barmann writes, Huvelin confirmed Hügel in the pursuit of the 'mystical dimension of his Christian life' (Barmann:2000:225).



*Église Saint-Augustin de Paris.  
(Author's Photo)*



*Inside Église Saint-Augustin de Paris.  
(Author's Photo)*



*Downstairs inside Saint-Augustin, where Huvelin gave his lectures  
to students. (Author's Photo)*

## II. Abbé Huvelin

Abbé Henri Huvelin was born at Laon in northern France in 1838. He studied at the *École Normale* and in Rome. He taught at *Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet* and was a curate at *Saint-Eugène* for seventeen years. He was finally a curate at *Saint-Augustin* in Paris for thirty-five years, until his death in 1910.

Huvelin has been described as 'one of the most influential figures in the formation of the Christian tradition' in the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> He 'transformed the lives of those who came into his ambience.'<sup>6</sup> Many people came to Huvelin for spiritual direction, including Henri Brémond, Maurice Blondel, Emile Littré and Charles de Foucauld. The conversion of Foucauld gave Huvelin's spiritual direction something of a 'cult status'.<sup>7</sup>

Huvelin usually received visitors from two to five every afternoon.<sup>8</sup> But at times this ballooned into 'a ceaseless stream of visitors' for up to fourteen hours a day, and his correspondence grew out of control.<sup>9</sup> People queued for hours outside his door in the *Rue de Laborde* to receive his spiritual counsel:

one would wait first of all in a narrow room, surrounded by books, and often full of visitors. At last one found one's way into the room where the Abbé Huvelin was seated in his invalid chair, his back to the window, before a great desk laden with books and papers.<sup>10</sup>



*Huvelin's Apartment in the Rue de Laborde. (Author's photo taken in 2010).*

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5 Allchin:1975:6.

6 Williams:1994:208.

7 Bedoyère:1951:42.

8 Adeline, Duchess of Bedford:1911:34.

9 Steuart:1938:151-152.

10 Gibert-Lafon:1936, 9.

Huvelin lay on his couch in his darkened room, frequently suffering painfully from gout, but never refusing a visitor<sup>11</sup> and 'always... radiating joy and support.'<sup>12</sup> 'Once in contact with souls, the fire of his spirit leaped up, and burnt deep into the conscience of his hearer.'<sup>13</sup>

Hügel first met Huvelin on June 16th, 1884 and Huvelin became Hügel's spiritual director for twenty-six years until Huvelin's death. Hügel's visits to Huvelin were most frequent between 1884 and 1893.<sup>14</sup> Even after Huvelin's death, his 'influence remained permanently absorbed'.<sup>15</sup>

Huvelin left no published works behind him, choosing instead to 'write in souls'.<sup>16</sup> We have some evidence of what he preached in sermons collected by some of his disciples from 1868-1909.<sup>17</sup> Hügel possessed some of these publications.<sup>18</sup> The main evidence of the spiritual direction Hügel received are sixteen letters Huvelin wrote to him between 1884 and 1904, plus Huvelin's 'Sayings' to Hügel during two week-long visits in 1886 and 1893.<sup>19</sup> The 'Sayings', in particular, were deeply treasured by Hügel and reveal how he recorded almost every word Huvelin uttered to him.<sup>20</sup>

Hügel frequently consulted the 'Sayings' and often sent them to friends and directees. He described them as 'winged words and fiery darts' by one of 'spiritual greatness and piercing vision'<sup>21</sup>, containing 'spiritual insight'<sup>22</sup> which 'sprang straight from a life penetrated by God... they are all... at work within me.'<sup>23</sup> 'He spoke from his very heart, burning words, full of insight and of brilliant illustrations.'<sup>24</sup> Yet Hügel makes it clear that it was not so much what Huvelin said, as who he *was* - his embodied sanctity - that most impacted him. He writes, '*There* sanctity stood before me in the

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11 Adeline, Duchess of Bedford:1911:34.

12 LN:xxiv.

13 Adeline, Duchess of Bedford:1911:34. Hügel recorded in his diary: 'found him very gouty, but... movingly spiritual...' D:12/4/1907.

14 Visits are marked in his diary:

D:26/10/1884;D:19/5/1895;D:23/4/1896;D:2/11/1896;D:2/11/1896;D:6/5/1897;D:22/11/1899;D:30/5/1900;D:1/6/1900;D:12/4/1907.

15 Bedoyère:1951:251.

16 SSG:lxiii.

17 He taught St Gregory and up to the 17th century (1875); the early church (1875); and seventeenth century spiritual masters (1878-1879), written down as SSG. Huvelin's sermons on 'The Gospel', The Eucharist and the Passion were written down in TLOG.

18 Hügel wrote: 'three volumes have been issued containing the careful reports, taken down by certain of his hearers, or familiar addresses which are full... of sudden gleams of the deepest spiritual insight and love.' EL:374. Hügel's copies of Bossuet, Fénelon, *le quiétisme* and *L'amour de Notre-Seigneur* are in SAUL. The former copy contains Hügel's pencil notes throughout.

19 Huvelin's letters are located in SAUL. Kelly (1974) provides the 1893 'Sayings' that supplement the 1886 'Sayings' provided in SL.

20 While visiting Huvelin in 1895, Hügel wrote to Mary that he needed to 'attend to any crumbs, he may give me now.' (Bedoyère:1951:85;19/5/1895.

21 SL:57.

22 Barmann:1981:49.

23 LN:75. Many of the themes in Hügel's writings can be traced back directly to these 'Sayings.'

24 ATW:vi.



flesh'.<sup>25</sup> Huvelin believed this was the most powerful approach: 'Teach more by your example than by your words.'<sup>26</sup>

### III. Huvelin's character and teaching

Hügel's descriptions of Huvelin give us a portrait of the man: 'a spiritually aboundingly healthful, mystical saint;<sup>27</sup> 'whose will of iron, by long heroic submission to grace, had attained to a splendid tonic tenderness;<sup>28</sup> a 'deep and heroic personality' whose 'self-oblivious love... brought light... to countless troubled, sorrowing, or sinful souls.'<sup>29</sup> These descriptions of Huvelin are reiterated by others.<sup>30</sup> One directee goes as far as saying: 'his influence, which was silent and hidden, but deep and lasting, can only be compared with that of the saints'.<sup>31</sup>

In particular, it was the Abbé's deep, inner life and holiness that helped to bring about 'the grandly tonic influence' that the Baron experienced.<sup>32</sup> Hügel described Huvelin as 'the greatest manifestation of... holiness' that he had experienced during seventy years.<sup>33</sup>

Another quality that deeply 'moved' Hügel was Huvelin's 'radiating joy'.<sup>34</sup> The nature of this 'spiritual joy' was described by Huvelin as:

a radiancy of soul produced by humility, self-forgetfulness, whole-hearted submission to all that God ordains... [it is] the soul... prepared to accept anything in its interior life which possesses spiritual joy.<sup>35</sup>

Huvelin's acceptance of suffering was the primary source of his joy. This became a dominant theme in Hügel's practice of spiritual direction.

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25 Hügel:1922:342. Huvelin 'personified the ideal of sanctity which was to remain with him throughout his life.' Kelly:1983:49. Louis-Lefebvre asserts many of Hügel's qualities remind him of Huvelin. Louis-Lefebvre:1967:146.

26 Similarly he stated, 'We do good much less by what we say or do than by what we are.' *SSG*:xLiv.

27 Bedoyère:1951:42-43:11/1/1911.

28 *EAI*:286.

29 *EL*:374-375.

30 Louis-Lefebvre describes Huvelin's, 'penetrating insight, reverence for the souls of others and a holy recklessness...' (Louis-Lefebvre:1967:15). One directee describes Huvelin as 'Light... Kindness... Love... Charity...' (Louis-Lefebvre:1967:174). See Nédoncelle:1937:5.

31 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:232.

32 Hügel:1922:342.

33 *MEI*:1923:vii.

34 *LN*:xxiv. Hügel contrasted this with Newman, who never 'radiated' such spiritual joy, attributing this to Newman's 'deeply predestinarian, Puritan training' whereas Huvelin 'had nourished his soul... on the Catholic spirituality [of]... St. Francis.' *EAI*:242.

35 *ATW*:19.

Alongside joy, the driving force behind Huvelin's spiritual direction was love. Huvelin taught that 'sanctity is the perfection of charity',<sup>36</sup> and his chief desire was 'to see all things united by charity'.<sup>37</sup> He commented: 'Many things can be overlooked in a priest, but he will never be excused if he lacks charity; the worst reproach he could have against him would be that *he did not see God in his neighbour*'.<sup>38</sup> Huvelin's dying words are recorded as: '*Nunquam amabo satis*'.<sup>39</sup>

This love manifested itself particularly in generously accepting others. Hügel wrote, 'No man was more tolerant of others'.<sup>40</sup> Huvelin's love of God and acceptance of others was described as a habit of 'sheer heroism'.<sup>41</sup> Huvelin always looked for the good in people, stating, 'We must not imagine that our enemies only say and do harmful things'.<sup>42</sup> Describing some people who seem to be 'in a Noah's Ark' who, 'put their noses to the window and see only a deluge of evil', Huvelin declared: 'A priest judges differently: he sees the souls at closer range';<sup>43</sup> for 'if we really desire to help souls, we shall always manage to see enough'.<sup>44</sup>

Huvelin's letters displayed the love he had for Hügel, speaking often of his 'deep friendship'<sup>45</sup> and 'affection'.<sup>46</sup> He wrote frequently of his ongoing concern for Hügel: 'Your soul has always been in my thoughts',<sup>47</sup> 'I think much of you... I pray for you from the bottom of my heart'.<sup>48</sup>

Another theme linked to love is that of generosity. Huvelin taught Hügel, 'It is not what you give but what you hold back that will cause you suffering'.<sup>49</sup> The soul that goes astray chooses 'an impoverished, mean-spirited, little life'.<sup>50</sup> Huvelin was 'always uneasy about those souls who have plenty of religious practice... but are lacking in generosity'.<sup>51</sup> He exclaimed, 'Pray for the priest whose hands offer the Sacrifice but who does not know how to offer himself'.<sup>52</sup>

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36 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:143.

37 Louis-Lefebvre:27.

38 Louis-Lefebvre:141.

39 'I shall never love enough.' Louis-Lefebvre:1967:215.

40 *LN*:xxiv.

41 Steuart:1938:152.

42 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:140.

43 *SSG*:45-46.

44 Words spoken in the crypt of *Saint-Augustin*, 9,16:12:1877, quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:41.

45 ms2702:SAUL:23/10/1904. Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, wrote concerning Hügel, 'the Abbé often recalled him with deep interest and affection.' 1911:35.

46 ms2690a:SAUL:25/6/1884.

47 ms2695:SAUL:19/10/1892.

48 ms2702:SAUL:23/10/1904. This is reiterated in ms2692:SAUL:29/1/1889;ms2692:SAUL:11/8/1887.

49 *SayingXII*:1886:SL:59.

50 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:117. In keeping with this, Huvelin stated, 'There is no one more wretched than a person who lives only for himself, who does not give himself.' *ATW*:25-26.

51 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:141.

52 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:140.

A Christocentric focus was central to Huvelin as he drew strength from his devotion to the Sacred Heart.<sup>53</sup> One directee sums up this focus:

What did he advise? Just to identify oneself with Jesus; to love what He loves; to abhor what He abhors. To find joy and glory only in the things which please Him; to suffer pain from that which is hurtful to Him... This is how I would venture to sum up that which this wonderful father gave to souls.<sup>54</sup>

Christ's example was viewed by Huvelin as protection against both pride and temptation:

How can you have any pride, when you need only to raise your eyes and you see Jesus, our Saviour, on the Cross... If we only looked more often at the Crucifix we would not commit so many sins.<sup>55</sup>

The importance of humility was a recurring theme in Huvelin's teaching.<sup>56</sup> We never see him take credit for any help he gave; to Hügel he merely stated: 'God has given me, unbeknown to me, the gift of doing you a little good.'<sup>57</sup> Humility was an absolute necessity for the Christian soul:

Thinking humbly of ourselves is a most essential state of mind in the Christian life... Our habitual state ought to be the realisation of our poverty... To obtain a humble opinion of ourselves we must know ourselves.<sup>58</sup>

This self-knowledge comes 'by being near to God and to his love',<sup>59</sup> and is in fact a double knowledge: 'realisation of... the greatness, the infinite majesty of God; and the knowledge of what we are, of our littleness, and nothingness.'<sup>60</sup> Huvelin argued, 'Creatureliness can be perceived only in contrast with the great.'<sup>61</sup>

Another variant of this theme is the three glances, which link the double-knowledge of humility back to charity, expressed in a letter he wrote to a Professor at the Sorbonne:

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53 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:214.

54 Madame Raynaud in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:111.

55 From notes in Louise's diary on Huvelin's talk on the Presence of God, quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:757.

56 One directee claims that 'Always and above everything else, he called for humility.' Louis-Lefebvre:1967:110.

57 ms2700:SAUL:30/8/1897. Similarly Huvelin wrote, 'I'd be delighted if I can help you and if God gives me the wherewithal to do you good and enlighten you'. (ms2690b:SAUL:21/5/1886).

58 ATW:15.

59 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:236.

60 ATW:88.

61 SayingXIII:1886:SL:59.

Everything can be expressed, dear friend, in three glances, one at ourselves, so that we may become aware of our wretchedness, one towards God, to beg for his mercies, and a third towards our neighbours, to forgive, to desire the welfare of souls and to bless!<sup>62</sup>

And so humility is really a way of preparation for love: 'after humility [is] charity, the duty of loving our neighbour, of loving souls, of giving, of self-sacrifice.'<sup>63</sup>

#### **IV. Huvelin's spiritual discernment**

Many directees attest to Huvelin's intuitive, seemingly-supernatural insight.<sup>64</sup> Hügel described this insight to a directee: 'He would have understood you far better than you have ever known yourself, within five minutes.'<sup>65</sup> There were numerous other accolades for Huvelin's discernment: 'He could place his finger just where the trouble lay... He seemed to understand everything';<sup>66</sup> 'he seemed to see right into me';<sup>67</sup> He had a 'wonderful insight into the dispositions of others';<sup>68</sup> he had a 'gift of reading consciences, a privilege that is sometimes attached to sanctity';<sup>69</sup> a 'capacity for discerning the motives that lay behind actions';<sup>70</sup> an ability to read 'into the depths of hearts';<sup>71</sup> 'a gift... of fully understanding someone, who had up to then been quite unknown to him... and of seeing whether there was any hope of modifying his inmost tendencies.'<sup>72</sup>

Huvelin felt that his personal self-knowledge was the basis of his insight into others:

The habit of being constantly faced with himself, of observing himself, of mortifying his passions and having to grapple with them, teaches a priest about the world, or at least what the world is like at heart. If we know about certain distresses which afflict the soul, certain ways of thinking, certain sorrows and certain kinds of meanness... We have a sort of world localised in ourselves which enables us to see things as they are and how they originated, and if we come

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62 Letter to Jacques Demogeot, 12/2/1890, quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:167.

63 ATW:88. Huvelin reiterated this when he stated, 'It is when we know ourselves and our unworthiness that we lament and pray.' (Louis-Lefebvre:1967:209).

64 For example, Colonel Darcy described Huvelin's 'supernatural knowledge of what would happen...' to his mother, quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:109. Hügel also described Huvelin as 'supernatural' in notes written in preparation for a discussion with Algar Thorold and handed to him in early 1921, quoted in Bedoyère:1951:334-335.

65 Lillie:1925:40. Another directee stated, 'Even if one only sees him for a few moments one always carries away some word of his which will keep one going for a month or more.' (ATW:viii).

66 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:107.

67 Mère Marie-Térèse des Anges, in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:193.

68 Joly, quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:100.

69 Le Figaro cited in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:113.

70 Henri Joly, Désiré Ligneau and Louis Joubert, quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:30.

71 Joly goes on to write: 'There are many people prepared to support this statement on oath.' Louis-Lefebvre:1967:118.

72 Joly quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:235.



across them again in the world outside or in the confessional, then we say: "Oh! I know this, I have already put it to the test, I can even tell what its causes are, and deduce from them what the results are likely to be!"<sup>73</sup>

Huvelin also felt that the variation evidenced in souls was not that large: 'In order to guide consciences we need no more than a small number of principles to which everything can be traced back and which can be made quite clear.'<sup>74</sup> The generalising effect of Huvelin's 'small number of principles' is described by Leonard: 'His recommendations were simple, clear and sensible, and he did not vary them. He accommodated them to the persons with whom he had to deal.'<sup>75</sup>

Yet over against this, Huvelin emphasised that God moulds each person uniquely, so that we must 'respect the type... God is endeavouring to form':<sup>76</sup>

in the direction of souls; one must seek to know God's purpose and beware of one's own judgement. How many times I have been misled! How many times I have thought that a soul ought to be guided in such and such a way, and how often have I seen that this was not the purpose of God for it... God is the only true director of souls.<sup>77</sup>

## V. The delivery of Huvelin's direction

Huvelin's advice was firm, like 'sharp blades.'<sup>78</sup> For example, Huvelin simply told Charles de Foucauld, 'Make your confession;' and from that time, he was a changed man.<sup>79</sup> Huvelin's letters to Hügel were similarly direct: 'No question about it - accept the situation of director;'<sup>80</sup> 'Don't talk religion with her any more... I advise absolutely.'<sup>81</sup> However, Huvelin could also be less direct, using 'a subtle, finely shaded sense of psychology, which made it possible for many to recognise

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73 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:105.

74 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:105.

75 Leonard, 'Introduction' SSG:xLviii-xLix.

76 SSG:xiii.

77 ATW:80-81. Huvelin repeats this when he stated: 'in the direction of souls. I have thought that a soul should be guided in one direction, and God has led it in another... I have worked in order to mould a vessel in one way and to give it a certain shape; and it was a vessel of quite another shape when it left my hands!... We must distrust ourselves, be conscious of our own need, our incapacity for helping souls; it is a sacred work; our hands should tremble as we approach it... He wills to accomplish it through our hands, unworthy as they are; let us acknowledge our own littleness...' (ATW:47).

78 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:64.

79 Huvelin was similarly direct when he later commanded Foucauld not to found an order as revealed in SSG:li-lxxii.

80 ms2693:SAUL:1/4/1888.

81 ms2700:SAUL:30/8/1897.

themselves in some moral portrait or even in some austere judgement.<sup>182</sup> With either approach, he was 'never severe or exacting in his advice.'<sup>183</sup>

In addition, Huvelin's humour and gentleness enabled him to console and encourage whilst imparting truth. Directees mentioned Huvelin's 'affectionate note in his challenges'<sup>184</sup> and 'good humour.'<sup>185</sup> Huvelin's ability to discern motives could have caused 'uneasiness' without his 'look of gentleness and understanding.'<sup>186</sup> Similarly, Hügel described Huvelin's 'tenderness in austerity, and that austerity in tenderness' as 'the very genius of Christianity.'<sup>187</sup> We see this tender encouragement of Hügel on many occasions. The Abbé wrote: 'I have faith in you, in your courage, in your candour.'<sup>188</sup> He reassured Hügel not to worry about his philosophical or critical studies: 'everything... can be harmonised.'<sup>189</sup>

In addition to Huvelin's encouragement, Hügel noted his 'patience' and 'gentleness.'<sup>190</sup> Joly spoke of Huvelin being 'aware how slow the work can sometimes be which grace carries out', rather than having 'a peremptory, sharp, hurried or even overbearing manner.'<sup>191</sup> Yet he was also willing to take initiative, teaching: 'It is for the priest to set the pace.'<sup>192</sup>

Huvelin imitated de Sales' devotion to spiritual growth as 'little by little.'<sup>193</sup> He 'forced the impatient to keep pace with him, and he kept pace with the providence of God.'<sup>194</sup> So Huvelin's patience became a model for Hügel in keeping his 'vehement soul soundly balanced.'<sup>195</sup>

## **VI. Huvelin's dealing with spiritual intensity**

Providing spiritual guidance to Hügel is described by Leonard as a 'problem of great delicacy and difficulty',<sup>196</sup> largely due to Hügel's intensity and temperament. Huvelin managed, however, to show

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82 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:65.

83 Quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:107.

84 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:65.

85 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:32. Madame Desforges who was directed by Huvelin for thirty-two years, wrote that Huvelin 'never lost his sense of humour...' Louis-Lefebvre:1967:107.

86 Henri Joly, Desire Ligneau and Louis Joubert quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:30. Another directee described this 'gift of consolation' and 'compassion.' Louis-Lefebvre:1967:236.

87 *LN*:73.

88 ms2702:SAUL:23/10/1904.

89 ms2694:SAUL:6/9/1891.

90 *LN*:xxiv.

91 Joly cited in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:112.

92 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:104.

93 *SSG*:11.

94 *SSG*:111-112.

95 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:143.

96 Leonard in *SSG*:xxv.

Hügel 'how his God-given personality and temperament were a blessing.'<sup>97</sup> He affirmed Hügel's 'very great independence of spirit' and 'the individuality which God has given him' which must not be 'deformed' or 'warped.'<sup>98</sup>

We see Hügel's temperament discussed in Huvelin's letters and 'Sayings': 'There are saints, great saints, of your temperament... [for instance] St Francis of Assisi.'<sup>99</sup> Recognising the similarity in 'vigour, insight, and intensity,' Huvelin introduced the Baron to 'such large-souled Christians.'<sup>100</sup> Huvelin both affirmed Hügel's unique, mystical temperament, and warned him: 'You will only rarely find souls who understand you... solitary, very individual souls who have suffered much.'<sup>101</sup> But Huvelin encouraged Hügel to seek out and encourage others who were like himself: 'You will do great good through opening yourself to souls who have an affinity to you; you will let them see that they are not completely alone in the world.'<sup>102</sup>

Dealing with Hügel's intensity was a major aspect of Huvelin's spiritual direction. Huvelin detected Hügel's fretful, restless mind, and agitation. De Sales' direction of de Chantal provided Huvelin with a model for dealing with intensity. Huvelin wrote that de Sales got de Chantal 'to work against herself' and her intensity.<sup>103</sup> Huvelin steadied Hügel similarly: 'your state of agitation and rush, so tiring... is closely bound to your physical state... Rest, silence... take things more quietly.'<sup>104</sup> Huvelin suggested Hügel rest at a Benedictine retreat:

Yes!... a *relaxing* retreat... the very effect of resting and being peaceful, the mind will find its way towards confidence and blossoming towards goodness... find these joys of pious relaxation.<sup>105</sup>

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97 Barmann:2000:228.

98 Saying XXV:1886:SL:61.

99 SayingXX:1886:SL:60.

100 Barmann:2000:229.

101 SayingI:1886:SL:58.

102 SayingXVII:1886:SL:60. This may have contributed to Hügel deciding to give spiritual direction to his daughter, Gertrud, and his niece, Gwen, two people he felt he understood.

103 SSG:37-38.

104 ms 2694:SAUL:6/9.1891.

105 ms2699:SAUL:18/8/1897.

Hügel's intensity was also the result of his deafness and a nervous condition that was difficult to control. With regards to these, Huvelin advised:

The person who takes himself humbly, takes himself gently because he's not surprised by his wretchedness... Take well the little humiliation which comes to you from your increasing deafness well.<sup>106</sup>

Similarly, Huvelin advised patience and endurance regarding conflict in Hügel's marriage: 'When you are at the end of your tether don't try to reason with your dear wife... an effective word, followed by a silence.'<sup>107</sup> A year later, Huvelin encouraged Hügel to be 'tranquil... loving... devoted... gentle' and regain possession of himself 'in the presence of God.'<sup>108</sup>

Gentleness was also encouraged in contrition and repentance. Huvelin advised Hügel, 'contrition' only comes from 'a certain self-hate... *of a calm and peaceful kind*, the kind that comes during prayer as a contrast to the sight of God. It should not be detailed but very general.'<sup>109</sup>

And what is it which the Holy Spirit specially gives to our souls? He gives us above all penitence, sorrow for our faults, humility. He inspires us with a sorrow which is full of calm and full of beauty... because it is full of trust in the love of God.<sup>110</sup>

Similarly, Hügel encouraged his directees not to be too 'specific' in their contrition and not allow their *examen* of conscience to become a focus upon the self.<sup>111</sup>

## VII. Huvelin's instruction regarding prayer

Huvelin viewed 'the union of the soul with the Lord' as his 'sole affair.'<sup>112</sup> In Hügel's case, Huvelin wanted to encourage prayer in a way that would counterbalance his spiritual intensity:

Religion can easily become too detailed and too intense for you. Meditation and divine things in general escape you in so far as you forcefully search for them. They will come to you when you are not looking for them.<sup>113</sup>

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106 ms2695:SAUL:19/10/1892.

107 ms2694:SAUL:6/9/1891.

108 ms2695:SAUL:19/10/1892.

109 SayingXV:1886:SL:60:italics-added.

110 ATW:99,100.

111 This was particularly the case with Evelyn Underhill. See Hügel's letter dated 12/7/23 in Cropper:2003:115-6.

112 SSG:lxxv.

113 SayingXVI:1886:SL:60.

He ushered Hügel into a contemplative life as a way to relax his soul, suggesting that his prayer should move towards 'a state rather than a series of definite deliberate acts.'<sup>114</sup> Hügel outlined how his prayer life changed under Huvelin:

After practising a daily three-point meditation for some twenty-five years, the new Helper sent me by God advised me that my prayer should now be mainly informal – more of the prayer of quiet type; but that there should always remain short vocal prayers morning and night, Mass and Holy Communion twice a week, with Confession once a week or once a fortnight; and (perhaps most characteristic point of all) one decade of the rosary every day – this especially to help prevent my interior life from losing touch with the devotion of the people. After over thirty years of this mixed regime, I am profoundly convinced of the penetrating sagacity of this advice.<sup>115</sup>

Those who knew Hügel observed his practice of this 'mixed regime' and described him as 'a contemplative by nature and intensely prayerful by practice.'<sup>116</sup>

### VIII. Huvelin's attitude towards the scholastics

The *Pascendi* encyclical saw the scholastic framework as the means of understanding the Christian faith. Suspicion accompanied any attempt to modify this tight system. But Huvelin felt that 'scholastic attempts to objectivise [sic], externalise and intellectualise the faith emptied it of everything that is awesome, beautiful and mysterious.'<sup>117</sup> Reducing everything to cerebral categories meant the scholastics were unable to describe truth:<sup>118</sup>

I have the realities; they the formulae. They do not understand that *life*, all life, escapes analysis. It is a dead body they are dissecting – a lifeless thing. Pass them by with a gentle, a very gentle smile.<sup>119</sup>

Trying to describe truth exhaustively, Huvelin felt, did not capture its essence but reduced it. In three Sayings, Huvelin gently mocked the scholastics, employing the images of water, forest and the moon:

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114 SayingII:1886:SL:58.

115 EA.II:234. The 'three-point meditation' he had been practising was given to him by the Jesuits.

116 Ward:1937:490. On his deathbed, Hügel was found with the rosary in his hands.

117 Williams:1981:252.

118 Bedoyère describes the 'scholastics' Huvelin criticised as 'the debased ecclesiastical philosophy which... too often passed in the schools for depth and wisdom, especially perhaps when the scholastic teachers of the nineteenth century sought to destroy by facile syllogisms the mounting philosophic, scientific, and social attack on the Church. It is in this context that some of Huvelin's advice to the baron must now be read' (Bedoyère:1951:44-45).

119 SayingVI:1886:SL:58.

In the course of their argumentation the scholastics sacrifice the living truth. They allow the water to seep out on all sides; they lose more than they retain, more even than they salvage.<sup>120</sup>

The scholastics clarify things by impoverishing them. One can construct roadways in all directions throughout a virgin forest. This affords us a clearer view of the forest; but how many beautiful trees have to be sacrificed!<sup>121</sup>

The scholastics, even St Thomas the greatest of them, do not explain everything. The living truth escapes all definitions. They believe they can put the moon in a bottle: that could be done, but only if it were cheese.<sup>122</sup>

## IX. The French, seventeenth century scholar-saints

But Huvelin was far from being anti-intellectual or anti-theological. In a letter to Foucauld, Huvelin wrote: 'Study theology... theology provides a solid foundation for all great thoughts and controls them.'<sup>123</sup> Similarly, Huvelin encouraged Hügel to be 'a great theologian, but a mystical theologian who referred everything to the soul.'<sup>124</sup> For this conjunction of theology and mystical experience, Huvelin took inspiration from the French masters of spirituality of the late seventeenth century, a tradition which held together sanctity and scholarship.<sup>125</sup>

Following his first visits to Huvelin in 1886, Hügel began assimilating this tradition. He read Grou for his 'spiritual reading' in 1886,<sup>126</sup> Fénelon's *Lettres Spirituelles* in January 1887, and further works by Fénelon in 1888.<sup>127</sup> These readings were clearly significant to Hügel, and he chose to write articles about both scholar-saints in *The Tablet*. In preparation for these articles, he began translating Grou's *Manuel des Âmes Intérieures* in November 1889, submitting his article that

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120 Saying:1886:Kelly:1978:67.

121 Saying:1886:Kelly:1978:67.

122 Saying XXII:1886:SL:61.

123 Louis-Lefebvre:1978:153.

124 This quote of Huvelin's comes from his description of Fr. de Condren in SSG:90-91.

125 Huvelin had become 'a living embodiment of those scholar-saints...' Williams:1981:260,264. Two of the four published sets of Huvelin's lectures revolve around seventeenth-century scholar-saints: *Quelques directeurs d'âmes au XVIIe siècle* and *Bossuet, Fénelon, le Quiétisme*.

126 Hügel's diary reveals that he left London for Paris on 25 May 1886 and by 7<sup>th</sup> of August he had finished Grou's *Manuel des Âmes Intérieures* and had begun *L'Ecole de Jésus-Christ*. In November, 1891 Hügel read Grou's *Maximes Spirituelles*.

127 Specific dates and works read are outlined in Kelly:1983:52-53. Hügel read more Fénelon in January, 1892 (Kelly:1983:57).

December. He spent much of the early part of 1890 proofreading an English translation of Fénelon's *Spiritual Letters* and published his Fénelon article in *The Tablet* in 1894.<sup>128</sup>

Huvelin also introduced Francis de Sales to Hügel, citing his letters as a 'useful' model for how to nurture others spiritually.<sup>129</sup> Huvelin described de Sales' qualities of 'peace,'<sup>130</sup> 'meekness',<sup>131</sup> 'kindness,'<sup>132</sup> 'tenderness,'<sup>133</sup> 'an active abandonment of the will'<sup>134</sup> and 'tranquillity of soul' as 'the very spirit of his spiritual direction.'<sup>135</sup>

## X. The Influence of the Scholar-Saints on Hügel

Hügel came to speak of these seventeenth century writers as his mentors and aligned himself with the position represented by de Sales, Fénelon, and Grou:<sup>136</sup>

Personally, I have been immensely helped by the St. Francis de Sales-Fénelon-Grou type and hence have worked to help put these helps within the reach of others also. A never ceasing practicalness and far reaching action, a constant attention to purification of motive... and utterly unworldly yet utterly sober because all pervading child-like faith... this has helped me... against both that unchristian exaltation of the intellect and its deprecation or practical neglect within its proper sphere... an all pervading danger of the times.<sup>137</sup>

Hügel valued the 'organic wholeness' of Fénelon's spirituality which combined rationality and the affections.<sup>138</sup> Huvelin recognised this rich combination in Fénelon and encouraged Hügel to read him with his whole being:

One cannot experience the spiritual letters of Fénelon unless they reach into the *heart* of the reader, to a similar centre from which they emerged and where real change occurs.

Otherwise they only penetrate to the surface – only to the *intellect*.<sup>139</sup>

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128 Mrs Charles Greene made the translation of Fénelon's letters. Hügel checked it and found a publisher. He made revisions to the second volume in September, 1892.

129 ms2695:SAUL:19/10/1892.

130 SSG:2.

131 SSG:7.

132 SSG:9.

133 SSG:36.

134 SSG:35.

135 SSG:30-31. Hügel quoted Huvelin regarding de Sales in *EL*:375.

136 Ward:1937:301.

137 Hügel:1894: 858.

138 Merton:1964:28.

139 Saying:1893 (italics-added). Alongside Fénelon, Huvelin recommended Père Grou to Hügel saying 'Père Grou is the least Jesuit among Jesuits; he is truly remarkable' (Saying:1893).

Hügel followed Huvelin's advice and came to appreciate deeply Fénelon's:

combination of a rarely light (not frivolous) – a light and elastic open temperament with an earnest will and gently concentrated determination... that combination – the earnestness without rigorism.<sup>140</sup>

Hügel stated, 'How much poorer would be my devotional life without... Fénelon!'<sup>141</sup>

In addition, Fénelon and de Sales helped Hügel deal with his vehemence and intensity.<sup>142</sup> He told Gwen:

I have a very vehement, violent, over-impressionable nature, which... gets ridiculously over-aroused... Hence I have a big job... to drop all this feverishness... to think, will and pray, with only "*la fine pointe de l'esprit*," as St François de Sales and Fénelon never weary in recommending.<sup>143</sup>

Grou's doctrine particularly attracted Hügel for he 'recovered from the seventeenth century tradition which had been lost since the condemnation of Quietism.'<sup>144</sup> Hügel wrote: it is 'refreshing and bracing in a rare degree to make intimate acquaintance with a spirituality such as that of Père Grou.'<sup>145</sup>

Hügel described Grou's 'special insight into the advantages of hard intellectual work for the maintenance of the spiritual life' and the combination of 'great intellectual openness and activity with a childlike spirit of faith.'<sup>146</sup> Similarly, 'Grou... right through the long mystical period of his life, alternated his prayer of Quiet with extensive and vigorous critical work on the Graeco-Latin classics.'<sup>147</sup>

Consequently, Grou's mind was described by Hügel as 'large and well-balanced' because of the way he combined work and sanctity.<sup>148</sup> He quoted Grou: 'The surest means of preserving the spirit of prayer, is to alternate prayer with work and work with prayer.'<sup>149</sup>

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140 LN:109. Hügel was 'braced' by this combination. LN:115.

141 EAI:271.

142 LN:111.

143 LN:101-102.

144 Kelly:1983:61.

145 SWFG:990.

146 SWFG:991.

147 MEII:138.

148 SWFG:991.

149 SWFG:991.



This became a model for Hügel's own life:

Grou has helped me greatly to acquire a spirituality that allows, and indeed requires, much freedom of research and of thoughts, considerable friction and tension yet all within a profound, radical devotedness.<sup>150</sup>

Grou described 'spiritual childhood as the culminating point of holiness,'<sup>151</sup> and taught that a spiritual director is essential in maintaining such childlikeness:

It is necessary to have a director... the greatest delusion we can fall into is to think we are in a fit state to guide ourselves. Even the most clever man... is blind as to his interior conduct.<sup>152</sup>

So we see these seventeenth century writers became models for Hügel of how to combine a rich intellectual life with personal sanctity and devotion.

## **XI. Scholarship and Mystical Experience**

Having thus introduced Hügel to the scholar-saint model of mystical theology, Huvelin sought to deepen Hügel's understanding of the relationship between scholarship and sanctity. Huvelin's view was not simply that one's mystical experience of God served as a *balance* to scholarship, it was that a deep devotional life was a *prerequisite* for the pursuit of truth. So, for instance, Huvelin saw purity and conscience as prerequisites to orthodoxy:

You need a *very great* liberty of spirit along with a *very great* purity of heart. You may be very orthodox in the eyes of man, but very evil in the sight of God... Be very conscientious: orthodoxy will *follow* conscience.<sup>153</sup>

Staying close to God also provides protection from falling into intellectual errors:

You will never lose or weaken your faith if you search always and only for the truth... God will always give you an intellectual light on your error if indeed you are in error.<sup>154</sup>

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150 Hügel quoted in Whelan:1970:56.

151 *SWFG*:1029.

152 *SWFG*:991.

153 Saying X:1886. Despite Huvelin's warning about the need for 'charity' to keep Hügel anchored, Huvelin was reassuring about Hügel's faith: 'It is only the pure essence of Christianity that holds and keeps you in the Church and that is a very good sign' (SayingXII:1886).

154 Saying:1886.

Similarly, Huvelin saw 'attachment' to God as a higher priority than intellectual 'detachment':

Detachment should never be practised for its own sake. I practice detachment only for the sake of attachment.<sup>155</sup>

Hügel absorbed this influence, coming to see the search for truth as a process that engaged a 'deeply moral and religious life.'<sup>156</sup> Hügel taught his niece of the need for spiritual 'dispositions' to enable us to discern truth:

We have to be truthful, conscientious: why? Because these are the dispositions for putting us into fuller touch with realities of all sorts, especially with the reality of God. Dispositions are the means to acquiring reality – towards knowing, loving, willing realities greater than ourselves.<sup>157</sup>

## **XII. Huvelin on suffering**

Another major area of Huvelin's theology was the place and importance of suffering. For Huvelin, suffering was one of the primary means by which God develops the soul:

God loves our souls so intensely that He desires to raise them higher, to make them more beautiful, and nothing makes a soul more beautiful, nothing promotes its growth so surely as sacrifice, suffering, forgetfulness of self for God's sake.<sup>158</sup>

In suffering, 'the Lord strips you of everything... in order to give you different clothing';<sup>159</sup> 'To suffer with Christ is to be more extended in charity.'<sup>160</sup> Those who have suffered are 'souls who can understand.'<sup>161</sup> By contrast, those who haven't experienced this transformation are 'souls who still lack something... one day, suffering will come and complete the work.'<sup>162</sup>

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155 Saying:1886:VIII.

156 Williams:1981:254.

157 LN:14.

158 ATW:26.

159 Huvelin in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:184. This idea was echoed by Adeline, Duchess of Bedford when she wrote of Huvelin: 'Pain he regarded as the condition of spiritual fecundity, a travail of the soul must (whether for nations or individuals) precede the new birth of grace and power.' Adeline, Duchess of Bedford:1911:34.

160 Portier:1979:212, translated by Louth:1991:18-19.

161 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:142.

162 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:143.

One of the major transformational effects of suffering is death to self. Huvelin stated, 'Each thorn must produce a flower of charity, of self-forgetfulness.'<sup>163</sup> Suffering liberates us from being 'shut up in ourselves'<sup>164</sup> and purges us from selfishness.<sup>165</sup> This death to self is to 'put Jesus in place of self.'<sup>166</sup>

In terms of enduring suffering, sometimes Huvelin simply instructed his directees to cope: 'There are souls who have to be told: "You must put up with this."<sup>167</sup> At other times, though, he provided practical advice to help directees to suffer well.<sup>168</sup> He taught directees to press into Christ, find His companionship, and discover 'the strange joy that He wishes us to have.'<sup>169</sup> To another directee he wrote, 'Do not be surprised when you receive this distress from the divine hand... You are in darkness... but have courage, for you are with Jesus.'<sup>170</sup>

In a letter to Hügel, Huvelin wrote, '[T]urn your sufferings into a prayer which becomes livelier for you when you are in a state of distress.'<sup>171</sup> In *ATW*, Huvelin stated, 'you have the closest communion with our Lord through suffering... keep near to God by the secret longing of our soul; that is in itself a great prayer however little may be said in words.'<sup>172</sup> Similarly, '[when] suffering... if we look upon Jesus... and what He has suffered, sadness changes into benevolence, into love towards our brethren.'<sup>173</sup>

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163 Mère Marie-Térèse des Anges quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:193.

164 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:185.

165 *ATW*:109. Hügel echoed Huvelin with his recurring emphasis on death to self in his letters to Gwen. See Chapter 6.

166 *ATW*:118;122. Hügel echoed this when he wrote die to self so we can 'gain vivid experience' of Christ. *LN*:135. Similarly 'Get rid of all self-occupation... let in God.' *LN*:xxiii.

167 Crypt of *Saint-Augustin*, April 1879, quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:111. Similarly, 'Sustain, *Learn to endure*... Men do not know how to bear trouble and suffering... each one of these little troubles helps us on our way to where God wishes us to be, and enables us to become masters of our own souls.' (quoted in Lefebvre:1967:74). Further he argued: 'Discouragement paralyses the spiritual life. We must not allow ourselves to be held up by disappointments, and must try to give out light and warmth in spite of them. We must face up to difficulties and triumph over sadness, it is thus that we shall purify our souls of littleness and egoism.' (quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:77).

168 For example, Huvelin told a widow: 'Have your revenge for no longer being happy by being as good as you can.' (Louis-Lefebvre:111). He instructed another young, suffering woman to write a letter every day to her departed husband. She wrote four volumes of correspondence. (Louis-Lefebvre:185). Huvelin reminded mothers, concerning the formation of the souls entrusted to them, that 'a mother has three powerful weapons to hand, *purity, prayer and suffering*.' (Louis-Lefebvre:78). In a letter to a troubled, Sophie Littré, Huvelin wrote, 'Admire what is beautiful; pray, when you have some indefinable urge to do so; read something solid, a page from the Psalms or the Epistles, between two prayers... Try hard to forget yourself, my dear child, that is the essential thing.' (quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:177:9/1/1901).

169 Louis-Lefebvre:185.

170 Huvelin's letter to Mère Marie-Térèse des Anges, quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:194.

171 ms2694:SAUL:6/9/1891.

172 *ATW*:112.

173 *ATW*:30.

Huvelin emphasised the necessity to mix our pain with Christ's:

the great cry that rose from the cross... was uttered so that you could mix yours with it, so that your suffering, purified in its source, purified in the suffering of that One, might become as triumphant and powerful as Him... Christ, in making the heart greater... has at the same time made it more capable of feeling suffering.<sup>174</sup>

For Huvelin, suffering was not only the primary means of personal transformation, it was also a means of serving and helping others. So Hügel's most cherished 'Saying' of Huvelin was this: '[H]oliness and suffering are the same thing. You will never help others except in and through suffering.'<sup>175</sup> Huvelin told Hügel: 'Allow others to make you suffer;'<sup>176</sup> 'Suffering is necessary if we would attract a soul and give it back to God.'<sup>177</sup>

As a spiritual director, Huvelin would frequently take on the sufferings of his directees. After hearing certain confessions, Huvelin had a look of anguish.<sup>178</sup> He often 'shed tears; he suffered from all the sorrows that were brought to him, from all the sins he listened to.'<sup>179</sup> A fresh attack of physical sufferings happened when souls he was guiding were threatened by spiritual dangers.<sup>180</sup>

Yet Huvelin believed that suffering courageously was also exemplary - 'Nothing is finer than to see a soul steadfastly facing suffering.'<sup>181</sup> One directee reflected: 'Suffering made the man.'<sup>182</sup> Similarly, when asked by Anglican ministers how to train seminary students to become like Huvelin, Hügel replied that only 'many natural gifts [and] *much suffering*... [would] produce an Abbé Huvelin.'<sup>183</sup>

### XIII. Huvelin in Hügel's works and letters

Kelly suggests that 'a lack of concrete data has left the effect of Huvelin on Hügel's development still a desideratum.'<sup>184</sup> On the contrary, Hügel's frequent mentions of Huvelin in his published works and his writings to directees provide considerable clues concerning Huvelin's influence. In the

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174 Portier:1979:212 in Louth:1991:18-19.

175 SayingXXXII:1886:SL:62.

176 Saying XI:1886:LN:59.

177 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:209.

178 Joly in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:113.

179 Leonard in SSG:xLix.

180 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:75.

181 ATW:49.

182 Theodore Botrel, quoted in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:76.

183 LN:159 (italics-added). Hügel had other public occasions to speak about Huvelin: at Liddon House in 1911 and at King's College in July,1911. (Kelly:1983:103).

184 Kelly:1978:60.

second edition of *ME*, Hügel recalled Huvelin as 'the greatest manifestation... of sheer holiness' he was 'privileged to watch and to be moved by... throughout these seventy years.'<sup>185</sup> In *EL*, Hügel quoted extensively from Huvelin's *Quelques Directeurs d'Âmes du 17<sup>th</sup> Siècle*.<sup>186</sup> Huvelin's understanding of the role of spiritual guide became Hügel's: 'He saves us... by means of certain souls, which have received the spiritual life before ourselves, and which communicate it to us, because they love us.'<sup>187</sup> In *EA*, Hügel described Huvelin's 'unlimited compassion' shown to Père Loyson who married, but when his wife died, Huvelin 'poured out all his treasures of consolation.'<sup>188</sup>

Hügel also recommended Huvelin as essential reading in his letters to directees. He told Frances Lillie to read Huvelin, stating that he is 'full of the interior life...'<sup>189</sup> Hügel also had his niece, Gwen, read Huvelin and was 'so glad' she loved him.<sup>190</sup> Hügel sent Kemp Smith a copy of Huvelin's *Quelques Directeurs d'Âmes du 17<sup>th</sup> Siècle*, describing it as 'the ripe fruit of endlessly heroic life and love.'<sup>191</sup> When asked by Kemp Smith whether the Church is able to assimilate 'the best in the modern world,' Hügel replied that Huvelin 'achieved this assimilation... an interpenetration... spiritually sane and solid.'<sup>192</sup>

At times we see Hügel taking Huvelin's advice literally and then giving it, almost word for word, to a directee. For example, Huvelin's advice not to read Catholic publications<sup>193</sup> and 'No Catholic meetings of confraternities'<sup>194</sup> was passed directly onto Gwen. He told her: 'I warn you against Church societies, Church newspapers... never opening a Church paper or magazine... what safety, what expansion, will be yours!'<sup>195</sup>

Huvelin's attitude towards miracles was also directly passed down to Hügel's directees. Huvelin told Hügel, 'Miracles are very antipathetic to me,'<sup>196</sup> and stated, 'miracles do not form a necessary or integral part of the interior life, or even of the highest sanctity.'<sup>197</sup> Hügel reflected this position,

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185 *MEI*:vii. (2nd ed).

186 *EL*:375-377.

187 *EL*:376.

188 *EAI*:287.

189 Lillie:1925:41.

190 *LN*:73.

191 Barmann:1981:35:11/6/1919.

192 Barmann:1981:161:31/12/1921-3/1/1922

193 *SayingV*:1886:*SL*:58. As Williams notes, the 'strident polemical tones' of the religious press were Huvelin's reason for avoiding it at all costs. (Williams:1981:258).

194 *Saying*:1886.

195 *LN*:62-63.

196 *SayingXXXI*:1886:*SL*:62.

197 *Saying*:1893.

writing 'I am allergic to miracles.'<sup>198</sup> He described 'the spiritual life' as 'essentially not miraculous but supernatural.'<sup>199</sup> In notes about miracles written to Algar Thorold, Hügel wrote:

what perhaps most developed the bent you find in me on this point was my close touch with the saint, with the Abbé Huvelin... I never doubt for one moment that Huvelin *was* supernatural.<sup>200</sup>

It is clear that Hügel was deeply impacted by Huvelin's person and teaching, enthusiastically introducing his directees to Huvelin so that their souls could also be formed by the wisdom of this 'saint' from whom Hügel had learned so much.



*Huvelin's gravestone,  
Montmartre Cemetery, Paris  
(23rd division, 18th line).  
(Author's photo)*

#### **XIV. The impact of Huvelin's spiritual direction on Hügel**

As we have seen, Hügel saw himself as being hugely influenced by Huvelin, and frequently passed on teachings he had learned from him almost verbatim. Very little explicit criticism of Huvelin appears anywhere in Hügel's writing, which is almost uniformly positive regarding the influence of his spiritual director. We can perhaps, however, find areas of implicit criticism of Huvelin where Hügel's practice of spiritual direction differed markedly from that of his mentor.<sup>201</sup>

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198 Hügel quoted Steere:1964:158.

199 *EAI*:279.

200 Notes for talk with Algar Thorold, quoted in Bedoyère:1951:334-335.

201 As we have not yet examined Hügel's spiritual direction in detail, this section will be reasonably cursory, but it is suggestive of areas where Hügel felt it necessary to modify what he had learned from Huvelin.

#### XIV.i. The balance of work

As we have seen, Huvelin believed that charity was expressed in generosity, particularly in self-giving - a priest is perpetually at the service of others. Yet this self-giving seems to have been taken at times to extremes: 'God asks of us more than we shall ever give Him. Never lower your ideal, keep raising it always.'<sup>202</sup> Hügel spoke of how Huvelin's sufferings led to his 'spiritually joyous' life,<sup>203</sup> but never of Huvelin being depressed or burnt out. Yet it seems that Huvelin struggled with depression for much of his life, speaking of 'despondency- my *bête noir*... with which I am continually at war.'<sup>204</sup>

Huvelin's personal papers reveal this depression at times reached utter despair and thoughts of suicide: 'I am dazed, I am afraid I'm going mad and I can't even pass on what God gives me for the souls, or help the ones who need me.'<sup>205</sup> 'My head is bad, I feel the madness filling me.'<sup>206</sup> 'There is nothing supernatural, there is an excessive tiredness and because everyone carries in his madness his habitual preoccupations, sadness without measure and thoughts of suicide.'<sup>207</sup> By the middle of 1880, Huvelin described the sensation in his head using the metaphor of his staircase collapsing and one side of his bedroom falling on the street.<sup>208</sup> In 1881: 'My soul, my head, my heart are so painful that I try not to touch them.'<sup>209</sup> 'I have nothing else to give, only remnants.'<sup>210</sup> By 1884, Huvelin was journaling: 'I need all my faith to not + myself. God can't ask of me what is no longer cope-able... I screamed three times "Make me die!"'<sup>211</sup> Later that year, when visiting a dying woman, he journalled, 'I had an extreme envy to be in her place.'<sup>212</sup> In 1885 he recorded, 'I don't know how to pray.' 'I'm crying. I'm good for nothing.'<sup>213</sup> By December 1888, Huvelin wrote, 'I can't live any more. I passed the night in the bedroom of my father praying to God to take me before the end of 1889.'<sup>214</sup> Louis-Lefebvre suggests that Huvelin was so 'conscientious' in his ministry role that 'he became its victim.'<sup>215</sup>

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202 Steuart:1938:156.

203 ms37194/25d:SAUL:12/5/1911.

204 ATW:37.

205 Portier:1979:42:25/1/78

206 Portier:1979:43:1/1/79.

207 Portier:1979:43:15/3/79.

208 Portier:1979:45:30/6/1880.

209 Portier:1979:42:17/8/81.

210 Portier:1979:42:21/3/81.

211 The + is most probably 'kill', in Portier:1979:44;21/11/84:23/11/86.

212 Portier:1979:44:16/11/84.

213 Portier:1979:42:19/4/85.

214 Portier:1979:44:15/2/83;6/2/83.

215 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:233-234. The question also arises why Huvelin did not have a spiritual director himself who was able to discern his utterly exhausted, depressed state, step in and make him rest. Rowan Williams states that Huvelin 'was not what many would call a whole man...[but] a deeply injured and fearful man, psychologically scarred.' Williams:1994:207-8.

Hügel seems to have been a similar 'intense' personality, who gave himself to people 'without reserve.'<sup>216</sup> He wrote to Evelyn Underhill, 'if ever you feel... I could help you in any way... do not, because I am busy, shrink from coming to me.'<sup>217</sup>

But several factors seem to have protected Hügel from the exhaustion and depression that afflicted his mentor. One was probably Hügel's status as a *lay* spiritual director, which would have made him less accessible and popular than a priest, and probably gave him greater freedom to schedule his commitments and even to turn people away.

We perhaps see this greater control over his schedule in Hügel's commitment to rest and Sabbath-keeping. He wrote to Maude Petre that he would 'break down in health... if I did not stick to my... rule of keeping the Sunday strictly for rest and freedom.'<sup>218</sup> Hügel also appeared to embrace more fully periods of enforced rest, recognising that God achieves much when we are inactive: 'these days of enforced do-nothing...[are] fruitful.'<sup>219</sup> And his commitments to his directees did not necessarily involve large amounts of face-to-face time. With Evelyn Underhill, for example, we see that Hügel prays for her three times a day, but only sees her every 6 months.<sup>220</sup>

Additionally, as we shall see in Chapter 6, Hügel embraced Fénelon's emphasis on 'leisurely' spirituality more fully than Huvelin. He wrote to Gwen of 'doing materially less... finding grand opportunities of growth... organising my day... in a careful succession of quasi-nothings.'<sup>221</sup> Similarly, '[M]an attains in religion... in proportion as he seeks not too directly, not feverishly and strainingly, but in a... patient, sunny manner.'<sup>222</sup>

Finally, Hügel's roles as a husband and a father gave him greater freedom to engage in play and recreation. He wrote that, 'Ever since I have had... children, I have felt myself a creature enriched... with the obligation to possess a reserve of light and life and love.'<sup>223</sup> Alongside trips to the cinema and Gilbert and Sullivan shows with Mary, his diaries reveal walks with his daughters and outings to the zoo, galleries and museums. We also read constantly of his afternoon teas with close friends

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216 Steere:1964:12.

217 ms5552:SAUL:29/10/1921.

218 Kelly:2003:109:24/10/1910:28/4/1910;15/10/1912.

219 Kelly:2003:103,137.

220 Cropper:2003:83.

221 Greene:1929b:148.

222 *EAI*:60.

223 *EAI*:106.



such as Adeline Chapman. Hügel emphasised the importance of 'open air and physical exercise'<sup>224</sup> and holidays.<sup>225</sup>

#### **XIV.ii. Transparency**

Huvelin felt that his role as priest required him largely to hide his personal struggles: 'I must suffer without showing it or at least very little, and play a character with a double game, which is always painful.'<sup>226</sup> His directees apparently caught glimpses of Huvelin's sufferings, but nothing like its full reality.

At most, Huvelin appears to have occasionally shared aspects of his struggles with more trusted directees. On one occasion, he told the Duchess of Bedford, 'I am not what you think I am, I don't see myself on top of anything.'<sup>227</sup> Similarly, Huvelin wanted to correct the 'impression my outward appearance has made upon you' with Hügel, stating 'I am totally empty and dry within myself.'<sup>228</sup> Another time, Huvelin confided to Hügel: 'I am ill in my soul and body. I have great trouble putting up with myself.'<sup>229</sup> Yet the overall impression is that Huvelin largely succeeded in hiding his painful, interior struggles from the sight of those he directed.

The contrast with Hügel is here quite marked. Gwen reported that Hügel would 'never... hide from us what he meant or felt; his soul spoke in all that he said.'<sup>230</sup> Similarly, 'These words of his were made actual in one's sight, for in his life how moved one was to see this effect of his living faith!'<sup>231</sup> 'My uncle never hesitated to relate his own experience: he never left out himself, but spoke with a warm and natural sincerity of his own experience and life.'<sup>232</sup>

Perhaps Hügel's lay status helped here, presenting greater opportunities for critique by others than did Huvelin's priestly role. As well as being challenged by his wife and children, his friend Maude Petre spoke honestly about his faults. In response to this criticism, Hügel wrote to Petre: 'Thank you, very gratefully for your true kindness in telling me so clearly the two sets of things and acts of mine which disappoint and try you. I promise to think it all well over.'<sup>233</sup>

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224 Kelly:2003:37:5-7/9/1905.

225 .Kelly:2003:77,125: 23/9/1909;13/3/1911.

226 Portier:1979:213:13/11/85;7/7/78.

227 Portier:1979:213.

228 Saying1886:Kelly:1997:357.

229 ms2695:SAUL:19/10/1892.

230 TW:113.

231 TW:114.

232 TW:139.

233 Kelly:2003:88:6/12/1909. We see similar critique by Tyrrell over Hügel's handling of Gertrud. Petre:1937b:15-16.

### XIV.iii. Suffering

As already mentioned, the role of suffering was a key aspect of Huvelin's theology, and subsequently, of Hügel's. We see a great deal of continuity in their approach to suffering. As mentioned already, Huvelin largely celebrated suffering: 'I wish for my sufferings and I love them';<sup>1234</sup> 'There is nothing sweeter than the suffering which we voluntarily take upon ourselves.'<sup>1235</sup> Louis-Lefebvre concluded, 'suffering' was 'an element in the spiritual life especially esteemed by the Abbé.'<sup>1236</sup>

Suffering was primarily a means of personal spiritual growth, and Huvelin encouraged directees to cooperate willingly with the work of God in suffering: 'be a true victim... Do God's work, for you are his instrument.'<sup>1237</sup> Suffering comes from God: 'the cause is divine: the Lord wishes to find you at His feet,'<sup>1238</sup> and a means of creating us anew: 'everything must be made anew, and this is the operation of the Holy Spirit, it is His work... He will write great and beautiful things if we will let Him do so.'<sup>1239</sup>

Suffering can also be shared. When the health of Hügel's daughter was restored, Huvelin told Hügel it is 'the price of your suffering.'<sup>1240</sup> Similarly, Hügel wrote to one directee: 'how keenly I have suffered and I still suffer with your suffering.'<sup>1241</sup> Hügel offered his long, trying 'wakings' at night to God as a means that God might 'strengthen, sweeten, steady' Gwen.<sup>1242</sup> Even further, as a priest, Huvelin saw himself as 'called... to suffer...',<sup>1243</sup> expiating the sins of others.<sup>1244</sup> Huvelin desired to 'suffer as a victim standing between God and sinners... to save and heal and atone.'<sup>1245</sup>

So Hügel mainly appears to follow Huvelin in his approach to suffering. If there is any difference, it is that Hügel tempered Huvelin's glorification of suffering. Huvelin's Saying, '[H]oliness and suffering are the same thing'<sup>1246</sup> - which was precious to Hügel - became mellowed and more

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234 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:237.

235 ATW:42. Huvelin told Marguerite: 'Christ says on the cross "Give, give me... all the pain!"' Louis-Lefebvre:1967:185:20/9/1900. But in Scripture, Christ says 'take this cup away from me...' (Luke 22:24). Jesus did not seem to think our lives were meant to be a living purgatory.

236 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:184.

237 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:193.

238 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:183: 29/9/1899.

239 ATW:27.

240 ms2704:SAUL:n.d.1900.

241 EAI:116,

242 LN:25.

243 Louis-Lefebvre:1967:113.

244 Mère Marie-Agnès de l'Incarnation, in Louis-Lefebvre:1967:207.

245 Steuart:1938:154-155.

246 SayingXXXII:1886:SL:62.

nuanced in Hügel: 'suffering is... evil,<sup>1247</sup> and can be destructive: 'suffering alone... cannot soften... any soul; it can thus, of itself... harden, narrow and embitter it.<sup>1248</sup> '[H]oliness consists primarily... in the presence of spiritual force, in Love creative, Love triumphant.'<sup>1249</sup>

#### **XIV.iv. Mortification and Asceticism**

The one explicit criticism of Huvelin we find in Hügel's entire corpus concerns Huvelin's ascetic practices (and even this was fairly mixed): 'What tremendous mortifications he went in for!... He was... excessive... No doubt he ruined his health.'<sup>1250</sup>

Asceticism seems to have been an area where Hügel drew on sources other than Huvelin. Both de Sales<sup>251</sup> and Fénelon<sup>252</sup> are mentioned with regards to asceticism. Hügel also quoted Father Hocking, who said:

You think I do all this for pleasure? For show? Give up marriage, live in discomfort and cold, eat fish all the year round, that I do it to please myself? I don't. I hate it, but I do it for God. I do it to keep alive in this world the spirit that the world forgets – the spirit of renunciation, sacrifice, the supernatural life.<sup>253</sup>

Here we see the positive nature of mortification: sex and food are good and not foregone for pleasure, but because there is value in renunciation. Hügel was deeply impacted by Hocking's framing of mortification:

We will not, of course, rule out, for ourselves or for others, the practice, or at least the spirit, also of bodily austerities. The spirit, and even some mild amount of the actual practice, of such austerities is, indeed, an integral constituent of all virile religion: the man who laughs at the plank bed and the discipline is a shallow fool.<sup>254</sup>

What is key here is Hügel's recognition that asceticism is frequently of value, but it is usually sufficient to be 'mild', or even just 'the spirit' of austerity. We also see some variety between

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247 *EAI*:295.

248 *EAI*:110.

249 *MEII*:238.

250 *LN*:xxiv. Steuart mentions Huvelin's 'constant use of bodily penances...He was an extremist...' Steuart:1938:154-156. In his later years, Huvelin would spend the night on the floor with his arms like a cross. Louis-Lefebvre:1967:202.

251 Hügel described de Sales as 'that high ascetical authority.' *MEII*:245.

252 *EAI*:241.

253 *LN*:xxiv.

254 *EAI*:240.

individuals in the degree to which asceticism is useful. Hügel described a woman who showed no 'attrait to such mortifications' and commented, 'Souls exist which are as truly called to such mortifications, as her soul was *not* called to them.'<sup>255</sup>

The key in any mortification, however, is that there is love behind it:

Yet it is Love, God, that first should be in our hearts; and if that Love then impels us to such deeds, we will attempt to do them, to feed and to express our love of that Love, and not otherwise.<sup>256</sup>

In practice we find little clear evidence of Hügel engaging in asceticism or encouraging it in his directees. The only small example is his practice of giving up book-buying and fruit for Lent.<sup>257</sup> He wrote to Gwen:

the practice of some little voluntary renunciation... such little self-checks... self-imposed – where they spring from love – really feed love. They are good things and still useful to your spiritual growth.<sup>258</sup>

## **XV. Conclusion**

Huvelin clearly had a profound and lasting impact on Hügel's life and work. Hügel's comment, 'I learnt all that I know from Huvelin,'<sup>259</sup> is hyperbole, but it is evident he felt substantially formed by Huvelin's saintly example and his teachings.

Of particular importance was Hügel's introduction to the model of the scholar-saint in the persons of Fénelon, Grou, and de Sales, whose example of a mixed life of scholarship and mystical experience became central to Hügel's life and thought. The concept of Hügel's three Elements of Religion obviously has its genesis in this tension of creative 'friction' between scholarship and mystical experience.

Most of Huvelin's other major themes - love, generosity, humility, suffering, the centrality of Christ, coping with intensity, etc. - all found themselves reflected in Hügel and in the teaching he passed on to his directees. Much of the time, Hügel passed on what he had learnt more or less unchanged;

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255 *EAI*:241.

256 *EAI*:241.

257 *LN*:121,181.

258 *LN*:76.

259 *LN*:xv.

some of the time, as we have seen, he softened the more extreme elements of Huvelin's teachings. The overall result is that Hügel was profoundly shaped by Huvelin, but was more balanced and more relaxed in some areas.

Huvelin's motto was the verse Hügel chose for the inscription on his headstone:<sup>260</sup> 'What have I in heaven but thee, and besides Thee what do I desire on earth?'<sup>261</sup>

## **XVI. Coda**

Huvelin's legacy passed directly down to Hügel's main directee, his niece, Gwendolen Greene:<sup>262</sup>

She never forgot this spiritual ancestry, and though she had not known him she would talk of Huvelin with the reverence due to the founder of a great spiritual tradition... Those brave spirits who owe their formation to Huvelin belong as much to the future as to the past... Their secret must be discovered afresh by each successive generation. More can be learned of it in silence and stillness than in reading or in talk. The way of it is too simple to interest most clever or busy people. To follow it for long means unlearning more than learning.<sup>263</sup>

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260 Kelly:1983:116.

261 Steuart:1938:152-3. Psalm 75:25.

262 Allchin argues that Huvelin's teaching, via Hügel, also influenced Evelyn Underhill. Allchin:1975:6-10.

263 Grisewood:1968:95-6.



## Chapter 3: Introduction to Directees

'One torch lights another... It is best to learn from others;  
it gives a touch of creatureliness...'<sup>1</sup> (Hügel to Gwen)

'Religion is ...deeply social, since we shall never learn much about it, except *souls more experienced than ourselves* are touched by God to come and start us and help us on our way.'<sup>2</sup>  
(Hügel to Juliet)

'His supreme interest... lay in souls and their growth – in arousing the deepest reality of man to the overwhelming Reality... he recognised, and valued, many diverse means as serving this great end.'<sup>3</sup>  
(Evelyn describing Hügel)

### I. Introduction

In this chapter, we introduce ten directees to whom Hügel gave spiritual direction. Each person's background and story is briefly outlined, along with a discussion of the nature of the relationship they had with Hügel, and the kinds of advice and direction he gave. Gwendolen Greene (Gwen), Hügel's niece, is the focus of this discussion. She received the most extensive spiritual direction of any of Hügel's directees, and the set of Hügel's letters to her (*LN*) is the largest collection of material we have demonstrating Hügel's spiritual direction.<sup>4</sup> The other individuals selected are Juliet Mansel, Evelyn Underhill, Wilfred Ward, Henri Garceau, Emilia Fogelklou Norlind, Frances Lillie, Gertrud Hügel, Adeline Chapman and Hügel's colleague, Norman Kemp Smith. These directees have been chosen because of the availability of both letters and diary entries to reconstruct a picture of the spiritual direction they received. Hügel's relationships with Adeline and Norman, are more like spiritual friendships, because they are more reciprocal than asymmetric. However, they are included here as Hügel's letters to them both provide much spiritual nurture.

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1 *LN*:xv.

2 Mansel:1951:3;italics added.

3 Underhill:1933:233.

4 In addition, an appreciation of Gwen's personal narrative is an essential backdrop for discussion of how Gwen extends Hügel's spiritual direction through her later book, *MZ*, discussed in Chapter 7.

## II. Gwendolen Greene (1878-1959)

'She was one of the most holy and deeply spiritual persons I have ever met... always wonderfully resigned to the seemingly hard will of God... A truly holy person.'<sup>5</sup>

'To my Uncle I owe, under God, all I see.'<sup>6</sup> (Gwen)

The life story of Gwendolen Greene has never been researched. In 1983, Harman Grisewood wrote to Gwen's grandson, Alexander Plunket Greene, indicating his desire to write Gwen's biography. Alexander replied, 'none of her letters survive... Father just got rid of everything to do with the family when she died.'<sup>7</sup> However, over 500 letters from Gwen to her sister, Dolly (1892-1959) and many to parents, friends and a spiritual director are still extant.<sup>8</sup> Gwen also wrote three books and a number of articles.<sup>9</sup> The diaries of her sister Dolly, Arthur Ponsonby, Hubert Parry and Maud Parry, further describe Gwen's life.<sup>10</sup> Reminiscences from Gwen's living relatives<sup>11</sup> plus Waugh and Grisewood's descriptions of Gwen also paint Gwen's life story. Only two brief obituaries about Gwen were published.<sup>12</sup>

Gwen's life can be split into four main periods: her childhood (1878-1889); her marriage to Harry (1889-1918); her separation from Harry and life with her children (1919-1936); and Gwen's final decades with Olivia in relative isolation (1936-1959).

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5 'Jotter':1959:4.

6 *MZ*:xi-x.

7 Harman-Grisewood-2:Box-4:Folder-6:*GUA*:21/7/1983. Gwen's great-niece, Laura Ponsonby, told me that after Gwen's death, her son, Richard, had an enormous bonfire and destroyed most of Gwen's papers.

8 Letters obtained by the author include 34 letters from Gwen to her father (1885-1901); 13 to her mother (1897); 15 to Evelyn Waugh (1925-1959); 10 to Tom Burns (1940-1946), 9 to Harman Grisewood (1945-1959) and 20 to Dom Michael Hanbury. In addition, we have 14 published letters from Gwen's later spiritual director, Father Bede Jarrett, to Gwen (1926-1931) that provide us with information about her life after Hügel's death. (Tugwell & Bellenger:1989).

9 Gwen published *LN* (1928), *TW* (1930), *MZ* (1931) and *TPC* (1935). *TW* discusses Parry and Hügel and was criticised by Arthur Ponsonby who argued Gwen 'used her father as a peg on which to hang... egotism and washy religious platitudes.' Jones:1989:196. Evelyn Underhill reviewed *TPC* writing, 'The influence of Baron von Hügel is still to be discerned in her work... its sense of the mystery of our experience.' (Underhill:1935:310). Gwen also published two articles about poverty (1924a/b) and a series of articles written about people she valued after their deaths: Mildred Olivier (1926), Hügel (1929, 1931, 1932), Bede Jarrett (1934) and Lady Herbert of Lea (1943).

10 Dolly's diaries (1887-1960), Arthur's diaries (1893-1943), Parry's diaries (1864-1918).

11 During this research, I stayed at Shulbred Priory on two occasions. Gwen's living great-nieces, Laura Ponsonby and Kate Russell, were invaluable in providing reminiscences and giving me complete access to the family archive. Also, I spoke with Gwen's grandson, David Plunket Greene, but unfortunately, he had few significant memories.

12 Hanbury:1959:115-118; 'Jotter':1959:4.





*Gwen's father, Hubert Parry. SP.*



*Gwen's parents, Maud and Hubert Parry. SP.*

### **II.i. Upbringing (1878-1889)**

Gwen was born in Greater London on February 6th, 1878. She grew up in an aristocratic household as the second daughter of the acclaimed composer, Sir Hubert Parry, and Lady Elizabeth Maud Herbert.<sup>13</sup> Maud was daughter of Lord Sidney Herbert, the Victorian statesman and War Minister, and brought up at Herbert House, Belgravia, and at Wilton, the Herbert's stately country-seat near Salisbury.<sup>14</sup> Gwen's older sister, Dorothea (Dolly), was born in 1876 and was favoured by Maud as the 'good' girl.<sup>15</sup> Gwen and Dolly grew up among the 'Souls,' amidst 'the heart of late Victorian musical and artistic society.'<sup>16</sup>

As a child, Gwen attended luncheons at Wilton House where she would encounter her uncle, Hügel. Gwen used to stare at him, afraid of his ear-trumpet and 'strangeness', hoping she wouldn't be seated

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13 Hubert Parry is most famous for his works, *Jerusalem* and *I was glad*.

14 This mansion near Salisbury has been in the family since 1551. Gwen had the same 'pensive poise' as the statue of Herbert in Pall Mall. (Grisewood:1968:97). Maud's sister, Mary, was Hügel's wife.

15 Susan Lushington described a conversation with Maud in 1894, where Maud was constantly 'comparing' Gwen to Dolly, 'with an unfavourable verdict of course, and generally treating her as inferior.' (SLD:16/4/1894). Despite this, Gwen was extremely close to Dolly throughout her life and they were guardians to each other's children (GDL:31/10/nd). Gwen told Dolly 'The only comfort I get... is your letters – if only we lived nearer each other.' (GDL:23/10/1918).

16 Waugh:1964:218-9. Gwen mentioned dinner parties with guests like Beatrix Potter, Oscar Wilde and numerous composers. TW:54. Gwen's dark features were attractive and she won first prize in a beauty show as teenager. MPD:10/6/1894:SP.

next to him.<sup>17</sup> He seemed 'so different and unordinary... a being belonging to another world.'<sup>18</sup> At the time, Hügel felt sorry for Gwen, reflecting, 'she will never fit into this world, she comes from another star.'<sup>19</sup>

Gwen's life was 'overclouded with misfortunes.'<sup>20</sup> She recalls an unhappy childhood: 'in tears... punishments... hours shut in the box-room, in permanent disgrace... always... something being wrong.'<sup>21</sup> When Gwen was three, Parry consulted some women for advice about how to treat 'one so wicked.' They wondered if she was 'properly understood.'<sup>22</sup> One episode Gwen records is from Christmas when she was five. Her family left for Salisbury, so she woke alone to an empty stocking. But her grandmother 'arriving like a fairy godmother', carried her off to stay with her.<sup>23</sup>

Gwen's relationship with her mother was never close: 'I irritated my mother and I... disliked her.'<sup>24</sup> By contrast, Gwen adored her father. Gwen's childhood letters to Parry show her addressing him as 'Dearest Darlingest Daddy' and signing herself as 'Gwendegwndle.'<sup>25</sup> As well as sailing, walking and horse-riding with him,<sup>26</sup> Hubert taught Gwen piano<sup>27</sup> and composed violin pieces for her.<sup>28</sup> After leaving home, Gwen yearned for Parry: 'I want so fearfully to see you.'<sup>29</sup>

Gwen was an accomplished violinist, practising four hours a day.<sup>30</sup> Parry described 'Gwen's criticisms' of composers as 'very acute.'<sup>31</sup> As she matured, Gwen read under her 'father's tuition... But everything was given up... to practising the violin.'<sup>32</sup>

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17 LN:xliv.

18 LN:xliv. Gwen reflected, 'we can share in kind with what we love most' highlighting her bond with Hügel. LN:xliv.

19 LN:xliv.

20 Hanbury:1959:117.

21 TW:19-20.

22 TW:33. As a 10-year-old, Gwen 'behaved like an imp' and bit the dentist several times. MPD:28/11/1888:SP.

23 TW:22.

24 TW:35. Gwen described her mother's 'icy marbleness' (GDL:19/10/1918). Similar criticisms include: 'she gets so angry!' (GDL:n.d.); 'uncontrollable... impossible to calm...' (GDL:11/8/n.d.); 'fury... she will kill us all...' (GDL:26/4/n.d.); '...so trying.' (GDL:28/5/n.d). 'I have to go out with Mother this morning which will be awful.' (GEWL:Add.81058ff2:BL:29/10/1925).

25 GPL:July1885:SPA.

26 Graves:1926:245;340.

27 Graves:1926:247.

28 Graves:1926:277.

29 GPL:25/8/n.d:SPA.

30 Hanbury:1959:116. Gwen described her violin performance at a concert in 1891: 'the concert went off very well... I was greeted with shouts and roars and whistles... had to "Encore" each time.' GDL:2/3/1891:SP.

31 HPD:1888.

32 TW:38-9.



*Gwendolen (left) and Dolly Parry. SP.*



*Gwen as a teenager. SP.*



*A young Gwen, looking pensive. SP.*



*Gwen as a young woman, 1899. SP.*

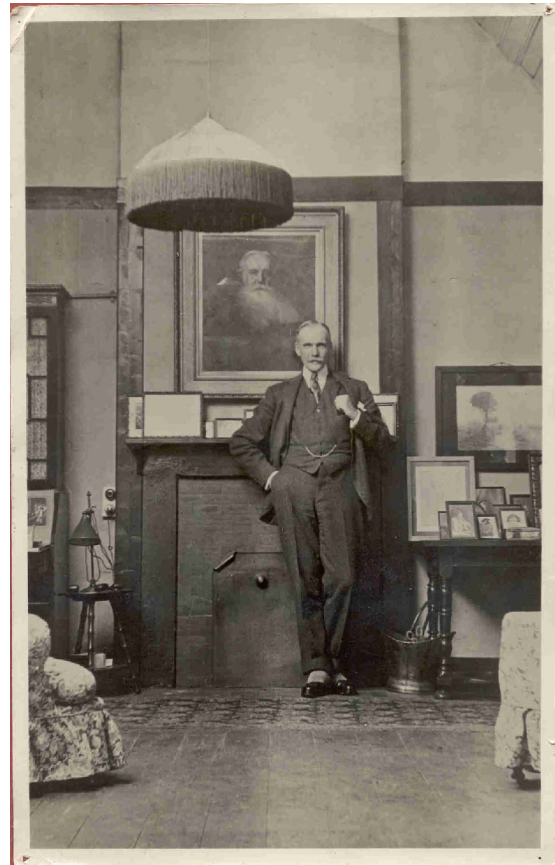


Gwen was christened in the Anglican Church, attended Church as a child, and was confirmed at 21.<sup>33</sup> Gwen described a 'turning-point' at age ten. While locked in the 'box cupboard' for answering back and thus missing a Pantomime, Gwen determined she must change: 'I wrote a prayer in pencil... I began a real effort to reform... I began to lead a life quite apart, with a companion I invented.'<sup>34</sup>

## II.ii. Gwen's marriage (1899-1919)



*Gwen and Harry on their wedding day. SP.*



*Harry Plunket Greene. SP.*

In 1899, after the death of her first fiancé,<sup>35</sup> Gwen married the baritone singer, Harry Plunket Greene.<sup>36</sup> They had three children: Richard (1901), David (1904), and Olivia (1907). Gwen's marriage to Harry was unhappy. She was neglected as Harry focused on his career,<sup>37</sup> or spent time writing 'all day to various girls and women.'<sup>38</sup> Gwen wrote:

33 TW:47. We see Gwen's faith as a young girl. She asked her mother to read the Bible to her as a child. MPD:24/11/1887:SP. She also told her mother 'sometimes I can see God's hand in the night over my bed, and sometimes angels standing round.' MPD:24/11/1887:SP.

34 TW:37.

35 Hanbury:1959:116.

36 Music and a love of nature brought Gwen and Harry together.

37 Gwen wrote, 'He thinks of nothing else...' (GDL:14/11/1910).

38 GDL:15/3/n.d.

He wouldn't come here today... said he was too busy which I've found meant he is taking crowds of College girls to *Hansel and Gretel*. He never does anything at all with me now – so I am going my own way.<sup>39</sup>

Gwen's letters speak continually of Harry's lack of financial responsibility and provision. Gwen described Harry's concert as:

a *wild* success... Only he gave away all the tickets and tells me he has lost heavily... He has evidently just given up on the idea of supporting his wife and family, even if he makes money we can't have any of it.<sup>40</sup>

Gwen was fearful of asking Harry for money: 'I tremble... put off asking week by week.'<sup>41</sup> Harry was 'borrowing... money... careless about consequences,'<sup>42</sup> and living extravagantly in London. Gwen wrote, 'I don't know *what* we are going to do.'<sup>43</sup> Gwen encouraged Harry to teach music but he thought it 'degrading.'<sup>44</sup>

Alongside financial instability, Harry emotionally abused Gwen:

[I] have such awful dreams... am so intimidated by H[arry]... Every opinion I express, he treats me as though I'd committed a crime... he lectures, fires advice or looks absolutely hard and will not speak... utterly wretched.<sup>45</sup>

Gwen also hinted at physical abuse, describing 'Harry's fury' as 'violent.'<sup>46</sup>

In their final years living together, Gwen speaks of Harry writing abusive letters: 'Harry wrote a letter it is difficult to imagine anyone writing... he hates me... I am at the mercy of H[arry]'s temper;<sup>47</sup> 'Harry... wrote me sheets and upset me very much... I *felt quite* desperate;<sup>48</sup> 'another appalling letter... made me tremble... I wish he could kill me straight off instead of this slow torture. He writes sheets of rage closely written.'<sup>49</sup>

39 GDL:6/12/n'.d.Box2:1901- 1918. Gwen wrote, 'He is... ignoring my existence entirely.' (GDL:6/6/nd). She told Dolly: 'If only one had a husband, a friend like you.' (GDL:24/9/n.d.).

40 GDL:6/12/n.d.;Box 2:1901-1918.

41 GDL:n.d.

42 GDL:6/8/n.d.

43 GDL:3/9/n.d.

44 GDL:n.d.

45 GDL:30/12/n.d.

46 GDL:n.d.

47 GDL:14/12/n.d.

48 GDL:n.d.

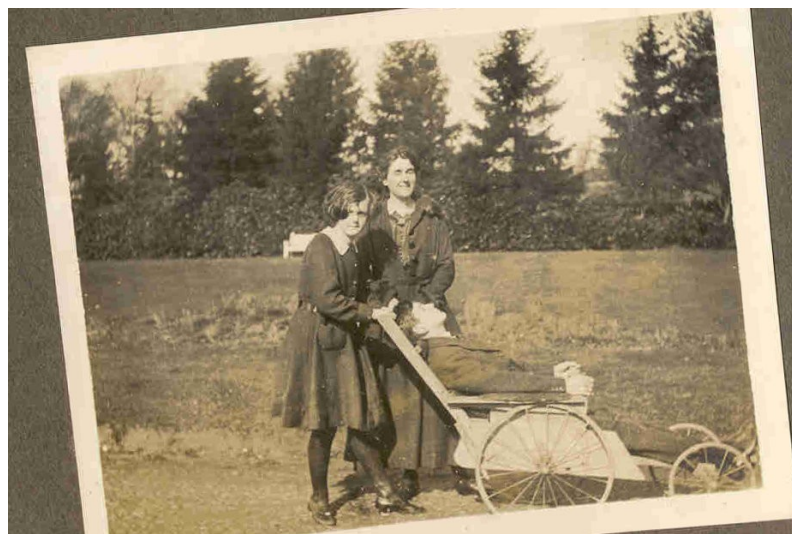
49 GDL:3/8/n.d.



*Gwen with her three children, 1907. SP.*



*Gwen and her children. SP.*



*Gwen, Olivia, and David. SP.*

### II.iii. Gwen's separation and life with her children (1919-1936)

Gwen decided 'I must go my own way,<sup>50</sup> and left Harry in 1919, bringing up the children alone: 'Fancy living with him forever – I won't think of it.'<sup>51</sup> She had no regrets: 'I never never want him back.'<sup>52</sup> But her separation left her poorer than ever, and she was forced to move house often: 'I shall have to sell out again to move.'<sup>53</sup>

Shortly before her separation, Gwen's father died.<sup>54</sup> Gwen described Parry as 'associated with every joy... the... bedrock of interest and inspiration – one's only Education and guide in books, Theories, life... I feel absolutely stranded... I *can't* believe it's all over.'<sup>55</sup> Gwen had begun reading with Hügel two years before her father's death, after Hügel had suggested it one luncheon at Vicarage Gate. Gwen wrote, 'I welcomed this reading, and we started, I remember, with a history of Rome.'<sup>56</sup> At first the readings were 'things literary and historical, without any idea on his part, I think (nor on my own), of anything definitely religious or spiritual, at any rate not at the start.'<sup>57</sup> But after Parry's death, the relationship with Hügel began to deepen:<sup>58</sup>

I went to see Uncle Freddie yesterday – he insisted on being alone with me and was too perfect to describe... so touching. He has collected 3 years of books for me to read – Rome – Greece – India - Egypt and written notes on each author for me and his descriptions and humour were so glorious.<sup>59</sup>

We explore this relationship further in section II.viii. below.<sup>60</sup>

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50 GDL:18/3/probably 1919.

51 GDL:5/10/n.d. Hügel made no direct mention of this separation in his letters to Gwen. However, in January 1919, Hügel closed with 'Best wishes also to your Harry..' (LN:21). Hügel's August, 1919 letter read: 'I pray for you and the three.' (LN:53). In his 1920 diary, Hügel recorded 'my love and anxiety for her and H[arry].' (D:31/8/1920). Gwen never divorced Harry as revealed in an obituary for Gwen's mother in 1933 where Gwen is described as 'Harry's wife.' (*The Musical Times*:74:1082:370).

52 GDL:n.d. Even after leaving Harry, Gwen was sent letters from the Income Tax department saying Harry owed money and they would all be imprisoned if he didn't pay. GDL:27/4/ n.d.

53 GDL:1/1/1920. Waugh wrote, 'they were continually changing house... prompted by the intention of economising.' Waugh:1964:219. Dolly described Gwen as 'going into her 7<sup>th</sup> house since H'bourne...' DD:26/10/1926.

54 7/10/1918.

55 GDL:23/10/1918.

56 TW:93-4.

57 TW:93-4.

58 Hügel's decision to not introduce any religious readings to Gwen until after Parry's death was probably due to Parry's strong opposition to Catholicism.

59 GDL:19/10/1918.

## II.iv. Gwen's *Bright Young People*

Gwen's three children became part of the 'Bright Young People' social scene in London, which included Evelyn Waugh.<sup>61</sup> He had been friends with Gwen's sons at Oxford, fell in love with Olivia, and had almost become part of the family.<sup>62</sup> Gwen disliked the party scene her children were involved in: 'how I do hate all this drink.'<sup>63</sup> But she blamed herself for their behaviour: 'I feel it's all *my* fault,'<sup>64</sup> and hoped through it all that her children would 'become *whole* people.'<sup>65</sup>

But Gwen appeared to do little to attempt to change her children's behaviour. Evelyn describes one holiday at Lundy Island in 1924: 'we play obscene... games... everyone became rather drunk... an amazing orgy in process... endless jokes about Lesbos and lavatories... Lady Plunket serene over it all.'<sup>66</sup> When Dolly criticised Gwen for being overly accommodating with her children,<sup>67</sup> Gwen responded: 'we didn't love Mother', and '[when] you made your children do things, they didn't like you.'<sup>68</sup> So Gwen's painful childhood and hatred of her mother seemed to be significant factors in her 'hands-off' treatment of her children.<sup>69</sup>

Yet Gwen's influence on Waugh seems to have been largely positive. His decision to convert was the result of her giving him Hügel's letters<sup>70</sup> and her book, *Mount Zion*.<sup>71</sup> Waugh spoke of 'the spirit of mysticism' Hügel had 'cultivated' in her, and of Gwen's 'humour and sympathy':

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60 Whilst being spiritually directed by Hügel, Gwen attended some retreats given by the Anglican priest, Fr. Edward Talbot. The Baron was a revered friend and favourite author of Talbot's. Pawson argues that 'Father Talbot's selection of salient features of his hero's theology and religion throws light upon his own profoundest convictions, his own spiritual aims and methods' and 'instructions and retreat addresses.' Pawson:1954:19. Lucy Menzies argues that Talbot's close relationship with Hügel affected his teaching: 'In his addresses Fr Talbot passed on to us much of von Hügel's profound wisdom. They had much in common.' Menzies:1954:11-12. Dolly Ponsonby observed Gwen's life in 1920 and argued: 'G[wen] goes from Ted the High Church Anglican to Uncle F[reddy] the broad-minded intellectual very subtle Catholic... They fight for her soul...' DD:June1920:SPA.

61 DJ Taylor's book, *Bright Young People*, outlines the social and cultural context for Gwen's life in the 1920s. The Plunket Greenes feature in this book. Gwen is described as paying for Brenda Dene's nursing home recovery after drug abuse (2007:227). Gwen is also mentioned on pages 64,66,97-98,103,224,225,227.

62 Sykes:1975:58.

63 GDL:18/9/n.d. Dolly described one party where 'Gwen's white china ducks were filled with champagne.' (DD:3/8/1925).

64 GDL:14/9/n.d.

65 GDL:28/10/n.d. Gwen described Richard's wife, Babe, writing 'She... brought in bottles of brandy and champagne and drank like one mad - after which she was absolutely drunk at once - could not walk and talked nonsense screamed laughed - awful.' (GDL:n.d./1926).

66 Davie:1976:207-8:15&18/4/1925.

67 Dolly described Gwen's 'determination to be one with her children because she has no one else' describing her as 'frivolous-minded & religious where she used to be serious-minded & an agnostic!' (DD:1/8/1924).

68 DD:23/7/1929.

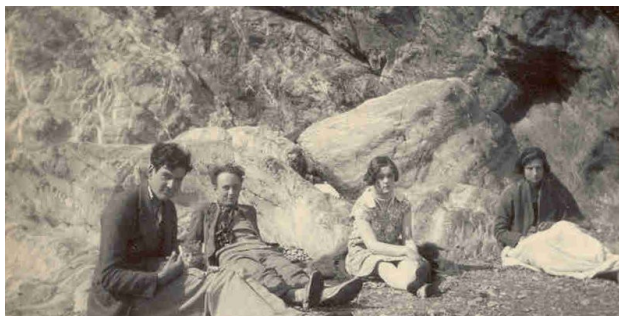
69 Her desire for consistent love is further revealed when she writes of the death of her cat: 'I miss... his faithful love more than I can possibly say.' (GDL:14/9/nd).

70 Waugh:1964:234:January/1925. In Waugh's novel, *Decline and Fall*, Paul Pennyfeather read *LN* at the close of the novel.

71 Patey:1998:39.



Her children were devoted to her and she lived with them... on terms of serene equality... in sharing their lives she suffered with them... suffered indeed more than they did. The serenity, I now recognise, came from her hidden life of prayer... Gwen's seemingly easy love of the young was something consciously sought and achieved.<sup>72</sup>



*David, Olivia, and friends on Lundy Island, 1924. SP.*



*Olivia, friend, and David on Lundy Island, 1924. SP.*

## II.v. Gwen's conversion

In 1926, after Hügel's death, Gwen was accepted into the Catholic Church by Fr Bede Jarrett.<sup>73</sup> She made the decision in Thekla's Carmelite Convent.<sup>74</sup> Gwen described her conversion:

I've become a Roman Catholic... The R.C. Church is a marvellous affair and I love it... I take it all like Freddie's symbolist way – I shan't be any different because I have practised all he taught me.<sup>75</sup>

Gwen told Dolly that Hügel did not press her to convert: 'He would not let me change till I really felt I could do nothing else and that only came this year.'<sup>76</sup> Father Jarrett explained that Hügel had 'a horror of the Catholic who was lukewarm... he deferred... your desire till he could be sure there was nothing but the severe force of the will to hold you to the Faith.'<sup>77</sup> Father Jarrett was Gwen's spiritual director from when Hügel died until his own death in 1934.

<sup>72</sup> Waugh:1964:218-9. Byrne reiterates this: The person who truly cast a spell over him was the matriarch of this magnetic though flawed family... She was a first draft of the magnificent but monstrous Lady Marchmain. Gwen exerted her spell over him with her beauty, poise and humour.' (Byrne:2009:74).

<sup>73</sup> Jarrett wrote, 'I shall only be too pleased... in helping you towards the Faith...' (Tugwell & Bellenger:1989:103:28/7/1926). Lady Mary was Gwen's godmother. (Tugwell & Bellenger:1989:110:15/9/1926). Jarrett died in 1934. His importance to Gwen is revealed by her dedicating *TPC* to him and writing his obituary. (Greene:1934). Hügel knew Bede Jarrett and described him as 'a sane and sensible, cultivated Dominican...' ms38776-4/33:SAUL:25/4/1916. Following Hügel's death, Gwen was 'distinctly ill' and went with Mary Hügel to recover in Rome with the Blue Nuns. (Pcorrespondence:VII.A.3.f:DAA:16/2/1925).

<sup>74</sup> Hanbury:1959:116. Thekla was one of Gwen's 'two remaining friends in London.' GDL:1956.

<sup>75</sup> GDL:1/9/1926. Olivia converted in 1930.

<sup>76</sup> GDL:1/9/1926.

<sup>77</sup> Tugwell & Bellenger:1989:104:31/7/1926.

In 1927, Gwen published Hügel's letters to her. Underhill wrote that Gwen's 45-page Introduction to *LN* is the 'most vivid picture' of Hügel's 'personality' that has ever been written.<sup>78</sup> CCJ Webb argued that *LN* is 'admirably illustrative' of Hügel's 'personality.'<sup>79</sup>

During the early 1930s, Gwen cared for Hügel's wife, her Aunt Mary. With Gertrud and Hildegard dead,<sup>80</sup> and Thekla a Carmelite nun, Gwen was like Hügel's fourth daughter.<sup>81</sup> When Mary died in 1935, Gwen had the 'nightmare'<sup>82</sup> of 'sorting through 60 years worth of stuff.'<sup>83</sup>

## II.vi. Harman Grisewood on Gwen

Harman lived with the Greene family for four years in the 1930s and provides an authentic window on Gwen's life during this period.<sup>84</sup> Earlier, Tom Burns gave Harman *LN* and he was struck by Hügel's phrase 'one thing at a time.'<sup>85</sup> Harman reflected, 'That was a lesson I had failed to learn.'<sup>86</sup> Tom introduced Harman to Gwen and thus started a friendship that lasted 40 years.<sup>87</sup>

Harman described Gwen's 'buoyancy, energy... fiery yet gentle spirit', commenting she responded to nature like Tennyson: 'The sea and the hills were rapturous or tragic.'<sup>88</sup> Many years later, he described her as an old woman:

carrying on her shoulder a huge bough of dead wood... her face was radiant with a mysterious joy... She and her burden were one. It may be a symbol of the *lignum vitae*, a burden she had borne for others all her long, suffering life.<sup>89</sup>

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78 Underhill:1928:823.

79 ms12-26355\_02:HCA:9/1/1929.

80 They died in 1915 and 1926 respectively.

81 In 1931, Gwen and Thekla installed a nurse for Aunt Mary. (GDL:3/1/1931). In 1932, Gwen described Mary as 'very determined... difficult... confused.' (GDL:10/4/1932). Gwen was sole inheritor after Mary died and gave thousands of pounds to Richard for his failing business but the money was 'lost.' (Harman-Grisewood-2:Box-4Folder-7:23/8/1945). When Hildegard died, Gwen was left 24,000 pounds. (GDL:7/2/nd).

82 GDL:15/12/1935.

83 GDL:n.d./1935.

84 Grisewood was influenced by Hügel's *EL* before meeting Gwen. (Grisewood:1968:82). He boarded with Gwen between 1931 and 1936, describing it as a time 'for being not... doing.' Grisewood:1968:93.

85 This apothegm became the title of Harman's autobiography. The full quote from *LN* is 'Variety up to the verge of dissipation; recollection up to the verge of emptiness.' Harman reflected that he struggled with the second half of the sentence; 'What strange paradox could this be that made fullness into emptiness?' (Grisewood:1968:94).

86 Grisewood:1968:94.

87 Gwen felt great affection for Harman: 'the world without Harman is impossible... I want dreadfully to see you again...' Grisewood2:Box-4,Folder-7.2:20/9/1954.

88 Grisewood:1968:97.

89 Grisewood:1968:98.

Harman wrote that as Gwen's lodger, he was 'unlearning much.'<sup>90</sup> He had assumed that reading great authors would naturally deepen him, 'bring green leaves to my bare boughs... here was... Gwen's Uncle Freddie... telling me that we must learn to drop things... a painful business.'<sup>91</sup>

George MacDonald's *Phantasies*, Emily Brontë and St. John of the Cross were 'treated as manuals for everyday life' in the Greene household. But as the authors were not comic, the Greene's provided the humour, combining a 'lightness of touch with a discernment of the tragic undercurrents.'<sup>92</sup> After four years in the Greene household, Harman had learnt something of Hügel's 'recollection.'<sup>93</sup>

During the 1930s, Gwen was attending Catholic retreats, however, she often had to leave early due to 'domestic complications.'<sup>94</sup> Then in 1936, Gwen supported Harry as he died.<sup>95</sup> Gwen described Harry as 'marvellous, beautiful and grand' in his death,<sup>96</sup> and felt 'at a loss, remorse at the past and confusion of the present.'<sup>97</sup>

## **II.vii. Gwen's reclusive lifestyle on Longleat Estate (1936-1959)**

Gwen's final season of life was lived with Olivia in an outhouse on Longleat Estate, Aucombe.<sup>98</sup> Their isolation was due to Olivia's alcoholism: 'instantly *anyone* comes, she takes more whisky and gets ill.'<sup>99</sup> These two decades were a 'great strain' because of Olivia's 'hysterical violent attacks.'<sup>100</sup> Letters were 'the only outside touch' they had.<sup>101</sup> One daily correspondent sent them books,<sup>102</sup> so they could 'read... & discuss religious problems... a lot of Uncle Freddy.'<sup>103</sup> This put Gwen 'in contact with other minds.'<sup>104</sup>

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90 Grisewood:1968:96.

91 Grisewood:1968:96.

92 *Grisewood:1968:98-99*. In her later years, Gwen's described Simone Weil as 'so wonderful.' Harman-Grisewood-2:Box-4,Folder-7:23/8/1945.

93 Grisewood:1968:99.

94 GDL:24/5/n.d.

95 GDL:20/8/1936.

96 GDL:20/8/1936.

97 APD:7-10/8/1936.

98 This was organised by Daphne Vivian (Longleat's owner) who had been one of the 'Bright Young Things.' David Greene (Gwen's grandson) remembers as a boy visiting Gwen in a cottage in the woods and going for walks with her during this final period of her life. (Personal communication, October, 2010).

99 GDL:10/6/n.d.

100 GDL:14/7/n.d. Gwen lamented, 'When is this bit, going to be over!' GTL:20/8/1944.

101 GDL:1/10/1943.

102 GTL:22/5/n.d.

103 GTL:20/8/1944.

104 GDL:31/8/n.d.

In February 1941, Gwen's son, David, committed suicide. Gwen was 'heartbroken'<sup>105</sup> and 'bereft'.<sup>106</sup> 'I cannot bear it,'<sup>107</sup> 'it helps me to offer all my pain to God... makes it feel less abortive.'<sup>108</sup> Gwen longed for her life 'to end' but felt responsible for Olivia.<sup>109</sup> Though overwhelmed by 'painful... memories,' Gwen believed 'there *is* a God... He must have some purpose and must *care*,'<sup>110</sup> 'our misery is evidence of some real objective fact outside of this life... other than all we see... Eternal Life is here and now.'<sup>111</sup> Gwen reflected, 'the *tenacity* and capacity of love – its capacity to grow... an eternal element *is* in ourselves. This gives me hope.'<sup>112</sup>

As Gwen's health declined, she could only 'creep... with a stick.'<sup>113</sup> She told Tom Burns, 'God has sent me this illness... pray for me not for health but just that God succeeds in any will He has for me.'<sup>114</sup> Earlier, Gwen had walked to mass,<sup>115</sup> but her illness now meant she was unable to attend. Perhaps surprisingly, she felt herself become more religious in her solitude, rather than less. She wrote to Tom Burns: 'Do you find yourself very religious lately? I have become quite *tremendously* so.'<sup>116</sup>

By the 1950s, Gwen was 'entirely crippled with Osteoarthritis';<sup>117</sup> 'I often groan aloud as I don't know how to bear it.'<sup>118</sup> Though experiencing life as 'difficult,' Gwen wrote: 'I believe in an ultimate purpose and meaning and reason in all things here, utterly incomprehensible and unknown to me. I believe in the reality of a God;<sup>119</sup> 'Everything I suffer is, as Uncle Freddie would say, sweetened by the love of God and of Christ.'<sup>120</sup> But Gwen also reflected, 'I sometimes feel... *certainty* can never be.'<sup>121</sup>

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105 RDL:19/3/41:SPA.

106 David was most 'alike' Gwen (GTL:30/4/1941); 'always wanting to hear everything one thought.' (GDL:9/3/1941).

107 GDL:26/2/1941.

108 GTL:30/4/1941.

109 GDL:28/9/1941.

110 GDL:24/7/1942.

111 GDL:n.d, probably 1940s.

112 GDL:13/12/1946.

113 GTL:22/5/n.d.

114 GTL:17/8/1944.

115 GDL:28/10/n.d.

116 GTL:17/8/1944.

117 Harman-Grisewood-2:Box-4,Folder-7.3:GUA:n.d.1954.

118 GDL:13/3/1956.

119 GDL:1950s.

120 GDL:n.d.

121 GDL:7/10/1953.

Even in her sufferings, Gwen was concerned about Hügél's things. She wrote to Richard to see if he had any of Hügél's papers to 'leave... to Downside.'<sup>122</sup> And she gave Tom Burns her shoe box of Hügél's letters when 'entirely crippled & bed ridden.'<sup>123</sup>

In July 1958, Olivia went to Bath for breast cancer treatment<sup>124</sup> and died in November, 1958. Gwen wrote, 'I *can't* bear it. I don't see how to live without her.'<sup>125</sup> In December 1958, Gwen moved into St Teresa's Private Hospital, Corston.<sup>126</sup> She had 'dropsy'<sup>127</sup> and was 'swollen from head to foot.'<sup>128</sup> Lying in her hospital bed, Gwen wrote to Dolly: 'I shan't forget the blue Nuns – Uncle Freddy had one too... I talk to you all day long, I wonder if you hear me.'<sup>129</sup>

Gwen died on 29th July 1959. Dolly reflected:

she did not want to live... thinking of her life makes me very sad... she... died of a broken heart... the devotion to her children was remarkable.<sup>130</sup>

## **II.viii. The nature of Hügél's relationship with Gwen**

Shaping the life of Gwen Greene was a major focus of Hügél's final seven years of life. Hügél's letters to Gwen from this period provide the most complete picture of his spiritual direction to anyone. Gwen published these letters in 1928 as *LN*, comprising 77 letters written between April 1918 and September 1924.<sup>131</sup> However, these published letters are only the tip of the iceberg. A close examination of Hügél's diaries reveals that Hügél was writing to Gwen from January 1917 and wrote her at least 117 letters. Given that several of Hügél's letters in *LN* are not mentioned in his diaries, it is likely that the actual number written is much higher.<sup>132</sup>

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122 GDL:15/10/1956.

123 GEWL:Add.81058ff17:BL:n.d./7/1957.

124 GEWL:Add.81058ff19:BL:2/7/1958. Shortly after this, Tom found a nurse for them both.  
GEWL:Add.81058ff:BL:22-23;12/10/1958.

125 GEWL:Add.81058ff24:BL:12/11/1958.

126 This hospital was run by the Poor Servants of the Mother of God. Gwen sold her silver to pay for her stay.  
GDL:23/9/1958.

127 GEWL:Add.81058ff:BL:27:15/1/1959.

128 GDL:15/1/1959.

129 GDL:1959.

130 DD:29/7/1959.

131 Thekla wrote, 'People persuaded Gwen to publish those letters, rather against her grain.' Sr Thekla-to-Sr-Mary-Assumpta:July/1963:NPA.

132 Gwen described the 'wonderful letters and postcards of advice and encouragement' that were 'lost or destroyed.'  
TW:94-5.

Tom Burns received the original Hügel letters in 1958.<sup>133</sup> He died in 1995 and only four of the unpublished letters still exist at the Burns' family archive.<sup>134</sup> Two letters to Gwen were uncovered in SAUL.<sup>135</sup> Key insights from another letter are published in an article Gwen wrote.<sup>136</sup> In addition, several of the letters in *LN* are incomplete, providing a mere extract of the original, longer letter.<sup>137</sup>

## II.ix. Hügel's face-to-face interaction with Gwen

Gwen also received spiritual direction from Hügel many times in person. She wrote notes about these conversation in her thirty-eight page introduction to *LN*:

I am adding to these letters the conversations that I had with my uncle during the same period of time. They help fill in to some extent the picture... It is a double picture, a picture of him teaching, and a picture of what he taught.<sup>138</sup>

Appendix 1 provides a full synopsis of all correspondence and contact between Hügel and Gwen as recorded in his diary between 1899 and 1925. Although Gwen read with Hügel for two years before Parry's death, it was not until after his death that Hügel introduced religious topics:

beginning with Christian things, we reached on to where his own spirit lived and was informed. I learnt of the true spirituality of great Christian souls, and was taught something of the practice of religiously consecrated and devoted... hidden heroic lives, hitherto utterly unknown to me.<sup>139</sup>

Gwen stayed with the Hügels overnight on three occasions before the letters began in 1917, and thereafter stayed overnight on another 7 occasions.<sup>140</sup> Gwen also had holidays with Hügel each summer from 1919 to 1923.<sup>141</sup> On these holidays, Hügel had multiple talks with Gwen (often speaking from pre-prepared notes) which are outlined in his diaries. In addition to the overnight

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133 In 1974, Tom Burns told James Kelly this information. (James Kelly, Personal communication:9/1/2009).

134 7-8/8/1919; 31/8/1920; 5/4/1920; 5/5/1921. After the author visited Burns' family archive in March 2011, the letters were donated to Georgetown University archive. Jimmy Burns did not know the whereabouts of the rest of the letters.

135 As discussed in Chapter 1.

136 Greene:1929:148-9.

137 Comparing the published letters with some of the originals in the Burns' archive, the portions omitted tend to deal with personal details about Gwen's father, friends, family and Gwen's financial situation. These letters are dated: 9/10/1918;23/1/1919;30/10/1919;5/4/1920;23/6/1920;31/8/1920;8/12/1920;5/5/1921;12/11/1921;9/12/1921.

138 *LN*:ix.

139 *TW*:95.

140 One of these was a two night stay: D:10/10/1921.

141 Three nights at Clonboy in July, 1919 and in June, 1920; four nights in London, June, 1921; four nights in London, June, 1922, and seven nights at Thursley, Jul-Aug, 1923.

stays, Hügel's diaries provide evidence of at least another 55 visits. These come more frequently in Hügel's final years, when Gwen lived in London.

Before mid-1922, Gwen's contact with Hügel was primarily through letters as she lived in the country. After Gwen moved to London in September 1922, the number of letters decreased, and visits increased.<sup>142</sup> From mid-1922 until Hügel's death, Gwen visited Hügel on 40 occasions (often for lunch) and Hügel visited her 3 times. Hügel's diaries often mention topics of conversation that were discussed during Gwen's visits to Hügel (see Appendix 1). A few examples include 'on certain difficulties in faith and rel[igious] practice';<sup>143</sup> 20 recommendations of Abbé Huvelin;<sup>144</sup> 'about church and her children'<sup>145</sup> 'about Anna, Mrs Lillie, Heiler.'<sup>146</sup>

To date, the only research on Hügel's spiritual direction to Gwen has been the Dutch Licentiate dissertation, *Friedrich von Hügel en Gwendolen Greene: Themata uit Letters to a Niece*.<sup>147</sup> This is a useful introduction, but refers only to Hügel's *LN* and to one of Gwen's published works (*TW*). It covers none of Gwen's letters or any of Hügel's other writings.

Several commentators have described Hügel's letters to Gwen as exemplary letters of spiritual nurture. Steere argues that they present 'the art of the spiritual counsellor at its best.'<sup>148</sup> Hughes writes that 'no other writing gives better or more detailed or more experienced direction.'<sup>149</sup> Peterson argues, 'Here is a master at work. Absorb the spirit and counsel in these letters and you will have the rudiments, and more, of spiritual direction.'<sup>150</sup> And Evelyn Underhill described them as 'extraordinarily deep and beautiful, full of his peculiar wisdom and supernaturalness.'<sup>151</sup> And Isy Hügel affectionately called them 'a hand held out from the dark.'<sup>152</sup> The letters will be discussed extensively in Chapters 4-6.<sup>153</sup>

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142 Contrast 12 letters written in two and a half years after the London move with 105 written in the four and a half years before that.

143 D:18/11/1919.

144 D:20/12/1919.

145 D:17/7/1920.

146 D:8/10/1920.

147 Peeters:1970.

148 Steere:1952:75.

149 Hughes:1958:301.

150 Peterson:1996:40.

151 Cropper:2003:141.

152 Ward:1937:503.

153 Arthur Ponsonby's diaries reveal his hatred of Hügel's effect on Gwen: 'He enticed Gwen into the R.C. Church in the most ingenious way by the road of his classics and intellectual and made her regard him as a saint of saints which he was not.' (APD:1/1/1929:SP) 'Her adoration for Freddy von Hügel is in my opinion out of all proportion. A recent article of hers on him I cannot swallow... he is greatly overrated.' (APD:20/8/1929:SP).

### III. Juliet Mansel (1893-1982)

'I so love to give you, or to do for you, things... that rejoice and expand you.'<sup>154</sup> (Hügel)

'You... have... become part of my true self, and whom... I will cherish to help to grow.'<sup>155</sup> (Hügel)



*Juliet Mansel, bottom row, 4th from left, Wycombe Abbey, 1910, Wycombe Abbey School Archives: Albums L-1898 (Pitt House): Cat. No:0034802.*

Hügel's love for children was expressed in 'the endless trouble he would take to guide them, spiritually and in secular knowledge... he loved the chance of educating aright to God... minds still unspoilt.'<sup>156</sup> We see this clearly in Hügel's nurture of Juliet, which is second in quantity only to Gwen. No substantial discussion of Hügel's nurture of Juliet has been carried out to date.<sup>157</sup>

Juliet was the granddaughter of an old Anglican friend of Hügel's, Adeline Chapman, a cousin of Algar Thorold.<sup>158</sup> The Hügels invited Juliet to stay with them during holidays while she attended a London school.<sup>159</sup> Juliet's young life 'was the greatest concern to each member' of the Hügel family.<sup>160</sup> Also, Hügel took an interest in Juliet's family, writing letters to Juliet's sister, Marcia, Mildred, and to Adeline.

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154 ms37194/18a:SAUL:4/10/1910.

155 ms37194/29a:SAUL:13/10/1911.

156 Bedoyère:1951:259.

157 Leonard has a brief discussion of Juliet (Leonard:1997:102-6), and Whelan mentions one letter written to Juliet. (Whelan:1971). But in both cases, only a few letters are discussed and no diary entries.

158 Thorold became a close follower of Hügel and helped him edit the second edition of *ME*.

159 D:24/4/1909. Juliet attended Wycombe Abbey from 22/9/1909-20/12/1910. (Email communication, Tina Cunningham, Archivist, Wycombe Abbey 24/2/2011).

160 Mansel:1951:1.



Looking back on her life at age 58, Juliet described herself as 'a shy, moody child, having suffered from an uneasy upbringing by parents... there had been little stability in her life... ever-present money troubles and conflicting loyalties.'<sup>161</sup> Juliet's relationship with Hügel seemed a marked contrast: 'his extraordinary understanding.... Every evening... he read aloud to her... No detail of her life was too small for his attention;'<sup>162</sup> 'he took this raw girl under his special care, guiding her in her studies, opening her eyes to the spiritual life and giving her... his deep understanding and fatherly love.'<sup>163</sup>

Hügel's relationship with Juliet can be traced through the letters he wrote her (we have 28 of the 79 he apparently wrote), and through his copious diary entries between 1909 and 1924. Appendix 2 exhaustively outlines these contacts.<sup>164</sup>

Hügel's interaction with Juliet was particularly extensive between 1909 and 1911. At that stage, Juliet lived in the Hügel home during vacation periods while attending The Abbey School, High Wycombe.<sup>165</sup> In mid-1910, Hügel suggested they write to each other fortnightly.<sup>166</sup>

Early on, Hügel had academic expectations and hopes for Juliet. He assessed Juliet's 'solid, well-balanced reason.'<sup>167</sup> He encouraged her 'not to sulk, or drift...' but to 'throw' herself into school.<sup>168</sup> As early as 1909, Hügel talked with Juliet about studying History at London University.<sup>169</sup> This discussion about her 'plans' continued over the years.<sup>170</sup> However, by 1922, he had to adjust to 'her actress plan.'<sup>171</sup>

Hügel was a safe confidant for Juliet as she tried to work out her vocation and love life. Being acutely aware of 'the Youngster's growing pains,'<sup>172</sup> Hügel had many 'long talks with Juliet...concerning her plans, social & scholastic.'<sup>173</sup> Juliet called on Hügel to convince Adeline that pursuing acting rather than history was an acceptable path.<sup>174</sup> He noted in his diary, 'I too *have*

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161 Mansel:1951:1.

162 Mansel:1951:2.

163 Mansel:1951:2.

164 We see mention of Juliet in Hügel's diaries as early as 1886.

165 Hügel wrote, '*Little Juliet Mansel installed with us.*' D:17/5/1909.

166 D:2/6/10. We see the high priority Hügel placed on Juliet when he put off meeting with Crespi to read Browning with Juliet. (D:17/4/1910).

167 ms37194/18a:SAUL:4/10/1910.

168 ms37194/18a:SAUL:4/10/1910.

169 D:19/12/1909.

170 For example, D:22/3/1911.

171 D:23/2/1922.

172 ms37194/22a:SAUL:23/12/1910.

173 ms37194/30a:SAUL:3/4/1912.

*agreed to... 18 months of this training.*<sup>175</sup> Juliet similarly confided in Hügel when she became secretly engaged, as she was afraid to tell her father.<sup>176</sup> This engagement was subsequently broken off.<sup>177</sup>

However, this intimacy with Hügel decreased as Juliet matured and became less interested in Christianity. Appendix 3 reveals how from 1919 onwards, Juliet was unsettled and disinterested in Christian things. Hügel made several attempts to help her such as suggesting that they read together every Friday.<sup>178</sup> However, not long after that, we read that Juliet arrived over an hour late and had 'done little or no reading.'<sup>179</sup> He also asked Juliet to spend time with them at Clonboy in the summers of 1920 and 1922.<sup>180</sup>

Hügel's diaries reveal that their relationship declined further in the years 1920-1924. For example, 'Juliet telephoned herself off from lunch with us today,'<sup>181</sup> 'Juliet did not turn up for night,'<sup>182</sup> 'I went out... waiting for her... giving her up.'<sup>183</sup> Similarly, after saying she would stay at Clonboy, Juliet cancelled after finding a better offer - 'a string of country house visits.'<sup>184</sup> In May 1921, Hügel noticed Juliet smoking.<sup>185</sup>

In 1921, Hügel thought Juliet's 'broken down... nerve-health' resulted from her 'heroic war work,'<sup>186</sup> when in fact it was an 'unhappy, love affair.'<sup>187</sup> But she still turned to Hügel: 'She wrote piteously for my company so I went off at once.'<sup>188</sup> In the midst of Juliet's depression, Hügel told Juliet that her healing would come through returning to Christ.<sup>189</sup> Hügel repeatedly mentioned Juliet's 'true' and 'false self', reminding her of four years earlier, when she returned to Communion after having drifted:

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174 D:3/4/1912. Discussions between Juliet and Hügel about the possibility of studying at Kings College are noted in his diary at D:24/3/1912;D:25/3/1912;D:6 & 10/4/1912. Hügel knew that 'Adeline [was] very full of a profession for Juliet.' D:17/5/1914.

175 D:18/3/1914.

176 D:19/5/1912;D:20/5/1912.

177 D:21/5/1912.

178 D:23/2/1919.

179 D:2/4/1919.

180 In 1920, Juliet went to Clonboy and Hügel read with her until Gwen arrived and he then shifted his attention away from Juliet completely. We have no mention of Juliet in his diaries for the three days when Gwen visits, simply descriptions of his readings and talks and walks with Gwen (14-17/7/1920). In 1922, Juliet went on holiday with Hügel and Hillie saw them off at Waterloo station (D:8/8/1922).

181 D:9/12/1920.

182 D:28/6/1922.

183 D:15/7/1924.

184 D:18/8/1919;D:6/9/1919;D:7/9/1919.

185 D:5/5/1921.

186 BA:Unpublished postcard to Gwen:8/1/1921.

187 D:10/1/1921.

188 msIX1272:DAA:28/12/1920.

189 SL:321-3.

Oh! I just loved that... the humility and frankness and, above all, the sense of need of that dear strength not your own... I want you to be doing all the wise things, all that will help you get well... *that* incident represents your permanent deepest self... whatsoever brings... articulation to your deepest self will directly promote recovery.<sup>190</sup>

Hügel emphasised the link between spirituality and emotional health, urging Juliet not to think she should get well first, and then consider religion - this would be putting 'the cart before the horse. We require harmony and happiness as a *cause precedent* to health and operative towards health.'<sup>191</sup>

Hügel emphasised that 'at His feet you get your strength... with little peaceful turnings to Christ.'<sup>192</sup>

Through engaging with Christ, she would:

get a unity and drama, a reality and awakens, a depth, steadiness and tenderness into your life which nothing else ever can or will of itself supply... simply *nothing* you could ever do will give me so complete a joy as if you... restart... building up of interior unity in the daily watch and ward against the false self.<sup>193</sup>

Hügel closed his letter with two lovely metaphors about fish. He described how fishmongers slit soles from head to tail, leaving the fish 'truly broken up.' Similarly, 'human souls... do not even begin to attain to their true identity... until they are divided up – until the spirit within them begins to discriminate itself against the petty self.'<sup>194</sup>

His final words provide a wonderful window on Hügel as the encouraging spiritual director: 'In the Scottish rivers the salmon will leap and leap... Jump, Child, jump: I jump with you, look we both manage it!'<sup>195</sup> Here we see the spiritual director urging his directee to jump up 'into the higher reaches;' Hügel's diary provided his eager anticipation that Juliet would 'communicate next Sunday.'<sup>196</sup>

But Hügel's hopes for Juliet's return to faith were to be disappointed. Later that year he described Juliet: 'Looking well, full of the acting. But spoke as tho' rel[igion] had not been growing.'<sup>197</sup> The

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190 SL:322.

191 SL:321-3.

192 SL:321-3.

193 SL:323.

194 SL:323.

195 SL:323.

196 D:6/1/1921.

197 D:4/11/1921.

following year, Hügel sadly observed 'no sign of religion.'<sup>198</sup> It seems quite a bitter ending to a long relationship where Hügel gave extensively to this young woman.

Yet Juliet reflected as a woman in her late 50s, writing in the third person:

The infinite pains, the immense time that Baron von Hügel gave in teaching this girl of fifteen the way to study and the way to pray still fills her, now an elderly woman, with astonishment and a sense of her unworthiness. With him every detail of her life, every facet of history or literature or art, was a means of apprehending the existence of God. The presence of God was virtually his only preoccupation, and all subjects, whether intellectual or banal, led him back to that preoccupation.<sup>199</sup>

#### IV. Evelyn Underhill (1875-1941)

'I owe him my whole spiritual life.'<sup>200</sup> (Evelyn regarding Hügel)



*Evelyn Underhill, KK: GB0100  
KCKCA K/PP75.*

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198 D:7/1/1922.

199 Mansel:1951:2-3.

200 Williams:1943:196:9/6/1931 (Written to Dom Chapman).

The influence of Hügel on Evelyn Underhill has been well documented by researchers, particularly by Steere.<sup>201</sup> Here we briefly sketch some of the main outlines of their relationship so that Evelyn's letters from Hügel are contextualised when mentioned in later chapters.

Evelyn was unequivocal that Hügel had the most influence on her of any spiritual director.<sup>202</sup> She had known Hügel for many years before she asked him for spiritual direction in 1921. They first met in 1911, when Hügel visited to discuss her book, *Mysticism*.<sup>203</sup> Hügel critiqued *Mysticism* for its lack of attention to 'institutional, historical... religion.'<sup>204</sup> Two months later, Evelyn wrote:

I have become the friend (or rather the disciple and admirer) of von Hügel. He is the most wonderful personality I have ever known – so saintly, so truthful, sane and tolerant. I feel safe and happy sitting in his shadow.<sup>205</sup>

In the following decade, we see several mentions of Evelyn in Hügel's diaries.<sup>206</sup> For instance, Hügel answered her questions about 'N.T. Mysticism'<sup>207</sup> and dropped in various written articles to her.<sup>208</sup> In 1913 after Evelyn published *The Mystic Way*, Hügel wrote her an encouraging note, saying, '[H]ow carefully you seem to have borne in mind the all important place and function in religion of liturgical acts, of the Sacrament, of the Visible, of History.'<sup>209</sup> Hügel provided occasional encouragement to Evelyn over the next 6 years. However, when Hügel became Evelyn's spiritual director, he pointed out several areas of concern. Aware of Evelyn's influence on others, Hügel wanted her to become 'more harmonious and more deep in herself' so that she would do 'much pure good instead of as now... a little harm mixed with some good.'<sup>210</sup>

In 1921, Evelyn asked Hügel to help her in 'her spiritual views, practices, etc.'<sup>211</sup> Hügel replied he had long been praying for her and longing for her to be readied by God.<sup>212</sup> He had her write a report concerning 'where she stood', then he 'drew up, in response, a rough set of rules and proposals.'<sup>213</sup>

Hügel described Evelyn's report as:

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201 Steere:1964;Greene:1990;O'Connor:*The Reluctant Anglican*:SAUL:ms38358;

202 After Hügel's death, Evelyn had Edward Talbot and Somerset Ward as spiritual directors.

203 D:16/7/1911. Evelyn had sent Hügel the book with the inscription: 'To the Baron von Hügel this is offered with gratitude and deep respect by the writer.' HugB828.U7:SAUL

204 Ramsay:1976:273;Cropper:2003:45.

205 Williams:1943:199.

206 See Appendix 4 for specific details.

207 D:10/12/1912.

208 D:11/12/1912.

209 Cropper:2003:52.

210 LN:174.

211 LN:174.

212 Steere:1986:64.

213 LN:174.

carefully criticised by me in my final advice to her, which grew into a bulky affair... It was impossible to be much shorter with a person who has read very much and thought very much; who began as a Pantheistically-inclined Agnostic.<sup>214</sup>

Evelyn had no religious institutional expression and little Christian fellowship or prayer life. She had drifted towards a vague 'inwardness.' While researching Jacopone da Todi, Evelyn herself perceived limitations in her neo-Platonic world-view. Hügel diagnosed an affliction with 'pure mysticism,' and felt that Evelyn was emotionally starved.<sup>215</sup> Having an excess of the Intellectual Element, and a spirituality disconnected from the historical Christ and the Church, Hügel felt Evelyn needed balance through the Institutional Element and a Christocentric focus. Her mysticism needed to be brought into tension with both the institutional and historical.

Hügel's method of spiritual direction was quite different to the ongoing contact he had with Gwen and Juliet. Hügel directed Evelyn only twice a year via letter. He gave Evelyn quite explicit direction and had her write a report each 6 months: 'purposely, I am not going to see her in between-whiles.'<sup>216</sup> This is all the more surprising given Hügel lived only a short walk from Evelyn's home.<sup>217</sup> The only visits in Hügel's diaries involve delivering gifts: a note from Hügel;<sup>218</sup> roses from Evelyn;<sup>219</sup> flowers for Hügel's birthday<sup>220</sup> and jigsaw puzzles.<sup>221</sup>

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214 LN:174.

215 Greene:1993:27.

216 LN:174-5.

217 A rare visit occurred in 1922 when Evelyn visited Hügel for a talk. D:22/7/1922.

218 D:6/7/1922.

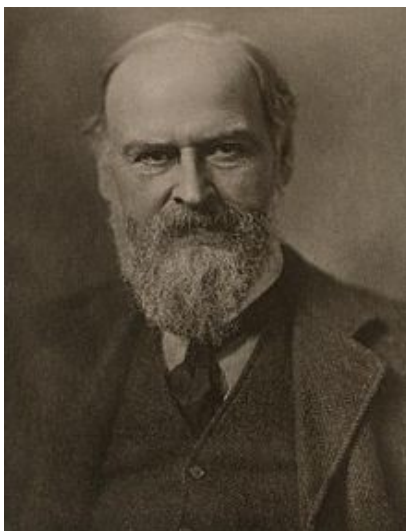
219 D:17/4/1924.

220 D:5/5/1924.

221 D:29/5/1924.

## V. Wilfred Ward (1856-1916)

'I am sure that you can help me more than anyone else.'<sup>222</sup>



*Wilfred Ward, Age 57.  
Ward:1937:ii.*

Hügel and Wilfred Ward were friends for decades and in the 1880s Hügel 'stimulated & guided' Wilfred.<sup>223</sup> Hügel was described by Wilfred as 'saint... mystic... scholar and thinker... Sanctity and freedom of mind agree well together, he maintained.'<sup>224</sup> However, their relationship was strained during the years following the Papal Encyclical, *Pascendi*. Wilfred wrote regarding Hügel: 'I owed him a great deal all my life and I do not know whom I admire more... [but] on the combined theological and political matters that divide Catholics... we have never agreed.'<sup>225</sup>

However, when Wilfred was dying of stomach cancer in 1916, past differences were put aside and he sought Hügel out: 'You can probably help me more than anyone else... I shall be very grateful if you will write to me sometimes.'<sup>226</sup> Wilfred wanted Hügel to help him 'deepen his spiritual life'<sup>227</sup> and wrote, 'Any thoughts... which may help to deepen one at this time will be very acceptable.'<sup>228</sup>

Hügel responded by assuring Wilfred that he would write weekly, hoping his letters would provide 'slight consolation or bracing.'<sup>229</sup> Wilfred was open with Hügel, so that his 'diagnosis should be

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222 ms3160:SAUL.

223 ms3164:SAUL:17/3/1916. For example, in 1892, Hügel sent Ward volumes of Fénelon and 'propose(d) much reading.' (Ward:1934:248).

224 Ward:1937:300.

225 Ward:1937:479.

226 ms3159:SAUL:26/2/1916.

227 D:24/3/1916.

228 ms3166:SAUL:nd.

229 msVII.143/201:SAUL:7/4/1916.

accurate.<sup>1230</sup> Hügel's letters were described by Wilfred as 'the greatest comfort,'<sup>1231</sup> 'most helpful,'<sup>1232</sup> and 'an act of charity... friendship.'<sup>1233</sup> Ward repeatedly longed for these letters: 'I am greatly looking forward to... tomorrow's letter,'<sup>1234</sup> 'I am hoping for a letter from you.'<sup>1235</sup> In these letters we see Hügel helping a dying friend endure suffering.

An interesting background to these letters of support came from an agreement Hügel made with Wilfred's sister, Margaret, many years before. Margaret had told Hügel that she feared Wilfred's 'natural temperament' exposed him to 'worldliness.' By contrast, she believed Hügel's 'temperament, circumstances (deafness etc.)' saved him from that weakness. Hügel told Wilfred that Margaret wanted to:

leave you, as one of her most precious legacies, to me... would I wait – if need be for years and years, until God somehow gave you the call. Would I then help as much as ever I could, sure of God from whom it all would come... I answered that it was not my way to erect myself into a spiritual guide for anyone... But that here was something entirely *not* sought by myself... I would have to wait, whilst, please God, growing myself, and only then acting if and in so far as I would be invited to do so.<sup>236</sup>

Wilfred heard this story with tears and believed it explained why he had turned to Hügel in this crisis.<sup>237</sup>

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230 ms3162:SAUL:nd.

231 ms3161:SAUL:1/3/1916.

232 ms3158:SAUL:19/2/1916.

233 ms3162:SAUL:nd.

234 ms3163:SAUL:13/3/1916.

235 ms3164:SAUL:17/3/1916. Maisie Ward wrote on Wilfred's behalf: 'He wanted to tell you how very touched he has been by your last letter and how valuable he feels the line of thought to be to him...' ms3137:SAUL.

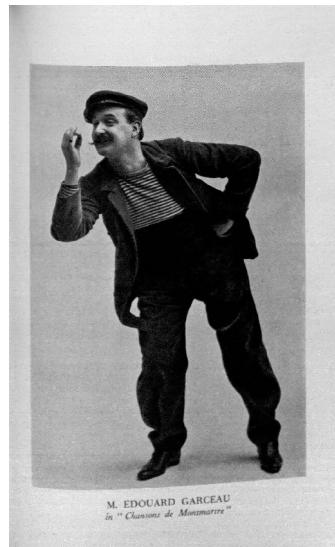
236 msVII.143/197bc:SAUL:20/3/1916

237 ms3166:SAUL:nd.

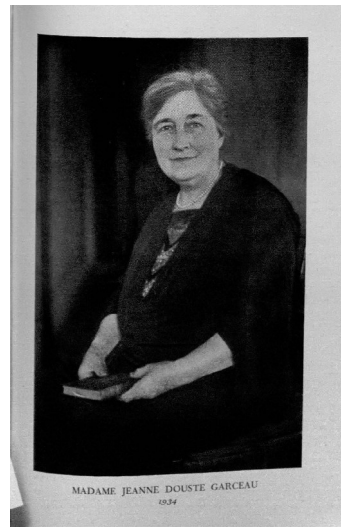


## VI. Henri Garceau (1904-1930)

Lady Mary: 'You are too tired for the boys tonight, you have worked too hard.'  
Hügel: 'No, let them come: they are one of my most important works in life.'<sup>238</sup>



*Henri's Father, Edouard Garceau. Garceau:1935.*



*Henri's Mother, Jeanne Douste Garceau.*

Between 1915 and 1923, Hügel gave spiritual nurture to Henri Garceau, and to his brother, Gilbert, from 1919 until 1925.<sup>239</sup> These young, French boys lived across the road from the Hügels in Vicarage Gate. Their mother and aunt were both child prodigy pianists, famously known as 'the little Doustes' when children, and summoned by royals to perform.<sup>240</sup> Henri's father was in the French reserves and was recalled to France in 1914, so Hügel became a father figure in Henri's life.

The nurturing relationship with Henri began when the Garceaus asked if Hügel would undertake Henri's Catechism.<sup>241</sup> In 1915, Hügel arranged to have Henri on Wednesdays and Saturdays, at 6pm for half an hour.<sup>242</sup> Hügel described this spiritual nurture to Webb: 'I am having... a boy of twelve - to instruct in religion... I have... to clothe the selections in childish imagery, illustration... and then he understands what I say.'<sup>243</sup>

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238 Garceau:1935:281.

239 Hügel nurtured other teenage boys. He had numerous meetings with Leo Ward: D:8/10/1915;D:12/2/1916; D:25/4/1916; D:9/3/1917;D:21/6/1918;D:13/10/1918;10/1/1919;23/2/1919.D:21/8/1920;D:1/10/1920. Hügel also described loving Charlie Temple 'as my own son.' ms37194/51a:SAUL:8/7/1921.

240 Juliet had singing lessons with Henri's aunt (D:8/2/1914) and Hildegard took piano lessons from Henri's mother. (Garceau:1935:279).

241 D:4/6/1915.

242 D:1/10/1915.

243 SL:236.

After an initial five months of meetings, Hügel took Henri to the priest for confirmation<sup>244</sup> and his first confession.<sup>245</sup> At his first Communion, Hügel wrote to Henri affectionately:

I cannot allow this day to pass, so beautiful and so important in your young life... it is for love that He touches you... so that by loving Him more and more you may be increasingly happy... the heart of Jesus, so gentle and humble, will help you all your life.<sup>246</sup>

Henri joined the Hügels in their pew for Mass,<sup>247</sup> and Hügel was Henri's godfather when he was confirmed in February 1923. For Henri's 18th birthday, Hügel bought him a silver watch with the inscribed words *Ad hoc* to remind him of the principles he had sought to instil.<sup>248</sup> Henri's mother wrote:

the Baron wished to give him something that would be a constant reminder to the lad of those principles of work and morals upon which his youth had been built up: a perpetual souvenir for those "happy hours" during which his preceptor had watched the unfolding of the man whom he desired to shape.<sup>249</sup>

Hügel had sold his own gold watch chain, which had belonged to his father, in order to buy the watch, and thereafter wore only a leather guard.<sup>250</sup> His next birthday present to Henri was a Dowas-Rheims English Bible.<sup>251</sup>

In October 1923, Henri got a scholarship to Cambridge and Hügel's meetings with him ended, but he still loaned him books.<sup>252</sup> Tragically, Henri was killed in 1930 at age 26 when playing football.<sup>253</sup>

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244 D:17/4/1916.

245 D:30/6/1916.

246 Garceau:1935:283-4. (D:14/7/1916)

247 D:8/5/1918.

248 D:30/10/1922.

249 Garceau:1935:284.

250 Garceau:1935:285.

251 D:9/10/1923. Henri gave Hügel simple gifts like a chicken (D:20/1/1922) and a pot of Devonshire cream (D:4/5/1921). Hügel often gave Henri a pound for Church going. (D:6/4/1921).

252 D:31/5/1924;21/6/1924;3/10/1924. Hügel also taught Gilbert, organising his first communion and confession. D:25/12/1920.

253 His father wrote, 'Our eyes remain to us for weeping!' Garceau:1935:300.

## VII. Emilia Fogelklou Norlind (1878-1972)

'I come... to what I love to do – to help you  
who so truly deserves any and every help I can give you.'<sup>254</sup> (Hügel)



*Emilia Fogelklou Norlind*

Emilia was a Swedish, Quaker widow, and academic at the University of Stockholm. She authored several Quaker books<sup>255</sup> and was described as 'brilliant... prophetic and [a] deeply revered member' of the Quakers.<sup>256</sup> Emilia was introduced to Hügel through Nathan Söderblom when a theology student at Uppsala University.<sup>257</sup> She first came to the Baron for guidance in September 1910.

Hügel's spiritual nurture of Emilia was predominantly intellectual as he helped her in her thinking about God and humanity. Hügel obviously respected Emilia's mind, as he asked her to read his articles and comment on them.<sup>258</sup> Hügel also discussed Modernism with Emilia: 'We mostly spoke of... the Modernist-situation... I so very deeply felt a oneness in God... He admonished me not to keep off from the external life but get into it, intrepidly.'<sup>259</sup> In addition, Hügel inspired Emilia telling her about the spiritual greats who helped him: Hocking, Huvelin and Agar.<sup>260</sup> He also gave her a number of introductions to academics.<sup>261</sup>

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254 ms38776/8:SAUL.

255 Norlind:1969. Emilia was the first woman in Sweden to earn a doctorate in theology.  
([www.pym.org/content/biographical-notes-authors](http://www.pym.org/content/biographical-notes-authors))

256 Steere:1984:14,41.

257 ms38776/8:SAUL.

258 Hügel asked for her 'impressions and objections' on his 'Religion and Illusion' article (ms38776/8:SAUL). Emilia subsequently wrote a paper about Hügel's article. (ms38776/8:SAUL:6/4/1912). Also, Emilia was one of 20 people who Hügel sent *EL*. (D:6/11/1912). Others included Adeline Chapman and Evelyn de Vesci.

259 ms1174:box116:HCA;n.d.

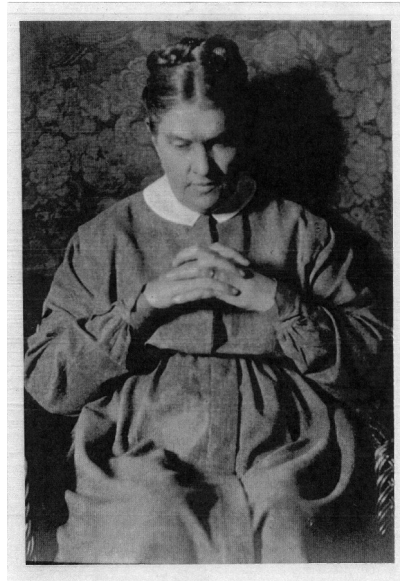
260 ms38776/8:SAUL:6/4/1912.

261 D:14/9/1910:12/10/1910 letter.

## VIII. Frances Crane Lillie (1869-1958)

'He was a very holy old man and a perfect type of Christian humility.'<sup>262</sup>

[Frances regarding Hügel]



*Frances Crane Lillie. SSC.*

Frances was an Agnostic doctor, Chicago philanthropist, and a mother of 7 children.<sup>263</sup> In 1918, she read Hügel's *ME* as her Lent reading in a mountain log cabin.<sup>264</sup> She was impressed with Catherine of Genoa as a mystical, practical, married woman, and pioneer of social work.<sup>265</sup> Her reading stirred her desire to convert to Catholicism, even though it was 'socially unacceptable' in her circle.<sup>266</sup> Hügel was the one Catholic theologian 'whose attitudes she was completely in sympathy.'<sup>267</sup> So in 1920, she decided to get Hügel to decide if she should convert.<sup>268</sup> Frances wrote to Hügel and he replied she should not abandon Protestantism: 'Your one sufficient, and really compelling motive, would be your feeling... *you would be committing sin* by not coming.'<sup>269</sup>

Frances had a dream of walking up a hill and entering a Catholic Church. She wrote, 'It gave me such a sense of unity, as though all my religious experiences... all my people held together in it, past and present... It felt more *sent* than any dream I ever had.'<sup>270</sup> But Frances feared 'her marriage

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262 Lillie:1925:64.

263 Three children were adopted.

264 Barmann:1981:110-111.

265 Barrows:1969:86.

266 Barrows:1969:101.

267 Barrows:1969:107.

268 Barrows:1969:108.

269 Lillie:1925:38.

270 Barrows:1969:109.

[would be] threatened<sup>1271</sup> by converting, and she wrote to Hügel, 'I have so little faith and so much cowardice and no knowledge.'<sup>1272</sup> When she hadn't heard back from Hügel for a few weeks, she became quite desperate: 'Supposing I do not see him, it doesn't seem possible!'<sup>1273</sup> Eventually, she decided to discuss possible conversion with Hügel face-to-face and made the voyage to London. En route, Frances visited Paris and talked with Père Grandmaison, whom Hügel had recommended as a 'wise reader of the human heart' who 'would never push...[or] complicate anyone.'<sup>1274</sup>

Frances eventually visited Hügel in October, 1920, where they had four long talks over several days. Frances' daughter wrote, 'Mother fell for him completely. He acknowledged *all* the sins of the Church she could catalogue.'<sup>1275</sup> In his diary, Hügel described Frances as: 'A somewhat silent and shy, very simple & sincere, very humbly dressed, fresh faced woman,'<sup>1276</sup> 'very genuine and sincere' but also 'very unusual.'<sup>1277</sup> After a few days she was received into the Catholic Church.<sup>1278</sup> Despite being received by Fr Eric, she reflected, 'I reserve my problems for... Hügel.'<sup>1279</sup> Hügel's diary records some topics of their conversations: 'miracles,'<sup>1280</sup> 'Pascendi,'<sup>1281</sup> 'her wealth and her possible troubles owing to it; the limitations of the 3<sup>rd</sup> order of St Francis; the Catholic, unrigorist [sic] view of marriage; Catholic newspapers.'<sup>1282</sup> He gave her a list of Catholic periodicals and books and she returned to America.<sup>1283</sup>

After Frances left, Hügel wrote that she had 'a strain of mysticism of an increasingly R.C. type - checking, or alternating with the agnosticism. A somewhat crotchety woman.'<sup>1284</sup> He also described her as 'a humorous, shrewd, self-knowing woman, drawn by just one thing to Rome – the crowd, the praying poor in our Churches.'<sup>1285</sup>

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271 Barrows:1969:110.

272 Barrows:1969:115. Hügel had this same scenario with Evelyn who when engaged, was thinking about converting but knew it would hurt her fiancé. The dramas of the Catholic Modernist crisis made Evelyn decide to remain an Anglican.

273 Barrows:1969:118.

274 Lillie:1925:40.

275 Barrows:1969:114.

276 D:3/11/1920.

277 LN:105.

278 D:10/11/1920. Lady Mary was Frances' godmother. Frances' daughter reported that after Frances' conversion 'the fever and fret dropped... The playful note of her youth returns...' Barrows:1969:126.

279 Barrows:1969:124.

280 D:3/11/1920.

281 D:9/11/1920.

282 D:11/11/1920.

283 Frances' husband 'decided to accept her position and try to understand it' but he remained adamant that she not convert their children. Barrows:1969:125.

284 Barmann:1981:110-1.

285 Barmann:1981:112.

In May 1921, we hear that Frances was 'going on steadily and well' and would 'grow richer in soul and outlook.'<sup>286</sup> Hügel's diary mentioned a letter from Frances: 'very friendly, but rather strange notions on two points – one, a directly religious point.'<sup>287</sup> His reply centred around the need for balance between both science (the intellectual) and religion (the mystical).<sup>288</sup> From her November 1922 letter, Hügel believed Frances' 'happiness has got nothing hectic or alarming about it,' and that she was 'certain to continue to the end.'<sup>289</sup>

Hügel invited Frances to visit again. He wrote, 'I want... to tell you various things that have been occurring to me as specifically useful to yourself...'<sup>290</sup> So Francis saw him 3 times in October 1924. They talked about Huvelin and Leseur<sup>291</sup> and the Mendel Institute Frances set up as a 'thanks offering' for her conversion. Hügel had 'unbroken esteem and respect' for Frances and recognised she had 'gained very solidly in the deepest of ways.'<sup>292</sup> Frances recalled Hügel's final words to her: 'The beauty, dignity and resourcefulness of the Church are its constant companion.'<sup>293</sup> Given the Institutional Element was the main element he nurtured in Frances, these were apt parting words.

## IX. Gertrud Hügel (1877-1915)

'the one... I tried most extensively to help and to make grow.'<sup>294</sup> (Hügel)

'the daughter who has longest and most widely been  
my sympathiser and companion'<sup>295</sup> (Hügel)

Gertrud was Hügel's oldest daughter, the one he was closest to, and the most brilliant and complex.<sup>296</sup> When Gertrud died, Hügel wrote, 'She was the confidant of all my thoughts... a void that nothing, nothing can replace.'<sup>297</sup> Wilfred recognised 'how much you lose in her, all her

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286 LN:137.

287 D:6/4/22.

288 This is discussed in chapter 6.

289 Lillie:1925:53.

290 Graduate Theological Union Special Collections:16/10/1924.

291 D:5/10/24.

292 Barmann:1981:285-6:17/12/1924.

293 Lillie:1925:63. Frances' daughter stated that Frances was 'an ardent but individualistic Catholic' who insisted on 'political radicalism.' Barrows:1969:129,128.

294 SL:225.

295 ms37194/36:SAUL:14/8/1915.

296 Hügel told Canon Newsom, Gertrud was 'the soul closest to me upon earth in all my intellectual work, plans and trials.' SL:225. Gertrud translated *Saint Bernadine of Siena* by Paul Thureau-Dangin. (London: Dent & Co, 1906).

297 Bedoyère:1951:288.

sympathy with your views.<sup>298</sup> Hügel nicknamed her 'True' and described her as 'a religious genius... keenly, even faithfully awake to modern conflicts.'<sup>299</sup>



*Hildegard (standing), Gertrud (sitting left), Hügel (standing), and Lady Mary (sitting right). DAA:BoxIX:1272.*

But this 'awakening' came at a cost. Hügel caused Gertrud's personal breakdown in 1897 through introducing her to religious problems beyond her years. Forgetting he was 25 years her senior, and her 'richness of character,'<sup>300</sup> Hügel poured out on her his 'impressions, irritations', as he would have with 'a contemporary who had already fought through his battle.'<sup>301</sup> He later lamented:

[the] pace I took thoughtlessly, selfishly, from thirst for intellectual and heart sympathy... I have, alas, put difficulties and criticism so over abundantly and prematurely before you... they have, now naturally, taken much bigger dimensions... in your mind.<sup>302</sup>

This resulted in 'the struggle of a most sweet, young, impressionable mind... brought on prematurely... by one who did not realise what he was doing.'<sup>303</sup> Gertrud had a period of time apart from the family with Tyrrell and Huvelin spiritually nurturing her to try to help her return to faith.



*Hügel with Gertrud.  
DAA:IX1272.*

298 ms38776/2/7:SAUL. His closeness to Gertrud was further revealed when he told Mary 'I am going to have a good tête-à-tête with that dear little thing: she is evidently herself wanting it...' (ms38776/9:SAUL:19/5/1895).

299 ms38776/8:SAUL:10/4/1911.

300 msIX1272:DAA:6/1/1898.

301 msIX1272:DAA:6/1/1898.

302 msIX1272:DAA:6/1/1898.

303 msIX.1272:DAA:28/1/1898.

Hügel was devastated by his effect on Gertrud. He later told Gwen:

the biggest cross of my little old life was when I *put out my True's spiritual eyes*. I myself, who had chiefly trained her in faith and trust and love of God and Christ and Church, so strained and perplexed that very sensitive young soul... bereft her for years... of all peace, of all conscious faith.<sup>304</sup>

Hügel repeatedly confessed his guilt in this episode to his close friends.<sup>305</sup> He identified his 'triple fault' here: 'dwelling so constantly and freely on the detailed humanities in the Church; the drawing out and giving full edge to religious difficulties; the making too much of little intellectual and temperamental differences between myself and most Catholics, near relations included.'<sup>306</sup> He never ceased 'to feel the keenest regret at having put so much, too much, of a strain upon her, [more] than her mind and heart could bear.'<sup>307</sup>

However, just before her death, Hügel recorded:

every trace of the braininess and of self-mirroring which undoubtedly hid, for a while, her deeper self, had thoroughly disappeared... these last 5 months revealed her, more and more, not as a brain, but as a soul, deliciously childlike, delightfully humorous, elastic and fresh.<sup>308</sup>

After Gertrud's death, Hügel described Gertrud's 'deepest gifts and graces, which Father Tyrrell and Abbé Huvelin had so nobly and delicately fostered during her time of strain and relative confusion... had now blossomed into a most touching, most generous profusion.'<sup>309</sup> Despite the positive ending, the experience of wounding Gertrud was a scar Hügel carried into all of his subsequent spiritual direction relationships.

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304 LN:122.

305 To Adeline: 'engrossment in my own problems and labours, and the unthinking way in which I leant, too directly, upon that sweet, sensitive soul.' (ms37194/37a:SAUL). To Tyrrell: 'my selfishness of leaning on one whom I ought to have propped... I have dropped my own child, my first-born, whom God gave me to carry and to guard...'  
(Petre:1937b:21:26/1/1898).

306 Petre:1937b:21:26/1/1898.

307 SL:251:15/6/1918.

308 ms37194/37a:SAUL:23/8/1915.

309 SL:222.



## X. Adeline Chapman (1848-1931)

'the pleasure and profit of seeing you.'<sup>310</sup> (Hügel)

Adeline Chapman was a close friend of Hügel's for decades.<sup>311</sup> They first met in the autumn of 1873 when she chaperoned Mary on a trip.<sup>312</sup> Bedoyère describes Adeline as 'a constant counsellor of special worth' to Hügel and 'a woman whose role in the life of von Hügel has been too little appreciated because the detailed evidence is lacking.'<sup>313</sup> In 1970, however, Juliet Mansel (her granddaughter) donated Hügel's letters to Adeline to SAUL, so we can now gain a much clearer picture of their relationship.

The warmth and closeness of the friendship is evident in the salutations: Hügel always began his letters 'My dear Adeline,' and signed off, 'affectionate old friend.'<sup>314</sup> He described her as an 'equable... solid... friend.'<sup>315</sup>

Hügel had tea at Adeline's at 'the Cottage' on Sunday afternoons every few weeks for much of his adult life. Topics he recorded discussing include: 'Suffragettes',<sup>316</sup> Huvelin;<sup>317</sup> Spiritualism,<sup>318</sup> 'temptation and spiritual character';<sup>319</sup> 'faith in survival';<sup>320</sup> 'verbal inspiration of Bible';<sup>321</sup> 'Troeltsch';<sup>322</sup> 'Elizabeth Leseur... Charles de Foucauld';<sup>323</sup> 'Gwen's article';<sup>324</sup> 'Groce and "Free Catholics";'<sup>325</sup> 'Catherine of Genoa.'<sup>326</sup> They also spoke frequently of Adeline's family.

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310 ms37184/47a:SAUL:14/2/1918.

311 Adeline was born Chapman. Her married name was Guest from 1867-1898, until her husband died. She became Chapman again in 1899 when she married her cousin, Cecil Chapman. Source:www.geni.com/people/Adeline-Chapman/6000000000352440879:accessed1/2/2013.

312 ms37194/34:SAUL:29/8/1913.

313 Bedoyère:1951:355.

314 ms37194/51a:SAUL:8/7/1921.

315 ms37184/49a:SAUL:9/8/1919.

316 D:12/12/1909.

317 D:30/4/1916.

318 D:17/12/1916.

319 D:24/2/1919.

320 D:28/4/1919.

321 D:21/1/1920.

322 D:24/12/1923.

323 D:9/4/1924.

324 D:30/4/1924.

325 D:13/6/1924.

326 D:18/11/1924.

Hügel had Adeline as proof-reader and 'woman-critic of *GS*,<sup>327</sup> *EAI*,<sup>328</sup> *EL*<sup>329</sup> and *ME*.<sup>330</sup> He repeatedly affirmed her skill: 'useful criticisms as to clearness';<sup>331</sup> 'Your suggestions, valuable as ever.'<sup>332</sup> Adeline also encouraged Hügel: 'I am most truly helped on to further endeavours by your, evidently sincere and strong, impression of the growing clearness of my writing.'<sup>333</sup>

Hügel greatly respected Adeline and got her to read a letter he wrote to Miss Webb 'about grace and sacraments, Papal authority, [and] Modernism'<sup>334</sup> before sending it. This is remarkable given Adeline was Anglican. The difference in their religious denominations was only evident when it came to various of her family members considering converting. Hügel observed 'Adeline kept putting in remarks to moderate Mildred's pro-Catholic zeal.'<sup>335</sup> Similarly, concerning Marcia, Adeline '*does not want her religion changed*.'<sup>336</sup> In 1917, Adeline proposed they read Dante together, so they read 'Purgatorio' on Sunday afternoons every three weeks. Despite their relationship being one of spiritual friends, Hügel's letters to Adeline provide much spiritual nurture.

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327 D:21/2/1915. He also sent Adeline his papers to proof-read. (D:6/5/1918;D:2/8/1920).

328 ms37194/51b:SAUL:8/7/1921.

329 D:12/5/1912.

330 ms37194/51b:SAUL:8/7/1921(Reprint).

331 D:30/3/1915. Hügel described her 'very helpful criticism,' (ms37194/42a:SAUL:2/4/1916) and that 'two important misprints escaped everyone' except Adeline. (ms37194/44:SAUL:14/10/1916). He similarly wrote to Adeline 'how truly useful is your very kind work and service. For I have adopted every one of these proposals; they are all so absolutely right... Your headings are, beyond compare, the more popular and simple. Please do continue helping me in this also.' (ms37194/32:SAUL:15/6/1912).

332 ms37194/51a:SAUL:8/7/1921.

333 ms37194/44:SAUL:14/10/1916.

334 D:19/2/1911.

335 D:30/4/1916.

336 D:21/1/1920.

## XI. Norman Kemp Smith (1872-1958)

'nothing can be more valuable than the guidance you give me.'<sup>337</sup> (Norman to Hügel)



*Norman Kemp Smith.  
Barmann:1981.*

Though not a formal directee, Hügel enjoyed a spiritual friendship with his colleague, Professor Norman Kemp Smith, who was exactly 20 years his junior.<sup>338</sup> 130 letters and cards passed between Hügel and Norman between 1918 and 1925. Norman wrote to Hügel:

The older generation, when it has profited by the years as you have done, carries so great a store of wisdom in so vivid and contagious a form that I, as a younger man, can never be sufficiently grateful to you for allowing me access to it in this full measure.<sup>339</sup>

Norman thanked Hügel for 'the high privilege of the friendship you so richly extend to me.'<sup>340</sup>

Norman valued Hügel's 'approval' of his writings more than 'anyone else'<sup>341</sup> and wrote he would endeavour to 'prove worthy' of Hügel's 'generous interest' in him.<sup>342</sup> Hügel particularly concentrated on nurturing Norman's institutional and mystical sides to balance off his excellent intellect.

But the appreciation was very much reciprocated. Hügel wrote, 'I thank God every day for the most solid, precious friend He has deigned to give me in you.'<sup>343</sup> 'I feel every day the deep truth of

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337 Barmann:1981:33.

338 Bedoyère described Norman as a 'disciple' to Hügel. (Bedoyère:1951:316). They first met on 24/5/1918.

339 Barmann:1981:196.

340 Barmann:1981:221.

341 Barmann:1981:33:7/6/1919.

342 Barmann:1981:105:4/10/1920. After Hügel's death, Norman wrote to Hildegard: 'What your Father has meant to me I shall not attempt to say; twould be needless. You know what he had to give, and in what measure.'  
(BoxIX1271:DAA:4/3/1925).

343 Barmann:1981:84:19/4/1920. Hügel often addressed his letters to Norman as 'My very dear Friend...'  
Barmann:1981:90:30-31/7/1920; 'My ever dear Friend.' Barmann:1981:100:20/9/1920; and often closed his letters, 'Your ever devoted Friend.' Barmann:1981:103:20/9/1920.

Browning's, "What a thing friendship is, world without end!"<sup>344</sup> Hügel described Norman as 'one of my two closest living Friends... We both... adore, love God! What a gift of His *that* is!'<sup>345</sup>

In 1924, when Hügel was old and unwell, Norman wrote weekly to him, expecting no letters in return.<sup>346</sup> Hügel described these letters as 'healing waters' that 'brace' away pain.<sup>347</sup> He also found Norman's help brought about his 'persistent growth' and made him feel he had an 'audience' in his closing years.<sup>348</sup>

Hügel saw Norman as someone worth investing in. He described Norman as having 'piercing insight into souls,'<sup>349</sup> and 'a mind of iron perseverance, historical sense, most delicate penetration, and breadth and courage of outlook – all of the rarest kind.'<sup>350</sup> Having met Norman, he now felt it 'mattered little... whether I lived or not to do more work, for *there* stood the man who could and would represent for some 25 years to come or more, what I wanted and saw.'<sup>351</sup>

## **XII. Miscellaneous directees**

In addition to the ten directees already introduced, Hügel's diaries show that he generously gave himself to many other people. This final section provides examples of Hügel's nurture of other individuals to illustrate some further characteristics of his spiritual direction.

### ***XII.i.a. Hügel refused requests for spiritual direction***

Margaret Clutton asked Hügel to spiritually nurture her son, Arthur. But Hügel found Arthur's temperament difficult to understand and refused.<sup>352</sup> He felt that for some people he was 'more likely to perplex and to tempt, than to aid and to refresh.'<sup>353</sup> So he clearly felt the importance of a certain 'fit' between director and directee.

When Margaret asked if she should get a priest, Hügel revealed a preference towards lay spiritual direction: 'you are *quite exceptionally* the better person, - you, the lay woman, as against any

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344 Barmann1981:90:30-31/7/1920.

345 Barmann:1981:192:20/12/1922.

346 Barmann:1981:244:23/8/1924

347 Barmann:1981:270:12/11/1924.

348 Barmann:1981:281:17/12/1924.

349 LN:101.

350 ms37194/51a/b:SAUL:8/7/1921.

351 ms37194/51a/b:SAUL:8/7/1921.

352 D:7/6/1912.

353 ms30994:SAUL:11/6/1912.

priest.<sup>1354</sup> He then wrote two long letters to Margaret to nurture her.<sup>1355</sup> He wrote, 'I want to attempt the helping of yourself... to help the boy...'<sup>1356</sup> Hügel told Margaret, 'your teaching of him will make you grow,<sup>1357</sup> and 'deepen, widen, sweeten, greatly, *your own spiritual life*... make him grow with your growth.'<sup>1358</sup>

Hügel was also direct about putting limits on what he could offer directees. In one instance he told Mrs White: '[I] [c]annot possibly see or do anything further for you.'<sup>1359</sup> Similarly, he told Juliet Campbell he would only see her 'up to 3 times.'<sup>1360</sup>

### ***XII.i.b. Spiritual direction that did not appear to bear fruit***

Mildred Mansel (1868-1942) was a woman Hügel attempted to nurture spiritually through letters and talks, but who appeared 'little responsive to religion.'<sup>1361</sup> Hügel's comments in his diaries document this apathy: 'regretfully... she did not care to go to church;'<sup>1362</sup> 'We spoke about rel[igious] things – she strangely vague as usual.'<sup>1363</sup> Over 10 years of talks, religious discussions were rare. He did however give her Bernard's *Letters*<sup>1364</sup> and Huvelin's 3 volumes of *Addresses*.<sup>1365</sup>

Given Mildred's unresponsiveness, Hügel attempted to engage her passions - politics and social reform - and read her books that interested her: de Tocqueville's *Ancient Regime*<sup>1366</sup> and Plato's *Republic*<sup>1367</sup> and sent her Zimmern's *American Commonwealth*.<sup>1368</sup> They talked about the 'State',<sup>1369</sup> Armistice and Labour party,<sup>1370</sup> 'social Legislation',<sup>1371</sup> 'genius and morality',<sup>1372</sup> and Winston Churchill.<sup>1373</sup>

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354 ms30994:SAUL:11/6/1912.

355 We have evidence of Hügel spiritually nurturing Margaret from as early as 1908 when they 'talk about Christological points.' (D:4/8/1908). This ongoing correspondence carried on as late as January, 1920 when Margaret wrote to Hügel about her son, Arthur. (D:1/1/1920).

356 ms30994:SAUL:11/6/1912.

357 ms30994:SAUL:11/6/1912.

358 ms30994:SAUL:11/6/1912.

359 D:28/12/1908.

360 D:18/2/1914.

361 ms37194/37a:SAUL:23/8/1915.

362 D:24/9/1916.

363 D:1/11/1922.

364 D:26/2/1917.

365 D:30/4/1916.

366 D:19-28/9/1916.

367 D:30/8/1917.

368 D:15/5/1919.

369 D:4/1/1918;D:29/5/1918;D:1/6/1918;D:16/10/1918;D:21/11/1918;D:3/12/1918;D:18/12/1918;D:3/1/1919;D:24/1/1919;D:26/2/1919;D:11/3/1919;D:27/1/1920;D:1/11/1922;D:1/11/1923;D:28/5/1924;D:31/12/1924.

370 D:21/11/1918.

371 D:26/2/1919.

372 D:11/3/1919.

373 D:31/12/1924.

Anna von Schubert (b.1884) was another woman Hügel nurtured (1919-1920) who did not appear to progress spiritually. Hügel and Anna corresponded, and met on 13 occasions.<sup>374</sup> They gradually discussed Anna's 'irreligion',<sup>375</sup> though she seemed 'ashamed of her touch of softening'.<sup>376</sup> They talked about Prayer,<sup>377</sup> Church and her 'exchangeable irreligion'<sup>378</sup> and Hügel wrote 11 pages on these subjects.<sup>379</sup> After months of hardness, Anna eventually decided she would like a religion.<sup>380</sup>

Hügel had ongoing contact with Violet Norrie, writing a letter of sympathy when her first husband died,<sup>381</sup> then a 'touching talk' reflecting 'faith in God and in Christ'.<sup>382</sup> But when Violet's 18-month-old daughter died, she struggled with questions about suffering. Hügel's reply was the long letter published in *EAI*.<sup>383</sup> But Hügel's answers didn't appear to help Violet who soon after became a Christian scientist.<sup>384</sup> Despite this, Hügel remained in close contact with Violet thereafter, offering hospitality and giving gifts to her children.<sup>385</sup>

Hügel had 20 talks with Melian Stawell between 1916 and 1922.<sup>386</sup> Melian's mother discussed her 'daughter's rationalism with sadness',<sup>387</sup> asking Hügel to 'encourage' her in the Christian faith: 'We pressed each others hands on this'.<sup>388</sup> Hügel gave Melian *EL*,<sup>389</sup> Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*,<sup>390</sup> books by Troeltsch<sup>391</sup> and papers he'd written.<sup>392</sup> Eventually we see some fruit: Melian was 'full of need of faith and the unreason of rationalism'.<sup>393</sup>

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374 D:9/1/1919;D:30/1/1919;D:20/2/1919;D:12/3/1919;D:9/4/1919;D:11/4/1919;D:30/4/1919;D:12/5/1919;D:21/5/1919;D:11/6/1919;D:28/6/1919;D:28/10/1919;D:4/11/1919.

375 D:4/12/1919.

376 D:14/9/1920.

377 D:28/10/1920.

378 D:4/11/1920.

379 D:24/11/1920.

380 D:30/10/1921.

381 D:11/9/1915.

382 D:19/10/1915.

383 D:26-27/10/1915.

384 Whelan:1969:31.

385 She later remarried and became Violet Wynch.

D:28/8/1916;D:21/8/1917;D:28/9/1917;D:5/9/1922;D:18/9/1922;D:30/12/1922;D:23/9/1924;D:31/12/1924.

386 D:17/5/1916;D:19/5/1916;D:30/5/1916;D:31/12/1916;D:4/3/1917;D:27/5/1917;D:25/12/1917;D:3/6/1919;D:28/6/1919;D:228/9/1919;D:3/10/1919;D:5/10/1919;D:6/10/1919;D:1/12/1919;D:30/6/1920;D:16/11/1920;D:19/11/1920;D:22/1/1921;D:2/2/1921;D:29/12/1922.

387 D:30/5/1916.

388 D:6/7/1920.

389 D:18/5/1916.

390 D:28/6/1919.

391 D:6/10/1919.

392 D:3/10/1919.

393 D:28/9/1919.

### **XII.i.c. Mrs Dowson**

Mrs Dowson (b. 1848) was a friend with whom Hügel discussed ideas.<sup>394</sup> She published several theological books using the pseudonym, William Scott Palmer.<sup>395</sup> In 1909, she moved to the country so they stopped their regular talks. However, Hügel had her as a proof reader in 1912<sup>396</sup> and in 1920 she wrote to Hügel about sex and religion.<sup>397</sup>

### **XII.i.d. Theological Students**

Hügel was sought out by theological students, typically helping them with intellectual questions about religion. He gave them cards of introduction to scholars<sup>398</sup> and helped them with essays.<sup>399</sup> Hügel nurtured Sochi Iwashita, a young, Catholic, Japanese scholar, during September and October, 1920.<sup>400</sup> Iwashita always gave Hügel a list of theological questions and they would meet weekly to discuss them. Hügel described Iwashita as having the 'very, very rare combination – much intellect and still more soul!'<sup>401</sup>

### **XII.i.e. E.I. Watkin**

E. I. Watkin (1888-1981) was a teacher and published author. After writing some essays, Watkin came to Hügel for guidance concerning his theological and Biblical difficulties.<sup>402</sup> Hügel had talks with Watkin, had him stay the night, gave him books,<sup>403</sup> and wrote him letters of spiritual direction.<sup>404</sup>

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394 For example: D:3/1/1908;D:5/4/1908;D:12/6/1908;D:8/1/1908;D:11/1/1909;D:22/3/1909;D:25/3/1909; D:22/4/1909.

395 Dowson wrote *A Modern Mystic's Way* (1905), *An Agnostic's Progress* (1906), *The Diary of a Modernist* (1910) and *Where Science and Religion Meet* (1919).

396 D:5/5/1912.

397 D:13/4/1920. Mrs Dowson, in turn, nurtured a female mystic, Margaret Barber (writing under the pseudonym, Michael Fairless), who wrote *The Roadmender* (1902).

398 This was the case for Broderson, a Danish Lutheran student (D:22/6/1920) and Emilia (ms38776:SAUL).

399 For example, 'suggestions for Broderson's Revelation essay (D:17/12/1920); 'points I did not like... concerning God' in Cruise's paper (D:12/6/1910;D:18/6/1920;D:21/6/1920); a 13 page critique on Appasamy's thesis (D:14/3/1922. Also talks with Appasamy (D:14/1/1920;D:6/7/1920;D:13/10/1921) and helping D'Arcy with his Green essay (D:9/1/1919). He also wrote D'Arcy '4 sheets... about how to study Theology.' (D:6/11/1919; D:11/11/1919). In 1923, D'Arcy taught at Stonyhurst and suggested his boys read Hügel (Sire:1997:49).

400 D:2&9&11&29/9/1920;D:6&8/10/1920;D:2/12/1920.

401 LN:98.

402 Watkin's daughter, Magdalen Goffin, described Watkin's debt to Hügel in her book, *The Watkin Path*.

403 *Preliminaries to Christian Thought* (D:17/10/1923); Lightfoot's *Galatians*; Tyrrell's *Faith in the Million*, and Denifle's *Luther* (D:18/10/1923).

404 Hügel immediately suggested 'three pieces of advice' for Watkin that involved each of the 3 Elements of Religion: take up a non-religious interest; 'concentrate' on his existent faith, 'as little bookishly, as little abstractly, as little learnedly as you can;' and 'be full of humble prayer to God... practice of His presence... Confession... take [Eucharist] with as few dogmatic involvements as possible.' (George Tyrrell Modernist Controversy Collection:USFSC:2/8/1923).

### *XII.i.f. Angelo Crespi*

From 1908 until his death, Hügel nurtured Angelo Crespi.<sup>405</sup> Hügel was constantly loaning Crespi books and having walks and talks with him.<sup>406</sup> Hügel's diaries provide details of their discussions: 'Time, Eternity, Creation;<sup>407</sup> 'now very firmly rooted in Catholicism;<sup>408</sup> '*urging his making a Retreat*;<sup>409</sup> 'dropped the idea of it [Retreat]– curious!<sup>410</sup> 'Parousia; the disciplinary Cath[olic] positions;<sup>411</sup> 'Reunion, Anglicanism;<sup>412</sup> 'pantheistically fascinated, frame of mind;<sup>413</sup> '*Made the Retreat... a mildly critical attitude towards it*;<sup>414</sup> 'elementary religion;<sup>415</sup> '*marriage*;<sup>416</sup> 'Troeltsch, McIntosh;<sup>417</sup> 'Bollandists... Hist[orical] Criticism."<sup>418</sup> Eventually, Hügel recognised Crespi had 'grown... into very rich... balanced... religious convictions.<sup>419</sup>

### *XII.i.g. Evie Lance*

Every Monday afternoon, Hügel visited Evie Lance 'reading or discussing every subject under the sun.<sup>420</sup>

### *XII.i.h. Various others*

Hügel's diaries also reveal spiritual discussions with various other women. Topics discussed include: 'Friction as an ess[ential] element of all fruitful life;<sup>421</sup> establishing a 'deeply Catholic mind;<sup>422</sup> 'Church's Spiritual Life, - Confession, Real Presence, Purgatory...;<sup>423</sup> 'Sp[iritual] Reading...

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405 Crespi's name features frequently in Hügel's diaries. The only gap we see is between April 1912 and June 1916, when he resided in Italy. In the early years, Modernism was a major topic for conversation and Hügel was often encouraging 'depressed' Crespi. (D:17/12/1908).

406 Books included: *Conduct & the Supernatural* (D:29/1917); *Political Theories of the Middle Ages* (D:26/3/1912); *The Spirit of the Cure d'Arts* and Huvelin's *Conferences* (D:8/6/1920); the *Imitation*; *Preliminaries to Christian Thought* (D:29/9/1923).

407 D:23/6/1916.

408 D:12/4/1920.

409 D:23/4/1920.

410 D:24/5/1920.

411 D:18/10/1920.

412 D:26/10/1920.

413 D:16/11/1920.

414 D:26/11/1920.

415 D:5/10/1922.

416 D:7/12/1922.

417 D:5/4/1923.

418 D:26/10/1924.

419 Barmann:1981:55:2/2/1920.

420 Blyth:1941:221.

421 Hildegard's friends:D:8/6/1919.

422 He also told stories such as 'the dying Irish Barmaid.' D:10/6/1919.

423 Juliet-Campbell:D:22/2/1914.



Prayers',<sup>424</sup> 'retreat',<sup>425</sup> 'Prayer, Spiritual life',<sup>426</sup> 'religious questions',<sup>427</sup> 'Communion of Saints, and Prayers for Dead',<sup>428</sup> 'how to religiously nurture children',<sup>429</sup> 'theological... questions',<sup>430</sup> 'New Testament points...',<sup>431</sup> 'moderation in a Catholic',<sup>432</sup> 'advice about finding a priest',<sup>433</sup> 'Eternal Punishment',<sup>434</sup> 'confession, real Presence, Purity...',<sup>435</sup> 'religious questions',<sup>436</sup> and 'depression'.<sup>437</sup>

Similarly, Hügel discussed various spiritual matters with a number of men.<sup>438</sup> Topics discussed include: 'Meditation and Mysticism',<sup>439</sup> 'supernatural, tho' not explicitly religious, acts',<sup>440</sup> 'spiritually austere authors',<sup>441</sup> 'Catholic Methods of Religious Instruction',<sup>442</sup> 'Luther, Christ's Divinity, Wesleyan experience',<sup>443</sup> 'Limbo... Abiding Consequences',<sup>444</sup> 'original sin, concupiscence... Huvelin',<sup>445</sup> 'Christian Science, Theosophy',<sup>446</sup> 'miracles',<sup>447</sup> 'nature and Supernature',<sup>448</sup> 'Luther, the Double Ethic',<sup>449</sup> 'Spiritual Reading books',<sup>450</sup> '[the] Kingdom of Heaven... Papacy... Parousia... Supernatural',<sup>451</sup> 'Augustine',<sup>452</sup> 'Sin...Abiding Consequences',<sup>453</sup> 'a marriage case',<sup>454</sup> 'Christian

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424 Juliet-Campbell:D:24/2/1914.

425 Constance-Coore:D:27/10/1917.

426 Constance-Coore:D:27/5/1917;D:13/10/1917;D:14-15/10/1917;D:26/9/1918.

427 Miss-Taylor:D:14/9/1919.

428 Muriel-Harris:D:29/5/1920;D:24/6/1920.

429 Gladys-Muntz:D:29/4/1922.

430 Miss-Webb:D:25/4/1916.

431 Mrs-Gore:D:3/9/1920.

432 Gallienne-Robin:D:4/12/1918.

433 D:13/5/1919.

434 Mrs-Hewitt:D:19/12/1916.

435 Laura-Buckland:D:19/8/1917.

436 Miss-Taylor:D:14/9/1919.

437 Muriel-Herbert:D:3/5/1916.

438 He even managed to slip in 'some words about religion' with a sheep farmer on his holidays! D:20/9/1917.

439 Mr-Rawlinson:D:4/6/1920.

440 Albert-Way:D:11/11/1916.

441 Harold-Johnson:D:27/8/1921. He also sent him *Cure d'Ars* and *Spiritual Letters of St Bernard*.

D:24/11/1916;D:26/6/1918.

442 D:27/11/1918. See D:13/5/1919 for a similar talk.

443 Hamilton-Flew:D:12/3/1918.

444 Rev-Lambert:D:27/1/1919.

445 D:20/2/1919.

446 D:27/3/1919.

447 D:10/4/1919.

448 D:8/5/1919.

449 Shaw-Stewart:D:21/4/1919.

450 Lezzani:D:6/7/1920.

451 Neville-Talbot:D:29/7/1920.

452 Bruce-Richmond:D:16/10/1920.

453 Rev-Bouquet:D:29/10/1920.

454 Fr-de-Elizondo:D:3/12/1916.Also-D:4/5/1916;D:14/3/1918.

Science, Liberty and Evil;<sup>1455</sup> 'a religious perplexity;<sup>1456</sup> 'talk about Catholicism;<sup>1457</sup> 'spiritual matters;<sup>1458</sup> 'religious matters;<sup>1459</sup> and 'a Catholic priest who has lost his vocation.<sup>1460</sup>

Hügel's secretary, Estelle Blyth wrote of Hügel, 'Whatever was the subject of his work or study at the time generally formed the topic of his conversation; he said that "talking it out" helped to clarify a matter in his mind.<sup>1461</sup> But Hügel obviously also talked at length about whatever question was brought to him by a directee.

### **XIII. Coda**

We now turn to examine the letters Hügel wrote to the ten directees selected. Given the enormous amount of data from analysing the letters, the material has been organised in terms of the three Elements of Religion. Chapter 4 discusses Hügel's advice that related to the Institutional Element of Religion.

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455 William-Temple:D:15/12/1920.

456 Evelyn-de-Vesci:D:26/3/1924.

457 Evelyn-de-Vesci:D:15/4/1924.

458 Marcia-Mansel:D:10/10/1915;D:9/12/1915.

459 Mr-Brand:D:4/2/1921.

460 D:14/10/1915.

461 Blyth:1941:221.

## Chapter 4: The Institutional Element

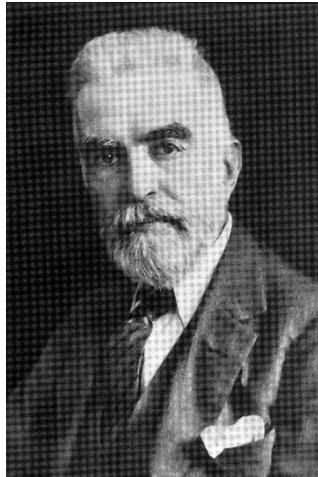
'There is the sacramental principle, the waking up of spirit under the stimulus of sense, and this comes... simply from our soul-and-body compoundness [sic].

And then there is the principle of the community, of sharing our religion, and of getting it deep and tender by sharing it, with every... fellow-believer.<sup>11</sup>

(Hügel to Maude)

'We all need one another... souls, all souls, are deeply interconnected.'<sup>12</sup> (Hügel)

'He told me often, how one trained soul could teach another, one soul radiate light to another, one saint make another saint.'<sup>13</sup> (Gwen)



*Hügel.  
Bedoyère:1951:ii.*

### I. Introduction

The next three chapters examine and synthesise the spiritual direction Hügel gave to the ten directees under consideration. Hügel's letters are the primary source material, supplemented by material from his diaries. Where there is relevant material within Hügel's published works, this is very briefly mentioned. Given the large volume of material to consider and the fact that Hügel often explicitly discussed his direction in terms of his three Elements of Religion, this thesis uses the Elements as an organising principle, discussing material related to the Institutional Element in this chapter, and those to the Intellectual and the Mystical Elements in the two following.<sup>4</sup>

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1 *SL*:357.

2 Underhill:1933:224.

3 *LN*:ix.

4 Organising the material this way is arguably somewhat artificial, and runs the risk of missing or under-emphasising material that is more difficult to categorise or that spans multiple Elements. Of course, any scheme can be criticised in these terms, and this one at least has the merit that it fits reasonably well the material under consideration.

This chapter discusses four aspects of the Institutional Element that are recurring themes in Hügel's spiritual direction: community, the sacramental, the interdependence of soul and body, and the importance of the historical Christ.<sup>5</sup>

## II. Balancing the three Elements

It is clear from even a cursory examination of Hügel's spiritual direction that a key focus was encouraging a balance of all three Elements of Religion in each directee. Hügel noted the tendency to 'specialise' in one Element over the others, arguing that the three Elements each 'tend continually to tempt the soul to retain only it, and hence to an impoverishing simplification.'<sup>6</sup> So it was often the case that directees would come to Hügel strong in one or two of the Elements, but therefore require nurturing more in those Elements lacking. A striking case is that of Evelyn Underhill, who came to Hügel as an intellectual who had written a book on mysticism, but had no involvement in church at all. With Evelyn, Hügel focussed almost entirely on different aspects of the Institutional Element.<sup>7</sup>

Table 1 illustrates the Elements most emphasised with each directee. Often if the directee was younger, or the relationship extended for a longer period, all three Elements would be included in the direction.

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5 Hügel discussed two levels of interaction occurring in Church - 'between soul and soul and between soul and God.' *EL*:325.

6 *MEI*:70.

7 As Kelly argues, 'no element can be isolated, separated or allowed to dominate the others without a distortion and a sterilisation of the dynamic whole.' Kelly:1977:949.

Table 1: Religious Elements most emphasised with each directee

Directee	Religious Elements most emphasised
Gwen	Intellectual; Institutional; Mystical
Juliet	Institutional; Intellectual; Mystical
Evelyn	Institutional
Wilfred	Mystical
Henri	Institutional; Intellectual; Mystical
Emilia	Intellectual; Mystical
Frances	Institutional; Mystical
Gertrud	Intellectual
Adeline	Intellectual; Mystical
Norman	Institutional; Mystical

## II.i. Friction between the Elements

Balancing the Elements of Religion also involved an awareness, even a cultivation, of the tension or friction between them. Bedoyère noted Hügel 'preferred to hold by the various poles and to draw spiritual sustenance by experiencing the resulting "costing" tensions and bracing himself up to them. The true unity was the unity of differences.'<sup>8</sup> Hügel described to Canon Newsom the principle of 'growth through tension.'<sup>9</sup>

Hügel's *Essays and Addresses* often open or close with an image to illustrate a key point. Two of his images point to the importance of friction between different Elements of Religion, and how this friction aids spiritual growth. The first is the image of *confluentia* - a body of water formed when two or more rivers flow together. The example Hügel used is the joining of the Moselle and Rhine rivers in Koblenz, Switzerland. This merging of the energy of the rivers, with all its turbulence and power, is akin to the bracing the soul gains by holding the different Elements together in tension.

The second image Hügel used was that of a frog eating crickets which die cross-wise in their abdomen. The frog has to pat his stomach so the food conforms to its stomach shape. This very different image is a slow process, involving 'considerable friction generated and overcome', as the raw material becomes conformed to the container in which it finds itself.<sup>10</sup>

8 Bedoyère:1951:113.

9 SL:201.

10 EAI:278.

Thus the friction between the different Elements is a key means of growth for Hügel's directees: 'Only through this friction... will our soul be able to rightly and richly move on and grow and become.'<sup>11</sup>

### III. The role of the Church in spiritual formation

The image Hügel used most vividly to describe the Church's role in spiritual formation is that of trees being slowly shaped by sea breezes, from a childhood memory of holidays in Brussels:

These trees stood there permanently fixed in every kind of unnatural, fleeing or defiant, attitude and angle... those trees... have remained with me, for over half a century, as a vivid image of the effect of the Church... upon large masses of modern men.<sup>12</sup>

The Church thus represented for Hügel a crucial, inexorable force in the gradual spiritual formation of believers. There are several themes in Hügel's spiritual direction in which this role is explored.

#### III.i. Directees encouraged to Church involvement

First, if the Church is crucial to spiritual growth, then one must be a participant in the life and practice of the Church. Hügel told Gwen that he had 'been formed by that great life in that great Church';<sup>13</sup> 'His whole life and practice were inspired by her teaching and doctrine... his soul fed by her soul.'<sup>14</sup> Therefore he urged church practices on Gwen, that she might 'become deep and darling, humble and holy.'<sup>15</sup> He longed for Gwen to 'see the huge, irreplaceable good... we all, owe to the Church.'<sup>16</sup> Gwen confirmed 'there was always this note, always this background; the necessity for man of a Church, the basis of all real sanctity.'<sup>17</sup>

This encouragement to Church 'appurtenance'<sup>18</sup> applied to his other directees as well. Juliet was explicitly encouraged to attend Church 'every Sunday... Holy Communion... once a month... *in the long run, you get two contradictory outlooks onto life according as they are present or absent.*'<sup>19</sup>

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11 SL:95:26/9/1900.

12 EAI:254.

13 LN:69.

14 LN:xxxvii.

15 LN:95.

16 LN:31.

17 LN:xxxvii.

18 'Appurtenance' was a favourite word of Hügel's meaning 'some sort or kind of Church faith and practice.' (LN:xxxviii). In his diaries we see phrases like 'Much talk about necessity of institutional religion' with lesser known directees, such as Mary Froud. (D:9/9/1909).

19 Mansel:1951:7.

Similarly, Hügel had a 90 minute discussion with Francis in 1924, as to 'Church and the kind of liberty I shd [sic] like to find in her.'<sup>20</sup> In 1916, Hügel arranged for Henri to come into their bench at Sunday 8 o'clock Mass each week,<sup>21</sup> and throughout his diary, we see constant references to whether Henri attended Church or not.<sup>22</sup> Norman was similarly encouraged to 'gain a definite Church membership, a... regularly practised traditional, institutional, religion.'<sup>23</sup>

### III.ii. Church as Costly

Early on in their relationship, Gwen wrote to Hügel about how she found church services 'dull [and] repulsive.'<sup>24</sup> Hügel responded by challenging her about her 'miserable bondage' to 'fastidiousness,'<sup>25</sup> arguing that with such a mindset, she would never enter the 'sanctuary, where heroism is always homely.'<sup>26</sup>

Rather than focusing upon whether a Church service is polished or entertaining, Hügel presented Gwen with the 'huge, life-and-love-bringing paradox' of Jesus washing his disciples' feet. He wrote that the 'beauty of Christ alone completely liberates us from this miserable bondage.'<sup>27</sup> He encouraged Gwen to be regular in going to Holy Communions, whether in country or city church, and to ask God to cure her of this fastidiousness.<sup>28</sup>

Church attendance is not easy, though, as the use of 'heroism' implies. In fact, as Hügel told Norman, it comes with great 'cost', yet he also spoke of the 'simply immense debt I owe... to such appurtenance.'<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Hügel wrote to Maude that Church involvement was 'profoundly important', yet it was also 'never... without some sacrifices.'<sup>30</sup> This mixed blessing was echoed in *EL* where Hügel argued the Church provides both 'insights and aids' and 'deadlocks' and 'obstacles.'<sup>31</sup>

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20 D:17/10/24.

21 D:18/10/16.

22 For example, looking only at 1916, we see many mentions of Henri (nicknamed 'Didi') 'in our seat' at Mass. (D:23/1/1916;D:26/1/1916;D:21/4/1916;D:21/5/1916;D:18/10/1916;D:12/11/1916;D:19/11/1916;D:26/11/1916;D:31/12/1916). Hügel marked when Henri didn't attend: 'Mass... Didi did not somehow appear.' (D:22/6/1916).

23 Barmann:1981:37:1/7/1919.

24 LN:9.

25 LN:10.

26 LN:10.

27 LN:10.

28 LN:10-11. Three years later, when Gwen again spoke of disliking Church, Hügel suggested she focus on the Psalms during the service. LN:126.

29 Barmann:1981:37:1/7/1919.

30 SL:249.

31 EL:323-4.

With Gwen he was perhaps the most honest about the personal cost of his involvement in Church:

[H]e often spoke of Institutional Christianity as his hair-shirt – his Church his deepest pain. But how far this is from his final word on the subject! Were not 'costingness' [sic] and 'tension' the two great elements of growth? Was not pain his greatest teacher? Did not just such an intense and claimful [sic] nature as his require more than anything the discipline and training, and the food, of the Roman Catholic Church... The Roman Church was the sap of his spirit.<sup>32</sup>

### III.iii. Church as Safeguard

Another reason Hügel emphasised the necessity of Church attendance is found in his letters to Evelyn. Developing an institutional, sacramental religion was seen as a means of countering her 'pure mysticism' and safeguarding her spirituality.<sup>33</sup> He wrote:

your visible religion will safeguard your invisible religion, and your invisible religion will give freshness and variety to your visible religion. Of course the perfection of such a combination remains an ideal for even the most advanced of us... this path - so safe, so sound... will bring you consolations of a depth and richness far surpassing the old ones.<sup>34</sup>

He directed her specifically to Church of some kind each Sunday 'preferably Holy Communion' and one weekday Mass at the Carmelites. He added, 'Perhaps even these two practices are too much for the minimum,' as he wanted to save her 'from any real over-burdening.'<sup>35</sup> Later, Hügel suggested that she could occasionally go 'three or four times a week; but your rule would still be twice a week.'<sup>36</sup> However, given his knowledge of Evelyn's temperament, Hügel wrote to her:

I fear as much for you, the overdoing of Institutionalism, as the ignoring or flying from it: Indeed these two extremes are assuredly twin sisters in such a soul as yours... fix upon a certain minimum, a nucleus of institutional practice, to which you will then adhere with a

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32 *LN*:xxxvii. Hügel warned Gwen about 'churchy' merchandise, describing Church societies and Church newspapers as a 'temptation' that Huvelin rescued him from. *LN*:62.

33 We see this same dynamic with Rev Russell who Hügel argued was 'evidently inclined to 'Pure Mysticism'... apparently from doubt as to... Institutional Religion...' (D:16/7/1912).

34 *ms5552*:1:SAUL.

35 *ms5552*:1:SAUL:5/11/1921.

36 *ms5552*:55:SAUL:12/7/1912.



patient perseverance carefully not adding... to it when in consolation and not detracting... from it when in desolation.<sup>37</sup>

Over a few years, Evelyn went from seeing the Church as like a Post Office, with irritating, narrow officials behind the counter who annoy us, to being able to write:

I feel the regular, steady, docile practice of corporate worship is of the utmost importance for building up your spiritual life... no amount of solitary reading or prayer makes up for humble immersion in the life and worship of the church.<sup>38</sup>

This idea of the Church as safeguard was reiterated to Gwen. Hügel wrote that having the Mystical Element checked by the Institutional leads to 'a Mixed or Moderate Mysticism which finds its completion, articulation and safety in history and institutions.'<sup>39</sup> This is altogether 'safer and richer'<sup>40</sup> than an unchecked and isolated mysticism, that leads to 'pure mysticism or Sheer or Exaggerated Mysticism,<sup>41</sup> and from there to Pantheism and/or Spiritualism.

Gwen progressed from feeling no need for institutional religion, to being able to describe the Church as 'an immense tide that operates unseen, irradiating and transforming secretly... the ground on which we rest...'<sup>42</sup>

#### **III.iv. Church as Community**

The Institution, that is the church, is formed from a great community: 'the Church, that great...interconnection of souls!'<sup>43</sup> Underlying this image was Hügel's conviction, voiced to Juliet, that '*all reality, all that really lives, is a multiplicity in unity, an interchange and mutual help and stimulation of complimentary gifts and powers.*'<sup>44</sup> Thus 'the individual... is constituted into a person, never simply in isolation, but always within, and for, and in friction with, complexes.'<sup>45</sup> Hügel argued similarly in *EL*:

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37 ms5552:3:SAUL.

38 Quoted in Steere:1962:115.

39 *LN*:147.

40 *LN*:147.

41 *LN*:147.

42 Greene:1932:130.

43 *LN*:xxv.

44 ms37194/6b:SAUL:4/2/1910. This quote was heavily underlined by Hügel in the original letter, hence the extensive italics here.

45 *SL*:209:6/6/1914.

man has to grow with and through other men and other things, never simply within and through himself... he requires purification even in the best of what he is and has.<sup>46</sup>

'Moulding' into 'persons' comes through our 'willing service' of family and Church, not through living alone.<sup>47</sup>

Hügel was consequently critical of those who 'cut themselves off from all others'<sup>48</sup> in the service of religion. He criticised George Fox, who lived alone for 2 years, seeing no need for Church.<sup>49</sup> Hügel was also concerned at the 'grave omissions' of Plotinus' 'profoundly unsocial conception of man's relation to God... [the] alone with the Alone.'<sup>50</sup> Hügel argued that 'Never has religion been purely and entirely individual; always it has been as truly and necessarily social and institutional...'<sup>51</sup>

The importance of communities in formation was repeatedly emphasised to directees. Hügel told Juliet that individuals come to 'much more development' as part of 'that larger whole.'<sup>52</sup> Gwen was told that this is why Jesus always 'banded people together... never a purely individual way.'<sup>53</sup> The necessity of 'the relation between the individual and the community' was reiterated to Emilia:

None of us is such a whole and perfect creature as to be everything to himself... The church conceives humanity. The individual gives his gold dust as to a great piece of gold... it is the natural and fit thing to live and work together in institutions.<sup>54</sup>

The Church is not the only location of community, however - the family and friendships can also be communities providing contexts for spiritual growth. And growth in any of these communities can be challenging and painful as well as rewarding. To Juliet, for instance, in the context of struggles with her parents, Hügel reminded her of the family's role in forming us 'into unique selves.'<sup>55</sup> Emilia was told, 'It costs to live this richer life – strife and adaptation – even in such a community as the

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46 *EL*:370.

47 *SL*:216;30/12/1914. Similarly, Hügel argued, 'the Church as a living Body... each member participates in, and is particularised for service towards, the honour and deep significance of the whole.' *EIII*:267-8.

48 *RG*:144. Hügel seemed almost puzzled: 'it is only... in religion, that we hear men talk and write, more often than is pleasant, as though it were sufficient for them to cut themselves off from all others to think and to write good sense.'

49 *LN*:31.

50 *EL*:86.

51 *MEI*:59.

52 *ms37194/6b*:SAUL:4/2/1910.

53 *LN*:xxv.

54 *ms38776/8*:SAUL:Emilia's notes:14/9/1910.

55 *ms37194/13a*:SAUL:5/8/1910.

family.<sup>56</sup> Also, friendships are both 'God's... gift' but also 'our work, the fruit of our self-renouncement and integration within a larger organism.'<sup>57</sup>

Another benefit of the community in the Church is encouragement during times of dryness and spiritual 'desolation'. Hügel wrote to Frances:

You want these believers because in their company you find belief possible... [and] supplement your dimness of spiritual vision by the vividness of their seeing love.<sup>58</sup>

This concept was echoed again in *RG*:

during... periods of obscurity, the soul lives in a very true sense in the faith of its fellows until fresh light makes it in its turn support the others. No man is sufficient to himself.<sup>59</sup>

Hügel also emphasised to Gwen the value of spiritual nurture from more mature Christians in the community:

it is of much help to have some older, more experienced soul handy also, who can and will... cheer us on, by the reminder of the former consolation, and still more by the great fact that only through such vicissitudes – through fidelity in them – can we grow strong and deep in God and for Him.<sup>60</sup>

Those more experienced in the faith can encourage those who are less experienced, as Hügel suggested in an address to young Oxford students:

It is for the trained and experienced seniors to hand on this readily flaming torch of life and love to the as yet fitful juniors.<sup>61</sup>

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56 ms38776/8:SAUL:Emilia's notes:14/9/1910.

57 ms37194/28ab:SAUL:18/9/1911.

58 Lillie:1925:39-40. He told Gwen, 'She wants to believe.' *LN*:105.

59 *RG*:144. Similarly in *EL*: 'we feel keenly that no individual or organisation, however essential and sacred, can live fully and fruitfully except by living also with and for other individuals and organisations... man has to grow with and through other men and other things, never simply within and through himself... God... will ever help his soul to find His Peace and Eternity in even the severest storms and wreckage of its earthly times.' *EL*:370.

60 *LN*:47.

61 *SL*:47.

Another key role that community plays in the Church is to teach humility:

we can trace a certain incompleteness in a man's humility... without any mediation of the senses and of society... Complete humility imperatively demands my continuous recognition of my own multiform need of my fellow-creatures, especially of those wiser and better than myself, and of my life-long need of training, discipline, incorporation; full humility requires filial obedience and docility towards men and institutions, as well as fraternal give and take.<sup>62</sup>

### **III.v. The Limitations of Church**

But the Church, while necessary, is not primary. Gwen wrote that 'the aggregate of souls... do not constitute a supernatural life.'<sup>63</sup> Hügel argued similarly:

Religion is essentially Social *vertically* – indeed here is its deepest root. It is unchangeably a faith in God, a love of God, an intercourse with God; and though the soul cannot abidingly abstract itself from its fellows, it can and ought frequently to recollect itself in a simple sense of God's presence. Such moments of direct preoccupation with God alone bring a deep refreshment and simplification to the soul.<sup>64</sup>

Thus the primary relationship is between the soul and God, but we are made to require a balance between 'intercourse between soul and soul and between soul and God.'<sup>65</sup>

## **IV. 'Spirit and Sense'**

### **IV.i. Living in Two Worlds**

Other aspects of the Institutional Element are connected to the duality of our human existence as 'inseparably mixed, spirit *and sense*, creature[s],'<sup>66</sup> as Hügel wrote to Gwen. He expanded on this further:

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62 *EAI*:264.

63 *TW*:126.

64 *EL*:395-6.

65 *EL*:325.

66 *SL*:326.

You see how the sensible always conveys the spiritual: the invisible in the visible. Christ everywhere makes use of the sensible to convey the spiritual, never the spirit alone. Man is spirit and body; he has arms and legs, he is not spirit alone... The spirit is stimulated through the senses... Christ never left them out: the woman who touched him, the clay on the eyes. He always and everywhere makes use of the sensible. Thus the bread and the wine. Man needs the sensible so long as he is man and not spirit alone.<sup>67</sup>

This interplay between the sensual and the spiritual is because 'the soul lives in two worlds.'<sup>68</sup>

The essence of religion is the supernatural life; the other world, the otherness of God, different from, but penetrating this our life.<sup>69</sup>

Therefore:

the primary end and function, surely, of every Church... [is] the awakening souls to, the preparing them for, the holding before them embodiments of, *the other life*, the life beyond the grave.<sup>70</sup>

Developing this 'other-worldly sense... alone completes and satisfies fully awakened man.'<sup>71</sup> Gwen wrote that Hügel:

recognised the temporal as the dwelling place of the Eternal. There were with him no daunting separations between natural and supernatural... the spiritual man was coincident with the natural... the two were woven so closely together that they were as one.<sup>72</sup>

This dual reality was reflected in a twofold movement of alternating between engaging in the concrete, physical world and in the abstract, spiritual reality, as Hügel outlined to Tyrrell:

the soul can live... only by a double process: occupation with the concrete and then abstraction from it, and this alternately, on and on. If it has not the latter it will grow empty and hazy, if it has not the former, it will grow earthly and heavy.<sup>73</sup>

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67 LN:xxxiii.

68 LN:xxxiv.

69 LN:xxxi.

70 SL:220:20/3/1915.

71 SL:220:20/3/1915.

72 Greene:1932:131.

73 Steere:1964:41-42.

This sentiment was repeated to Rev. Handley when Hügel held that both 'the world-fleeing movement essential to all deep religion' and 'the material and the friction, of the world-seeking element' are essential to faith.<sup>74</sup> He argued this 'two-fold movement of the spiritual life... is so cryingly wanted in these our days.'<sup>75</sup> Steere argued that it is 'the flowing out of this prayer into the full life in this world and the use of the frictional material which comes from this world to drive us even more deeply into the life of prayer, which is Hügel's distinctive contribution.'<sup>76</sup>

Hügel was therefore highly sensitive to any teaching which, he argued, 'despises matter and declares all that is real to be Spirit and Spirit only.'<sup>77</sup> He criticised Heiler's book, *Prayer*, for his 'exclusion of all that is sensual.'<sup>78</sup> Hügel commented:

contact with the concrete thing is not simply the expression of already present fullness of grace, but rather works with it towards the production of a growth of spiritual life... Jesus heals the blind man not simply through prayer. He takes clay and kneads it, and wets it with His spittle.<sup>79</sup>

He continued, criticising Luther's doctrine:

which indeed permits the purely spiritually awakened belief to express itself in sensual forms, but strictly forbids anything sensual or factual to be used as a means to stimulating the spiritual... Is... the sensual a blind alley?... Is it not coming from God too, intended for the spiritual, and to be used as a bridge to the spiritual, as well as from the spiritual? Why should, how should, my senses, my body, remain outside, when I pray?<sup>80</sup>

The origin of the 'anti-sacramental passion' of many Protestants was seen by Hügel to have 'understandable causes, a revolt against, and terror of, interference and domination by a priestly caste... and a conviction that the priestly power stands and falls with the sacramental claims.'<sup>81</sup> However, he stated that 'to cut the knot is not to resolve the difficulty' and he fiercely argued for the necessity of 'sensible impressions and of sensible things, as joint-awakeners and joint-vehicles of spiritual life.'<sup>82</sup> 'Sensible signs' were seen as essential to 'spiritual awakening' and also to

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74 SL:252-3.

75 SL:252-3.

76 Steere:1964:123.

77 RG:32.

78 SL:320;March,1921.

79 SL:319;3/1921. Heiler was a Catholic Professor who converted to Lutheranism.

80 SL:319-320;3/1921.

81 EL:329.

82 EL:329.

'sanctification.'<sup>83</sup> Hügel saw these 'sensible signs' in Jesus' life, in St. Paul's life and writings, and 'everywhere implied or taught in the Fourth Gospel.'<sup>84</sup>

#### **IV.ii. Sacraments**

Thus Hügel saw the sensual as 'a bridge to the spiritual', particularly via 'Symbols and Sacraments... contacts between spirit and matter.'<sup>85</sup> The senses - particularly through the Sacraments - contributed to and supported the awakening of the soul. Hügel wrote to Evelyn, for instance: 'we... never begin (or in the long run keep up) the apprehension of things spiritual except on occasion of the awakening and stimulation of the senses.'<sup>86</sup> He continued:

our minds... do not awaken in the first instance and do not upon the whole remain awake on and on, unless our senses be awakened first and concurrently... awareness is always, at least ultimately, an awareness both sensible and mental... a doubly dual consciousness... this natural law... we find in the supernatural, the spiritual life also. Here too we require... some stimulations... we develop... the apprehension of the personalness of God on occasion and by means of things – the Sacraments.<sup>87</sup>

Hügel described the sacraments to his friend Scotti as:

[a] great incarnational doctrine... those sensible means... the sacraments, so profoundly in keeping with the mysterious double-sidedness, the spirit and matter, of our human nature.<sup>88</sup>

Involvement in the Sacraments was not just a reflection of love, it actually produced love and growth in itself, as described vividly in a letter to Tyrrell:

I kiss my child not only because I love it; I kiss it also in order to love it... It is... a sheer fact traceable throughout our many-sided life, that we often grow, mentally and spiritually, almost solely by the stimulation of our senses.<sup>89</sup>

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83 *EL*:329.

84 *EL*:329-330.

85 *EL*:325.

86 ms5552:39:SAUL.

87 ms5552:39:SAUL.

88 Kelly:1975:79.

89 Petre:1937a:222.

Hügel therefore emphasised 'the profound importance' for everyone engaging in 'acts of external religion... the frequentation [sic] of the Sacraments.'<sup>90</sup> Personally, he told Norman, 'I have been practising and testing [the Sacraments] in and for the spiritual life for over half a century, and... have found them for myself of the greatest use.'<sup>91</sup>

#### **IV.iii. The Eucharist**

This view of the Sacraments obviously comes to particular focus in the Eucharist, which Hügel taught was a primary means of spiritual formation: 'the Church through the Eucharist has trained countless souls to Sanctity.'<sup>92</sup>

He told Gwen the Eucharist 'should be the very centre of a Christian's devotional life,'<sup>93</sup> as it was 'the most fruit bearing'<sup>94</sup> of all the Sacraments, and the practice that has built up Saints.<sup>95</sup> Gwen was therefore encouraged to 'be very conscientious and regular in going to your Holy Communion.'<sup>96</sup> Hügel encouraged her to engage in a weekly eucharist and even a second eucharist, as long as it was not 'forced'.<sup>97</sup> Gwen was encouraged to 'love' the Eucharist,<sup>98</sup> and to have all her activities 'penetrated' by her Holy Communion.<sup>99</sup>

Evelyn was told that if she could only attend one church service a week, it should be 'preferably Holy Communion.'<sup>100</sup> In 1922, Hügel encouraged her to 'now and always concentrate...[her] will upon not missing... Sunday Holy Communion.'<sup>101</sup> In 1923, he recommended Evelyn attend a minimum of two Holy Communion a week, when spiritually dry and 'go occasionally, three or four times a week.'<sup>102</sup> When Juliet was unwell, Hügel recommended only going to Holy Communion.<sup>103</sup> With his younger directees, Hügel paid close attention to whether they took Communion, frequently noting lapses in his diary.<sup>104</sup>

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90 Kelly:1975:79.

91 Barmann:1981:125:2/4/1921.

92 *EAI*:125.

93 *LN*:187.

94 *RG*:148.

95 *LN*:190. He repeated this to Evelyn. (Cropper:2003:97).

96 *LN*:10.

97 *LN*:106. However, later Hügel suggested Gwen 'practice moderation' in her church going and that Holy Communion once a week, praying alone in the church, and one Evensong on Sundays would be plenty. (*LN*:127).

98 *LN*:63.

99 *LN*:122.

100 ms5552:1:SAUL.

101 Cropper:2003:98.

102 12/7/1923 in Cropper:2003:118-119.

103 *SL*:322.

104 e.g. Juliet D:22/6/19; Henri D:28/12/1915.



The effect of the Eucharist on Hügel personally was shared with Gwen: 'I go up as though I were all bent down, drawn down... I am all crouched down to receive the Blessed Sacrament; and afterwards I feel expanded – I breathe deeply in a great deliverance.'<sup>105</sup>

Despite most of his directees being Protestant, Hügel spoke repeatedly about the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist and in his visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Hügel told Gwen, 'I am as certain of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist as of anything there is.'<sup>106</sup> Gwen wrote:

The Real Presence of Christ, as my uncle said, was the centre, the true heart, of the Catholic Church: Without the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, where would she be? What could a supernatural Church mean without this supernatural fact? There is her point, there is her nature and life, there her reality.<sup>107</sup>

After her conversion, Gwen wrote of her own experience of the Real Presence:

we *seem* to enter Church, but she really enters us; she enters us as Christ enters us. We cannot separate Christ and Church... this utterly real Church that seeks to sanctify all souls... "Christ ever reincarnates Himself," my Uncle used to say, speaking of the Church's life... we do not want a Church that is only a vast communion of souls; we want the mystical Presence of Christ... affirmed in the Holy Eucharist; we want to receive of Church the life of God.<sup>108</sup>

#### **IV.iv. The Body**

As we have seen, Hügel felt that human beings were 'mixed' creatures, both 'spirit and body',<sup>109</sup> 'physico-spiritual' organisms. He emphasised 'the ceaseless interdependence of Soul and Body',<sup>110</sup> that 'God is the God of the body as He is of the soul',<sup>111</sup> and of the need to:

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105 *TW*:127.

106 *LN*:xLii-xLiii. Hügel taught Gwen explicitly about Jesus' 'Presence' in the Eucharist. *LN*:125-6.

107 *TW*:125. Given Hügel's experience of the Real Presence of Christ in the Catholic Eucharist, it is perhaps surprising that he was not more supportive of suggestions that his Protestant directees convert. See Chapter 7 for further discussion.

108 *TW*:126-127.

109 *LN*:xxxiii.

110 *EAI*:228.

111 *EL*:332.

cultivate... [a] reverence for the body... Never to lose the sense that we human beings are body as well as soul... also in the hereafter, is to keep ourselves sane and balanced.<sup>112</sup>

Similarly, 'The Incarnational side of religion may never be despised nor forgotten, but must always be assigned some definite place and power within our spiritual lives.'<sup>113</sup> This is another place where the reality of the two worlds plays out:

I have endeavoured to remain continuously alive to the profound need and continuous action of the body, of the senses, of sensible objects and of the physical environment, within and for man's mental, spiritual, religious life.<sup>114</sup>

Hügel does not appear to be suspicious of the body or interested in subjecting the body to excessive asceticism, but in holding sensuality and spirituality together. In his guidance to Margaret Clutton on teaching her son Arthur, for instance, Hügel emphasised that sex instruction and spiritual teaching should 'never be separated.'<sup>115</sup> He wanted Margaret to tell Arthur that sexuality is 'something good... dear to God... *get rid of every lurking suspicion of nastiness in the sex-life.*'<sup>116</sup>

The interplay of body and soul was explored in Hügel's writing to Emilia:

God is an immense *concretion*, not an abstraction... He has made my body and its senses... I am to *incarnate*, in my turn, the *incarnate* God; I am not only to express spirit in and through matter, I am also to awaken, and cause to grow, and to purify (by the painful contraction and friction involved) by my contacts with, by my give and take, this my spirit from, and to, matter. No floating, no drifting, no dreaming above the body, the family, society, history, institutions, but a penetrating into them, and a retiring out from them.<sup>117</sup>

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112 *RG*:32. Related to the idea of 'reverence,' was that overdoing spiritual practices can strain the body and cause health issues.

113 *EAI*:232-233. For Hügel the 'Incarnational' includes 'the Sensible and Visible – the Historical, Traditional, Social, Sacramental- [which] must remain and be cultivated within our souls.' *EAI*:233.

114 *EL*:vii-viii.

115 ms30994:SAUL.

116 ms30994:SAUL.

117 *Bedoyère*:254:11/1/1911.

Juliet was told that we gain a 'full sense' of God:

not only by recollection but also by contact with the contingent, with matter, time and space... we shall never attain a thoroughly wholesome, deeply spiritual religion, unless we take care to give it, and to keep for it, a body... life shows us everywhere how necessary... are... contacts with the visible... religion requires some apparently unnecessary, emotionally more or less irksome contractions and attentions to visible and audibly institutional and social acts and rites. Without some such, we cannot fully capture and maintain a deep, wholesome recollection and spirituality.<sup>118</sup>

Further, Hügel told Juliet, 'Christianity... does not ignore or neglect, but... enters into and sanctifies the body.'<sup>119</sup> He balanced the doctrine, 'God is a Spirit,' with, 'The Word was made Flesh,' arguing:

These two things, together or in alteration, and not either of them alone constitute the very soul and force of Christianity... there is no more certain way towards separating us from our fellow-men, and producing spiritual emptiness, restlessness and inflation, than contempt for, or absence of all reverence towards and practice of, the visible, audible, institutional idea of religion.<sup>120</sup>

In practical terms, this leads to a need to manage our thinking and feeling by finding ways to relax and exercise the body. Hügel explained it to Gertrud this way:

if I let myself go, I am brain, brain, feeling, feeling all the waking time. This is wrong and a weakness of course, and a straining through the nerves on the character itself. It is God who deigned to make me, part body and part soul; and has organised me for exercise and food and sleep, as really as for thinking, feeling, and willing. And although all the former actions are only means for performing the latter, yet the latter will not get well performed, if the former are not carefully attended to.<sup>121</sup>

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118 Mansel:1951:6-7.

119 Mansel:1951:7.

120 Mansel:1951:7-8.

121 msIX.1272:DAA:31/12/1897.

Hügel continued:

learning to bicycle, patience-card games... goes all *directly* to making me as balanced and just-minded... When nerve-weary I crave for nervous excitement, emotion - something in which to drown my dreariness... one is taking poison, if one throws one's will in the seas of all this nerve-and brain-fever, and gives the already jaded nerves fresh strains and emotions.<sup>122</sup>

He closed his letter by telling Gertrud she had not been:

completely waked up to the full importance of the body, its being both spared (through as much fallowness as possible of head and heart), and directly attempts by air and exercise etc. - I am beginning to find the bicycling delightfully resting to the brain: I know I shall be able to work and be of use ever so much more that way... The more you think and feel, the more you will feel hurried on to think and feel; and the more you do so, for a while, the worse you will do it, and the worse will fare both your health and your friends, old and new.<sup>123</sup>

Gwen would sum it up as the 'need to learn of that balance of Christianity, that marvellous twin life that feeds the body and spirit and encloses our whole self.'<sup>124</sup>

## V. History and Christ

Hügel argued that he couldn't 'live without... a religion full of history.'<sup>125</sup> In many of Hügel's published writings, he argued that history is 'the crux of every Institutional Religion.'<sup>126</sup> By this he meant:

only in and through History, only by means of concrete happenings in time and space, does man awaken to, does he apprehend, Eternal Life and God, and do they penetrate and win him... all genuine Religion absolutely requires... really happened Historical Facts and Persons. Indeed, Christianity's greatness resides especially in its all-pervasive and

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122 msIX.1272:DAA:31/12/97.

123 msIX.1272:DAA:31/12/97.

124 TW:134.

125 Barmann:1981:282.

126 EL:342.

persistent Incarnational trend; since God, the Eternal Spirit, here reveals Himself to us, and touches us, in Duration and through Matter.<sup>127</sup>

In other words, only as God entered History in the past do we see 'Historical Facts and Persons' in which the action of God may be seen; and only as he enters History in the present and 'reveals Himself,' are we awakened to 'Eternal Life and God.'

The same twofold understanding of history is seen (in reverse order) in his essay on Christ:

our souls are only awakened to the presence of spiritual realities when a contingent and historical stimulus from without excites them... The central affirmation to which we adhere is the Incarnation of God in man - and this is in a unique and definitely historical manner.<sup>128</sup>

In Hügel's spiritual direction, this idea of historicity was most evident in his focus on the historical Christ. Nowhere is this more evident than with Evelyn, who came to Hügel with no relationship with Christ, and a largely Unitarian mindset.<sup>129</sup>

Hügel encouraged Evelyn to 'feel the factualness, the happenedness [sic] of our Lord, of His Passion, and of the Holy Communion,'<sup>130</sup> and thereby 'to feed and articulate the Christocentric movement.'<sup>131</sup> He asked Evelyn to 'work gently but wholeheartedly' at getting this principle of 'Historical Happenings' to become one of the 'chief beams' of her 'spiritual edifice, part of the rock, known and willed at all times of your faith... belief in them is necessary.'<sup>132</sup>

Hügel told Evelyn that:

God does dwell in, and manifest Himself by, historical happenings... the deepest fullest self abasement of God – Jesus Christ, in the manger, on the Cross... You could gain this Incarnational, which is also the only completely creaturely temper of mind.<sup>133</sup>

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127 *EL*:342.

128 Bedoyère:165-6 (from *De Christ Eternel et de nos christologies successives*).

129 Cropper:2003:99.

130 Cropper:2003:99-100.

131 ms5552:39:SAUL.

132 ms5552/1:SAUL:5/11/1921.

133 ms5552/1:SAUL:5/11/1921. Hügel similarly said it 'will ever give us a religion sufficiently lowly, homely, humbling.' ms5552/1:SAUL:5/11/1921.

Even more simply, Hügel encouraged Evelyn to try 'at least *thinking of* Our Lord at Holy Communion.'<sup>134</sup> But Evelyn stated, 'Christo-centric devotion... I can't do it.'<sup>135</sup> Hügel replied:

You ask me how on earth you manage to “slip in” some bit of Christocentric devotion into your hopelessly Theocentric mind and practice... What I want... [is] special care given to a sensible, contingent, historical, incarnational current, since this current has been specially starved. If you cannot, alas, as yet pray to Jesus, the heavenly Christ, as now living as much as ever, and as Himself bringing God Incarnate into your soul, try at least to pray to God Unincarnate [sic] with thought and affections as to Nazareth, the Lake of Galilee, and/or Calvary, where so much love was shown, was it not? for God and by God.<sup>136</sup>

Over time, Evelyn gradually shifted from being 'purely mystical, philosophic' to a more 'Catholic Incarnational' spirituality, 'the two currents being gradually interwoven, with special care given to the Incarnational and Sacramental', as it had been 'specially starved.'<sup>137</sup>

By 1922, Evelyn wrote:

Something you said showed me how to bridge the gap between theism and Christian devotion, which has worried me for years... Now I have got my universe all in one piece again... The transcendental and incarnational currents are woven together now... But the incarnational current is still the weakest... I do try by persistent N.T. reading and meditation to strengthen the strictly Christian side.<sup>138</sup>

A year later she was able to write to Hügel:

The Christocentric side has become so much deeper and stronger – it nearly predominates. I never dreamed it was like this. It's just beginning now to dawn on me what the Sacramental Life really does involve: but it is only in flashes of a miraculous penetration I can realise this... I have never known before such deep and real happiness, such a sense of at last having got my real permanent life and being able to love without stint where I am meant to love. It is as if one were suddenly liberated and able to expand all round. Such joy that it sometimes almost hurts. All this, humanly speaking, I owe entirely to you.<sup>139</sup>

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134 LN:174.

135 Cropper:2003:74.

136 Cropper:2003:81.

137 Cropper:2003:86.

138 Cropper:2003:95-6.

139 ms5552:42-43:SAUL.

In 1927, Evelyn recorded her spiritual development like this:

Until about five years ago I never had *any* personal experience of our Lord. I didn't know what it meant. I was a convinced Theocentric, and thought Christocentric language and practice sentimental and superstitious... when I went to the Baron he said I wasn't much better than a Unitarian. Somehow by his prayers or something, he compelled me to experience Christ. He never said anything more about it – but I know humanly speaking he did it. It took about four months – it was like watching the sun rise very slowly – and then suddenly one knew what it was... for the next two or three years, and especially lately, more and more my whole religious life and experience seem to centre with increasing vividness on our Lord – that sort of quasi involuntary prayer which springs up of itself at odd moments is always now directed to Him... The New Testament, which once I couldn't make much of, or meditate on, now seems full of things never noticed – all gets more and more alive and compellingly beautiful... Holy Communion which at first I did simply under obedience, gets more and more wonderful too.<sup>140</sup>

Others were directed in similar ways. Hügel seemed to see similar problems with Frances, noting her 'great attraction to the Church... with little or no attraction to... Christ.'<sup>141</sup> He told her plainly, 'the Church is for Christ and God, and not vice versa,<sup>142</sup> and encouraged her to focus upon Christ.

With Juliet, a focus on Christ was evident in both his early and later letters. Early on Hügel wrote, 'the Christ-child's glorious blessing upon you, and may it deepen, and yet lighten, all that is strong in you.'<sup>143</sup> Later, when he desired Juliet's return to Christianity, Hügel's focus was repeatedly on Jesus. He encouraged 'a humble return to Christ's feet,<sup>144</sup> a 'simple and childlike' 'spiritual preparation... with peaceful turnings to Christ.'<sup>145</sup> Further, he asked her to 'look' at 'what dispositions and actions Christ may want you to reform or to practise. Then at His feet you get your strength... with little peaceful turnings to Christ.'<sup>146</sup>

For Henri, Christ was the source of comfort: 'very dear boy, the heart of Jesus, so gentle and humble, will help you all your life to carry His yoke and His burden and to find them easy and

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140 Williams:1943:26.

141 Lillie:1925:39.

142 LN:105. Similarly to Maude: 'Christ and Church go together.' SL:355:(1922).

143 ms37194/22a:SAUL:23/12/1910.

144 SL:321-3.

145 ms37194:SAUL:6/1/1921.

146 SL:321-3.

light.<sup>147</sup> To Gwen, Hügel emphasised Christ as the example of faith. Christianity is 'the Cross and the Crown... the whole life of Christ,'<sup>148</sup> particularly embodying Christ's 'touching humility and love.'<sup>149</sup> Christ was also the reward of faith: 'the passion and hunger *for* God comes *from* God, and God answers it with Christ.'<sup>150</sup> And a focus on the Incarnation of Christ was also seen as how we escape from Pantheism.<sup>151</sup>

Finally, Hügel provided Gwen with a remarkable image for the interconnection between Christ and the Church, the 'three-mountain-chain.'<sup>152</sup>

God leads to Christ, and Christ leads to Church; and, inversely, the Church leads to Christ, and Christ leads to God. Or better, the Church always involves Christ, and Christ always involves God; and God always involves Christ, and Christ always involves the Church.<sup>153</sup>

Thus the importance of the Institutional Element: 'We require God and Christ and Church: each in and with the other.'<sup>154</sup>

## VI. Coda

Thus we see a consistent emphasis on the Institutional Element as essential in Christian growth. Hügel encouraged his directees to involvement in Church, even though it can be costly, as he recognised four essential benefits. First, rather than being locked up in their prayer cells, Hügel wanted his directees learning from the community in the Church. Second, he recognised that the senses, through the Sacraments awaken the soul to the unseen reality. Third, recognising the interdependence of soul and body, he emphasised that directees not overdo their Church practices. Fourth, he stressed the importance of the historical Christ and a Christocentric focus in our spirituality. The Institutional Element is a rich, diverse Element that was discussed with each directee. We now turn to examine the Intellectual Element in Hügel's spiritual direction to the ten directees.

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147 Garceau:1935:283-4.

148 LN:xix.

149 LN:xix.

150 LN:xxxix.

151 LN:xxxvi.

152 LN:55.

153 LN:55.

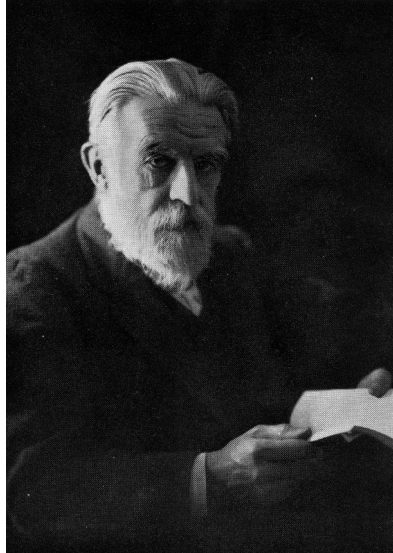
154 LN:113;8/12/1920.



## Chapter 5: The Intellectual Element

'people... must be helped to get God – their notions as to God – sound and strong.'<sup>1</sup> (Hügel)

'Drop brain, open wide the soul, nourish the heart, purify, strengthen the will:  
with this, you are sure to grow; without this, you are certain to shrink.'<sup>2</sup> (Hügel)



*Hügel, Petre:1937:32.*

### I. Introduction

As we have seen, Hügel was lauded at his death as 'one of the deepest religious thinkers of our day,'<sup>3</sup> and 'the most learned man living.'<sup>4</sup> Yet Hügel is likely to have been uncomfortable with such plaudits, focussing as they do solely on the intellectual. For all his reputation as a profound and penetrating thinker, Hügel spent as much of his time seeking to limit and balance the intellect as he did celebrating it.

This chapter explores Hügel's approach to the intellect in his spiritual direction. On the one hand Hügel was concerned that his directees were properly grounded in their faith intellectually, particularly in the areas of theology and history, and this was a significant part of their spiritual direction. But on the other, he also wanted to teach the limits of the intellect, emphasising a 'mystical... dark, intuitive' approach,<sup>5</sup> rather than 'clear, discursive' truth. Thought and scholarship need to be balanced with prayer, worship, humility, and a childlike wonder.

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1 *LN*:166-167.

2 *EAI*:99.

3 Dean of St Paul's in Lester-Garland:1933:7-8.

4 Charles Gore in Bedoyère:1951:xi.

5 *MEI*:7.

## II. Theology and Spiritual Formation

In this section, material from Hügel's letters and his published works are discussed since they both provided the content of Hügel's spiritual direction.<sup>6</sup>

### II.i. Hügel's Doctrine of God

Hügel's doctrine of God particularly focused on three attributes of God, as formulated in *ME*:

The Christian life begins, proceeds and ends with the Givenness, the Otherness, [and] the Prevenience of God - the one-sided relation between God and man - these constitute the deepest measure and touchstone of all religion.<sup>7</sup>

We see these three attributes repeatedly occurring in Hügel's letters of spiritual direction.

#### II.i.a. The Givenness of God

The *Givenness* of God is the idea of God's non-contingent existence, that God exists apart from and prior to any human experience - God *Is*. So Hügel told Gwen, religion is primarily to do with 'Is-ness,' that 'a superhuman reality *is*, exists'.<sup>8</sup> God is the great objective Reality that exists prior to our human subjectivity. Thus God and his reality are the 'givens' to which we come in religion, givens that are made known by revelation. Religion is not projected or constructed, not 'something growing up, coral-reef like, from below, but... as something descending from above.'<sup>9</sup>

God's givenness was fundamental enough that Gwen wrote: 'He found the reality of God, and the entire *givenness* of all our spiritual life, love and prayer. To these things his soul vibrated; they made a commotion within his whole being.'<sup>10</sup> Nédoncelle put it: 'No one has insisted more strongly than he (and at a time when it needed saying) that religious experience is a 'givenness' and not a construction of the consciousness.'<sup>11</sup>

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6 This is because Hügel had his directees read some of his published writings. For example, Hügel had Gwen read *ME* (LN:77-78;141;149), *EL* (LN:72) and miscellaneous essays (LN:75;136).

7 *MEI*:xvi.

8 LN:11-14

9 *EAI*:121, (Italics added).

10 LN:xLiv.

11 Nédoncelle:1937:84.

### **II.i.b. The Otherness of God**

Secondly, the *Otherness* of God was Hügel's insistence that God is fundamentally 'Other', not an anthropomorphic deity made in our image. Hügel was adamant that God was not like us, and not deducible from human self hood. We cannot 'diminish God to a man of but larger size.'<sup>12</sup> He told CCJ Webb, 'What I cannot abide, is any view that would make man contain God, instead of God contain man: we shall ever have to look *up to* God, to apprehend, not *comprehend* Him... We are not, and never will be, God.'<sup>13</sup>

The gap between God and humanity was repeatedly stressed by Hügel to his directees. The idea of placing God and humanity 'on a strict parity... equal in depth and in breadth' Hügel saw as 'blasphemy!'<sup>14</sup> Thus Gwen was not to think that she was 'dealing with a fellow human being' when relating to God.<sup>15</sup> Hügel told Maude Petre, 'The creature is not the Creator, either in quantity or quality.'<sup>16</sup>

The appropriate response to God's otherness is humility and adoration. Thus Gwen was told: 'hold very clearly the otherness of God, and the littleness of men. If you don't get that you can't have adoration.'<sup>17</sup> Recognising God's otherness would 'deepen and widen out' our prayer to '*adoration*;<sup>18</sup> Hügel wrote, 'I know more and more how small I am, how great God is.'<sup>19</sup> This idea of the Otherness of God was explored in more detail in a few specific contexts, as follows.

### **God as Eternal, humans as temporal-spatial**

One of the clearest points at which God is *Other* is with respect to time: 'God is simultaneous, *totum simul*: we are passing.'<sup>20</sup> Hügel saw this as a particularly difficult doctrine for Emilia to grasp, as she was steeped in evolutionary doctrine, and thus conceived life as change. He wrote at some length to her:

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12 *EAI*:223.

13 *SL*:138.

14 *LN*:112.

15 *LN*:135.

16 *SL*:93-4;26/9/1900.

17 *LN*:xvii.

18 *EAI*:224. Hügel emphasised the gap between us and God in his published works. He described Jesus' teaching as 'magnificently free from... dragging down the Creator to the level of the creature.' (*RG*:107-8). Similarly, God is 'a Reality different from our own lesser reality...' *RG*:75.

19 *LN*:xviii. This gap was repeatedly emphasised in the letters. For example: 'God infinite and other, different to man...' *LN*:xxx; 'Our Lord, the Unmatched, the Inexhaustible-God with us, surrounded by little, little men.' *LN*:39.

20 *LN*:xviii.

the Christian doctrine of God (both as *social* within Himself, and as *ecstatic* and *incarnational* in His moral dispositions) keeps us free from conceiving that simultaneity as bereft of articulations and social variety, or as shut up even within this (immensely rich) social life of Himself. But I think that these very doctrines require, for their fullest, deepest root and background, that Eternity, that non-successiveness of God within Himself. Our very growth, our very advance postulates and requires such a non-becoming, overflowing Livingness [sic] and perfect Presence.<sup>21</sup>

This theme recurs in Hügel's published works. In *RG* he argued, 'We shall never... reach a sufficiently deep and delicate sense of the distinctness and Otherness of God unless we admit that in Him there is ultimately no succession and no extension.'<sup>22</sup> It is only by recognising the simultaneity of God that we 'free ourselves from the superstition of thinking and acting as though there were anything intrinsically sacred in our successiveness.'<sup>23</sup>

### **God does not change or 'become'**

The corollary of God's eternity is constancy – God does not change. Where 'we are becoming creatures – becoming in order to be – God *is*.'<sup>24</sup> For Hügel this is another very strong contrast between God and humanity - we are creatures of *Becoming*, while God is *Being*: 'this need of change in us, comes simply from our imperfection. We are not God.'<sup>25</sup> He told Maude: 'God *is*, overflowing [sic]... it is we who are necessarily in movement and in becoming.'<sup>26</sup>

In his published works, Hügel went still further:

we cease to believe in God as God the moment we find anything in Him which He has to combat and overcome, for God is not Becoming but sheer Being, and yet... a Being which alone fully warrants, maintains, and effects our Becoming... we are so little and we have to Become.<sup>27</sup>

Since God does not change, he has freedom from suffering. Hügel wrote to Gwen that God's sympathy is 'a kind of suffering... [but] we must not press this to mean that suffering, what we

21 ms38776/8:SAUL:6/4/12.

22 *RG*:114. Hügel also wrote of God's 'non-successiveness of His character and actions...' *RG*:114

23 *RG*:118. Hügel went as far as arguing that if an understanding of this difference 'become the flesh and blood of a man's living and dying, [it] will produce human beings as different in size and fruitfulness as it is possible to find... we must conceive of God not as essentially successive, but essentially simultaneous.' *RG*:118.

24 *LN*:xviii.

25 *LN*:136.

26 *SL*:206.

27 *RG*:126.

experience in our own little lives as suffering, is *as such* and *literally* in God. God is overflowing Love, Joy, and Delectation.<sup>128</sup>

In *RG*, Hügel argued:

how much we lose and how little we gain by insisting upon suffering, not only in the human nature adopted by God, but in God Himself... Deeply to apprehend the universal presence within all things human of succession and of suffering, and to understand how, this being so, succession and suffering have come very near to God Himself in his Incarnation; and yet to retain vividly the sense that, even as Incarnate God, He in Himself remains simultaneous and Joy utter and unmixed; these two convictions, each kept clear and distinct from the other... this I believe to be by far the richest and most fruitful conception, the truest to the facts, that can be found.<sup>129</sup>

But Jesus truly suffered in his humanity, and therefore can understand and support us in our suffering.<sup>30</sup>

### **God's freedom and inability to sin**

Another key aspect of God's Otherness is the contrast between God's freedom and inability to sin, with our human, sinful nature. Hügel told Gwen, 'I want you so to keep the conception of freedom clear and crisp in your mind.'<sup>31</sup> Quoting Augustine, he went on, 'To be able not to sin is a great liberty, but to be *unable* to sin is the greatest liberty.'<sup>32</sup> This contrasts strongly with human sinfulness. Gwen reported Hügel

continually insisted on our recognising the abiding consequences of sin. My uncle spoke so often of how this crucial part of Christ's message had almost been obliterated in modern times.<sup>33</sup>

From this follows our 'profound need of grace' and our 'incapacity to gain grace.'<sup>34</sup> Hügel wanted Gwen 'penetrated' by the sense of this 'true liberty of God, and by the need for grace.'<sup>35</sup> In *RG*,

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28 *LN*:132. Hügel encouraged Gwen to read his essay, 'Suffering and God.' *LN*:132-3. (See *EAI*:165-214).

29 *RG*:115.

30 This is further discussed in chapter 6.

31 *LN*:xxvi.

32 *LN*:xxvi. Hügel stated in his published works, 'look up to, adore God, the Perfect Freedom, which contrasts so grandly with our own poor little freedom.' *EAI*:220.

33 *TW*:196.

34 *LN*:xxviii.

35 *LN*:xxviii.

Hügel stated, 'Nothing can be more deep and beautiful and necessary than the doctrine that no soul is saved alone and by its own efforts.'<sup>36</sup>

Again the consequence of grasping God's otherness here is a humble posture. Hügel told Gwen, 'We should feel humbled, not only by our actual sins, but already by the fact that we can commit such things;<sup>37</sup> 'The more holy I find God, the more wicked I feel myself to be.'<sup>38</sup>

### **II.i.c.     *The Prevenience of God***

The Prevenience of God is the third aspect of God's character highlighted by Hügel, meaning that God is the great initiator, whose actions always precede any human response. Thus: 'God loved us before we loved, or could love, Him. God's love of us rendered possible and actual our love of God.'<sup>39</sup>

This paradigm of God as initiator is crucial to Hügel's understanding of human participation and response. Hügel wanted his directees to be attentive to God and His actions, rather than see themselves as the centre. God is the initiator, we respond. So Hügel told Gwen, 'the passion and hunger for God comes from God, and God answers it with Christ.'<sup>40</sup> Similarly, grace is 'God's constant prevenience and gift,<sup>41</sup> and 'He works in us, not by us.'<sup>42</sup>

We see a direct outworking of this concept in Hügel's letter to Mr Rawlinson where he encouraged him in his lectures on prayer to emphasise

the action of God, an action previous to our action, which accompanies and completes our own - an action without which our own would be impossible or would be but a vain self-projection and self-doubting. I should be glad if you could even push this principle further.<sup>43</sup>

### **II.i.d.     *The Nearness of God***

While emphasising God's Otherness, Hügel coupled this with God's *nearness*, deliberately holding these two aspects of God's character in tension. He wrote to Gwen:

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36 RG:149.

37 LN:112.

38 LN:xxviii.

39 EAI:224.

40 LN:xxxii.

41 LN:xxviii. Similarly, in his published works, Hügel emphasised God's initiative. He corrected the idea of 'what we already dimly hold' regarding God, to: 'what, in strictness, already holds us.' RG:36.

42 LN:xviii.

43 Edward Keble Talbot's Papers:CRMA:23/5/1919.

People put God so far away, in a sort of mist somewhere... God is *near*. He is no use unless he is near. God's otherness and difference, and his nearness. You *must* get that. God's nearness is straight out of the heart of Jesus.<sup>44</sup>

Hügel emphasised this repeatedly: 'His Distinctness from yet great Closeness to us';<sup>45</sup> 'His otherness though nearness, His distinctness from all finite beings, though not separateness – aloofness – from them.'<sup>46</sup> Gwen would summarise this tension: 'My uncle taught us the nearness of God and His great difference from ourselves.'<sup>47</sup> Hügel emphasised God's 'nearness' when he told Henri: God is not 'an old concierge, malicious and indiscreet, listening at the door' but is 'a Being of infinite goodness' who gives 'help and consolation.'<sup>48</sup>

## II.ii. The Trinity - Multiplicity in Unity

In his published writings, Hügel discussed the Trinity in fairly orthodox ways. In his essay on 'The Facts and Truths concerning God and the soul', 'the dogma of the Holy Trinity' was mentioned in his first of seven doctrines concerning God.<sup>49</sup>

Hügel saw some continuities between the doctrine of the Trinity and the created order: 'every truly living Unity is constituted in Multiplicity.'<sup>50</sup> But this is most true in the 'multiplicity... in God Himself... the three Persons are united in One substance and nature.'<sup>51</sup> Hügel also felt that the multiplicity of God as three persons contrasted strongly with the 'single Reality' of Pantheism,<sup>52</sup> and was therefore of 'especial need in these our times.'<sup>53</sup>

Hügel did not view the Trinity functionally but relationally, with the ontological Trinity taking precedence over the economic Trinity. So although God's 'Incarnation and Redemptive Action' reveal His nature, it is the '*interior* life' of the Trinitarian God that most articulates his character, rather than his 'outward action.'<sup>54</sup> This was reiterated in *RG*:

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44 *LN*:xxi.

45 *LN*:166.

46 *LN*:14.

47 *TW*:185.

48 Garceau:1935:92-3.

49 *EAI*:218.

50 *MEI*:66.

51 *MEI*:66.

52 *EAI*:136.

53 *EAI*:218.

54 *EAI*:218. (Italics added).

I love now to dwell upon... the fact that any and every belief in the Holy Trinity gives us a God whom we cannot call more than personalist... I there find this doctrine to keep well before us that God, however mysteriously, contains within a Unity an immense richness of life... the doctrine presses home... that the inner life of God is something far fuller and richer than is the whole of His creative and providential activity.<sup>55</sup>

On the other hand, Hügel provided relatively little explicit teaching about God's Trinitarian nature in his letters of direction. He tended not to assign particular roles to the persons of the Trinity, but rather saw them *all* involved in the work of spiritual formation. Though distinct persons, they are conjoined in their transformative role. Hügel was perhaps influenced here by Catherine of Genoa, of whom he wrote:

Catherine never distinguishes at all between Christ and God... in Catherine we get, practically everywhere, an exclusive concentration upon the fact, so often implied or declared by St Paul, of Love, Christ, being Himself Spirit.<sup>56</sup>

### II.iii. Christ

As we have already seen in Chapter 4, Hügel encouraged a Christocentric devotion in his directees, emphasising the historic Christ of the Gospels. But in a context of Immanentism, where the humanity of Christ was emphasised and his divinity questioned, Hügel stressed the need to take seriously the traditional, apparently academic formulations of the church. He told Gwen '[do] not treat lightly definitions' - such as the distinction between *Homoousios* and *Homoiousios* - 'however dry-seeming and abstract.'<sup>57</sup>

In his published writings, Hügel affirmed the Chalcedon truth: 'Jesus Christ is both truly God and truly man.'<sup>58</sup> His concept of 'multiplicity in unity' was applied to the person of Christ through the hypostatic union of two natures.<sup>59</sup> Hügel always believed it was important to emphasise the humanity of Christ, arguing that we 'dehumanise Jesus by ignoring [his] immense sufferings.'<sup>60</sup>

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55 *RG*:66.

56 *ME*:84-5.

57 *LN*:51. Similarly, Gwen was encouraged to 'reverence ... the great definitions of the Church concerning God.'  
*LN*:50.

58 *EAI*:223.

59 Alongside this duplicity, Hügel described Jesus' 'trinity of offices, the Kingly, the Prophetic, and the Priestly, - these latter again corresponding roughly to the External, the Intellectual, and the Mystical element of the human soul.'  
*MEI*:67.

60 *EAI*:223.



Therefore 'in any specifically Christian conception of God the Incarnation, the Condescension of God, to an indwelling of man, to a becoming man, is essential.'<sup>61</sup> But unlike others in the Modernist movement, Hügel never let Jesus' humanity eclipse his divinity.

Evelyn spoke of Hügel saying that 'a well-balanced religion required the theocentric and incarnational sides together: that no-one got this quite right, and most fervent people were Christocentric to excess and let their rightful devotion to our Lord swamp their sense of God Himself.'<sup>62</sup> Hügel told Evelyn that 'the two together contribute the full truth and life of religion.'<sup>63</sup> As usual, this was particularised for the individual. For Evelyn, who came from a position of virtually no relationship with Christ, Hügel told her to 'feed and articulate the Christocentric movement; the other movement can take care of itself.'<sup>64</sup>

#### **II.iv. The Holy Spirit**

The person of the Holy Spirit was not discussed very frequently in Hügel's writings. This may be in part due to a tendency to refer to the persons of the Trinity somewhat interchangeably, as mentioned above. It may also be in part a reaction against forms of 'pure mysticism', and a corresponding desire to ground discussions of God in the incarnational spirituality of Christ.

When Hügel did use the term 'Spirit', he often seemed to have in view both the third person of the Trinity and the triune God, rather than just one or the other. For example:

Spirit and spirit, God and the creature, are not two material bodies, of which one can only be where the other is not; but, on the contrary, as regards our own spirit, *God's spirit ever works in closest penetration and stimulation of our own*; just as, in return, we cannot find God's Spirit simply separate from our own spirit within ourselves. Our spirit clothes and expresses His; His Spirit first creates and then sustains and stimulates our own.<sup>65</sup>

We have also seen in Chapter 4 that Hügel has a rich and well-developed theology of the Church, and he clearly has the Spirit in view wherever he speaks of God's action in and through the Church. On some occasions, Hügel has the Church as the third member of a triad involving God and Christ,

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61 RG:115.

62 Greene:1993:80.

63 ms5552:39:SAUL.

64 ms5552:39:SAUL.

65 Greene:1988:181. (Italics added).

notably in his use of the 'three-mountain-chain' image to Gwen, involving God, Christ, and the Church: 'God leads to Christ, and Christ leads to Church...'<sup>66</sup>

Perhaps this is simply reflective of a general tendency on Hügel's part to prefer more inclusive, synthetic formulations (both the Spirit and the Church) over more analytic discursive ones (either-or).<sup>67</sup>

### III. History and Spiritual Formation

It is clear why Hügel might include theological instruction in the course of his spiritual direction. What is more surprising is that he often included significant reading of history, particularly pagan history in his nurture of directees. He outlined his reasons to Gwen:

I want to teach you through history. History is an enlargement of personal experience, history pressing the past. We must have the closest contact with the past. How poor and thin a thing is all purely personal religion!... You must get a larger experience – you gain it by a study of history... I want you to learn about the great souls that lived through all those tracts of time... Religion to be deep and rich must be historical.<sup>68</sup>

In so doing, Hügel sought to avoid an 'individualistic, sectarian, single Bible-texts, point of view,' telling Gwen, 'You cannot get these great questions solved... except through much history, institutions, Church appurtenances.'<sup>69</sup>

Hügel began Gwen's historical education with a great deal of pagan history: beginning with Roman history and poetry, and the persecution of the Christians, and then moving onto Greek historians and philosophers.<sup>70</sup> Hügel had very clear reasons for beginning this way, which he shared with Gwen. First, he wanted to give her a large, historical world-view as a basis for later introducing Christian

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66 LN:55. The rest of this quote is provided at the end of Chapter 4.

67 In chapter 7 we will discuss how Gwen corrects Hügel in *MZ*, by giving more explicit emphasis to the Spirit's role in spiritual formation.

68 LN:xiv.

69 LN:137.

70 The readings included: Boissier's *Histoire du Paganisme*, Juvenal *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*, books by Caesar, Cicero, Lucretius, Virgil, Tacitus, Horace, Livy, and Pliny, Wiseman's *Fabiol*, Allard's *Persecutions*, Prudentius' *Cathemerinon*. They also read Greek books: Bury's *History of Greece*, Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, Gilbert, Murray, Croiset, Iliad, Odyssey, Hesiod, Minucius, Felix - Octavius. She was also introduced to Socrates, Plato- *Phaedo*, *The Republic*, *Four Socratic Dialogues of Plato*, Thucydides - *The Sicilian Expedition; Speeches*, Minucius Felix, Pindar, Whitley - *Companion to Greek Studies*, Aristotle and Plotinus.

readings. Second, Hügel wanted Gwen to recognise the factuality and historicity of Christianity against the backdrop of ancient Rome.<sup>71</sup>

Third, he wanted Gwen to understand the context and background within which Christianity arose, to help her see more clearly the differences between Gnostic and Pagan thinking and the Christian thinking that followed it. He hoped that when she later read religious books, they would 'penetrate and purify a whole mass of not directly religious material and life,<sup>72</sup> and that she might recognise the difference between Socrates' tone and teaching and that of the Christians.<sup>73</sup> He told Gwen that exposure to Gnostic works was designed 'to bring home the reality, the irreplaceableness, of Christianity; and to protect you, through the self-expansion we can attain by history, from the Esoteric Buddhists, the Spiritualists... [the] Gnostics of our day.'<sup>74</sup>

Fourth, Hügel felt that intertwining this 'double current' of the 'directly religious' and 'directly not religious' would help Gwen be less reactionary to issues.<sup>75</sup> Such a 'double current' was designed to enable Gwen to critique the 'windy impulses' and 'wild rootlessness' of politicians. Hügel wrote:

the habitual living in a world steeped in history, in knowledge of the human heart – your own, first and foremost, and, above all, in a sense of the presence, the power, the prevenience of God, the healing Divine Dwarf of our poor little man-centred, indeed even self-centred schemes.<sup>76</sup>

Fifth, exposing Gwen to this intertwined history was to help her become 'self-trained in the fruitful art and virtue of gathering roses amidst thorns, and of discerning jewel eyes in a toad's head. I want my niece to end up becoming such a discriminator.'<sup>77</sup>

Sixth, Hügel wanted Gwen to be able to see the big picture historically so she could more fully understand the present. He commented, 'I am trying to get such words as 'Rome,' 'Athens,' etc. to mean a great rich world to you.'<sup>78</sup>

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71 LN:37.

72 LN:15.

73 LN:138.

74 LN:38.

75 LN:80.

76 LN:20-21.

77 LN:41.

78 LN:15.

When Hügel finally introduced Gwen to Christian writings,<sup>79</sup> she complained that they made non-religious subjects 'insipid' for her.<sup>80</sup> Hügel replied, '*ignore, and vigorously... react against, this mentality.*'<sup>81</sup> He didn't want Gwen to disregard the beauties of Nature, for both Grace and Nature are from God, and so he continued to have Gwen keep on with the 'double current' of religious and non-religious reading.

Hügel also worked on *how* Gwen read, lamenting the current 'excess of analysis over synthesis', and telling Gwen that 'see[ing] things in the large and upon the whole... is what we all require.'<sup>82</sup> He also helped her adopt a 'frame of mind' when reading, particularly Christian books, so she would 'grow in insight, love and fruitfulness.'<sup>83</sup> He told her

the chief reason why so few minds grow in their outlook after, say, eighteen or twenty-one: [is] they are so busy, pompously affirming to themselves and others that they don't and can't see this or that... [they] harden down, for good and all, into their narrow, stuffy little world.<sup>84</sup>

By contrast, Hügel encouraged Gwen to be 'very humble, very certain that there exist oceans of reality - of things and laws beautiful, true, good and holy, beyond this our present insight and operation.'<sup>85</sup>

Hügel also taught Gwen a 'double system of annotation' to make 'the reading sink ever so much more lastingly' into her.<sup>86</sup> He suggested Gwen write on fly-leaves at the beginning of books, points she loved or had learnt from, then write on the fly-leaves at the back of books, what she had not liked or objected to.<sup>87</sup>

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79 For example, Tertullian and Augustine's *Confessions*. He also wanted Gwen to read about the Church within the Roman Empire; The Church's triumph over Paganism and over Gnosticism, and hermits and monks and some of the largest minds amongst the Roman Empire Christians. He also presented Gwen with other Christian writings: Faber- *Spiritual Conferences*; Jerome- *The Fathers in the Desert*; Father Walker- *The Psychology of the Spiritual Exercises*; Cure d'Ars- *Life of the Cure*; Aquinas- *Ethicus*; Wicksteed- *The Reactions, St. Thomas Aquinas*; St Thomas- *God and His Creatures*; Dante - *Paradiso*; Elizabeth Leseur's *Journal*; Bernard- *Canticle of Canticles*.

80 LN:61.

81 LN:61.

82 LN:134.

83 LN:22-23.

84 LN:23.

85 LN:23.

86 LN:22.

87 LN:22.

History was taught similarly to Juliet. Hearing of a possible trip to Rome, Hügel's wrote five long papers to Juliet on 'a fruitful trip to Rome.'<sup>88</sup> In these papers, Hügel was quite prescriptive about the exact pages of texts he wanted her to read and how to study Roman history, geography and ideas. For example, 'Read also carefully with the notes at the end, and learn by heart, the verses of Ennius, in the *Latin Anthology*.'<sup>89</sup> Similarly, 'Make notes of everything that specially strikes or puzzles you... when we meet I should explain to you whatever is at all foggy in your mind.'<sup>90</sup> He also encouraged Juliet to examine ancient coins, asking her to observe the heads that were on them.<sup>91</sup>

The purpose of studying Roman history was to help Juliet to eventually develop a Christian world-view. Hügel wrote:

keep your mind, when you can, simmering in combinations of the facts, and dwelling upon the lessons, of this Roman history period. You will see how intensely modern, still in the throes of being born, the problems, helps, complications given and left to us by Rome are, when we come to Christianity and the Church in conflict with, and then taking over, the Roman Empire. But for this I trust you are able to understand all my allusions.<sup>92</sup>

He told Juliet to 'penetrate a little into the souls, the motives, the spirit of the men, these early Republican Romans, who thus acted and who thus built.'<sup>93</sup> Similarly:

We need not wonder at the slow and costly, but sure and unique, humanising power of such long occupation with Roman studies... We shall never then fully understand our own spiritual and mental origins and the forces that still are, so largely, moulding us, unless we come to have some true, living insight into, some real touch with, Rome, in its original *Italic* instinct; in its *Hellenized* phase; and its *Christianised* spirit and activity.<sup>94</sup>

History was also a key component of Hügel's development of Evelyn's Christocentricity. History and matter were seen as key material, in contrast to her 'pure mysticism'. He encouraged Evelyn to

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88 Paper 1:ms37194/11:SAUL:4/4/1910;Paper 2:ms37194/12:SAUL:7/7/1910;Paper 3:ms37194/15:SAUL:20/8/1910;Paper 4:ms37194/23:SAUL:20/4/1911;Paper 5:ms37194/23:SAUL:20/4/1911&15/2/1912.

89 ms37194/1923:SAUL:15/2/1912.

90 ms37194/23b:SAUL:9/5/1911.

91 ms37194/20:1:SAUL:19/10/1910.

92 ms37194/20:1:SAUL:19/10/1910.

93 ms37194/20:1:SAUL:19/10/1910.

94 ms37194:SAUL:23/6/10.

focus on the Christ of history, to have a 'religion of a definitely historical kind – the need of Our Lord, His Life, His Death, His Sacred Person.'<sup>95</sup> Evelyn responded by writing her 'Rule' in 1921:

Try to set about humble, full, definite development of principle of God found in history, here and now... and make this part of the rock of personal faith. Realise that all powerful and personal religion requires some historical happenings as essential to its completeness. Strive to eliminate a merely philosophically based Theism in favour of real Incarnationalism.<sup>96</sup>

Evelyn came to the point of being able to write to Hügel:

Historical values in religion. Yes! I now fully and solidly accept your position... The main historical happenings... especially the Passion – are absolutely necessary to Christianity as I understand it... they now mean a great deal more to me. Also as regards Holy Communion, the historical link comes in strongly, and at least part of what it seems to me... is the feeling of being linked with, and doing the same thing as all the others who have really cared, right from the beginning – and through them, stretching back to the beginning, too.<sup>97</sup>

Hügel wrote in response that he was 'delighted' at her 'growth here.'<sup>98</sup>

In Hügel's instruction of Margaret Clutton, history was similarly prominent. Hügel suggested Margaret do two hours a day of study in four subject-matters: 'the Spiritual Devotional Life,' 'Ethics,' 'Dogma' and 'Evolution, the Fall, Sin, the Sex-question.'<sup>99</sup> To help her with these areas, he suggested suitable reading material: some church history and Jesus' Parables, emphasising 'the profound helpfulness of a detailed, vivid knowledge of these grand Parables.'<sup>100</sup>

In order to reinforce Hügel's historical education, he often took his younger directees, Juliet, Henri and Gilbert, on educational outings to museums and galleries.

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95 LN:174-5.

96 Cropper:2003:85-6.

97 Cropper:2003:95.

98 Cropper:2003:100.

99 ms30994:SAUL.

100 ms30994:SAUL. He suggested Margaret choose a few stories from Schoupe's *Instruction Religieuse en Exemples* for each catechism lesson she gave to Arthur.

#### IV. General Education

Henri was another directee whose education Hügel took extremely seriously. Hügel provided Henri with bi-weekly lessons on Wednesday and Saturday evenings.<sup>101</sup> Throughout the following 8 years of Hügel's diaries, we see mention of Hügel's lessons with Henri, and the content covered.<sup>102</sup>

Henri's school education had been with private tutors, and the Baron felt he should go to school. After interviewing headmasters, he chose St Paul's School, prepared Henri for the entrance exam, and paid his school fees.<sup>103</sup> Hügel took a thorough interest in Henri's school reports<sup>104</sup> and went through his notes given by his professors each term.<sup>105</sup> Hügel also helped Henri with his Latin<sup>106</sup> and Greek<sup>107</sup> for exam preparation.<sup>108</sup> Hügel always marked in his diary when Henri's exams began and noted all details of his results.<sup>109</sup>

Hügel educated the minds of several other directees. He told Frances she should be 'thoroughly learned'<sup>110</sup> and constantly suggested books to read. Hügel was also heavily involved in Juliet's education, having several meetings with Juliet's mother concerning this,<sup>111</sup> and making notes in preparation for his talks with Juliet.<sup>112</sup>

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101 D:18/10/16.

102 For example, during Henri's first religious lesson in 1915, they discussed 'questions of Catechisme an Diocese de Paris with Shakespeare's 7 Ages of Man (fr *As you Like it*) and a picture in Tissot...' (D:6/10/15). His first series of talks covered the following topics: 'Nature and supernature (D:13/10/1915); 'grace, sanctifying and actual' (D:16/10/1915); 'Actual grace' (D:20/10/1915); 'questions on Prayer' (D:27/10/1915); 'the "Our Father"' (D:30/10/1915); 'Baptism' (D:13/11/1915); 'Holy Eucharist' (D:27/11/1915); 'Real Presence' (D:1/12/1915); 'the Mass' (D:8/12/1915); 'Mass Vestments' (D:18/12/1915); 'Commandments of God' (D:12/1/1916); 'Theological Virtues' (D:19/1/1916); 'Faith' (D:26/1/1916); 'Hope' (D:5/2/1916); 'Charity' (D:12/2/1916); 'Commandments of Church' (D:18/3/1916); 'Confession' (D:25/3/1916). Hügel's second series of lessons for Henri included: 'Cain and Abel' (D:28/10/1916); 'the Feast of all Saints' (D:1/11/1916); 'Samuel anoints David' (D:11/5/1916); 'David and Abigail' (D:19/6/1918); 'Holy Trinity, the Angels, Man, the Fall' (D:26/9/1919); 'his Religion during holidays' (D:20/7/1918); 'mortification and suffering' (D:19/4/1919); 'O.T. Questions' (D:5/10/1918); 'joy, suffering' (D:12/10/1918); 'Annunciation, Visitation' (D:20/1/1923); and 'preparation for Confirmation' (D:2/1923). In addition, at Madam Garceau's request, Hügel 'dwelt explicitly upon sex life appearing in the [Bible] stories' (D:26/1/1918). Hügel's diary entries also mention topics discussed with Henri's younger brother, Gilbert: Ascension (D:17/10/1919); the Holy Ghost (D:7/11/1919); communion of Saints (D:28/11/1919); Sacraments (D:3/6/1920); Confession (D:7/10/1920); Eucharist (D:21/10/1920); Holy Communion (D:25/11/1920); and Old Testament (D:22/11/1924).

103 In 1919, Hügel consented to Henri's mother's suggestion that they pay the school fees. However Hügel continued paying Henri two shillings a week for his omnibus fares. Garceau:1935:279.

104 D:25/12/18.

105 Garceau:1935:281. Hügel also wrote to the Headmaster about Henri receiving extra exam tuition and joining the Officer Cadet Corps. (D:2/3/19).

106 D:21/12/18.

107 D:8/3/19.

108 The extent of Hügel's dedication to Henri's education is revealed when he wrote Catechism questions (D:13/6/19), and Old Testament and Greek exams for Henri, posting them to him while on his summer holiday. (D:20/6/19).

109 D:30/7/19.

110 Lillie:1925:64.

111 D:21/6/09.

112 D:2/3/10.

## V. The Limits of the Intellect

### V.i. Balancing the Intellectual with the Mystical

Hügel did not dismiss the Intellectual Element as unimportant. It was one of his three Elements of Religion and he lived a life of trying to hold sanctity and scholarship together. The French, seventeenth century, spiritual masters had helped him not exalt or neglect the Intellectual Element. Hügel now wanted to help his directees hold together the rational and the affections, as he had experienced how intellectual engagement can help *maintain* and enrich one's spiritual life, if it is *balanced* with the mystical.

However, Hügel warned his directees against an excess of the Intellectual Element. Hügel wrote it is sometimes necessary to 'starve' a person's 'speculative bent' and feed 'devotional needs.'<sup>113</sup> He lamented that in Crespi's case, the opposite occurred on a retreat. Evelyn was similarly criticised for the 'too intellectual character' of her religion.<sup>114</sup> Hügel told her:

You badly need de-intellectualising, or at least developing homely, human sense and spirit dispositions and activities... it will, as it were, distribute your blood – some of your blood – away from the brain, where too much of it is lodged at present.<sup>115</sup>

To safeguard Frances from making the same mistake, Hügel told her about two movements of the soul:

The safer one is a circular motion around the central truths of life like pigeons circling around their pigeon-house. The other movement is unsafe alone. It is that of the intelligence, moving on and on, fascinated by the lure of further knowledge, following a certain distant life. It is apt to be feverish.<sup>116</sup>

We see Tyrrell, in his later years, took this 'unsafe' path. Hügel told him he had become unbalanced through his over-focus on the Intellectual element and neglect of the mystical element:

You are a mystic... you will never find, either Church, or Christ, or just simply God... except in deep recollection, purification, quietness, intuition, love... not all the wit,

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113 LN:117-119.

114 He told Evelyn 'if you can get a greater variety of homely emotions and activities into your religion, you very possibly will lose the hunger for the ardour of human affection.' (ms5552:SAUL:5/11/1921).

115 Cropper:2003:75. Hügel's solution was that Evelyn visit the poor.

116 Lillie:1925:64.



vehemence, subtlety, criticisms, learning that you can muster... will ever, without those, be other than ruinous to others as well as to yourself.<sup>117</sup>

Hügel emphasised 'keep ever more awake our sense of the necessary inadequacy of every idea we can form of God.'<sup>118</sup> By contrast, a knowing encounter, rather than mere cerebral understanding, was emphasised when Hügel told Norman of the 'trust and love of a dog who knows his master, but without analysis or reasoning... the reality far transcends the knowledge.'<sup>119</sup> This approach, wrote Hügel, was exemplified in Lloyd Thomas who works 'by love and the whole man and by intuitive apprehension, and not by knowledge only, least of all by dry reasoning.'<sup>120</sup> So Hügel repeatedly stated that 'growth' must be a 'deepening and expansion of the whole being, head *and* heart.'<sup>121</sup> The Intellectual Element must always be held in tension with the Institutional and Mystical Elements to prevent faith from becoming overly rational and disconnected from the real world.

Thus Frances was encouraged to have both the mind of 'the scientist', plus her 'religious instincts', gaining infused mystical knowledge through prayer.<sup>122</sup> Hügel emphasised 'the palace of the soul must have somehow two lifts – a lift which is always going up from below, and a lift which is always going down from above.'<sup>123</sup> But though he stressed the importance of 'both movements', the shift from persons to God, was less valued than the 'lift... going down from above', truth directly revealed by God through mystical encounter.

## **V.ii. An experiential knowledge of God given to the humble**

Hügel saw experience as central to theology. As Kelly argues, 'Hügel's supreme contribution came in... appealing for theology to abandon its abstract, deductive approach and instead to embrace the concrete, inductive, experiential method.'<sup>124</sup> It was Hügel's 1906 article, 'Experience and Transcendence,' where the Baron first expressed this orientation to theological investigation.<sup>125</sup>

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117 Bedoyère:1951:219:7/12/1908. Hügel reiterated this telling Tyrrell 'God has made you for something deeper and greater... in mystical intuition... you give and get your full most real self...' (Bedoyère:1951:218:27/6/1908).

118 Bedoyère:1951:135 (written to a priest, Marcel Hébert).

119 Barmann:1981:181.

120 ms38776/6:SAUL. This preference was further reinforced when Hügel wrote to Juliet, 'I love your mind, and want it strong and true; but I love your soul, your spirit, even more.' ms37194/28b:SAUL:8/9/1911.

121 *SL*:88 (italics added). Similarly Hügel told Scotti about 'a beautiful combination of head and heart...'

(Kelly:1975:78). Gwen was instructed, 'Christianity is a thing of the heart, and it's that that matters.' *LN*:xv.

122 Lillie:1925:50.

123 Lillie:1925:50-51.

124 Kelly:1983:214.

125 As Kelly notes, Hügel 'never developed his insights here systematically nor did he explicitly work out a general theory of experience as an epistemological basis and framework within which man's specifically religious experience could be situated.' (Kelly:1983:215).

Rather than focusing on cerebral conceptions of God, Hügel emphasised knowing God through encounter. In *RG*, Hügel argued, 'the theocentric, we gain by means of our experience and our analysis of this our experience.'<sup>126</sup>

Given his emphasis on the necessity of an experiential knowledge of God, Hügel taught his directees about the humble, receptive posture necessary for gaining such infused knowledge. This was clearly expressed in his letter to Violet Norrie:

We get to know such realities... only if we are sufficiently awake to care to know them, sufficiently humble to welcome them, and sufficiently generous to pay the price continuously which is strictly necessary if this knowledge and love are not to shrink but to grow. We indeed get to know realities, in proportion as we become worthy to know them, - in proportion as we become less self-occupied, less self-centred, more outward-moving, less obstinate and insistent, more gladly lost in the crowd, more rich in giving all we have, and especially all we are, our very selves.<sup>127</sup>

Hügel told Violet this posture is essential or we come away from 'study more rebellious and empty, or more despairing and bitter, or considerably more sceptical, then we came... to it.'<sup>128</sup> When it comes to some of the deep questions of suffering, such as losing a child, we need a 'creaturely' posture that involves a relational encounter with God. Rather than standing above God and trying to master who God is or define Him definitively, we come to know God through loving Him. Hügel told Violet that knowing God is like our knowledge of people: 'we love... we develop, direct instinct and intuition... the process is most subtle and complex... most rich and vivid, but distinctly not simple and "clear."<sup>129</sup>

In all of his scholarship, Hügel emphasised the need to be attentive and receive insight from God. Hügel wrote to Gwen that he wrote the whole of *EL*, 'praying.'<sup>130</sup> We see this same posture when Hügel told Norman not to be a 'rationalist forcing one's poor thinking machine' but rather be 'passive (in the right sense)... to gain any steady, usable light in these deepest facts and burrowings!'<sup>131</sup> Hügel continued, the 'chief, encouragement to such toil... [is] it makes one better,

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126 *RG*:136.

127 *EAI*:104.

128 *EAI*:105.

129 *EAI*:101-102.

130 *LN*:72.

131 Barmann1981:96. Hügel continued telling Norman, this 'original scheme of divine action and human passivity... is deeply religious...' Barmann:1981:25.

smaller in one's own poor eyes!<sup>132</sup> In such an approach to scholarship, Hügel argued, 'How one grows, how sustained and yet humbled one feels and *is* when thus plunged in work of a modestly creative kind! I always find it to become a sort of prayer.'<sup>133</sup>

We see Hügel's emphasis on experiential knowledge when Watkins came to Hügel asking for guidance for his theological difficulties. Hügel's immediate response was to try to help him escape his cerebral thinking. He suggested non-religious interests, then asked him to focus on any faith he has, 'as little bookishly, as little abstractly, as little learnedly as you can.'<sup>134</sup> Thirdly, he was encouraged to 'humble prayer... faithful practice of His presence... confession... the Holy Eucharist... believe that somehow it contains real spiritual power.'<sup>135</sup> Though Hügel later talked through his metaphysical questions, Hügel's initial advice was designed to help Watkins discover some experiential knowledge of God through spiritual practices.

### **V.iii. The necessity of childlikeness**

Alongside a humble posture, Hügel repeatedly spoke of childlikeness as essential in knowing God. Hügel wanted his directees to have a childlike, emotional response, rather than hide behind their rationality. He wrote, 'So many people are too clever for religion: we want less brains, more heart. Brains are no use, we want the child. I always try to get the child to come up in people.'<sup>136</sup> Hügel's emphasis on childlikeness came in part from his reading of George MacDonald's sermon, 'The Child in the Mist,' in 1914.<sup>137</sup> Macdonald argued that the theologians have 'terribly' misrepresented God seeing Him as:

a great King on a grand throne, thinking how grand he is, and making it the business of his being and the end of his universe to keep up his glory... have you found our king? There he is, kissing little children and saying they are like God... beside that monstrosity of a monarch... it is in his childlikeness that makes him our God and Father.<sup>138</sup>

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132 Barmann:1981:96.

133 Barmann:1981:205.

134 George-Tyrrell-Modernist-Controversy-Collection:Watkin:USFSC:2/10/1923.

135 George-Tyrrell-Modernist-Controversy-Collection:Watkin:USFSC:2/10/1923.

136 *LN*:xxxvi. Gwen described Hügel himself as 'sensitive like a child' (Greene:1932:131) and 'the most specially spontaneous child.' (Greene:1932:128).

137 *D*:18/6/1914.

138 *Unspoken Sermons*, First Series:22-24. 'the Lord has the heart of a child...' *Unspoken Sermons*, First Series: 12. 'He was, is, and ever shall be divinely childlike.' *Unspoken Sermons*, First Series:19.

Hügel described 'the perennial child present and more or less awake amongst us all'<sup>139</sup> and tried to awaken this wonder and childlikeness in his directees. He argued that to be Christ-like was to be childlike. He wrote to Maude, 'how selfish and self-centred... is the natural man; and how his childishness has ever to be turned into childlikeness.'<sup>140</sup> Before Gertrud died, Hügel recognised 'the note of true childlikeness was in everything she did, thought and felt.'<sup>141</sup> After years of Hügel's spiritual nurture, Gwen wrote, 'We keep this dimness, this childhood, beside God.'<sup>142</sup> Hügel also emphasised that our knowledge of God is not 'a clear apprehension of the whole, but with the confused experience of the parts; doubtless from the first there is a dim sense of the ultimate, of God.'<sup>143</sup>

#### **V.iv. A 'dim' knowledge of God rather than 'clever' clarity**

Essential to Hügel's understanding of God was his emphasis on dimness. Hügel was reacting to the Enlightenment legacy and intellectualism of theology. He told Gwen, 'Religion is dim' and we need 'a certain contentment in dimness.'<sup>144</sup> He continued:

Never try to get things too clear... Religion can't be clear if it is worth having. To me, if I can see things through and through, I get uneasy – I feel it's a fake. I know I have left something out, I've made some mistake.<sup>145</sup>

Hügel repeatedly criticised scholars who gained quick, clear answers concerning God and the soul. He warned Gwen against 'clever' people who try to 'invent' God or define Him narrowly: 'Clever people... are incapable of thinking. Cleverness never goes with depth and real thinking.'<sup>146</sup> In fact, Hügel recognised that those who focus predominantly on a clever, intellectual understanding of God, often miss God altogether, as they're puffed up in their own self-importance. In one case, Hügel argued, 'How impatient and impoverishing is his mind!.. the getting the whole case far too

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139 *SL*:375:23/12/1924.

140 *SL*:94-5.

141 *SL*:222. In 1889, Hügel wrote, regarding Grou, that 'the greatest and most difficult of all requirements is the practical combination of great intellectual openness and activity with a child-like spirit of faith, simplicity and love.' Hügel:1889:991. Leonard argues that Hügel's ability 'to combine these characteristics lies at the heart of his spirituality' and his ability 'to empower others.' Leonard:1994:271.

142 Greene:1931:256.

143 *RG*:145.

144 *LN*:xvi. Maeder sees this dimness concerning God as summarising Hügel's whole approach to spirituality. Maeder:1972:195.

145 *LN*:xvi-xvii.

146 *LN*:xiii. Algar Thorold found a manuscript note of Hügel's which read 'Nothing to be got by cleverness.' Goffin:2006:133.

simple, clear and easy.<sup>147</sup> Similarly, Hügel critiqued Hume as one who 'got to the bottom of everything by the time he was sixteen;' everything 'sorted out, explained.'<sup>148</sup> By contrast, Hügel told Tyrrell he was trying to develop a necessary 'frame of mind... obtuse-seeming, costingly [sic] wise, not brilliantly clever, ruminant, slow, if you will stupid, divinely blest [sic], thorn-crowned, ignored, defeated, yet soul-inspiring, life-creating fashion.'<sup>149</sup>

In contrast to 'clever' scholars, Hügel 'moved step by step... verified every shade of his meaning... his mind accepted a mystical dimness,<sup>150</sup> and was 'fed and enriched by the perception of things that can only be dimly known.'<sup>151</sup> Underlying this dimness was Hügel's emphasis on mystery. Hügel told Gwen, 'We must always have an element of mystery in religion, it will never be absolutely clear. If it were, it would not be worth anything at all.'<sup>152</sup> Gwen reflected upon Hügel's words and wrote:

Words are vehicles and suggestions, the infinite cannot be pinned down into the concrete, the contact of man's mind with the divine leaves him silent. He knows his own limitation in the presence of what words cannot express. To be content in dimness then is necessary, is the part of the religious soul.<sup>153</sup>

Hügel's doctrine of dimness was the reason that Hügel encouraged Gwen to a reflective, contemplative stance, rather than one that is merely cerebral and dissecting. He told her:

Be silent about great things; let them flow inside you. Never discuss them: discussion is so limiting and distracting. It makes things grow smaller. You think you swallow things *when they ought to swallow you*. Before all greatness, be silent.<sup>154</sup>

Hügel was not being anti-intellectual here. He spent his life in philosophical discussions. Rather, he encouraged Gwen to be content with a lack of clarity in spiritual matters. Hügel emphasised that in any theological exercise:

We are like sponges trying to mop up the ocean. We can never know God exhaustively...

We can never picture God or imagine him. Either we make him too small, and we strain at

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147 Bedoyère:139-140:20/4/1902.

148 LN:xiii-xiv.

149 SL:137.

150 Greene:1932:128.

151 Greene:1932:130.

152 Greene:1931:258

153 Greene:1931:255-6.

154 LN:ix-x; (italics added).

that, or we make him too big, and he strains us... We shall never be able to explain God, though we can apprehend him, more and more through the spiritual life.<sup>155</sup>

God's great difference from ourselves means that we 'can never adequately comprehend' Him.<sup>156</sup> Hügel clearly affirmed that just as he cannot truly know a daisy, his dog Puck, or even Gwen, how can he ever completely know God?<sup>157</sup> He argued:

The obscurity of my life to my dog, must thus be greatly exceeded by the obscurity of the life of God to me... of His reality and life, so different and superior, so unspeakably more rich and alive, than is, or ever can be, my own life and reality.<sup>158</sup>

For with God, 'we cannot encircle Him, map Him out, exhaustively explain Him.'<sup>159</sup> As such, Hügel encouraged Gwen to feel content with pondering dim perceptions of God and letting those perceptions grow and draw her into adoration. And similarly, Hügel suggested directees not try to understand the problem of evil. When Violet's daughter died, Hügel wrote, 'quietly strive to gain the habit, of dropping upon great and continuous clearness... in these deepest things.'<sup>160</sup>

#### **V.v. Dimness echoed in Hügel's published works**

This concept of a dim understanding of God was repeated in Hügel's published writings. Hügel stated that when describing God, a 'thirst for clearness... produce(s) an inevitable impoverishment of our ideas of God.'<sup>161</sup> This 'impoverished' understanding of God comes from attempts to 'rationalise' God and have Him 'well within the limits of the human mind.'<sup>162</sup> The result is 'something which we hold rather than something which holds us.'<sup>163</sup> Hügel argued that theology that attempts to box and control God, springs from:

fear... lest it should master us, lest it should be beyond our managing of it. And the result of all this process, in proportion to its relentlessness, is something devoid of religious

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155 *LN*:xviii.

156 *RG*:30.

157 *LN*:50.

158 *EAI*:102-3.

159 *LN*:135.

160 *EAI*:100.

161 *RG*:65.

162 *RG*:138.

163 *RG*:138.

passion, something thin and abstract, something devoid of dependence, of *creatureliness*.<sup>164</sup>

Such a religion is a 'strange, abstract, man-made religion.'<sup>165</sup>

Understanding God's dealing with humanity also needs to be dim. For we are living in 'the shadows here' as opposed to 'the realities there.'<sup>166</sup> Hügel argued that 'we see here in a glass darkly' and 'often and at many points we do not see at all.'<sup>167</sup> Thus he stated we should not insist upon light where things are not clear.<sup>168</sup> 'the reader had better stop asking questions, and instead spend his time in understanding more and more the great lights which he now possesses.'<sup>169</sup> For God 'can only be apprehended by us piecemeal, imperfectly, never with complete satisfaction to our own minds...'<sup>170</sup> Yet despite his emphasis on dimness, some clarity about God is essential.

## VI. Dimness and Clarity: 'get this very clear'

Hügel didn't simply leave Gwen confused and swimming in a cloudy pool. Hügel constantly balanced the importance of dimness with clarity. Gwen wrote,

he stressed the necessity of dimness then with another breath he would urge the need to "get this very clear." These two things, dimness and clearness, are words that in thinking of him I remember oftenest... how constantly one sees the necessity both for this clearness, and this dimness! For there seems a total lack of perception of what must be left dim, and equally little knowledge of what should stand clear.<sup>171</sup>

Gwen argued for the necessity for clearness 'to recognise what matters, what is significant; clearness to discriminate values, and the relation of this to that... clarity that will show us what is central, what to let go, and what does not fit.'<sup>172</sup>

Gwen described the areas Hügel emphasised as needing clarity:

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164 RG:138.

165 RG:139.

166 SL:178.

167 RG:124.

168 RG:124.

169 RG:124.

170 RG:14-15.

171 Greene:1931:255.

172 Greene:1931:255-6.

most of all, we must have a certain clearness in regard to Christ, and to God. The reality of God, His nearness to us through all things, yet His transcendence of all things. Our dependence on Him and His Grace; and our illimitable need for the love of Christ. Yet clear in a kind of dim profoundness that we cannot exhaustively explore; they are dim certainties of which our apprehension grows.<sup>173</sup>

So despite his doctrine of dimness, as shown earlier in this chapter, Hügel explicitly emphasised some key principles about the nature of God and humanity's relationship towards that triune God.

## **VII. Coda**

So we see that Hügel provided his directees with key principles about God - his givenness, otherness, prevenience, nearness, and he emphasised the three persons of the Trinity. Hügel also taught his directees to read history so they could gain a large world-view, become discerning and able to critique and synthesise ideas. But despite all this learning, Hügel recognised the limits of the intellect and balanced the Intellectual Element with the Mystical. He saw the importance of an experiential knowledge of God which he argued is given to the humble and childlike. This is a 'dim' knowledge of God as opposed to 'clever' clarity. But despite this, he emphasised the importance of being clear about key principles concerning God, Christ and humanity.

We now turn to examine Hügel's encouraging of directees into the Mystical Element. Barmann argues,

During the thirty years he resided in Hampstead... all three of the dimensions of religion... grew proportionately and with constant interaction among themselves in his life... But it was, in fact, the mystical dimension which most attracted him and within which his life primarily flourished.<sup>174</sup>

The Mystical Element was also the element Hügel wrote about most extensively with directees as he introduced them to spiritual disciplines that would help them grow spiritually and more fully experience the 'golden shower from above.'<sup>175</sup>

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173 Greene:1931:256.

174 Barmann:2000:221-222.

175 Lillie:1925:49-50.



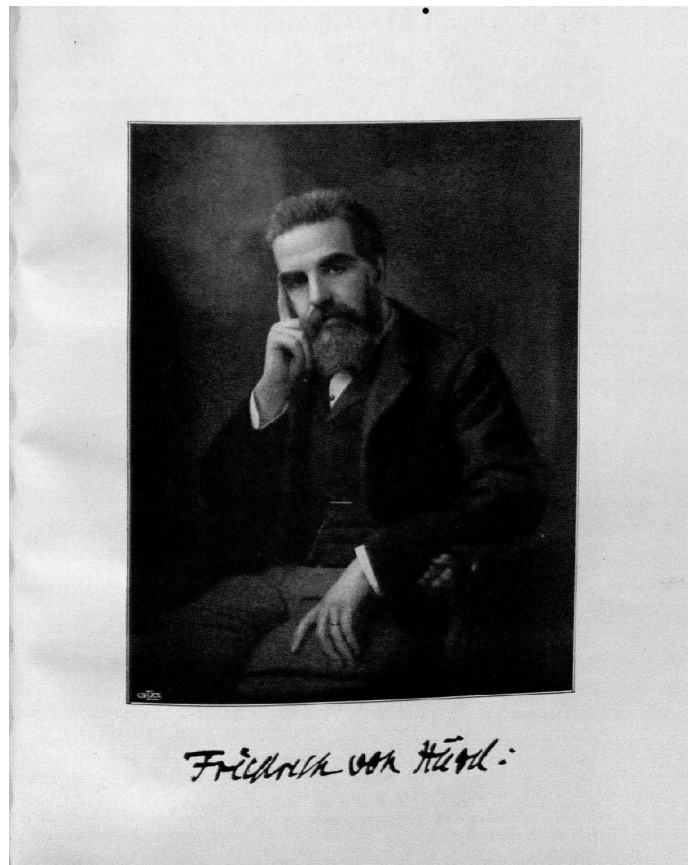
## Chapter 6: The Mystical Element

"To sanctify is the biggest thing out.' These words... express what he was, what he meant, what he wished most to do. His whole life lies in them. He tried to find truth, to teach us God, to sanctify our lives. He loved, and he wanted to teach us to love.'<sup>1</sup> (Gwen)

'the essential the most indispensable of the dimensions of religion is, *not breadth, but depth*, and above all, *the insight into sanctity and the power to produce saints*.'<sup>2</sup>  
(Hügel to Norman)

'by religion I mean... faith in, and realisation of, the great spiritual Reality, God, in Whose presence... we thus strive to grow and be.'<sup>3</sup>  
(Hügel to Juliet)

'a big piercing fact, that you have all the materials ready to your hand of downright holiness.'  
(Hügel to Gwen)



*Hügel in his thirties. Misner:1981.*

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1 LN:viii-ix.

2 Barmann:1981:162;31/12/21.

3 ms37194:29:SAUL:30/10/1911.

## I. Introduction

The Mystical Element was the element Hügel most discussed with his directees. This chapter discusses what Hügel taught his directees in this area, beginning with the importance of a humble posture, moving from a self-focus to a God-focus. Various spiritual disciplines were suggested to directees, including prayer, visiting the poor, devotional reading, asceticism, confession, non-religious interests and rest. And while recommending many specific practices, Hügel encouraged a 'leisurely' spirituality of moderation. He also provided instruction about how to endure suffering.<sup>4</sup>

Hügel repeatedly stated the necessity for the Mystical Element to be balanced and kept honest by the other two Elements.<sup>5</sup> He argued 'mysticism would never be the whole of religion; it would become a dangerous error the very moment it claimed to be this whole.'<sup>6</sup> Hügel thus emphasised:

[the] difference between Pure or Sheer or Exaggerated Mysticism (which is akin to Pantheism or some kinds of Spiritualism) and Mixed or Moderate Mysticism, which finds its completion, articulation and safety in history and institutions.<sup>7</sup>

As Evelyn argued, 'The "mystical element" of religion was never allowed to dominate the field, or become the one basis of faith.'<sup>8</sup>

## II. Essential posture: from self-focus to God-focus

Central to Hügel's nurture was helping directees develop an appropriate posture before God. Hügel believed we shrink or expand depending on our focus: either 'the deteriorating ultimate pain of self-seeking and self-contraction' or 'the ennobling immediate pangs of self-conquest and self-expansion.'<sup>9</sup> Hügel argued that 'God is a Reality immeasurably more important than we are ourselves... The centre of the picture...[is] God and not ourselves.'<sup>10</sup> To Hügel, the 'egocentric

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4 Gwen stated, 'My uncle never spoke specially to me of the mystical way... he fostered the Church and intellectual side as far more necessary for me.' (*TW*:143). However, this chapter reveals Hügel's great nurture of Gwen's mystical side. Perhaps this quote tells of Gwen's longing that Hügel would focus more on the Mystical Element in his nurture of her.

5 For example, in 1909 he critiqued William James for separating religious experience from 'its institutional-historical occasions and environment and from the analytic and speculative activity of the mind...'  
Adams:1980:230.

6 *RG*:91. Hügel also critiqued Fox's personal revelations from God. *LN*:30.

7 *LN*:147.

8 Underhill:1933:231-2.

9 *SL*:89.

10 *RG*:135-6.

position' is 'the most intolerable of self-imprisonments.'<sup>11</sup> Hügel described his own 'life [as] requiring immensely that daily, hourly, *death to self*.'<sup>12</sup> As a young man, he had 'to become free from *self*... *There* lay freedom.'<sup>13</sup>

The necessity to 'learn to die to yourself daily' was repeatedly encouraged in directees.<sup>14</sup> Maude was instructed, 'Fight self constantly.'<sup>15</sup> Gwen was told, 'the daily death is a spiritual habit... Get rid of all self-occupation... self-oblivion is a splendid thing; move out of yourself, let in God.'<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Hügel wished Gwen, 'true... growth... at the daily, hourly, cost of self.'<sup>17</sup>

Across Gwen's letters, two reasons lie behind this insistence. Firstly, 'self-occupation – any pride...' dries up God's work.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, if we want to encounter God, self must get out of the way: 'we... gain vivid experience of Him, if only we will die... to self. We can thus increasingly *apprehend* Him.'<sup>19</sup> But given our inherent self-focus, how do we effect this 'slipping away from all self'?<sup>20</sup>

Only through turning to Christ can we drop self-occupation. Evelyn was encouraged to 'a simple flight away from self to God and Christ.'<sup>21</sup> Evelyn described Hügel's 'constant death to self' as 'the crowning virtue',<sup>22</sup> adding, 'The more vivid the vision of Christ grows... the more one can escape... from the maze of self-occupation.'<sup>23</sup> Juliet was similarly told that 'to overcome self' she must be driven towards 'trust in God and Christ.'<sup>24</sup> This was reinforced in *ME*, where Hügel stated that God does the changing:

the simple Individual is transformed into the truly Personal only by the successive sacrifice of the... impoverishingly selfish self, with the help of God's constant prevenient, concomitant, and subsequent grace.<sup>25</sup>

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11 RG:135-6. Hügel wrote, 'to become free from self is the primary work of self-liberation for every soul.' RG:112

12 LN:110 (italics added).

13 SL:352.

14 LN:xxiii.

15 SL:84. Hügel told an Anglican girl on her confirmation: 'our religion begins to be... real... the day... we wake up to self and determine to fight it.' SL:352.

16 LN:xxiii. Hügel hoped Olivia's fight with self would 'grow deeper and firmer' after her Confirmation. (LN:183).

17 LN:74. Hügel told Mr Rawlinson that in his prayer lectures he should 'Everywhere... preach Death to Self.' Edward Keble Talbot's Papers:CRMA:23/5/1919.

18 LN:74.

19 LN:135.

20 ms37194/50:SAUL:6/1/21.

21 Cropper:2003:115-6:12/7/23.

22 Underhill:1933:231-2.

23 Greene:1993:40.

24 ms37194/26:SAUL:24/5/11.

25 ME:76.

Losing self-focus also comes through thinking about others. Juliet was assisted to 'drop' her self-occupation by 'putting in place... occupation with others.'<sup>26</sup> Evelyn was encouraged to 'much self oblivion – gently turning... to acts for others.'<sup>27</sup> Focusing on Christ and others helped directees develop 'self renunciation', which Hügel nurtured in both Gwen and Juliet.<sup>28</sup>

But this battle to move from self to God-focus is to be fought indirectly. Evelyn was told *not* to deal with the self 'by direct fighting, but by gently turning to God.'<sup>29</sup> Juliet was similarly told to '*gently and most indirectly... fight self*.'<sup>30</sup>

Juliet's temperament, which was 'naturally melancholy, immensely sensitive, easily self-devouring, self-destructive,<sup>31</sup> meant she was the directee in whom Hügel most explicitly encouraged this idea of death to self. He told her that 'living to *self*,' her soul would be 'truly dead,' whereas 'living to *Him*... truly alive.'<sup>32</sup> A unique quality of Hügel's letters to Juliet was the repeated encouragement to find her 'true self' through turning her gaze from self to Christ and others.<sup>33</sup> Hügel wrote:

nothing more touchingly delicious will walk God's earth... than my Bit, in proportion as... she learns... to *leave what is not her true self*... But it must not be a mere moralism, a simple self-improvement, - *that* only dries up or hardens... It is... ceaseless dependence upon God and dropping of all self-seeking etc. What *splendid* emancipation!<sup>34</sup>

This theme of putting the self to death is closely related to that of humility.

### III. Humility

Hügel felt that humility was key to spiritual maturity, telling Gwen, 'there is no sanctity without humility.'<sup>35</sup> Humility was something to be sought through both practices and prayer. Hügel asked Gwen to pray that he would 'become very, very humble.'<sup>36</sup> Juliet was encouraged to do what helps

26 ms37194/26:SAUL:24/5/11.

27 Cropper:2003:76:n.d:1922.

28 Gwen was told, 'deliberate self-renunciation is everywhere dear and darling.' LN:158 D:24/5/11.

29 Cropper:2003:85:25/12/21. Similarly, Hügel told Evelyn, 'As to Self Oblivion, never try directly for this - a sure means of strain...' Cropper:2003:98.

30 ms37194/28b:SAUL:18/9/11.

31 ms37194/29a:SAUL:13/10/11.

32 ms37174/7:SAUL:23/2/1910. Juliet was encouraged to drop 'self-occupations.' ms37194/28a:SAUL:8/9/1911.

33 Hügel helped Juliet 'find her true self.' (D:13/10/11). Similarly, when she was unwell, he encouraged her to have 'the depths of your soul remaining anchored in whatever in your past you have found to help your truest self.' (ms37194/21b:SAUL:19/11/10). Later, he helped her 'ward against the false self.' (SL:323).

34 ms37194/28a:SAUL:8/9/1911.

35 Greene:1932:129.

36 LN:93. Henri was similarly encouraged to '*humilité*' repeatedly. (SL:249:17/3/1918). Also, Hügel told Martin D'Arcy 'how humble we ought to be.' (Whelan1969:36:5-6/11/1919).

her 'feel little',<sup>37</sup> and Adeline was told she needed a 'humble' faith to endure illness.<sup>38</sup> Hügel affirmed Frances' humility stating, '[she] will greatly grow, for she is deeply humble.'<sup>39</sup>

Humility was a particular focus in Hügel's direction of Wilfred: 'Humility and Charity are *the* virtues for you... drop all thoughts of pre-eminence, of superiority.'<sup>40</sup> Wilfred was told his soul would 'grow so greatly,' if he could 'deepen' humility.<sup>41</sup>

The development of true humility was seen as the result of a double knowledge, knowing ourselves in the light of God's majesty. Hügel argued we become 'sufficiently, profoundly little... because of the consciousness of God [who]... so delightfully dwarfs' us.<sup>42</sup> 'Only prostrate at the foot of "the world's great altar-stairs" do we become humble.'<sup>43</sup> Similarly, we are to keep 'persistently awake to the contrast between ourselves... and Jesus.'<sup>44</sup> Thus humility is the appropriate response for those who are creatures before the Creator: 'We are creatures, and we must be creaturely.'<sup>45</sup> Gwen described 'creaturely' as the word Hügel 'loved so much,' expressing 'the temper he felt most utterly Christian.'<sup>46</sup>

Therefore humility and prayer were often directly linked in Hügel's letters. Evelyn wrote that 'humbling and bracing' were the twin qualities Hügel looked for in prayer.<sup>47</sup> Gwen was told, 'Be very humble... That is why I try to keep my little thing always on her knees.'<sup>48</sup> Similarly, Evelyn was encouraged to 'prayer - whatever kind... most humbles... you.'<sup>49</sup> Humility was also the test for the authenticity applied to Evelyn's 'favours.'<sup>50</sup>

The presence or absence of humility was for Hügel the defining mark for spiritual health. He told Gwen that people either 'harden down...into their narrow, stuffy little world' or are 'very humble.'<sup>51</sup> A lack of humility leads to 'immense limitations and deficiencies.'<sup>52</sup> As a result, Hügel saw humbling circumstances as fruitful. He told Norman, 'humiliations... furnish unique occasions of interior

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37 ms37194/29a:SAUL:13/10/11.

38 ms37194/33:SAUL:28/6/1912.

39 LN:109-10.

40 VII.143.200:SAUL.

41 VII.143.201:SAUL.

42 EAI:108.

43 EAI:108.

44 EA:II:239.

45 LN:xxxii.

46 Greene:1932:129.

47 Underhill:1933:231.

48 LN:xvi.

49 Cropper:2003:78. Evelyn was also told to practice 'humble mixed prayer.' Cropper:2003:99.

50 Cropper:2003:117.

51 LN:23.

52 LN:91. Similarly Hügel told Gwen that young people 'need humility...' LN:xxxvi.

purification and growth.<sup>153</sup> Thus Juliet was told, 'be grateful for little... humiliations.'<sup>154</sup> Similarly, Gertrud's 'very humiliating experience' was viewed by Hügel as 'therefore cheeringly wholesome' and able to help her 'poor little weaknesses to drop.'<sup>155</sup>

#### **IV. Spiritual Disciplines**

Spiritual disciplines were recommended by Hügel to help directees grow spiritually. A specific diet of spiritual practices was recommended to each directee, depending on their 'attrait.'<sup>156</sup> However, we see some recurring trends in the practices recommended.<sup>157</sup>

##### **IV.i. Prayer**

###### **IV.i.a. Adoration**

For Hügel, a key to spiritual growth and the foundation of prayer was *adoration*.<sup>158</sup> 'a soul must adore if it is to grow.'<sup>159</sup> Hügel wrote, 'The first and central act of religion is *adoration*, sense of God,'<sup>160</sup> 'Religion without adoration is like a triangle with one side left out.'<sup>161</sup> Twice Hügel told Gwen, 'You can't have religion without adoration.'<sup>162</sup> He encouraged her to develop the 'spontaneous habit' of 'little exclamations... of adoration of God.'<sup>163</sup> Hügel also told Mrs Holiday, 'Adoration [is] the very soul of Religion.'<sup>164</sup>

###### **IV.i.b. Instruction concerning prayer**

Much of Hügel's advice regarding prayer was fairly general. For instance, Juliet was encouraged to copy the mother Hügel had seen at Mainz Cathedral, who 'exhaled' her troubles 'in a simple turning

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53 Barmann:1981:207.

54 ms37194/9a:SAUL:23/3/1910.

55 IX.1272:DAA:6/1/98.

56 In a letter to Mr Rawlinson concerning his lectures on prayer, Hügel urged him to 'admit many varieties of mental prayer... in proportion as the one fits and helps a particular soul at a particular stage.' Edward Keble Talbot's Papers:CRMA:23/5/1919.

57 Hügel himself practised sexual abstinence, telling Maude it aided his 'interior self-consistency, peace and self-renouncement.' *SL*:185. However, he never recommended this to directees.

58 This same emphasis on adoration was found in Hügel's published works. Adoration was described as 'the Divinely intended end of our life' (*EAI*:239) and 'essential to man.' (*RG*:73).

59 Steere:1964:6.

60 *LN*:14.

61 *LN*:xx.

62 *LN*:xxxiv;xvii.

63 *LN*:4.

64 ms36349/2:SAUL:11/1/1911.

with them to God.<sup>65</sup> This was mixed with more specific instruction as well: 'practice your morning and night prayers, on your knees.'<sup>66</sup>

Evelyn was provided with fairly specific instructions concerning prayer:

practise the mixed kind of prayer you describe and no formal meditation... let this prayer be at least one hour long, or at most an hour and a half every day; this to include morning and night prayers.<sup>67</sup>

Alongside such instructions, Hügel emphasised flexibility, and was careful not to overburden Evelyn: 'when you cannot get to the Carmelites... give that quarter of an hour to some kind of prayer... at home.'<sup>68</sup> Similarly, he encouraged Evelyn to a definite time for daily '*deliberate prayer*,' adding it should not be long and should consist of 'whatever kind and degree... most strengthens you to love.'<sup>69</sup>

Hügel gave Henri the most specific instruction:

You will make your thanksgiving [after Holy Communion] for 15 minutes. On the days when you are with me in our bench I will tap you on the shoulder when the time is passed. Then you can leave the Church. That is how I have done it – oh, for so many years! I would like you always to finish these 15 minutes by saying on your knees the beautiful Prayer before a Crucifix – therefore before the Crucifix of the High Altar (you can see it well enough from our bench). It is a prayer which your dearest Mother loves so much. I have thus said it for 48 years.<sup>70</sup>

By contrast, Gwen was usually encouraged with fairly general comments, such as, 'Keep your life a life of prayer.'<sup>71</sup> She did, however, receive specific teaching concerning contemplative prayer.

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65 ms37194/22a:SAUL:23/12/1910.

66 Mansel:1951:8.

67 Cropper:2003:99.

68 Cropper:2003:99.

69 Cropper:2003:77-78.

70 SL:241.

71 LN:xLiii.

#### **IV.i.c. Prayer of Quiet**

Hügel recognised Gwen's 'trait of genuine contemplation'<sup>72</sup> and helped her 'grow in this grace.'<sup>73</sup> He taught Gwen the 'two stages of... distractions ... [and] recollection,'<sup>74</sup> and encouraged her to continue with 'formal, vocal or mental prayer,' alongside the prayer of quiet.<sup>75</sup> In addition, he emphasised that authentic prayer was shown not through the experience itself, but through its fruit: 'coming away from it, you find yourself humbler, sweeter, more patient, more ready to suffer, more loving.'<sup>76</sup> This growth was dependent on Gwen 'turning away from self,' being humble and not minding criticisms.<sup>77</sup> Hügel argued, 'grow more by feeding the quiet within you than by direct self-examinings or self-fightings.'<sup>78</sup>

In his letter to Mr Rawlinson, Hügel wrote,

admit and welcome more or less everywhere, rudiments of the simple prayer of Quiet... but... stoutly refuse to measure any or every soul's perfection by the degree in which this form predominates in its spiritual life... be very insistent on the grand facts and doctrines that a soul predominantly vocal in its prayer can attain to, can have reached, high sanctity; and that in no state, however saintly, may vocal prayer ever entirely cease. How splendidly you will be able to "rub this in" as but an application of the Body and Soul duality of man's essential constitution.<sup>79</sup>

So Hügel wanted people to know that vocal prayer is 'undoubtedly sufficient, throughout life for many souls called to high heroism and downright sanctity.'<sup>80</sup>

#### **IV.i.d. Silence**

Silence was emphasised by Hügel as 'fundamental in the attaining of the spiritual life.'<sup>81</sup> Hügel emphasised 'at no time is over-much talking compatible with spiritual growth... learn interior silence.'<sup>82</sup> Similarly, 'Don't chatter to yourself – you can't hear God if you do.'<sup>83</sup>

#### **IV.i.e. Practising the presence of God**

Practising the presence of God was encouraged in several directees. When Gwen was discouraged about moving house, she was encouraged to do 'her packing with her heart... turned to God' as 'the

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72 LN:73.

73 LN:44.

74 LN:140.

75 LN:44.

76 LN:44.

77 LN:44.

78 LN:140-1.

79 Edward Keble Talbot's Papers:CRMA::23/5/1919.

80 Edward Keble Talbot's Papers:CRMA::23/5/1919.

81 LN:46.

82 LN:46.

83 LN:xx.



means... of growth for your soul.<sup>184</sup> So Gwen attended to God whilst packing and offered it 'as her service.'<sup>185</sup> Hügel wrote:

certain other acts, at other moments, will be wanted... Prayer, Quiet, Holy Communion. Yet not even those other acts could unite you as closely to God as can do this packing... if... [Gwen] does... her packing with her heart and intention turned to God.<sup>86</sup>

Juliet was also encouraged in the practice. Hügel described it as 'the cultivation of the sense of His omni-presence, of His prevenience... [and] at the same time, a sense of our pathetic limitations.'<sup>187</sup> Evelyn was similarly told to practice Brother Lawrence's secret of having a 'prayerful disposition... penetrate... working hours.'<sup>188</sup> He wrote:

gently... feeding of the dim background... doing of your studies, composition, speaking, etc., with a sense that all you are doing is... always beyond you... what you are doing should always have a certain awe-inspiring Over-againstness... I would only ask you... for a little aspiration to God or Christ, at the breaks or the movings away from one occupation to another.<sup>89</sup>

#### ***IV.i.f. Spoken prayer - Psalms and Rosary***

Vocal prayer was mainly recommended to Gwen. The essence of Hügel's counsel is recounted by her:

in prayer he counselled always *some* vocal prayer – Our Father – the Creed – the Psalms, and one decade of the Rosary daily; and of course always a daily reading of the New Testament and the *Imitation* if possible.<sup>90</sup>

This vocal prayer was encouraged both morning and night.<sup>91</sup>

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84 LN:59.

85 LN:59.

86 LN:59.

87 Mansel:1951:5.

88 Cropper:2003:77-78. Hügel also gave Brother Lawrence's book to Rev Hill. D:14/10/1915.

89 Cropper:2003:99.

90 LN:xxxviii. Hügel practised his own advice and was found reciting the Rosary on his deathbed.

91 LN:185.

#### IV.ii. The mixed life

The life of prayer alone was always to be balanced with a life with and for others. Hügel told Gwen: 'Live all you can – as complete and full a life as you can – do as much as you can for others... love and help as many souls... but remember: Be alone... Then you will be near God!'<sup>92</sup> Gwen was encouraged away from 'pure mysticism', focussing exclusively on contemplative prayer, to a 'mixed mysticism', balancing the prayer of quiet with corporate prayer and acts of service to others. For Hügel, spiritual growth comes from giving in caring relationships. He told Gwen, 'Christianity has taught us to care... caring matters most.'<sup>93</sup> The importance of Gwen's role as a mother was emphasised by Hügel:

it is your call to work for, and be ready, and be by, those three... From prayer and solitude back to them, and from them again back to it: and with them much in your prayer and your prayer much in them – *there* is a fine rich tension for you.<sup>94</sup>

Parenthood was seen as 'an irreplaceable means for the... soul's growth.'<sup>95</sup> Gwen was encouraged to do her work 'simply for God, as... the *one* means of growing in love for Him.'<sup>96</sup> Similarly, Evelyn was told to balance her prayer with parental visits: 'humbly... increase their quality from your parents' standpoint.'<sup>97</sup> Thus we see that serving others was viewed by Hügel as a key area of spiritual growth.

#### IV.iii. Visiting the poor

These deliberate acts of service were not to be limited to family, however. In particular, Hügel recommended caring for 'the darling poor' to several of his directees.<sup>98</sup> Hügel told directees he regretted his deafness which 'crippled' his ability to visit the poor: 'it would have done me much good.'<sup>99</sup> Hügel saw a critical aspect of Frances' attaining humility as '*much love of God's poor*.'<sup>100</sup> Gwen was applauded for her 'real gifts' in 'visiting' the poor.<sup>101</sup> When discussing the poor with

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92 LN:xi-xii.

93 LN:xLv.

94 LN:116.

95 LN:32. Marriage was also viewed as 'a unique means of training the soul.' LN:32.

96 LN:92.

97 Cropper:2003:118.

98 LN:122. He described them as 'those to whom Christ came to preach.' LN:178.

99 LN:107. He similarly told Gertrud, 'I always regret so much that my deafness keeps me from it...' and mentioned his desire to 'visit the poor on afternoons with Don Brizio...' (DAIX.1272.:28/1/98). However, Hügel was able to support an orphan in a Catholic orphanage. (Bedoyère:1951:13).

100 LN:102; italics added.

101 LN:107.

Juliet, Hügel wrote, 'in loving God, love those, and, in loving those, love God.'<sup>102</sup> The aristocrat, Evelyn de Vesci, was told 'the poor... require our love and duty.'<sup>103</sup> Similarly, Gertrud was encouraged to 'get among' the poor as Hügel had 'always dreamt' she would divide her life 'between the poor and books.'<sup>104</sup>

The reason for this repeated recommendation relates to what the poor can teach directees: what they themselves can 'get and learn.'<sup>105</sup> Hügel believed it had a 'humbling and spiritualising influence.'<sup>106</sup> Gwen was to 'learn by their needs.'<sup>107</sup> Evelyn was reminded of 'the good *you yourself* will gain... [it] will... discipline, mortify, soften, deepen and quiet you.'<sup>108</sup>

Evelyn was the directee most encouraged to visit the poor, to help balance out what Hügel saw as her excess of the Intellectual Element. Hügel suggested Evelyn visit the poor two afternoons a week, striving to 'spread the spirit derived from these two days over the other five days.'<sup>109</sup> He gave 'preference to the two weekly visitations... against everything else.'<sup>110</sup> Evelyn started visiting eight poor families two afternoons a week and saw Hügel's 'prescription... a complete success.'<sup>111</sup> She wrote:

one comes away feeling an utter worm: comparing one's own secure life with their incessant struggles and anxieties and the amazing courage and sweetness with which they bear it... However jangled... when one goes to them, one always comes away mysteriously filled with peace and nearer God... they give one far more than one can ever give them.<sup>112</sup>

Gwen wrote that the poor 'refreshed' her and 'through them... [she] began to learn... what life means... poor people tear open closed-up hearts... enlighten our blind eyes. They are so unself-occupied... give us their affection... I gradually began to see a little of the world of souls.'<sup>113</sup>

Similarly Gwen wrote:

there is something in poor people that we have not got... shaking us out of our unreality:

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102 ms37194/29:SAUL:30/10/11.

103 MZ:43

104 IX.1272:DAA:28/1/98.

105 IX.1272:DAA:28/1/98.

106 Underhill:1933:231-2. As Evelyn argued, 'God, Christ and the Poor' are a 'trilogy that frequently occurs in his [Hügel's] private correspondence...' Underhill:1933:231-2.

107 LN:174-5.

108 Cropper:2003:75.

109 Cropper:2003:76.

110 Cropper:2003:76.

111 Cropper':2003:90.

112 Cropper:2003:90-91.

113 TW:80-81.

their heroic endurance of endless work, their patience in utter discomfort, their true kindness of heart, awakens in us a spirit... ashamed of how little we give.<sup>114</sup>

#### IV.iv. Spiritual/Devotional Reading

Another spiritual discipline Hügel routinely recommended to his directees was that of spiritual reading. Hügel told Wilfred that 15 minutes of daily spiritual reading had been for forty years 'one of the great sustenances and sources of calm' in his life.<sup>115</sup>

Hügel described this lingering, prayerful reading with an image - it was like 'letting a very slowly dissolving lozenge melt imperceptibly in your mouth.'<sup>116</sup> It is 'slow, ruminating... given to comparatively few books or papers... full of prayer.'<sup>117</sup> Such reading 'excludes... all criticism... we are out simply and solely to feed our... soul.'<sup>118</sup> We read 'in a devotional mood... not critically and dryly,<sup>119</sup> but with 'a growing sense of our loving God in and behind all.'<sup>120</sup>

Wilfred was told to 'not exceed the 15 minutes *at any one time*' or he would sink into 'ordinary reading.'<sup>121</sup> This time amount was repeated with Juliet,<sup>122</sup> who was encouraged to have it become 'as regular as washing.'<sup>123</sup> Henri, being younger, was encouraged to 10 minutes daily.<sup>124</sup>

The *effect* of such reading was also frequently described. Wilfred was told it would 'feed the heart... fortify the will... put these, into contact with God... to the realities it suggests.'<sup>125</sup> When suffering, these readings 'become alive with Christ.'<sup>126</sup> Juliet was told it would 'foster and feed this sense of the presence of God' and 'throughout the day... become... background and support, a light and balm and refreshment.'<sup>127</sup>

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114 TW:155-6.

115 msVII.143.196a:SAUL.

116 msVII.143.196a/b:SAUL. This image was repeated with Norman: 'like a caramel slowly dissolving in the mouth...' (Barmann:1981:290).

117 LN:75.

118 msVII.143.196a/b:SAUL.

119 SL:203. We gain more insight into Hügel's recommendations for spiritual reading when he commended Mr Connell on his choice of writers.

120 ms37174/7:SAUL:23/2/1910.

121 msVII.143.196a/b:SAUL.

122 Hügel told Juliet to engage in such reading each afternoon (D:6/8/09). He noted in his diary when Juliet told him of her daily 10 minutes practice (D:23/12/09). Two years later he wrote 'your little 15 minutes Spiritual Reading which I should much like you to keep up at all times' (ms37194/27a:SAUL:31/8/11).

123 ms37194/18a:SAUL:4/10/10.

124 D:18/7/16.

125 msVII.143.196a/b:SAUL.

126 msVII.143.196:SAUL.

127 Mansel:1951:6.

Hügel's 'staple spiritual food' in spiritual reading was Scripture, the *Imitation*, and *Confessions*.<sup>128</sup> The *Imitation* was described as 'the quintessence of a long experience and faith in suffering and self-transformation.'<sup>129</sup> It was recommended as spiritual reading to Gwen,<sup>130</sup> Juliet,<sup>131</sup> Mrs Anderson,<sup>132</sup> Sadhu Sundar Singh<sup>133</sup> and Evie Lance.<sup>134</sup> Hügel particularly encouraged Gwen to feed on the *Confessions*, which he had tried to live at their deepest for fifty years.<sup>135</sup>

Similarly, reading Scripture was recommended to many directees. Hügel told Henri that Scripture helped his 'outlook... strengthening... practice, every day and hour.'<sup>136</sup> Gwen was told the 'richness, reality, [and] penetrating spirituality...' of the Psalms makes them essential to spiritual maturing,<sup>137</sup> as they contain 'the deepest expression... of love of God... sanctity... holiness.'<sup>138</sup> The Gospels were recommended to Wilfred<sup>139</sup> Hügel affirmed Gertrud's choice of Psalms and Job,<sup>140</sup> and encouraged Mrs Guest to 'a daily half chapter of Scripture.'<sup>141</sup>

Fénelon's letters were another frequently recommended text.<sup>142</sup> Fénelon helped Hügel 'most directly' with his 'interior life,'<sup>143</sup> through his 'wisdom and experience of life.'<sup>144</sup> Hügel encouraged Gwen to 'saturate' herself with Fénelon's letters.<sup>145</sup> He described them as 'the finest results of immense training,<sup>146</sup> providing 'grand direction' of 'how to lead a *very full*... yet... leisurely life' with 'a certain environment of peace, of non-hurry.'<sup>147</sup> Other people encouraged to read Fénelon's *Spiritual Letters* were Juliet Campbell,<sup>148</sup> Adeline,<sup>149</sup> Gertrud's friend<sup>150</sup> and Lady Temple.<sup>151</sup>

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128 SL:203.

129 LN:75.

130 Gwen was encouraged, 'work... [*the Imitation*]...into your life.' (LN:75)

131 ms37194/9a:SAUL:23/3/1910.

132 D:3/9/1919.

133 D:11/3/1920.

134 D:7/10/1912.

135 LN:45. Hügel wanted Gwen safely moored on the staples of the *Confessions* and *Imitation*, Psalms and New Testament so that when billows buffet her, she can rest secure knowing that 'God is in the storm as in the calm!' (LN:88). Hügel also read the *Confessions* with Evie Lance. D:7/10/1912.

136 SL:341.

137 LN:130.

138 LN:xxxii. Hügel sent Gwen a commentary on the Psalms writing 'study it again and again: an excellent book!' (BA:5/5/21).

139 msVII143(195):SAUL:28/2/1916.

140 IX.1272:DAA:28/1/98.

141 ms37194/1:SAUL.

142 D:2/4/09.

143 LN:110. He saw Fénelon as 'addressing souls too vehement and too intense.' (LN:111).

144 FSL:858.

145 LN:108.

146 LN:131.

147 LN:108.

148 D:2/7/1914.

149 ms37194/1:SAUL:29/10/1897.

150 IX.1272DAA:6/1/98.

151 D:9/12/1886;D:5/11/1886;D:9/12/1886.

Huvelin was also introduced to many directees. Hügel gave Huvelin's 'Sayings' to Norman,<sup>152</sup> Professor Sonnenschein,<sup>153</sup> Bishop Gore,<sup>154</sup> and Mr Baillie.<sup>155</sup> He also talked about Huvelin to Gwen,<sup>156</sup> Lord Radstock<sup>157</sup> and James Ward,<sup>158</sup> and lent Adeline a written sketch of Huvelin.<sup>159</sup> Hügel was constantly ordering additional copies of *Quelques directeurs d'âmes au XVIIe siècle*<sup>160</sup> and gave a copy to the following people: Frances,<sup>161</sup> Father Wylie,<sup>162</sup> Rev Lambert,<sup>163</sup> Mr Crockett,<sup>164</sup> Annie Small,<sup>165</sup> Mrs Holland,<sup>166</sup> Mildred,<sup>167</sup> Genocchi,<sup>168</sup> Mrs Stockley's sister,<sup>169</sup> Lloyd Jones,<sup>170</sup> Canon Lilley<sup>171</sup> Marcia Mansel<sup>172</sup> and Norman.<sup>173</sup>

Grou was another author given to directees: Frances Lillie,<sup>174</sup> Albert Cock,<sup>175</sup> Harold Johnson,<sup>176</sup> Gertrud's friend,<sup>177</sup> and Lady Temple.<sup>178</sup> *The Spirit of the Curé d'Ars* was given to Dorothy Fawcner<sup>179</sup> and Harold Johnson,<sup>180</sup> and Hügel hoped the Curé's spirit would 'sink' into Gwen's heart.<sup>181</sup>

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152 Barmann:1981:49.

153 D:17/4/1916. Hügel also sent other writings by Huvelin: D:18/4/1916;D:3/1/1919;D:7/2/1919;D:17/11/1919; D:12&13/12/1919;D:15/4/1920.

154 D:19/10/1923.

155 D:10/3/1918.

156 LN:73.

157 D:21/12/1912.

158 D:13/12/1912;D:24/12/1912.

159 D:19/2/1911.

160 D:22/6/1914

161 Lillie:1925:41.

162 D:29/3/1919.

163 D:13/1/1919.

164 D:22/5/1924.

165 D:27/5/1920.

166 D:4/7/1914.

167 D:30/4/1916.

168 D:15/6/1912.

169 D:5/7/1912.

170 D:1/2/1916.

171 D:23/7/1912.

172 D:14/10/1915.

173 D:13/6/1919.

174 Lillie:1925:41

175 D:2/4/1909.

176 D:24/11/1916.

177 IX.1272.DAA:6/1/1898.

178 D:15/12/1886;D:21/12/1886;D:5/12/1886.

179 D:14/3/1918.

180 D:13/7/1918.

181 LN:163. Hügel wrote, 'absorb into your life... the whole of him... his absorption in God, and yet his amazingly large attention to others...' (LN:184).

Other recommended texts included Julian's *Revelations*<sup>182</sup> and Leseur's *Journal*.<sup>183</sup> Bernard's *Letters* were recommended to Mildred<sup>184</sup> and Harold Johnson,<sup>185</sup> and Bernard's sermon written after his brother died, for Gwen.<sup>186</sup> Hügel sent a friend writings by Charles Foucauld believing 'Foucauld's heroic life would draw him... out of his deep depression.'<sup>187</sup>

Other authors recommended to Gwen were Francis de Sales who 'trained to sanctity' innumerable souls;<sup>188</sup> the Church Fathers,<sup>189</sup> and Faber's *Spiritual Conferences* (specifically 'Kindness' and 'Wounded Feelings').<sup>190</sup> When reading these spiritual masters, Hügel wanted Gwen to recognise 'the great light and life and love of Christianity... the human heart, the human soul.'<sup>191</sup> He hoped they would help Gwen become 'a richer, wiser, more developed and more grateful soul... fully awake...'<sup>192</sup> to God.

Hügel was surprisingly slow to expose Gwen to his own spiritual writings, apparently wondering if they would 'strain' her as writings of 'a masculine mind.'<sup>193</sup> Eventually he encouraged her to read particular sections of his *ME*,<sup>194</sup> and *EL*,<sup>195</sup> and some essays.<sup>196</sup>

#### IV.v. Literary texts and spiritual formation

Hügel also recommended directees read poetry and novels, as vehicles for the nurture of the soul. Hügel wrote 'to be a poet is... to be penetrated by a love of all things good in Nature, as vehicles and presentations of the spiritual realities.'<sup>197</sup> He believed Browning had a 'sense... of the supernatural, of... God,'<sup>198</sup> and therefore 'we owe [him] so much.'<sup>199</sup> Hügel illustrated Biblical principles with

182 Mrs-Newsom:D:25/5/1912.; Bec-Herbert:D:3/1/1912.

183 Barmann:1981:242-3. Hügel wrote to Norman he was 'so delighted that you care for Elizabeth Leseur. You could hardly give me a greater pleasure.' (Barmann:1981:247). On a car journey, Hügel recommended Leseur and Huvelin to Dom Cabrol (D:26/8/1923).

184 D:26/2/1917.

185 D:26/6/1918.

186 LN:134.

187 LN:184.

188 LN:130.

189 LN:35.

190 LN:139.

191 LN:17.

192 LN:28.

193 LN:87. Gwen never questioned this gender stereotyping, but did not appear to have any difficulty with the material.

194 He told her to focus upon the Introduction and Volume II. (LN:78).

195 He advised Gwen to read the first easier section twice before 'the far more difficult pages.' (LN:72).

196 'Suffering and God.' (LN:136). It is surprising that Hügel never showed Gwen his essay 'God and the Soul.' He told her about his trip to Beaconsfield where he delivered the talks, but never shared the content with her, which is surprising given its relevance and accessibility to her. (LN:157-158).

197 LN:36. Hügel also read poetry with Evie Lance. (D:8/9/1921).

198 LN:36.

199 SL:204. He told Norman, 'the sense of... presence of God... runs through' Browning's writings 'majestically!' (Barmann:1981:92).

readings from Browning in his teaching of Gilbert.<sup>200</sup> He also encouraged Gwen,<sup>201</sup> Juliet<sup>202</sup> and Anna<sup>203</sup> to read Browning's *Ring and the Book*.<sup>204</sup> Hügel read Browning with Felicitie,<sup>205</sup> Vaughan,<sup>206</sup> Gertrud,<sup>207</sup> Watkins,<sup>208</sup> Middie Anderson,<sup>209</sup> and Adeline.<sup>210</sup>

Other poets recommended to Gwen as containing 'spiritual food' were Traherne, Vaughan, Cranshaw, Herbert and Donne: 'one could easily make one's spiritual reading for several years of them.'<sup>211</sup> In his nurture of Juliet, many other literary texts were read.<sup>212</sup> Hügel read Dante's *Purgatorio* with Adeline on Sundays every three weeks in 1917 and 1918.<sup>213</sup> Hügel also loved Shakespeare and read *Hamlet* to his daughters.<sup>214</sup> He encouraged Gwen to read Shakespeare even though he believed he 'never utters the full Christian paradox and poignancy.'<sup>215</sup>

#### IV.vi. A moderate asceticism

Many Catholic writers and spiritual directors of Hügel's day were advocates of strong forms of asceticism as the way to purification. As we saw in Chapter 2, Hügel critiqued this approach, believing that Huvelin overdid his asceticism. Hügel's study of medieval mystics revealed how excessive mortifications wore down the body and could lead to mental health issues.

On the other hand, Hügel believed that asceticism was 'an absolutely essential constituent of the Christian outlook,'<sup>216</sup> and recognised as crucial by 'deeper people.'<sup>217</sup> For Hügel, spiritual growth was not compatible with being comfortable.<sup>218</sup> Gwen described Hügel's attitude as being that:

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200 D:22/11/1924&D:29/11/1924.

201 LN:45:3/7/1919.

202 ms37194/13a:SAUL:5/8/10.

203 D:16/10/20. He also read Browning's *Poetical Works* with Anna. (D:28/6/20;D:8/4/20).

204 When Gertrud was dying, Hügel read Dante and the *Ring and the Book*. He told a hospital visitor that he went for consolation to these two texts when he was sad. (Bedoyère:286).

205 D:21/1/1921.

206 D:7/8/1920;D:8/8/1920;D:9/8/1920;D:16/8/1920;D:16/1/1921.

207 ms37194/37a:SAUL:23/8/1915.

208 George-Tyrrell-Modernist-Controversy-Collection:USFSC:Watkin:2/8/23.

209 D:8/6/1919.

210 D:28/12/1922.

211 LN:47.

212 Texts Hügel read with Juliet include: Goethe's *Faust* (D:8/12/14); Marlowe *Dr Faustus* (D:7/11/15); St Benve's *Causeries du Lunid* (D:7/3/1919); *Moliere* (D:12/13/19); *Life of Robert Browning* (D:19/7/20); Mrs Browning's *Wine of Cyprus* (D:14/9/1920); and *Browning's Love Letters* (D:14/11/1920).

213 They started reading on 4/11/1917.

214 D:6/8/1912.

215 LN:130,37.

216 LN:37.

217 LN:43.

218 LN:xxii.



the religious life is a heroism, a tremendous call; take away what it costs and all the virtue and dignity of life has gone. "Christ did not come to make things easy." ... His own tender heart and human understanding demanded of men a heroism and costliness that forbade any compromise.<sup>219</sup>

This notion of 'costliness' was a recurring theme for Hügel, but it was usually expressed in small ways, rather than in more extreme forms of asceticism. For instance, one small 'costing' practice Hügel encouraged was a 'voluntary renunciation' during Lent. He saw the value of 'little renunciations'<sup>220</sup> such as giving up book buying<sup>221</sup> and after-dinner fruit.<sup>222</sup>

Gwen was perplexed about what to give up and Hügel begged her 'not to hunt... for something...'<sup>223</sup> Gwen's ill-health was enough and he argued she was pleasing God through her acceptance of it: 'That will deepen much better.'<sup>224</sup> Here the gracious acceptance of suffering seemed to fulfil a similar role to Hügel's suggestion of a Lenten practice.

#### **IV.vii. Retreats**

Spiritual retreats were viewed as an 'escape from racket... to more prayer than usual.'<sup>225</sup> But Hügel was wary that directees might overdo resolutions.<sup>226</sup> Before Gwen attended her first real retreat, Hügel told her, 'you must evade all straining, all vehemence... putting your nerves into it... the attention wanted is a leisurely expansive one – a dropping gently of all distractions, of obsessions.'<sup>227</sup>

In addition to moderation at retreats, Hügel was wary of overdoing the practice of retreating. When Evelyn wanted to attend another Pleshey retreat, Hügel was emphatic: 'never more than one such retreat... a year.'<sup>228</sup> Hügel later softened his stance on this having restricted Gwen's attendance at multiple retreats:

I wish now I had said nothing whatever in criticism, of your going thus a third time a year

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219 Greene:1931:256-7.

220 LN:121.

221 LN:181.

222 LN:121.

223 ms37766/70f:SAUL:21/2/1920.

224 ms37766/70f:SAUL:21/2/1920. In another letter Hügel wrote that the 'many trials sent you by God... headaches, housework... money anxieties and bigger trials still... will be... quite enough, for you.' LN:181.

225 LN:198.

226 LN:105.

227 LN:104.

228 Cropper:2003:97.

to a Retreat... it is difficult to see what precise harm there would be... provided they really brace and soothe you... I incline you not to abandon it.<sup>229</sup>

So once more we see Hügel's advocacy of a useful spiritual practice, but again only in moderation.

#### IV.viii. Confession

Confession was another topic Hügel discussed with his directees, particularly Evelyn, who found it difficult. Evelyn told Hügel, confession 'tears me to bits, leaves me in a state of nervous illness, and encourages my... habit of introspection.'<sup>230</sup> Evelyn's 'tendency toward self-scrutiny'<sup>231</sup> often 'ruined' her prayers.<sup>232</sup> So Hügel told Evelyn confession was only for 'distinct and grave sins'; its purpose was to elicit 'some definite act or habit... with... contrition and firm purpose of amendment.'<sup>233</sup> In preparation for confession, Hügel warned Evelyn:

No long written out affairs! Be satisfied with a short examen, only of the day just passed, in your night prayers... three, at the most five minutes will be ample: no straining, no scraping... the very bottom of your soul.<sup>234</sup>

Hügel criticised Evelyn's '*test of purity of intentions*' calling it 'excessive.'<sup>235</sup> He also critiqued the strength of her attempts to rid herself of 'professional vanity', encouraging her to 'gradually... diminish such faults.'<sup>236</sup> The cure for her excessive introspection was to 'gently drop' her 'spiritual misery... by a quiet turning to God and Christ and the poor.'<sup>237</sup>

Gwen was instructed to have a Christocentric focus in her confession, with quite specific instructions. She was to confess 'gently' with her 'soul turned to Christ',<sup>238</sup> asking Him to give 'light... for seeing. If anything pricks you – keep that for your confessing... If nothing thus pricks you - no strain.'<sup>239</sup> Hügel encouraged Gwen to 'a wise, firm circumspection',<sup>240</sup> so that her confession

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229 LN:198.

230 Cropper:2003:90.

231 Greene:1993:15.

232 Cropper:2003:93.

233 ms5552.37:SAUL:30/6/22.

234 Cropper:2003:115-6:12/7/23.

235 Cropper:2003:51.

236 Cropper:2003:98.

237 ms5552:57:SAUL:9/8/24.

238 LN:179-180.

239 LN:179-180. In that case, she should simply explain she couldn't find anything and 're-confess the biggest thing' she confessed before.

240 LN:142.

did not 'degenerate into a sort of flea-hunt, a straining to discover sins.'<sup>241</sup> He was emphatic that confession was 'for sins, and nothing else,' and she should only give herself 'fifteen minutes... of quiet, leisurely, circumspect, warm and loving preparation,' as she recalled life since her last confession.<sup>242</sup> In terms of frequency, Hügel told Gwen to only confess every six months,<sup>243</sup> which was sufficient to 'form' her 'along the lines of the moderate, *Church* mystical... type.'<sup>244</sup>

A similar emphasis on not overdoing self-examination was evident in Hügel's response to Wilfred, who asked if thinking 'in detail of past sin'<sup>245</sup> would 'deepen' his 'character.'<sup>246</sup> Hügel replied that he should be busy with meeting *present* sufferings as gifts of God, rather than focusing on *past* sins.

Hügel told Juliet to make a short 'examination of conscience' each night, 'begging pardon and determining... not to commit whatever you may find pricks your conscience again.'<sup>247</sup> But again he emphasised:

*live, Child, habitually occupied with God and... much occupation with others, with God in and through it all – let this... absorb you away from all direct occupation with yourself. To love dearly, to contemplate habitually the right things... should be the primary, prevalent preservation against, and purification from, your... sins.*<sup>248</sup>

For Henri, love was emphasised as essential in confession:

it is... through love that you will find more and more to regret your sins... and... keep watch over yourself. And it is for love... you will go to confession... it is through love that He touches your heart and will in confession, and it is for love that He touches you.<sup>249</sup>

These gentle words provide a relational view of confession emphasising Christ's transformation. So we see Hügel repeatedly encouraging his directees away from excessive self-examination, to a gentle introspection, with a Christocentric focus.

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241 LN:180.

242 LN:179-180.

243 LN:142. Here Hügel explicitly agreed with Edward Talbot's recommendation. (LN:180).

244 LN:147.

245 ms3163:SAUL.

246 ms3163:SAUL.

247 Mansel:1951:9.

248 Mansel:1951:9.

249 Garceau:1935:283-4.

#### IV.ix. Spiritual practices when spiritually dry

Hügel had experienced spiritual 'deserts,' and he gave his directees advice for coping with such periods of spiritual dryness. Gwen received the most help, as Hügel felt her 'special temperament' would make such times 'peculiarly trying.'<sup>250</sup> Yet such periods of dryness were 'irreplaceably profitable,'<sup>251</sup> 'immensely useful,'<sup>252</sup> and could result in 'strength and peace.'<sup>253</sup> Hügel also emphasised the inevitability of these periods: 'consolation... is sooner or later followed by desolation... sunshine and storm, union and aloneness... only through such vicissitudes... can we grow.'<sup>254</sup> He had confidence in God: 'God is in the storm as in the calm;'<sup>255</sup> 'light and darkness will come and go just at the right time.'<sup>256</sup> But when desolation occurs, it is helpful to have an 'older, more experienced soul handy,' who can remind us of 'former consolation.'<sup>257</sup>

Three images were used to teach Gwen how to respond when spiritually dry. When climbing a mountain, if 'thick mists come' she must halt, camp under a cover and only move when the mist has cleared.<sup>258</sup> If 'great storms' come whilst on a ship, she must 'select, and fix' in her cabin a 'few... appropriate things... that would keep... position.'<sup>259</sup> If hurricanes came while camel riding in the desert, she must 'dismount... fall prostrate face downwards in the sand,' cover her head with her cloak and 'lie.'<sup>260</sup> In each case, Gwen was encouraged to stop and wait out the storm:

[make] no decisions... change nothing during such crises... turn gently to other things... the crisis goes by, thus, with great fruit... we get trained in these darkneses into that sense of our impotence without which the very presence of God becomes a snare.<sup>261</sup>

So Hügel trained Gwen to have her 'spirituality... chosen and cultivated especially in view of "dirty" weather.'<sup>262</sup>

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250 LN:85.

251 LN:85.

252 LN:86.

253 Greene:1932:130.

254 LN:47.

255 LN:88.

256 Bedoyère:1951:28.

257 LN:47.

258 LN:85.

259 LN:86.

260 LN:86.

261 LN:86-87.

262 LN:86.

Similarly, Hügel used another sailing analogy with Evelyn: like crew in sailing ships when there is no wind, she too should mend her sails during periods of dryness.<sup>263</sup> In fact, Hügel recommended two distinct rules for Evelyn: 'a maximum rule for fair weather and a minimum rule for foul.'<sup>264</sup> In foul weather she should practice 'morning and night prayers (with examen)... and two Holy Communions a week.'<sup>265</sup> She was also told not to write or speak when dry,<sup>266</sup> although she could practise her 'needlework or gardening.'<sup>267</sup> Practising this minimum rule when spiritually dry, would enable 'fervour... [to] return much sooner.'<sup>268</sup>

#### IV.x. Non-religious Interests

The need to 'lovingly' cultivate non-religious interests was another major emphasis in Hügel's direction,<sup>269</sup> taken from Père Grou, and serving as an antidote to over-absorption in spiritual practices.<sup>270</sup> Hügel told Gwen, 'I believe much in the utility, *also and especially for one's religion*, of such an alteration of non-religious study... my life witnesses to its truth.'<sup>271</sup> Hügel reflected after meeting Sadhu Sundar Singh, who had no hobbies: 'Can he hold out without for another 40 y[ea]rs?'<sup>272</sup>

Hügel identified at least five reasons why non-religious interests are important. Firstly, if we are to 'help others,' our religion needs to be 'full and mixed'<sup>273</sup> or it becomes 'thin... [and] sentimental.'<sup>274</sup> Secondly, our everyday, normal lives provide the material for our spiritual formation: 'without these not directly religious interests and activities, you... lose the material for Grace to work in and on.'<sup>275</sup> Juliet was told of the importance to have 'materials' for religion 'to penetrate.'<sup>276</sup> He wrote to another man, 'God [is] deeply interested... in not directly religious things - grace things... one thing in and with another thing: only these together yield the full blossom...'<sup>277</sup> Thirdly, engaging in non-religious interests 'ensure[s] stability, sobriety, [and] genuine detachment,' so we 'grow... more

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263 Cropper:2003:101:21/7/22.

264 ms5552.55:SAUL:12/7/12.

265 ms5552.55:SAUL:12/7/12. Hügel repeated this advice when he emphasised 'acceptance of dryness.'  
Cropper:2003:101:21/7/1922.

266 Cropper:2003:101:21/7/22.

267 ms5552.55:SAUL:12/7/12.

268 ms5552.55:SAUL:12/7/12.

269 LN:62.

270 EAI:229.

271 LN:107.

272 D:11/3/1920.

273 LN:xxxii.

274 LN:xxxii.

275 LN:62 (repeated at LN:63).

276 Mansel:1951:4.

277 SL:254 (to Frank Wane).

spiritual and holy.<sup>1278</sup> Fourthly, non-religious interests help us 'escape' from ourselves as we are 'purified, trained and deepened.'<sup>1279</sup> Fifthly, non-religious interests provide 'rest' and a chance to recharge.<sup>280</sup>

With Gwen, Hügel encouraged her violin playing: 'keep it regularly in your life.'<sup>1281</sup> He saw it made her 'happy,'<sup>1282</sup> and felt it enabled her to 'uniquely express' her 'true self.'<sup>1283</sup> As Evelyn's professional work involved religion, Hügel encouraged 'activities and interests of a not directly religious kind,' anything 'wholesome' for which she had 'a relish.'<sup>1284</sup> This advice was repeated to Watkins:

What do you do... of a non-religious kind?... Anything, everything, that is decent, and that you have got some affinity for, will do. Only it must be non-religious and yet taken up with deliberation and perseverance for the sake, especially, of religion.<sup>285</sup>

Juliet was also encouraged to develop non-religious interests: '*The more varied and vigorous is your general, not directly religious life, the better for your religion.*'<sup>1286</sup> Hügel felt Juliet had an 'unhappy unless balanced nature,'<sup>1287</sup> so he wrote to her: 'school, play, leisure, sleep... Without such variety, no wholesome growth, religious or otherwise.'<sup>1288</sup> Later, he instructed her: 'for the sake of religion itself, ever eagerly love your games, your dancing, your hunting... your music and poetry ... your studies of history.'<sup>1289</sup> Hügel also encouraged Juliet to balance her study and leisure:

book-learning... open-air and physical exercise... alternate and harmonise them... The body, the imagination, reasoning, intuition, taste, hearts, will, the religious instinct... to be developed strongly with, and in rivalry with each other.<sup>290</sup>

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278 LN:121. Gwen would have 'expansion' if she had non-religious interests. (LN:63).

279 Greene:1929b:148. Similarly, Hügel told Margaret non-religious interests 'take us wholesomely out of ourselves...' ms30994:SAUL.

280 SL:94.

281 LN:107.

282 LN:107.

283 LN:80. Repeated at LN:117.

284 ms5552:40-41:SAUL:21/7/1922. Evelyn took up gardening and book-binding.

285 George-Tyrrell-Modernist-Controversy-Collection:USFSC:Watkin:4:2/10/23.

286 Mansel:1951:5.

287 ms37194/21/b:SAUL:19/11/10.

288 ms37194/9:SAUL:23/3/10.

289 Mansel:1951:5.

290 ms371194/17a:SAUL.

Hügel initiated the following non-religious interests for directees: Greek coins (Henri);<sup>291</sup> rock specimens (Gilbert);<sup>292</sup> fossils (Arthur);<sup>293</sup> book-binding (Mary);<sup>294</sup> and art books (Wilfred<sup>295</sup> and Mildred).<sup>296</sup> The one note of caution Hügel provided was again in the interests of moderation: 'Do not have too many practices; the soul to grow needs quiet.'<sup>297</sup>

#### IV.xi. The importance of rest

Hügel took Sabbath-keeping seriously and encouraged his directees to 'rest',<sup>298</sup> teaching them that we require 'Rest, Expression and Purification.'<sup>299</sup> For Hügel, his daily walk, jigsaw puzzles and cinema outings were a safeguard against 'overwork[ing]... body or mind or soul.'<sup>300</sup> Hügel told Gwen, 'we are not necessarily the better for all these doings... doing little is... better, for our souls.'<sup>301</sup> Gwen described Hügel's approach as keeping 'a touch of Mary that is needed in our Martha's day.'<sup>302</sup>

Enforced rest was just as beneficial as rest freely chosen, so Hügel celebrated the 'fruitfulness' of Maude's 'days of enforced do-nothing.'<sup>303</sup> When Gwen was sick, Hügel wrote:

*How happy I am to think of you in bed, and in bed, and in bed, and not doing anything... What a lot we can grow spiritually – that is, how much more solidly anchored in the peace and beatitude of God we can become – by simply thus resigning ourselves... to such do-nothing.*<sup>304</sup>

Gwen absorbed this idea and critiqued Hillie's carer, Mrs Davis: 'She is supposed to be a... Saint... But she is really one of those people who *must* rush the whole time.'<sup>305</sup> Evelyn also came to absorb Hügel's attitude:

This month of illness has been full of a sort of leisured heavenliness... very steady and

291 D:9/2/18.

292 D:12/9/24; D:2/10/24.

293 D:7/9/1912.

294 Bedoyère:1951:13.

295 msVII.143/196b:SAUL:6/3/1916.

296 D:21/12/1916.

297 LN:xxxii. See also D:27/1/1919.

298 LN:179.

299 MEI:77.

300 LN:182.

301 Greene:1929b:148.

302 Greene:1929b:148.

303 Kelly:2003:103;28/4/1910; Kelly:2003:137;15/10/1912.

304 LN:183.

305 GDL:1/2/1925.

enlarging... in this leisure one *can* get quiet and recollected and make... progress... [I] shall never seriously improve in prayer and vision unless I can get stretches of quietude.<sup>306</sup>

Hügel helped Evelyn set boundaries so she could manage her energy. He had worked out 'how much' he could 'try to help others without getting markedly empty.'<sup>307</sup> He stated, 'when I have got to this point, I politely refuse... I tell them... God will find them... some helper.'<sup>308</sup> After Evelyn's mother died, Hügel told Evelyn her inheritance freed her to be able to 'restrict' her 'literary religious labours,' which would 'help' her soul's 'advance.'<sup>309</sup> Hügel similarly told Norman that 'Wise living... demands pretty frequent refusals.'<sup>310</sup>

Sabbath-keeping was recommended to several directees. Hügel argued Sabbath-keeping 'works the full restfulness for me.'<sup>311</sup> He told Maude, '[I] would only break down in health and be unfit for this and for everything else, if I did not stick to my (I find necessary) rule of keeping the Sunday strictly for rest and freedom.'<sup>312</sup> Hügel's Sundays were for 'sleep... open-air strolling... light literature... Church.'<sup>313</sup> He saw his Sunday-rest as key in 'washing' away his 'largely hurried spirit' and gaining 'a sunny, quiet, accommodating, cheerful, grateful, great-in-little spirit.'<sup>314</sup>

The necessity of rest for true productivity and effectiveness was repeatedly emphasised. Hügel told Adeline his 'two rules of mental hygiene... leisure of mind, and a variety in the... days' occupation.'<sup>315</sup> Norman was encouraged towards 'much open air & gentle peace of soul.'<sup>316</sup> Hügel warned Juliet that, 'All real racket... [is] weakening and sterilising' and that she required 'physical... mental or spiritual rest.'<sup>317</sup>

Holidays were also recommended to directees. Juliet was told the countryside would 'rest... expand & reconcile the soul.'<sup>318</sup> Maude was encouraged to 'carry out some weeks of change and rest.'<sup>319</sup>

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306 Greene:1993:54-5.

307 ms5552:SAUL.

308 ms:5552:SAUL.

309 ms5552:57-58:SAUL.

310 Barmann:1981:134.

311 *LN*:196.

312 Kelly:2003:109:24/10/1910.

313 *SL*:156.

314 IX1271:DAA:31/12/97.

315 ms37184/47a:SAUL:14/2/1918. Edward Talbot was told that writing requires 'a large leisure of soul.' (*SL*:241).

316 Barmann:1981:245.

317 Mansel:1951:5. He even wrote to Juliet, 'I sincerely hope still that you will not work at anything till next Thursday.'  
ms37194/13a:SAUL:5/8/10.

318 ms37194/27a:SAUL:31/8/11. Hügel took his own advice telling Webb, 'Hurrah for four weeks of hills and out-of-door life!' (Bedoyère:1951:250).

319 *SL*:186.



Norman was also told, 'You require rest...' <sup>1320</sup> and Hügel later wrote, 'I am delighted that you should both have the sunshine and the wonderful blue sea for a bit...' <sup>1321</sup> Hügel's teaching on the importance of rest is closely related to his 'leisurely' spirituality.

## V. Moderation

### V.i. Developing a 'leisurely' spirituality

While recommending many spiritual practices to his directees, Hügel was also careful about *how* they approached them, advocating a 'leisurely' spirituality. Imitating the French spiritual masters, this emphasis came from recognising ardent souls as frequently too 'intense'. <sup>1322</sup> In Fénelon, Hügel identified a wonderful combination of 'a light, open and elastic temperament with an earnest will'. <sup>1323</sup>

Hügel encouraged Gwen to live this 'delightful paradox' of being 'earnest' without being 'heavy'. <sup>1324</sup> This balance is attained through 'a genial, gentle, *leisurely* expansion – no shaking of the nerves, no strain, no semi-physical vehemence, no impatient concentration'. <sup>1325</sup> Hügel told Gwen, 'I have a big job... to drop... all this feverishness... to think, will and pray'. <sup>1326</sup> Three strategies were outlined to Gwen as approaches towards this '*very full* and yet... leisurely life'. <sup>1327</sup>

#### V.i.a. Reducing the number of activities each day

Fénelon's method of beginning each day quietly running through the day's activities and reducing the number meant that 'each action' had an 'air of leisure... for the spirit of prayer and peace'. <sup>1328</sup> Hügel encouraged his directees to be like Fénelon and Augustine who were men of 'immense activity', yet 'deeply recollected'. <sup>1329</sup> Hügel wrote, 'When I get up feeling I have a hundred things to do – then I know it's all wrong. I try to get away, to go for a walk with Puck. I leave everything till I am better'. <sup>1330</sup> Gwen described Hügel's approach: 'Moderation and steadfastness, a small and very faithful practice... was the very kernel of his teaching... do not give yourself too much to do'. <sup>1331</sup>

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320 Barmann:1981:116.

321 Barmann:1981:124.

322 LN:111.

323 LN:109.

324 LN:109.

325 LN:46, italics added.

326 LN:101-102. See also LN:104.

327 LN:108.

328 EAI:227

329 LN:xxii.

330 LN:xxi.

331 Greene:1929b:148.

**V.i.b. One thing at a time**

Secondly, Hügel introduced Gwen to Catherine of Genoa's maxim of doing 'one thing at a time,'<sup>1332</sup> which meant 'doing this one thing always with...peace... non-hurry.'<sup>1333</sup> Hügel told Gwen:

The more full and varied your life becomes, the more this great principle and practice is necessary – to prevent distraction and racket... The great rule is, *Variety up to the verge of dissipation: Recollection up to the verge of emptiness*: each alternating with the other and making a rich fruitful tension.<sup>334</sup>

Similarly he told Juliet, 'learn to take one thing at a time and... drop all sheer bustle and fever.'<sup>1335</sup>

**V.i.c. 'Little by little', slow spiritual growth**

Understanding spiritual growth as slow and steady was also emphasised. Hügel 'disliked and distrusted hurry and anticipation – change, excitement and reaction were all his greatest foes; dullness and routine, faithfully accepted, were... a necessity for the soul's growth.'<sup>1336</sup> He told CCJ Webb, 'I much want to help and keep as many persons... clear and firm on this point... stampedes and panics are of no earthly use.'<sup>1337</sup> For Hügel, there were no easy short-cuts to spiritual maturity.

Francis de Sales' letters of spiritual direction to Madame de Chantal were given to Gwen as a model for spiritual growth.<sup>338</sup> Hügel appreciated de Sales' patient, slow approach<sup>339</sup>, and argued that 'a spirituality of the little-by-little is not an enfeebled spirituality.'<sup>1340</sup> This revealed a gentleness, as Hügel encouraged his directees to be patient with themselves,<sup>341</sup> and to hate their personal faults in 'a *calm and peaceful*' way.<sup>342</sup> Hügel saw such 'perseverance' as 'a crowning grace.'<sup>1343</sup>

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332 LN:108.

333 LN:108.

334 LN:xxi.

335 Mansel:1951:6.

336 LN:xL.

337 SL:147.

338 SSG:37-38.

339 SSG:11.

340 EL:375.

341 SSG:15.

342 SayingXV-1886 (italics added).

343 Greene:1932:129.

## V.ii. Moderation in spiritual practices

If Hügel's 'leisurely' spirituality taught his directees moderation in their practices over time, Hügel also believed it was important to moderate their intensity and complexity.<sup>344</sup> He wanted spiritual disciplines that would 'train the affections... for lightness, elasticity, expansion and growth.'<sup>345</sup> Hügel wrote to Gwen, 'I cannot bear the unwise piling up of petty devotions to foster an extravagant piety. We want... moderation and steadfastness... a sober, well-proportioned institutionalism, a small and very faithful practice.'<sup>346</sup> Such practices should have 'simplicity, the great singleness of spirit which forms saints!'<sup>347</sup>

Hügel modelled this balance and moderation in his own life.<sup>348</sup> Gwen applauded his 'balance of moderation... we see no sign of excessiveness, or wasteful enthusiasm,'<sup>349</sup> 'he preferred moderation and soberness, a simple kind of ordinariness... [to] entail balance and prevent reaction from emotional states and strain.'<sup>350</sup> From his study of Catherine of Genoa, Hügel felt that being overzealous spiritually could damage both one's spirituality and physical and mental health. He therefore emphasised monitoring the intensity of one's spiritual practices:

I cannot apprehend anything seriously without tension... this is why there readily come misgivings to me when I gain any great influence either with young men or with women... For... my fellow-creatures – cannot, I think, stand much tension. They either break down physically under it, or their faith collapses under the strain.<sup>351</sup>

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344 This advice was echoed by Bede Jarrett when he wrote to Gwen before her reception into the Catholic Church: 'The only preparation is to be quiet; not excited... keep ordinary in the presence of God... So Mass when you can and Communion once a week...' (Tugwell & Bellenger:1989:110;15/9/1926). Moderation was also recommended by Jarrett: 'you must take care at the start of this new life to not try to do too much... aim chiefly at what you can do regularly – not the exceptional sanctifies us but the normal done as well as we can do it. So try to live... in a more vividly conscious way; don't throw over what you've done but continue it under a fuller inspiration.' (Tugwell & Bellenger:1989:110:22/9/1926).

345 Hughes:1958:301.

346 Greene:1929b:148. Hügel's emphasis here on moderation came from his own 'natural temperament' which had 'a kind of unrest, over-intensity... getting into everything I think, feel, do... prayer and study; books and places; men and women... it applied to everything and everybody that I get really occupied with... in proportion... to my anxiety for that person.' ms38776/9:SAUL:19/5/1895. Hügel constantly had to monitor this 'involuntary over-eagerness.' ms38776/9:SAUL:19/5/1895.

347 Greene:1932:130.

348 Greene:1929b:148.

349 Greene:1929b:148.

350 Greene:1932:130.

351 LN:169-170. Repeated at LN:101-2.

Hügel knew about nervous collapses from personal experience,<sup>352</sup> and stated: 'There is certainly a great art in managing one's nervous energy.'<sup>353</sup> He recognised Gwen as 'like' himself and consequently attempted to lead her on a path of 'stillness and peace.'<sup>354</sup>

Hügel echoed Fénelon by limiting the time directees spent in the Prayer of Quiet to prevent overstraining their bodies.<sup>355</sup> He told Gwen 'we must practise moderation... in our Quiet.'<sup>356</sup> This was echoed with a musical analogy of 'never forcing the note.'<sup>357</sup> Instead of 'over-straining... health' Hügel encouraged 'grand rest... peace.'<sup>358</sup>

### V.iii. Don't strain

This idea of not straining in one's spiritual life was another recurring theme in Hügel's direction. As early as 1884, Hügel wrote to his wife, '*Never strain*.'<sup>359</sup> Gwen was repeatedly told not to 'strain' when reading,<sup>360</sup> on retreats,<sup>361</sup> or at Confession.<sup>362</sup> Hügel was concerned about Gwen's self-imposed regime of 'long prayer' with 'fixed days and hours' and cautioned her, if 'health... interferes with it... give it up.'<sup>363</sup> He told Gwen quite emphatically, 'nothing... however real spiritually... has...to be paid for in the body.'<sup>364</sup>

Juliet was similarly warned against 'straining after... a sense of sin,'<sup>365</sup> and not to strain in the spiritual practices he have given her.<sup>366</sup> Only if they appealed to her 'heart and conscience' was Juliet to practise them.<sup>367</sup> Similarly, Evelyn was given 'suggestions... [for] praying over quietly, without strain,'<sup>368</sup> and told to 'gently practise, a *moderate* amount and kind of *devotedness*... but no

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352 LN:188.

353 LN:80.

354 LN:101-2.

355 EAI:228.

356 LN:67. Repeated at LN:121.

357 LN:193. Hügel wrote 'don't overwork...soul...' LN:182.

358 LN:179.

359 Bedoyère:28-1884.

360 LN:3.

361 LN:104.

362 LN:180.

363 LN:197.

364 LN:46-47.

365 Mansel:1951:8.

366 Mansel:1951:4. Frances was instructed similarly. Lillie:1925:35.

367 Mansel:1951:4. Juliet was also told 'express yourself without strain...' ms37194/35a:SAUL:9/6/15.

368 ms5552:57:SAUL:9/8/24. Similarly he wanted to save her from 'overburdening.' ms5552:1:SAUL. See Cropper:2003:71.

vehemence, no feverishness.<sup>1369</sup> Knowing Evelyn's tendency to overdo things, Hügel wrote, 'May God... help you to moderate yourself even in good things.'<sup>1370</sup>

#### **V.iv. 'Drop' never fight directly**

Hügel recommended difficulties be dealt with indirectly by 'dropping... these miseries... gently.'<sup>1371</sup> Gwen was repeatedly encouraged not to fight directly, and not to force things impatiently, but to 'bear... gently like a fever or a toothache... gently turn to Him... tell Him gently that you want Him... It is an itch – scratching makes it worse.'<sup>1372</sup>

Juliet was similarly told not to strain to like people but that her 'vehemences... get overtopped... by devoted love... *without any direct fighting* of them.'<sup>1373</sup> Gertrud was similarly told not to 'force feelings' but 'drop... non-reverberation of feeling.'<sup>1374</sup>

So we see a repeated cluster of instructions related to moderation and developing a 'leisurely' spirituality.

#### **VI. Suffering**

The protracted war forced the question of suffering into broad societal consciousness. Hügel was no romantic when it came to suffering, recognising that 'suffering alone does not, cannot soften or widen any soul; it can... only harden, narrow and embitter it.'<sup>1375</sup> Sufferings 'simply of themselves' do not 'purify us.'<sup>1376</sup> Instead, suffering in and of itself is an evil that 'only darkens, weakens and strains the soul.'<sup>1377</sup> But this evil can be transformed as 'God's, Christ's strength [is]... accepted, by the soul. There is nothing so great in life... as this.'<sup>1378</sup> Suffering can effect a 'work not to be repeated.'<sup>1379</sup>

Hügel could personally attest to watching and experiencing the transforming power of a suffering,

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369 Cropper:2003:76.

370 Cropper:2003:119.

371 *LN*:xx-xxi.

372 *LN*:93.

373 ms37194/11/1a:SAUL:23/6/1919.

374 msIX.1272:DAA:6/1/1898.

375 *EAI*:110.

376 *LN*:155-6.

377 ms37194/8:SAUL:11/3/1910.

378 ms37194/8:SAUL:11/3/1910.

379 *LN*:155-6.

explicable only by the presence, the operation of a power, a reality, so immensely powerful and real as to counteract and greatly to exceed the suffering and this suffering's natural effects. This power comes from God... His reality and aid are more real and more sustaining by far than is all this suffering.<sup>380</sup>

So Hügel taught his directees that such suffering under God could 'lead to much deep, spiritual good'<sup>381</sup> and 'greatly mature' people.<sup>382</sup> Gwen wrote:

the most fruitful of all teachings, [was] the teaching of suffering... How like a child he was when he related his indebtedness to the examples of many persons, to illness, to sufferings of mind, to isolation; and the sense these gave him of his own littleness, his poverty, and his dependence upon the reality of God.<sup>383</sup>

Hügel told Juliet that suffering is a 'driving force in our lives'<sup>384</sup> that is 'knit into human nature.'<sup>385</sup> Gwen was instructed, suffering is inevitable: 'Good Friday and Easter Sunday, the two together, each requiring the other, and we all requiring both – only this twin fact gives us Christianity, where suffering holds a necessary place.'<sup>386</sup> Hügel argued Christianity is unique in facing 'the mysterious depth and poignant reality' of suffering.<sup>387</sup> He wrote:

If we are Christians there are always two notes, suffering and joy... the Cross and the Crown... *Christianity is a heroism*... Christ... teaches... the life of the Cross... he tells us to die to ourselves, to take up the Cross, to follow him. Is that all comfy?<sup>388</sup>

Therefore 'religion thrives, not by the absence of difficulties, but by the presence.'<sup>389</sup>

In a letter to Evelyn de Vesci, we see how Hügel held together suffering with an assurance that God is at work:

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380 *EAI*:110.

381 *SL*:212.

382 *SL*:215.

383 Greene:1932:132.

384 ms37194a/b:SAUL:12/5/1911.

385 *LN*:xLiii.

386 *LN*:84.

387 ms37194/8:SAUL:11/3/1910:Whelan:1971:235.

388 *LN*:xix-xx.

389 *LN*:72.

Life is not all darkness, trial and pain... The goodness, mercy... of God... we catch glimpses of these almost always, and at times they penetrate and uplift us utterly. But there is also baffling darkness, keen pain... which we cannot reconcile with our faith... yet all this ends in bracing one somehow... behold God is God... our faith can, and will, even grow stronger and deeper.<sup>390</sup>

This was repeated to Gwen: 'bear' suffering and it will expand into 'peace and humble power', if 'we keep... united to God in love.'<sup>391</sup> But how do we endure suffering so that it transforms rather than embitters?

### VI.i. Enduring suffering

Gwen was told that 'Holy suffering is the very crown of holy action.'<sup>392</sup> Similarly, Hügel argued 'suffering nobly borne' is 'proof of Love on God's part' and 'the highest... pure form of action.'<sup>393</sup> But Hügel also offered his directees practical advice on how to 'suffer well.'<sup>394</sup>

*Acceptance* of suffering was key. Hügel told Juliet, 'try promptly to accept it, and gently to utilise it towards loving God and man more fully.'<sup>395</sup> Gwen was encouraged to 'suffering *meekly accepted... transfigured by love of God.*'<sup>396</sup> In the midst of Wilfred's terminal illness, Hügel encouraged the 'practice of... acceptance... willing of whatever God may... send you – but always only... for that day.'<sup>397</sup> Wilfred came to a place where his 'chief endeavour' was 'to accept absolutely & if possible with thankfulness...' his predicament.<sup>398</sup>

Beyond acceptance, Wilfred was told that being 'humble, watchful and prayerful' in suffering was the means of 'graces and growths to the sufferer.'<sup>399</sup> He was also told to press into Christ in the midst of pain:

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390 MZ:124-5.

391 LN:46.

392 LN:156.

393 SL:70.

394 LN:155-6. Suffering badly was described as 'tying up the soul in swaddling bands of sentimental... considerations' which 'adds an intolerable unreality...' (ms371942a:SAUL:27/12/1901).

395 Mansel:1951:11.

396 LN:155. Bede Jarrett later echoed this advice to Gwen writing, 'thank Him even for the love in Him that allows the deadness and the pain.' (Tugwell & Bellenger:1989:171:3/11/1931).

397 msVII.143/197a:SAUL:20/3/1916.

398 ms3163:SAUL.

399 msVII.143/194:SAUL:nd.

Try more and more *at the moment itself*... to cry out to God, to Christ our Lord... the more variously the better. 'Oh, oh! This is real: Oh deign to accept it, as a little real atonement for real sin.' 'Oh, help me to move on, from finding pain so real, to discovering sin to be far more real.' 'Oh, may this pang deepen me, may it help to make me real, real – really humble, really loving, really ready to live or die with my soul in Thy hands'... and so on, and so on... The all important point is, to make them *at the time* and *with the pain well mixed up into the prayer*.<sup>400</sup>

Another strategy for enduring suffering was looking beyond it. Gwen was told 'breast the waves, whether sweet or bitter, looking not at them, but through them on and up to God, our Peace.'<sup>401</sup> External symbols or actions were also recommended. Juliet was told to have 'some external symbol or action to incarnate for you this great glorious truth; a crucifix, or crucifix picture... or a little sign of the cross... or sleeping with your arms crossed.'<sup>402</sup>

Distraction was another strategy. When suffering, Hügel allocated more time for 'restings and secondary interests' thus putting a 'limit' on time given to the 'problem.'<sup>403</sup> Wondering whether we can stand future pain is unhelpful: 'try to drop, all foresight whatsoever... God will... give us His grace to stand it... contract our outlook, to... the minute.'<sup>404</sup>

Wilfred was also told to drop his judgemental spirit. Hügel wrote:

I have had to fight this in myself, for many years; and since God in His goodness has (through suffering, saintly advice etc.) wakened me up to a tiny bit more of His love, I have come to find that I cannot be too watchful about this.<sup>405</sup>

Hügel echoed this telling Hillie of his 'great... deep habit:' 'I have had to train myself away from... constant criticism of others... In this way one can more easily keep... looking up to people... and learning.'<sup>406</sup>

Trusting God's providence is also key. Hügel wrote to Gwen:

*How greatly we add to our crosses by being cross with them! More than half our life goes*

400 msVII.143/198a:SAUL:29/3/1916.

401 LN:25. This letter was most probably written around the time Gwen left Harry.

402 Mansel:1951:9.

403 msVII.143/187:SAUL.

404 msVII.143/196b:SAUL:6/3/1916.

405 msVII.143/198a/b:SAUL:29/3/1916.

406 Bedoyère:1951:118.



in weeping for things other than those sent us. Yet it is these things, as sent, and when willed and at last loved as sent, that train us for Home.<sup>407</sup>

Thus Hügel discouraged Gwen from 'sulking'<sup>408</sup> which is 'a waste of growth,<sup>409</sup> telling her, 'Nothing ousts the sense of God's presence so thoroughly as... these... grumblings.'<sup>410</sup>

Hügel also provided his directees with examples of heroic suffering. As we have already seen, Juliet was encouraged to 'copy' the mother at Mainz Cathedral.<sup>411</sup> Hügel also spoke of Huvelin, who became 'very deep' through 'the effect of tragic trouble.'<sup>412</sup> In a letter to Violet, Hügel described people who experienced the 'deepest sufferings' yet displayed the 'most living... tender faith.'<sup>413</sup> He wrote that in all of these:

the soul's faith, service, love, devotedness, tenderest abandonment, and acceptance of God, of His will... so largely hidden behind these black bars... were... magnificently awakened.<sup>414</sup>

Adeline was given Bernard's *Sermons* on the death of his brother so she could be inspired by someone who suffered well.<sup>415</sup> Gwen was encouraged to focus on St Francis, who knew 'such troubles as yours' and rose 'to them in all transforming love!'<sup>416</sup>

## VI.ii. Transformation through suffering

For Hügel the goal of suffering was always spiritual growth leading to transformation. Although suffering could be 'sterile,'<sup>417</sup> Hügel urged his directees to recognise 'Suffering is the greatest teacher... Suffering and expansion, what a rich combination!'<sup>418</sup> He encouraged Gwen to 'Grasp the

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407 LN:92. This was reiterated when Hügel told Gwen the importance of 'accepting, fitting into, the rubs and jolts, the disappointments and drearinesses which God in His merciful training of us may allow or send us.' LN:121.

408 LN:74.

409 LN:xx.

410 LN:43. Hügel was helping a woman inclined 'to look out for No. 1, to grumble...' LN:142-3.

411 ms37194/22a:SAUL:23/12/1910.

412 ms37194/25bcd:SAUL:12/5/1911.

413 EAI:110.

414 EAI:110.

415 ms371942a:SAUL:27/12/1901.

416 LN:92.

417 msVII.143/194:SAUL:nd.

418 LN:xv-xvi.

nettle<sup>419</sup> and wrote, 'you will more and more, turn all your trials and crosses, Gwen, into pure gold.'<sup>420</sup>

Hügel described suffering as one of the 'laws of spiritual growth,' telling Wilfred, 'your soul will grow so greatly.'<sup>421</sup> Bernard Holland was also told 'you will...grow.'<sup>422</sup> Even enduring a 'dry' Retreat was something Evelyn could 'grow through.'<sup>423</sup>

In a similar way to prayer, the outcome of 'suffering well' was seen in the fruit of character. Hügel saw in Wilfred, 'a sweetening and strengthening of the soul'<sup>424</sup> and a 'deepening... character.'<sup>425</sup> Wilfred experienced it as 'the beginning of what is all-important'<sup>426</sup> and a 'great help' to his 'faith.'<sup>427</sup> He recognised suffering's 'work,'<sup>428</sup> stating 'it does for one what one would never have done for oneself.'<sup>429</sup> Specific transforming effects of suffering were cited to directees: humility;<sup>430</sup> patience and self-forgetfulness<sup>431</sup> and 'a deep sense of God's presence.'<sup>432</sup>

But the effect of suffering most discussed was that of joy. Hügel grouped 'suffering and joy' together, suggesting that, 'The final note of religion is joy.'<sup>433</sup> Hügel encouraged Gwen to 'the practice of *at once* meeting suffering with joy. God alone can help us succeed in this.'<sup>434</sup> Hügel also told Juliet that suffering can cause 'union with God and man... joy overflowing.'<sup>435</sup> Similarly, Wilfred was told, 'growth of soul is always, at bottom joy. For God, Joy Itself, is then more Master in the soul,'<sup>436</sup> God can 'make... joy in your soul, whilst the poor body suffers.'<sup>437</sup> Gwen attested that this was not just theory for Hügel: 'Through suffering he discovered joy.'<sup>438</sup>

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419 LN:xvi.

420 BA:7/8/1919.

421 msVII.143.201:SAUL. Similarly, Leslie Johnson was told suffering can cause a 'deepening of this spiritual life.' SL:215.

422 SL:350.

423 Cropper:2003:126-7.

424 msVII.143/195:SAUL:28/2/1916.

425 ms3158:SAUL.

426 ms3160:SAUL.

427 ms3162:SAUL.

428 ms3158:SAUL.

429 Ward:1937:475. However, he recognised he was 'old to learn so new a method of existence.' ms3158:SAUL.

430 LN:155-6.

431 Bedoyère:1951:12.

432 ms37194/7:SAUL:23/2/1910,

433 LN:xvi. Similarly, 'God always gives joy... There is a great joy in renunciation.' LN:xxiii.

434 LN:75.

435 Mansel:1951:10.

436 msVII.143.201:SAUL.

437 msVII.143.200:SAUL.

438 LN:xLv.

Awakening to the unseen reality also comes through suffering. Juliet was told of 'the illuminating, rousing element' of suffering waking us to realise 'the visible... life is not all.'<sup>439</sup> Adeline was similarly told how suffering grows our 'apprehension of this underlying other... world.'<sup>440</sup>

Hügel also taught that suffering could lead to 'purification.'<sup>441</sup> Hügel explicitly linked suffering and holiness when he wrote to Wilfred, "*Il faut souffrir pour devenir sainte*" says every human soul that is awake to the laws of spiritual growth.<sup>442</sup> Hügel cited the example of Gertrud, who was transformed through her sufferings. God gave her:

an ever-growing acceptance... of... the place, meaning and unique fruitfulness of such suffering... The cross became, not simply a fact, to bear somehow, but a source and channel of help, of purification, and of humble power,- of a permanent deepening, widening, sweetening of the soul... thus so greatly deepened and expanded.<sup>443</sup>

This 'deepening' came through Christ's action in Gertrud's soul. Hügel told Wilfred:

only Christianity has taught us the true place and function of suffering... Christ came and He did not really explain it; He did far more, He met it, willed it, transformed it, and He taught us how to do all this, or rather *He himself does it within us*, if we do not hinder His all-healing hands... In suffering we are very near to God.<sup>444</sup>

Christ's 'all-healing hands', not only bear our pain when suffering, but help the soul become 'fitter and fitter for complete union with Christ.'<sup>445</sup>

Thus we find in Hügel's thought a deep, nuanced view of the place of suffering - in itself evil and constricting, but 'with the help of Christ's spirit',<sup>446</sup> an unparalleled context for spiritual growth and transformation.

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439 ms37194/25bcd:SAUL:12/5/1911.

440 ms371942a:SAUL:27/12/1901.

441 Mansel:1951:10.

442 'It is necessary to suffer to become holy.' msVII.143/202:SAUL:8/4/1916.

443 msVII.143/194:SAUL:nd. Describing Gertrud 'getting on very slowly' to Dom Butler, Hügel added, 'we must have our Purgatory here or thereafter, and better have it here than there' (P3570VII.A.3.f:DAA:27/2/1905).

444 msVII.143/196:SAUL:6/3/1916 (italics added).

445 LN:155-6.

446 Mansel:1951:10.

## VII. Union with Christ and human transformation

But suffering, while important, was only one means of transformation. For Hügel, a Christocentric spirituality was essential in *all* areas of life, not only when suffering. It was the love of Christ, and union with Christ, that effected the transformation seen both in suffering and in the rest of life.

The formation of metamorphic rock was the image Hügel used to vividly illustrate how union with Christ recreates the entire person. As an amateur geologist, Hügel understood that metamorphic rock was formed through a process of heat and pressure slowly transforming the material on which it operates. Similarly, Hügel felt that knowing God, 'permeates and gradually changes the very substance of our humanity by a kind of divine infiltration.'<sup>447</sup> This indwelling of Christ is a gradual permeation of our entire being - head, heart, will, emotions, body - rather than an intellectual knowledge lodged like a sedimentary layer on the surface. So Hügel emphasised the transformative effect of the life of God slowly permeating the being of the entire person.

Underlying Hügel's spiritual direction was his understanding of the penetration of Christ in the soul. Although he spoke of the Spirit's role in transformation interchangeably with that of Christ, he tended to speak of Christ more often: 'Christ recreates.'<sup>448</sup> Hügel did not write very much about this union with Christ in his letters, but he did encourage Gwen to read *EL*, his work which most extensively discusses union with Christ.<sup>449</sup>

### VII.i. Transformation through 'Christ-Spirit' indwelling

The Biblical base for Hügel's conception of *EL* was Romans 8. Hügel commented:

Christ-Spirit is here the element by which the human spirit is surrounded and penetrated, as man is by the air which he breathes and by which he lives. Thus we are baptised, dipped, into Christ, Spirit; we can drink Christ, the Spirit.<sup>450</sup>

For Hügel, the experience of Eternal Life is 'the most real of relations between... the human spirit and the Eternal Spirit, God.'<sup>451</sup> Rather than being limited to a future reality, Eternal Life is a reality

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447 Nédoncelle:1937:92-3.

448 *LN*:xLiii. It must be noted that many contemporary writings of spiritual formation, such as Dallas Willard, emphasise this transformation as a 'Spirit-driven process.' Willard:2002:22.

449 Hügel encouraged Gwen to read *EL*. (*LN*:72).

450 *EL*:69. Hügel used the terms 'Christ' and 'Spirit' interchangeably when speaking of this mystical union. As Peterson argues, we need to 'acquire a Trinitarian way of looking at God – understanding that whenever one of the Persons of God is in the forefront the other two Persons are at the same time implicitly involved.' Peterson:2010:198.

451 *EL*:378.

that is also experienced *now* on earth: 'moments... of a real experience, of Eternity do occur, even in this life.'<sup>452</sup> This indwelling is a mystical penetration of Father, Son and Spirit in the believer.

Hügel argued that Eternal Life occurs through engaging in contemplative prayer, but is also implicit in ordinary, everyday experiences. At several points in *EL*, Hügel pointed to union with God through prayer, stating that such experiences come 'to riper, deeper souls.'<sup>453</sup> But alongside prayer, an experience of the Eternal is also 'latent or patent in every specifically human life and act.'<sup>454</sup>

Hügel provided examples of human manifestations of the experience of Eternal Life where 'utter absorption in God' was balanced by a sense of God's presence 'in souls... the joyous expansion of his entire nature through this keen sense and love!'<sup>455</sup> For example, Hügel mentioned Mère Marie de la Providence who led a mixed life, absorbed with adoration of God, but also helping and serving the sick.

### **VII.ii. Cultivating Eternal Life**

Given the central importance of Hügel's concept of Eternal Life, one of his aims in his spiritual direction was helping his directees cultivate an awareness and sense of this abiding presence of God, as the primary means to growth. In describing 'the soul which practises and experiences Eternal Life,'<sup>456</sup> Hügel implicitly suggested that being aware of God's presence is something that can be nurtured.

Some of the elements essential to the functioning of Eternal Life in the believer's life were highlighted by Hügel:

Eternal Life requires, for its normal, general, and deepest development, *Duration*, history; Space, Institutions; Material Stimulations and symbols, something sacramental; and Transcendence, a movement away from all and every culture and civilisation, to the Cross, to asceticism, to interior nakedness and the Beyond.<sup>457</sup>

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452 *EL*:89. Hügel described Catherine's 'favourite teaching as to Heaven beginning here below.' (*MEI*:239). He was partly indebted to Catherine for his conception of 'Eternal Life'.

453 *EL*:382. Hügel quoted Augustine to illustrate this: 'we transcended our very minds... we touched It slightly, by an impulse of all our heart... and we sighed, and returned to the sound of our own voices.' *Confessions*:9.10.24.

454 *EL*:1.

455 *EL*:372.

456 *EL*:390.

457 *EL*:392-3.

Here we clearly recognise the importance of the Institutional Element in spiritual growth. The Church was most emphasised as an essential prerequisite for the cultivation of this mystical indwelling that transforms the soul.

### **VII.iii. The effect of Eternal Life – spiritual formation**

For Hügel, spiritual formation was the natural by-product of union with God. When his daughter Gertrud came to doubt the reality of God, Hügel asked her to look at the lives of believers and see the transformation and fruit as evidence for God.<sup>458</sup> However, Hügel made it clear that in our earthly life, we can never attain 'our spiritual personality, and its full beatitude,' rather it is only 'begun' in this life.<sup>459</sup> He continued, 'the greater and ultimate has to awake and to grow within us.'<sup>460</sup> Rather than feeling guilty, impatient or fanatical about his character, Hügel accepted that on earth he would never attain to true godliness. Anything here is merely preparatory. It is:

a necessary and noble function... rooted in Him Who Abides and in the quasi-eternal within ourselves; yet one which (taken as it stands here on earth) is not throughout an end, *the* end, but is a means, or, at best, *the* means. We thus find perpetual escape from all pedantry or feverishness, and this through the gain of an unconquerable, because sober, optimism.<sup>461</sup>

Despite this, Eternal Life can lead to a growth in Christ-likeness. Hügel wrote:

only the experience and love of Eternal Life, are able, in the long run, to supply a sufficiently deep, steady, and tender love and service of our fellow-creatures... it will be acquired in close union with God. And this union will demand, and will produce, a profound self-knowledge.<sup>462</sup>

This self-knowledge is a 'purification' from our 'petty self.'<sup>463</sup> In addition, this 'union with God' brings forth expansion:

lines of the fullest life and of continual rebirth... the joys as well as the pangs of expansion can now be ours... that joy, pang, and expansion is, each and all, in the closest touch with,

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458 msIX1272:DAA:31/12/1897.

459 EL:367.

460 EL:367.

461 EL:367-8.

462 EL:317.

463 EL:123.

and is occasioned and sustained by, the experience of Eternal Life – the reality of the Abiding God.<sup>464</sup>

To experience Eternal Life is to live a qualitatively different life. In Hügel's words, it is the experience of 'a Living One... Who, touching me, the inferior, derivative life, can cause me to live by His aid and for His sake.'<sup>465</sup> The indwelling of the triune God causes the believer to live no longer for self but for God. In fact, we find our true self through this love of Christ, as we are caught up in His embrace. Hügel outlined seven virtues at the supernatural level that result from this union, and humility was viewed as 'the true foundation of all the other virtues.'<sup>466</sup>

In addition, the indwelling of Eternal Life gives us a double sense of Reality. The idea of living in two worlds is constant throughout Hügel's writings. Recognising 'the Reality of realities, the Eternal Spirit, God' behind all other realities, provides hope, joy and purpose for the believer.<sup>467</sup> This double sense, argues Hügel, will

make us profoundly concrete, historical, incarnational, ontological, real; yet all this without a touch of inflation. And it will fill us with a dauntless faith, courage, and joy, yet ever also with the creaturely temper – with respect for the body, for things, for matter; and will keep us ever averse to all abstract and subjectivist schemes.<sup>468</sup>

Eternal Life gives us a 'keen sense of His Perfection, Simultaneity and Prevenience, as against our imperfection, successiveness and dependence.'<sup>469</sup>

Thus Eternal Life is a crucial concept underlying Hügel's theology of spiritual formation.

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464 *EL*:xiii.

465 *EL*:385.

466 *EAI*:288.

467 *EL*:368.

468 *EL*:369.

469 *EL*:378. Evelyn's lived experience of Christ's indwelling was recorded in her 'Green Notebook', her spiritual journal for 1923 and 1924. Evelyn's experience of the indwelling of Christ was repeatedly described in this journal. In February 1923 Evelyn had a vivid experience of Christ. She recorded: 'yesterday I saw and felt how it actually is, that we are in Christ and He in us – the interpenetration of Spirit – and all of us merged together in Him actually, and so justly described as His body... This solves all Christological problems in a flash... turned to God in prayer; and suddenly the Spirit of Christ came right into my soul – as it were, transfusing it in every part... So intimate, all-penetrating, humbling. Lasted a very little time' (Greene:1993:35-8). As Evelyn saw Jesus she was filled with a 'sort of musical sense of adoration.' (Greene:1993:57). As a result, some of the areas that Hügel asked Evelyn to change, developed of their own accord: 'The more vivid the vision of Christ grows... the more one can escape by this path from the maze of self-occupation' (Greene:1993:40).

## **VIII. Coda**

This chapter discussed Hügel's instruction to directees concerning the Mystical Element. He recommended a humble posture that is God-focused and encouraged directees towards a number of spiritual disciplines: prayer, visiting the poor, devotional reading, a mild asceticism, confession, non-religious interests and rest. He also advocated a 'leisurely' spirituality of moderation and provided instruction about enduring suffering and cultivating 'Eternal Life.'

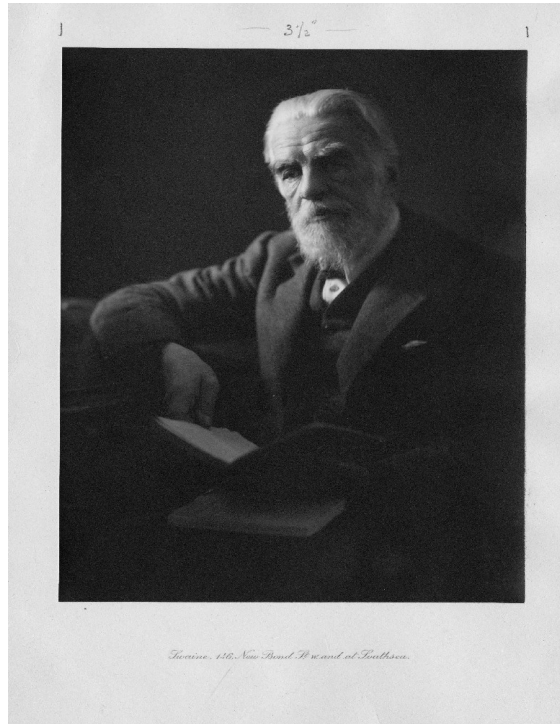
Having examined the three Elements of Religion in Hügel's letters of spiritual direction, we now turn to examine Hügel's legacy through providing a critique and appraisal of his spiritual direction.



## Chapter 7: Appraisal of Hügel as spiritual director

'the Trinity my uncle achieved... He was a living example of his own discrimination with regard to the need for Church religion, and for the need in ourselves, of an active, intellectual, and mystical life.'<sup>1</sup> (Gwen)

"To sanctify is the biggest thing out." These words... express what he was, what he meant, what he wished most to do. His whole life lies in them. He tried to find truth, to teach us God, to sanctify our lives. He loved, and he wanted to teach us to love.<sup>2</sup> (Gwen)



*Hügel. Graduate Theological Union  
Special Collections:510/649-2523.*

### I. Introduction

In this final chapter we appraise and critique Hügel as a spiritual director. A number of voices contribute to this evaluation: Gwen Greene's *Mount Zion*; Hügel's own self-critique; the praise and critique of directees and other contemporaries; the evaluation of scholars; and an evaluation of elements of Hügel's practice in the light of contemporary discussion about spiritual direction.

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1 TW:144.

2 LN:viii-ix.

## II. 'Living the Letters': Gwen Greene and *Mount Zion*

After publishing *LN* in 1928, Gwen attended an Easter retreat where she was 'called *the Mrs Greene* by total strangers... reading the *Letters*.'<sup>3</sup> Gwen received letters from 'unknown admirers' of the *Letters* and replied to their letters each morning for several hours.<sup>4</sup> Gwen wrote, 'They take the *Letters* seriously... they ask me many questions about them... In writing this book I have been urged by the desire to answer some of the questions.'<sup>5</sup> So in 1929, Gwen published *Mount Zion (MZ)*, sharing her experience of trying to live out what she had learned from Hügel, and in so doing providing a fascinating reappraisal of the direction she had received.

The context in which Gwen wrote *MZ* was one of suffering. Gwen's sister, Dolly, wrote: 'After breakfast, Gwen worked on her book... Much of poor G's time is spent talking to Olivia on the telephone... O. appears to be on the verge of suicide.'<sup>6</sup> But in the midst of her children's crises, Gwen reflected that Hügel enabled her to 'help other souls; for he planted things in me which... bear fruit – they provide answers to those persons who come for help about questions which trouble them.'<sup>7</sup> Hügel recognised Gwen's gift and wrote of his 'deep gratification at the way... you manage to discover – to draw out – what is in the souls of others.'<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Dom Hanbury wrote,

She cared intensely about helping souls and she took unlimited pains and trouble to do so without ever counting the cost... her letters were fresh and spontaneous... infused with a spirit of courage and hopefulness... the effect of her deep religious faith.<sup>9</sup>

*MZ* provides a different type of evidence about the nature of Hügel's spiritual direction than simply examining Hügel's letters. Here we have Gwen, the main recipient of Hügel's nurture, answering the questions she received from readers of *LN*.<sup>10</sup> She fleshes out Hügel's arguments experientially, providing detail and authenticity. Evelyn Underhill described *MZ* as 'a spiritual document which is entirely fresh, spontaneous, personal, and realistic... the influence of the Baron is felt in every page. But here his teaching is seen through another temperament...'<sup>11</sup> Evelyn described Gwen's writing as

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3 GDL:30/3/1929.

4 GDL:21/4/1929.

5 *MZ*:ix-x.

6 DD:23/7/1929:SPA.

7 Greene:1932:129.

8 BA:31/8/20.

9 Hanbury:1959:117.

10 It must be stated that *MZ* was written four years after Hügel's death when Gwen was receiving spiritual direction from Bede Jarrett and had converted to Catholicism. Gwen mentions Father Jarrett's influence on *MZ* in her Introduction (*MZ*:xi).

11 Underhill:1929:775.

'intuitive, subjective and... lyrical... It is perhaps this perfect fusion of the fruits of thought and contemplation which gives this book its great impressiveness.'<sup>12</sup>

## **II.i. Major themes in *MZ***

The main topics discussed in *MZ* are prayer (5 chapters), God (4 chapters), Christ (2 chapters), the Holy Spirit (1 chapter), and the Church (2 chapters).<sup>13</sup> Gwen's correspondents 'endeavour to live' Hügel's letters 'into their lives.'<sup>14</sup> Their questions appear to have been mainly practical, so Gwen responded by sharing her experience of trying to live out Hügel's teaching.

## **II.ii. Dominance of the Intellectual Element and subsequent loss of the Mystical Element**

The necessity for all three Elements of religion in a believer's life was repeatedly emphasised by Gwen in *MZ*. She wrote:

religion... requires... three great "elements"... to make up her full life... a kind of Trinity, to feed her.... A religion... that does not contain *all three* elements, becomes one-sided - either entirely this world, entirely theological, cold and dogmatic - or too inspirational, too far away... man needs all three in himself, fusing, mixing, and striving together within him.<sup>15</sup>

Like Hügel, Gwen argued that each person is 'characteristically and directly *one* type... the church type, the theological and intellectual type, or the inspirational intuitive type.'<sup>16</sup> However, she emphasised the necessity to 'accommodate some little part of all *three* in himself, [he] must practice some little part of each; or his religion will become dead and fruitless.'<sup>17</sup>

Gwen's evaluation of the state of the Church of England was also made in terms of the three Elements. She described the church as 'sleeping'<sup>18</sup> and 'dead'<sup>19</sup> because it was overly focused on the Intellectual Element. The desire to be 'utterly rational, to explain everything'<sup>20</sup> killed the Mystical Element in her life and practice:

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12 Underhill:1929:775.

13 *MZ* also has a chapter on 'Suffering', 'God's love in man' and 'Beauty.'

14 *MZ*:ix.

15 *MZ*:51.

16 *MZ*:51.

17 *MZ*:51.

18 *MZ*:46.

19 *MZ*:54.

20 *MZ*:52-3.

Leaving out the third element [the church] left herself without a soul... religion became only a half-person instead of a whole person... She thrived on theology.<sup>21</sup>

While Gwen's focus was upon the absence of the Mystical Element, her writing also pointed to an eclipsed Institutional Element. Gwen argued that the church:

forgot what she owed to the past, to history, to tradition. She despised the experience of centuries... she forgot that our Lord himself always made use of symbols, and that man is not spirit alone, but body and spirit. So she turned out symbols.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, aesthetics were ignored, 'suffocating man's natural religious sense,' providing 'a religion without any expression... [for] beauty, poetry.'<sup>23</sup>

This dominance of the Intellectual Element and a lessened Institutional Element meant:

the poor little mystical element slipped unnoticed away. She was like a little Cinderella and was certainly not wanted at this grand elderly feast... the mystical spirit... gradually died away. The English Church put away all childlikeness and the little homely things that people love... turned away the inspirational, the mystical, the spirit-in-body life, and she concentrated herself on... the institutional and the theological elements.<sup>24</sup>

Gwen felt that the English Church needed:

to give herself for souls, to sanctify them for God... She puts off the skin that has hid her brightness, and the little Cinderella is wooed to come back to sit at the same table with the other two. She comes, but very shyly – for she has been away so long, and the stream of her life is so hidden, it takes some time for her to find her natural home at their cold correct table. She is rather afraid of her grand relations.<sup>25</sup>

Gwen argued that without the Mystical Element, the Church was 'entirely this-world... common sense, extra-rational... this *half*-religion... leaves out... the spirit of God.'<sup>26</sup> The Holy Spirit was seen as key in the revival of the Mystical Element.

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21 MZ:52-3.

22 MZ:52-3.

23 MZ:49.

24 MZ:52-3.

25 MZ:58-9.

26 MZ:48.

### **II.iii. Regaining the mystical element: the Holy Spirit**

A notable difference between Hügel's *LN* and Gwen's *MZ* is that Gwen devoted an entire chapter to the Holy Spirit. Hügel was Trinitarian, but his language tended to be Christocentric, speaking most often of the 'Christ-Spirit' and focusing upon union with Christ. In *MZ*, Gwen spoke explicitly of the Holy Spirit, highlighting the Spirit's role in spiritual formation. Her doctrine of the Holy Spirit tended to be experiential and mystical rather than abstract and theological.

The Holy Spirit was described by Gwen as a 'person'<sup>27</sup> who proceeds from Father and Son<sup>28</sup> and is the revealer, enabling us to know Christ.<sup>29</sup> The Spirit is 'secret' and 'doesn't tell when he will come or... go.'<sup>30</sup> The Spirit is 'Comforter,'<sup>31</sup> 'love... beauty... truth... the action of God's power,'<sup>32</sup> the giver of joy in pain<sup>33</sup> and God's 'everlasting changeless love.'<sup>34</sup> The Spirit 'prays in us, moves us, teaches us; fills our hearts... [gives] ...understanding... wisdom... truth... love... [and] makes us free.'<sup>35</sup> It is significant that Gwen spoke directly about the Spirit's role when this was largely not addressed by Hügel.

### **II.iv. The practice of contemplative prayer**

Hügel's teaching about contemplative prayer in *LN* has already been discussed in Chapter 6.<sup>36</sup> Though he mentioned two stages in contemplative prayer, Hügel did not provide specific counsel in *LN* about how to 'drive' distractions, or the nature of the 'second stage.'<sup>37</sup> Given Gwen devoted a chapter to contemplation, it is likely that she received letters from directees about the actual practice of contemplative prayer.

As a mystic, Gwen provided her readers with information concerning her personal experience of contemplative prayer.<sup>38</sup> She argued that contemplative prayer 'needs to be trained, practised and fed,'<sup>39</sup> but it is the heart behind the prayer that matters, for contemplative prayer is an 'expression

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27 *MZ*:189.

28 *MZ*:187,189.

29 'God reveals all things to us by His Spirit...' *MZ*:200. Gwen also wrote that the Spirit 'fills us with the divine madness, the folly of God and the Cross.' *MZ*:187.

30 *MZ*:186.

31 *MZ*:187.

32 *MZ*:189.

33 *MZ*:200.

34 *MZ*:196.

35 *MZ*:187.

36 See 4.2.ii.

37 *LN*:140.

38 Gwen was a mystic and mentioned her 'visions' to Tom Burns. (GTL:20/8/1944).

39 *MZ*:26.

of... love.<sup>40</sup> It could be practised 'peeling potatoes' or praying in church.<sup>41</sup> And like Hügel, Gwen emphasised that contemplative prayer is a gift from God.<sup>42</sup>

Gwen gave her readers specific advice about Hügel's first stage of contemplative prayer - the driving out of distractions.<sup>43</sup> She wrote repeatedly of the need to shed distractions and 'gaze on... the Being of God.'<sup>44</sup> The secret to this is *through Christ*: 'We sit quietly and reposefully under Christ's Cross, and his is the image that keeps at bay all distractions... We are detached from all here, we enter *there*.'<sup>45</sup>

Gwen also described Hügel's 'second stage' of recollection, union with God: 'though words of love may visit [the soul], she is hardly able to pronounce them.'<sup>46</sup> Given the difficulty of language to describe this wordless union, like many mystics Gwen reverted to metaphor, using the images of a river and a thread, and referring interchangeably to '*Christ's spirit*' and the '*Holy Spirit*' in this indwelling:

his spirit enters into all we do... the Holy Ghost enters ourselves... Christ's love mingles in ours; *this* is his sacramental life. Christ's life is as a deep river that fills all our empty steams, or it is like a thread intimately woven into all we are, and issuing in all we do.<sup>47</sup>

Gwen also frequently used the language of enclosure or containment to describe this union: 'Christ encloses [the soul] in himself, and he abides in her, and thus we are lifted up out of ourselves into Christ.'<sup>48</sup> Similarly, 'let us seek both to be contained in Them [the Trinity] and to contain Them, that we may escape from the imprisonment of ourselves.'<sup>49</sup> We find in Gwen's treatment of contemplative prayer much more explicitly Trinitarian language than we see in Hügel. She spoke of 'the Trinity that sanctifies the world,'<sup>50</sup> writing, 'as we grow nearer to the inner centre we see the circle of divine beauty, the Trinity – God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost.'<sup>51</sup>

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40 MZ:8. Gwen wrote, 'The heart of prayer is love.' MZ:29. She argued, 'We may be loving most when we are not conscious of loving at all.' MZ:10.

41 MZ:154.

42 MZ:15;149.

43 LN:30;140.

44 MZ:152.

45 MZ:154.

46 MZ:152.

47 MZ:204-5.

48 MZ:42. Similarly, 'in the love of Jesus our souls can be enclosed.' MZ:169.

49 MZ:91.

50 MZ:194.

51 MZ:210. Similarly, 'He (Jesus) is the Door to the Father, in the Spirit we abide in him in Them; we are all one.' MZ:172.

Sometimes Gwen emphasised the role of Christ: 'by looking on Christ we gain... likeness to him himself... it is a mystery he accomplishes;<sup>152</sup> '[Christ] recreates us;<sup>153</sup> 'to sanctify us [Christ] mixes his life with our own.'<sup>154</sup> On other occasions, Gwen emphasised that Christ and the Father act in concert: 'look... at Christ and at God; and in looking at them our souls are dilated, expanded, we can take in what they want to give.'<sup>155</sup> At other times, Gwen emphasised the Spirit's role in contemplative prayer: the 'Spirit recreates us, purifies us, and sanctifies us;<sup>156</sup> 'the Holy Spirit... prays in us;<sup>157</sup> contemplative prayer is the 'gift of the Holy Spirit.'<sup>158</sup> And on another occasion, Gwen wrote of the Spirit as the spirit of Christ: 'we are transformed by the Spirit... for he is not separate but a part in Christ as of God.'<sup>159</sup> So we see that Gwen inadvertently critiqued Hügel through the way she was more explicitly Trinitarian in her explanation of contemplative prayer.

## II.v. Death to self through gazing upon Christ

Another theme that emerged in Gwen's discussion of contemplative prayer was that of death to self, again following Hügel.<sup>60</sup> Gwen must have received letters from people asking how this 'death to self' is established. Gwen took the pressure off the directees' striving, reassuring them that it is Christ's work. It is not achieved by their will-power and striving, but comes naturally through loving Christ. Gwen wrote, 'we are delivered from self, not by a suppression of self, but by an enlargement of self, into Christ, our perfect liberty.'<sup>61</sup> It is through Christ, the 'larger self,' that we are able to 'forget ourselves... lose ourselves.'<sup>62</sup> The purpose of this death to self is to make way for Christ: 'The soul must be empty for him to enter, her "I" must disappear;<sup>63</sup> 'we need not be these overfull creatures, who have no room for Christ.'<sup>64</sup>

Thus this loss of self occurs as the soul is absorbed into something much larger than itself:

The soul thus ever seeks to absorb herself, away from herself... In the ocean of God's

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52 MZ:43.

53 MZ:44.

54 MZ:160.

55 MZ:145-6. On another occasion, she simply stated, 'God pushes out their own imperfections.' MZ:45.

56 MZ:203.

57 MZ:154.

58 MZ:39.

59 MZ:188.

60 See Chapter 5, section 4.7. cf. MZ: 'a daily death to self, till the self is not.' (MZ:37); 'we have to really die to ourselves, it is no sham dying.' (MZ:45); 'We learn we have to die daily, to take up his cross; to lose our lives for him, to carry the burdens of others and to seek nothing for ourselves.' (MZ:157).

61 MZ:148.

62 MZ:18.

63 MZ:204.

64 MZ:177-8.

regard, the soul loses herself, and she plunges into His deep otherness, and is lost to all here: in the light of his gaze she is absorbed.<sup>65</sup>

Gwen further described the process: 'to die daily, to plunge daily into this ocean of abandonment where she requires nothing, and loses herself... the soul... forgets herself...'<sup>66</sup> The quality most required here is the humbling effect of contemplative prayer. Gwen wrote, 'The more we see of Him [God] the more we realise... our littleness.'<sup>67</sup> For 'without our contact with *Christ* we become... full of pride.'<sup>68</sup>

This death to self was also described through the metaphor of 'unveiling': 'a taking away of what hides that we may pierce into the very truth.'<sup>69</sup> Gwen argued that this 'denudation'<sup>70</sup> and 'continual necessity for a new conversion'<sup>71</sup> was essential and ongoing:

for we ever make ourselves chains; we get tied up in customs, we hide ever and again under new veils – the desperate claiming self is ever building again the shelters we have destroyed; and with each step we take nearer, we learn how far we are from God.<sup>72</sup>

## II.vi. The mixed life – living in two worlds

But lest her readers think contemplative prayer is where they should stay, Gwen echoed Hügel, urging the necessity for the mixed life of prayer and social action. She followed Christ's example writing, 'the ideal is to leave the world, but yet to return to it, and through God to love it more...'<sup>73</sup> It is a cycle of 'turn[ing]... from prayer to activity, from activity to prayer,'<sup>74</sup> having a touch of both Martha and Mary in us,<sup>75</sup> 'a touch of recollection... in our occupied days.'<sup>76</sup>

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65 MZ:150-1.

66 MZ:146-7.

67 MZ:38. Similarly, 'The true light [God] shows her herself... and faults all so clearly.' MZ:145.

68 MZ:42 (*italics added*).

69 MZ:37.

70 MZ:147.

71 MZ:145.

72 MZ:145.

73 MZ:84-5. This is repeated when Gwen argued, 'we love God first... We come back to the love of creatures, through and after our love of God. We love creatures best through this love of God...' MZ:107; 'get ever closer to souls, closer to all earthly contacts and difficulties, after our prayer. It should strengthen our love...' MZ:42.

74 MZ:19-20.

75 MZ:9.

76 MZ:16.



Living the mixed life meant that Gwen occupied two worlds.<sup>77</sup> Hügel had 'opened' for Gwen 'the door into the world that is so real, but is hidden.'<sup>78</sup> It is a 'double world' where our 'natural life' is also a 'sacramental life'<sup>79</sup>:

We seem to live thus ever mysteriously on the lighted edge of another world, another country; the invisible country that shines behind our visible world.<sup>80</sup>

Prayer therefore also served a protective and balancing function in a fast, increasingly-mechanised world:

our souls are not liberated, but more and more imprisoned in our mechanical inventions... we go so fast we cannot stop to think about words like 'unchangeable' and 'eternal'... our spirits suffer. We do not find rest...<sup>81</sup>

Gwen argued, 'we cannot grow in racket and distraction...';<sup>82</sup> we 'lose our very selves in over-activity.'<sup>83</sup> Similarly, we lose the sense of life's mystery: 'all life has got so loud and obvious that the true and mysterious has no place in the world... we have unravelled so many secrets that we imagine there are none left.'<sup>84</sup>

## **II.vii. Knowing God experientially**

Gwen felt that for many religious people, particularly theologians trained in the Intellectual Element of Religion, mystical experience of the hidden world was underdeveloped, and God was just a cerebral concept.

Sometimes it seems as though some people had no religious sense, like the people who have no musical sense... theologians remind one again of those persons who know all about music but have no musical sense, for these always tell us how everything should go, they explain music to us; though they have no music in themselves, they talk of it most of all.<sup>85</sup>

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77 This idea was repeatedly discussed by Hügel in *LN*.

78 *MZ*:xi.

79 *MZ*:16.

80 *MZ*:203.

81 *MZ*:163-4.

82 *MZ*:224.

83 *MZ*:224.

84 *MZ*:88-89.

85 *MZ*:57.

Gwen argued, 'We hide God in the mass of theology that has been laid upon Him; we forget the living God.'<sup>86</sup> Similarly, she wrote that Jesus could be discussed 'as though he were some dear memory; they do not seem to connect him with our lives here and now. Yet Christ is *here*.'<sup>87</sup>

## II.viii. Suffering

Gwen also devoted significant attention to the question of suffering, presumably in response to questions she received about *LN*. Gwen largely echoed Hügel's teaching describing suffering as 'evil'<sup>88</sup> and something 'we must not deify...'<sup>89</sup> She also recognised suffering as a means of closeness with Christ: 'our link with Gethsemane.'<sup>90</sup> Suffering was viewed as 'the key that opens the door to God... in the darkness she gathers most of him'<sup>91</sup> for Christ is 'a companion in suffering.'<sup>92</sup>

Gwen also emphasised suffering's 'utterly transforming power.'<sup>93</sup> She wrote that 'in offering all our pains and troubles and sorrows to Christ... they somehow become beautiful, they are transmuted and taken from us, and in Christ they shine.'<sup>94</sup> Those who haven't suffered 'are still to find their true selves... a selfless understanding that comes no other way.'<sup>95</sup> Gwen provided a long list of all the benefits of suffering.<sup>96</sup> But her writers were probably most interested in how to 'suffer well.'<sup>97</sup> Like Hügel, acceptance of suffering was seen as key.<sup>98</sup> Gwen wrote, 'the capacity to suffer well... [is] abandoning ourselves to it without bitterness or complaint,<sup>99</sup> 'desiring nothing but His will.'<sup>100</sup> Such 'rightly accepted suffering'<sup>101</sup> recognises that 'what we see is not what God sees' - we must look 'beyond what is here and now'<sup>102</sup> and focus on eternity.<sup>103</sup>

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86 MZ:102.

87 MZ:70-71.

88 MZ:121.

89 MZ:120.

90 MZ:40.

91 MZ:124.

92 MZ:132. Gwen argued, 'Suffering and love... are the reality of Christ to us, his call to us here.' MZ:121.

93 MZ:120.

94 MZ:194-5.

95 MZ:120. Gwen stated, 'There is no self, no "I" in suffering, it is all burnt up and lost in the divine consciousness...' MZ:122-3.

96 Suffering makes us 'loving' (MZ:129), 'understanding, patient' (MZ:122), 'humble' (MZ:129), produces 'love and joy.' (MZ:121).

97 MZ:121.

98 MZ:6,121.

99 MZ:137-8.

100 MZ:32.

101 MZ:124.

102 MZ:37. This was repeated when Gwen wrote, 'God enables us to push out of our sight the things that are passing and that distract us; we see through them, and we fix our eyes instead on the things that are central, the things that are behind them...' MZ:195.

103 MZ:195.

## II.ix. The Institutional Element: the Church's role in spiritual formation

Gwen also followed Hügel in emphasising the importance of the Church in spiritual formation. The Church was firstly the context in which we 'find the Presence we seek... God.'<sup>104</sup> For:

the Church is an organic being, a living expression of Christ... We may think of her threefold spirit, her sacramental life; God, Christ and the Holy Spirit... she is living, vital, and we need her.<sup>105</sup>

Alongside this vertical dimension, Gwen spoke of 'the truth of the great doctrine of the interdependence of souls... we should be one with our fellow-souls... We are not here to be separate...'<sup>106</sup> Gwen argued that through Church, 'we learn to love... to look at people... with Christ's eyes. We get a little less critical...'<sup>107</sup> Also, other souls 'support us in our times of darkness, when we ourselves can contribute nothing; we then take from those more faithful than ourselves.'<sup>108</sup> We are 'strengthened and inspired by the prayers of other souls.'<sup>109</sup> But Gwen also reiterated Hügel's use of the term 'costing' to describe the Church.<sup>110</sup>

## II.x. Gwen's Assessment of Hügel

The overall picture that emerges from *MZ* is that Gwen was not really critical of Hügel. She fleshed out his teaching through her own experience, but really did not change much of what she received from him at all. The only point on which she seemed to differ slightly is her more explicitly Trinitarian language, and mention of the Holy Spirit, as has been highlighted above. But this is arguably more a difference of form than of content.

The only other implicit criticism that is worth highlighting is the very existence and genre of her work. *MZ* is a devotional book of experiential writings. It is vulnerable, feminine, poetic and primarily centred in the Mystical Element. Hügel's writings, by contrast, are overwhelmingly cerebral. Even his letters, while personal, do not have the mystical intensity of Gwen's writings. It is curious that someone for whom the Mystical Element was so important never managed to write a

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104 *MZ*:45.

105 *MZ*:109-110.

106 *MZ*:206.

107 *MZ*:112-3. Similarly, the Church safeguards us from becoming 'solitary, superior, unchristian in our own prayer.'  
*MZ*:19.

108 *MZ*:32.

109 *MZ*:207. Similarly, Gwen saw prayer as like 'a coat of many colours... a web where each different coloured thread is twisted into another, each person needing each...' *MZ*:39-40.

110 *MZ*:112.

devotional work that expressed his personal, intimate experience of the indwelling Christ. Hügel loved devotional books like *The Imitation of Christ*, but he never wrote a work in that more intimate, spiritual genre. The readers of *LN*, through their many questions to Gwen, demonstrate that Hügel's lack of personal, experiential expression and detail about how to actually 'live' his principles is a weakness of his writing.

### III. Hügel's self-critique

Hügel was openly critical of his shortcomings as a spiritual director and humbly apologised for his mistakes. This section canvases some of the major shortcomings Hügel himself identified.

#### III.i. Expecting too much of directees

A recurring error was Hügel misjudging what was appropriate for a directee's age and stage and overstraining directees with advanced readings or practices. Hügel misjudged a directee's 'ripeness'<sup>111</sup> and commented: 'I so love youth; and then I discover, with pain, that I have put too much upon them!'<sup>112</sup> He confessed, 'I often make that sort of mistake.'<sup>113</sup>

The most striking example was with his daughter, Gertrud, when he 'presupposed too much maturity, too much carrying power.'<sup>114</sup> Hügel described it as 'miserable, blind work,'<sup>115</sup> 'by one who did not realise what he was doing.'<sup>116</sup> It was 'the biggest cross' of Hügel's life: 'I... *put out my True's spiritual eyes*. I... so strained and perplexed that very sensitive young soul... bereft her for years... of all peace, of all conscious faith.'<sup>117</sup>

He wrote to Gertrud apologising for his 'unwisdom' in forgetting her youth and 'individualities'<sup>118</sup> and the inappropriate '*pace* and *quantity*' of his teaching:

the tumultuousness of my tone, the pouring out of my mind, impressions, irritations... the

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111 *LN*:78.

112 *SL*:201.

113 *LN*:78.

114 *LN*:177.

115 *LN*:123.

116 msIX.1272.DAA:28/1/98.

117 *LN*:122. Hügel told Maude Petre he had 'not ceased to feel the keenest regret at having put... too much of a strain upon her than her mind and heart could bear.' *SL*:251.

118 msIX1272:DAA:6/1/98.

pace I took thoughtlessly, selfishly, from thirst for intellectual and heart sympathy... I have, alas, put difficulties and criticism so over-abundantly and prematurely before you.<sup>119</sup>

Hügel described his 'engrossment' in his problems and the 'unthinking way' he 'leant... upon that sweet, sensitive soul.'<sup>120</sup> Tyrrell reminded Hügel of 'St Paul's caution against giving babes the solid food of adults... we must give minds time to grow and feed them suitably to their age.'<sup>121</sup>

We see this mistake in Hügel's dealings with other directees. He 'urged too much... too rapidly' with Tyrrell,<sup>122</sup> and was 'straining' Gwen's 'brain.'<sup>123</sup>

### **III.ii. Too intense**

Similarly, Hügel was often too intense with directees. Juliet stopped Hügel after the first point of a four-point lecture he was about to deliver, concerning her behaviour.<sup>124</sup> Juliet's mother criticised Hügel's 'over-intensity,' saying Juliet felt 'strained' by his letter.<sup>125</sup> Hügel later apologised for being too 'heavy,'<sup>126</sup> recognising his 'self engrossment' in writing 'too grownuply [sic] for her... will always only follow her growth, which wants plenty of slowness, air, fun etc.'<sup>127</sup> Similarly, Hügel recognised himself as 'feverish and absolute in tone'<sup>128</sup> with Tyrrell, and 'over-emphatic'<sup>129</sup> with Sergie. Hügel told Tyrrell, 'we can actually hamper our advance by trying too directly, too vehemently, too much by absolute recipes or models.'<sup>130</sup> Yet the 'vehemence', with which Hügel 'approached everything,'<sup>131</sup> affected his spiritual direction of others. No wonder Hügel described himself to Evelyn as a 'clumsy-fingered' friend!<sup>132</sup>

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119 msIX1272:DAA:6/1/98.

120 ms37194/37a:SAUL.

121 SL:8-9.

122 SL:114-5.

123 LN:181.

124 D:23/3/11.

125 D:7/1/13.

126 ms37194/50a:SAUL:6/1/1921.

127 D:8/1/13.

128 SL:114-5

129 D:18/4/08.

130 SL:163.

131 Nédoncelle:1937:4. Gwen described Hügel as 'deep and vehement, almost violent in his feelings.'  
Greene:1932:131.

132 ms5552:SAUL:56.

### III.iii. Proselytizing and silencing

Of the 10 directees discussed, half were not Catholics.<sup>133</sup> Hügel repeatedly stated he didn't proselytize:<sup>134</sup> 'I never want to convert any soul... I only want to deepen and strengthen what that soul has already got.'<sup>135</sup> From past experience, he knew 'how easy it is to disturb souls... to push and strain them up to something to which they are not really called.'<sup>136</sup> Hügel told Gwen of people who had converted under his influence and 'become poor or even unpractising Catholics... he felt himself to blame...'<sup>137</sup> On one occasion, Hügel spoke with Gwen about Catholic conversion, then apologised: 'there was a double self-seeking about me that evening. I was thinking of my own case, instead of yours.'<sup>138</sup> Hügel recognised he had spoken 'with edge and concentration,'<sup>139</sup> and hoped he had 'not... done any permanent harm.'<sup>140</sup> He encouraged Gwen to 'drop' what he'd said,<sup>141</sup> then offered 'three hugs.'<sup>142</sup> Hügel showed a strange anxiety about pretending it had never happened!

However, we see Hügel carelessly 'unsettling' Gwen by stating in one breath that he did not want to convert her,<sup>143</sup> whilst talking of the superiority of the Catholic church. Gwen wrote, 'No talk ever passed... without his mentioning' the Catholic Church.<sup>144</sup> He told her 'Rome has the deepest depth,'<sup>145</sup> that 'the wisest, widest, deepest men' are Catholics,<sup>146</sup> that the Roman Church is 'like a ship' with a good equilibrium, and 'wise' judgements.<sup>147</sup> Hügel also made statements about her having a 'sensitively Catholic mind,' a 'deep Catholic soul,'<sup>148</sup> and that she feeds upon the 'practices and doctrines in Anglicanism which are Catholic' and 'instinctively' shrinks from what is 'un-Catholic.'<sup>149</sup> He also told Gwen he gave her Catholic writings as they were 'the best, the strongest, food.'<sup>150</sup> Gwen later reflected, 'I used to wonder sometimes how he could expect me to remain as I was, a feeble Anglican, in the face of these immense affirmations.'<sup>151</sup> Yet when Gwen discussed

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133 Gwen, Evelyn and Juliet were Anglican, Emilia was a Quaker and Norman was Presbyterian.

134 He told Gwen 'I find myself inclined to be very zealous to help souls to make the most of what they already have; and if they come to think of moving, to test them to the uttermost.' *LN*:165

135 *LN*:xxxix.

136 *LN*:165.

137 *LN*:xxxix.

138 *LN*:129.

139 *LN*:127.

140 *LN*:123.

141 *LN*:127.

142 *LN*:129. His diary entry reads, 'Very poor night.' D:23/2/1921.

143 *LN*:31-2.

144 Greene:1932:129.

145 *LN*:xxxvi.

146 *LN*:xxxvi.

147 *LN*:xxxvii.

148 *LN*:114.

149 *LN*:114.

150 *LN*:115.

151 Greene:1932:129.

possible conversion in 1920, Hügel trivialised her words, saying she only wanted to convert to 'be at one with your old uncle.'<sup>152</sup> He told her she should not convert unless it was clear that 'it would be sin not to.'<sup>153</sup> Gwen recounted the ambivalence of her position:

each time that I grew restless, I tried again to care for what had grown to seem so empty, to follow what he had advised. I loved and practised one way, while joined officially to something to which I felt quite strange, and I tried to remain content in this my double state... My soul poised between two centres, and knowing where she should be, began to suffer loss.<sup>154</sup>

We see something similar with Norman. Hügel told him that Catholicism had 'insight into sanctity' and 'supernatural depth... far greater' than Protestantism.<sup>155</sup> But in the next breath Hügel stated, 'I was not thinking of Rome for you... only if and when the sense of its necessity for your own soul and its growth comes, would I be happy at your moving.'<sup>156</sup> However, when talking to Gwen of the Catholic Church, Hügel confided, 'the desirableness of Professor Norman Kemp Smith, of Edinburgh, coming to us later on.'<sup>157</sup>

Hügel seemed to be both personally conflicted on this front, and unaware of how he was confusing and unsettling his directees here.

#### **IV. Assessment of Hügel by directees**

##### **IV.i. Positive assessments**

Overall, the reports of directees about their experience of Hügel's spiritual direction are incredibly positive. Gwen described his talks and letters as the 'greatest privilege and joy I shall ever receive... If I have learnt anything, it is from him that I learned.'<sup>158</sup> Juliet described Hügel as 'an ever present pillar of strength,'<sup>159</sup> who showed 'deep understanding'<sup>160</sup> and 'care,'<sup>161</sup> 'opening her eyes to the

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152 *LN*:115-6.

153 *LN*:115-6;8/12/1920. Thekla wrote, 'He kept her back for he was afraid it was his personal influence and she was not ready.' Sr-Thekla-to-Sr-Mary-Assumpta:July1963:CPA.

154 *LN*:xL-xLi.

155 Barmann:1981:162. Similarly, Hügel wrote the Catholic Church 'produces saints... greater than... elsewhere,' (*SL*:120) and has 'richer' Christian sanctity. (*SL*:187).

156 Barmann:1981:48.

157 *LN*:129.

158 *LN*:xLiii.

159 Mansel:1951:1.

160 Mansel:1951:2-3.

161 Beatie:1969:39-40

spiritual life.<sup>162</sup> Evelyn spoke of Hügel's 'rich and balanced vision,<sup>163</sup> and 'the depth of the riches which he had to bestow... [as] father of souls.'<sup>164</sup> Evelyn believed Hügel possessed

a spiritual creativeness; a capacity for reaching, penetrating, vivifying souls, which did not stop short with those who knew him in the flesh... The full number of his spiritual children will never be known; nor the extent to which his generously given advice, teaching and support are ultimately destined to fertilise the most distant corners of the Christian field.<sup>165</sup>

Wilfred described Hügel's letters as 'the greatest comfort,<sup>166</sup> and Emilia reported, 'how much he helped me.'<sup>167</sup>

#### **IV.ii. Positive assessment by directees' families**

In addition, the reports we have from directees' families are overwhelmingly positive. Mildred thanked Hügel for 'helping Juliet, in matters where she herself knows not how.'<sup>168</sup> Henri's father twice thanked Hügel 'most cordially' for his son's nurture.<sup>169</sup> Wilfred was 'so glad' Hügel was having talks with his son,<sup>170</sup> and repeatedly spoke of Leo's enthusiasm for further talks.<sup>171</sup> Watkin's daughter, Magdalen Goffin, described Hügel's 'largeness of heart' in his treatment of her father.<sup>172</sup> So from the small amount of evidence we have, directees' families were uniformly positive about Hügel's nurture.

#### **IV.iii. Negative assessments by directees: the light-blue pencil**

Not all directees' assessments of Hügel were positive all of the time, however. The originals of Hügel's letters to Juliet provide evidence of a negative reaction towards Hügel after 1921.<sup>173</sup> Originals of several letters have light-blue pencil crossing out of Hügel's terms of endearment for Juliet. In the 1921 letter, the words 'Sweet' and 'My Sweet' are crossed out;<sup>174</sup> two 1911 letters have

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162 Mansel:1951:2.

163 Underhill:1933:225.

164 Underhill:1928:823.

165 Underhill:1933:230.

166 ms3161:SAUL.

167 ms38776/8:SAUL. Unfortunately, no comments are available from Henri, Margaret or Gertrud.

168 D:11/2/10.

169 D:26/12/15;14/12/17.

170 Ward:1937:479.

171 ms38776/2/6:SAUL;ms38776/2/4:SAUL;ms38776/2/5:SAUL.

172 Goffin:2006:118.

173 The same light-blue pencil was used on several letters, including one written in 1921, presumably indicating that all of the letters were annotated over a similar period, sometime after 1921.

174 ms37194/50a:SAUL:6/1/1921.



'my Darling' and 'Sweet' crossed out, a large cross through each page, plus a line through the sentence, 'I am looking forward *hugely* to your week here in December,'<sup>175</sup> and Hügel's 1910 letters bear the same light-blue pencil markings.<sup>176</sup>

Kelly's interview with Juliet in 1974 may provide some context for this negativity. Juliet reported that Hügel did not seem to appreciate her pain at her fiancé's death, or 'the change the war had wrought on her, since he had remained basically unaffected by the whole tragic event.'<sup>177</sup> Juliet

spoke in a rather reserved way about Hügel, not as though he were a friend... and indicated that while she had been utterly changed by the war experience, he still related to her as before... it didn't seem to have affected him or his manner of relating to her - or... his spiritual advice.<sup>178</sup>

Bedoyère similarly spoke of Hügel having his 'spiritual insight' and 'feelings' unaffected by the war: 'Contacts with phenomena and problems outside his personal and individual spiritual quarrying were either treated academically... or else rather naively... of his class.'<sup>179</sup> Beatie similarly critiqued Hügel for sending Juliet letters during the war, 'filled with suggestions of things to read,' when Juliet was 'up to the middle in mud nursing at the front.'<sup>180</sup>

Hügel's choice of gifts was not always the most appropriate either. In 1922, Hügel visited Mildred and 'took... back Vols I and II of Ranke's *Weltgeschichte*,'<sup>181</sup> which he had given to Juliet for her 21st birthday. Presumably Juliet never read these two German volumes of World History, and so returned them.<sup>182</sup>

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175 ms37194/29b/c:SAUL:30/10/11; ms37194/256a:SAUL:12/5/11. An additional letter similarly has crosses across several pages in the light-blue pencil and a light-blue line through the words 'Sweet' and 'My Sweet.'  
ms37194/6a/b:SAUL:4/2/1910.

176 ms37194/17a:SAUL:28/9/1910 & ms27194/18a:SAUL:4/10/1910.

177 Kelly:1983:211.

178 Email communication:17/1/2011.

179 Bedoyère:1951:280.

180 Beatie:1969:39-40

181 D:1/11/22.

182 These two volumes are in Hügel's library in SAUL. Hügel crossed out the German inscription 'Juliet Mansel, on the twenty-first birthday from her fatherly old Friend, Friedrich Hügel' so that only his name remains. Another inappropriate book choice was *Gifts of Civilisation* for Juliet's 16th birthday. A lecture on the Brahman 'Vedas' is presumably not what most 16-year-old girls would usually choose to read.

#### IV.iv. Disregard for the poor

Juliet also criticised Hügel for the squalor in which he allowed his servants to live. She was amused about his writings about busmen and washerwomen,<sup>183</sup> as she could not imagine him actually associating with such people.<sup>184</sup> But several of Hügel's contemporaries recounted the way Hügel revered the unimportant in society: 'full of unhurried interest in humble people' (Evelyn);<sup>185</sup> 'his love of small people' (Talbot);<sup>186</sup> 'so charming to lesser men and ordinary people... so ready to learn from anybody' (Montefiore).<sup>187</sup> Söderblom spoke of Hügel's:

personal interest for man as man, whether he is pope or cabman... simply to grasp and love the human, the divine in each man and therefore also to find an individual, who might be uninteresting to common eyes, to find him worthy of attention and interest.<sup>188</sup>

Nédoncelle echoed this: 'Working people... knew him. He took them seriously, meeting each one of them as a friend from whom he had something to learn. He was the kind of man who would give up two hours to oblige a total stranger, or to answer a letter which he felt concealed a sorrow.'<sup>189</sup> Eva, Hügel's housemaid, was often seen asking Hügel questions, and he read books to her when on holidays.<sup>190</sup> Once a Cardinal asked Eva theological questions, and asked who had taught her so well. She answered, 'The Baron.'<sup>191</sup> In Hügel's will, he made special provision to have Eva, his 'valued friend and most faithful servant,' have 50 pounds per annum for life once she retired.<sup>192</sup>

So Juliet's critique does not appear particularly supported by any other contemporary reports. On the other hand, it's quite conceivable that Hügel could have been much more interested in the 'small people' than others of his aristocratic class, yet not have been able to fully escape his privileged context altogether.

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183 For example, Hügel wrote about 'a washerwoman whose feet I wish I could become worthy to kiss.' *EAI*:110.

184 Kelly:1983:211.

185 Underhill:1933:209-210.

186 *SL*:57. Others echo this sentiment: 'He was at home among those whom Juliana of Norwich called "the blessed common"... his care and consideration for little insignificant people who sometimes came to him. He did not regard them as insignificant if he felt they were sincere and he thought he could help them – or learn from them.' (Chambers:1945:20,22).

187 *SL*:35-6.

188 ms37237/14/5:SAUL:26/4/1922.

189 Nédoncelle:1937:39. This is reiterated by an unnamed friend of Hügel's: 'His care for little insignificant people, and the way he spent himself for them!' *SL*:56.

190 Barmann:1981:179

191 *SL*:67.

192 msB3280.H8/9:SAUL.

## V. Scholarly assessments of Hügel's spiritual direction

Hügel's spiritual direction has been relatively little addressed by scholars, however some assessments have been made. Leonard criticised Hügel's 'eager direction' of Juliet, and wondered 'whether the relationship may have been more a response to Hügel's needs than to Juliet's.'<sup>193</sup> Leonard also questioned 'the suitability of his advice to a schoolgirl.'<sup>194</sup> Bedoyère reiterated this, critiquing Hügel for having 'too little regard for the capacity of the pupil,'<sup>195</sup> and writing letters often 'well over the head' of Juliet<sup>196</sup> that 'could hardly have been thoroughly absorbed.'<sup>197</sup> Nédoncelle argued that Hügel's direction had 'a certain heaviness and complexity... Such a style risks transforming a well-laid-out garden into an impenetrable forest... overloading young minds.'<sup>198</sup> Steere criticised Hügel for his 'attempt to throw his own pattern and concerns upon... Gertrud,'<sup>199</sup> as we have already seen Hügel acknowledge.

Hügel was also assessed more positively by scholars, however. Steere catalogued Hügel's gifts as a spiritual director: being saturated with an awareness God is at work;<sup>200</sup> knowing what it was to be needy;<sup>201</sup> giving himself 'without reserve' when guiding souls;<sup>202</sup> having a 'profound reverence for the differences in souls,'<sup>203</sup> and his 'extraordinary flexibility in understanding souls of very different types who all need... deepening.'<sup>204</sup> Hendrie wrote that 'for Hügel, human life is never simple,' and this 'saves him from puritanism and idealism... and... makes him so effective as a spiritual director.'<sup>205</sup> Dana Greene suggested, 'Hügel's intent in all his direction is to develop solid, sober, simple souls with staying power, at the same time characterised by a freedom and childlikeness.'<sup>206</sup> Beatie described Hügel's letters to Juliet as 'powerful,'<sup>207</sup> and Whelan viewed these letters as 'markedly uncoercive,' displaying 'particular love and care.'<sup>208</sup>

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193 Leonard:1997:105-6. Leonard believed that 'Juliet... did not respond as he wished...' Leonard:1997:105. Bedoyère critiqued Hügel for being Juliet's 'strange protector.' Bedoyère:1951:259.

194 Leonard:1997:105-6.

195 Bedoyère:1951:312.

196 Bedoyère:1951:311-312. Beatie stated the letters were 'at times beyond her.' Beatie:1969:39.

197 Bedoyère:1951:260.

198 Nédoncelle:1937:49.

199 Steere:1964:11.

200 Steere:1964:10.

201 Steere:1964:11.

202 Steere:1964:12.

203 Steere:1964:11.

204 Steere:1964:9.

205 Hendrie:2001:132.

206 Greene:1993:51.

207 Beatie:1969:39-40

208 Whelan:1971:224.

So on balance the assessment of the scholars that have looked at Hügel as a spiritual director probably comes down as more positive than negative.

## VI. Hügel's personal qualities as spiritual director

Another angle of critique comes through identifying key personal qualities in current thinking about spiritual direction, and assessing the extent to which Hügel displayed those qualities. This critique provides us with a more contemporary benchmark against which to evaluate Hügel, and assess his relevance to the contemporary practice of spiritual direction.

Current literature on spiritual direction highlights a number of personal qualities often found in effective spiritual directors.<sup>209</sup> Table 2 highlights 12 of these qualities identified from the literature: a spiritual director should be wise, self-aware, humble, warm, loving, firm but gentle, kind, generous, intuitive and discerning, understanding and sympathetic, good-humoured, and holy. The second column cites evidence from Hügel's directees or contemporaries as to whether Hügel possessed this quality, and the third column provides evidence from scholars.

*Table 2: Hügel's personal qualities as a spiritual director*

Quality	Evidence from directees/eyewitnesses	Evidence from scholars
wise <sup>210</sup>	Gwen: 'wise, a fatherly wisdom' <sup>211</sup> Norman: 'wise & kindly advice' <sup>212</sup> A lay friend: 'brought wisdom... to our hearts' <sup>213</sup> Petre: 'wisest' <sup>214</sup> Canon Lilley: 'rich profound stores of wisdom... pearls of spiritual wisdom' <sup>215</sup>	Nédoncelle: 'wise maxim,' <sup>216</sup> 'combined human wisdom with the radiant charity of Christ' <sup>217</sup>

209 For example, see Barry:1992; Michael:2004; Dubay:1993; Guenther:1992; Jones:1999; Houston:2006; Demarest:2003; Barry & Connolly:1986 etc.

210 Nemeck:1985:95-107; Barry:1992:95.

211 LN:xL.

212 KS:40.

213 SL:55.

214 Petre:1937b:xii.

215 Petre:1937b:x.

216 Nédoncelle:1937:46.

217 Nédoncelle:1937:49.

Quality	Evidence from directees/eyewitnesses	Evidence from scholars
self-aware <sup>218</sup>	Hügel told Hildegard he was: 'difficult and contrary... violent and obstinate... fret when I cannot get my way' <sup>219</sup>	Steere: had no 'fear of disclosing his own personal... weakness' <sup>220</sup> Nédoncelle: 'talks a good deal about himself' <sup>221</sup>
humble <sup>222</sup>	Gwen: 'touching humility' <sup>223</sup> Frances: 'a perfect type of Christian humility' <sup>224</sup> Edward Talbot: 'the... humility with which he treated me' <sup>225</sup> Cock: 'to speak with him was an education in humility' <sup>226</sup> Petre: 'what... humility' <sup>227</sup> 'humble' <sup>228</sup> Hildegard 'humble, keen wish to learn from anyone' <sup>229</sup> Evelyn: 'able... to say... "Another little humiliation for me – what a good thing!"' <sup>230</sup> 'humble' <sup>231</sup> Montefiore: 'very humble' <sup>232</sup>	Steere: 'humble' <sup>233</sup> Leonard: 'teachableness' <sup>234</sup> Whelan: 'humility' <sup>235</sup> Nédoncelle: 'very humble' <sup>236</sup> Barmann: 'wanted always to learn... from another' <sup>237</sup>
warm <sup>238</sup>	Gwen: 'warm... presence... warmth of his heart... affection... radiated.' <sup>239</sup> Edward Talbot: 'warm sympathies' <sup>240</sup>	No evidence

218 Guenther:1992:11.

219 Steere:1964:43-4.

220 Steere:1964:13.

221 Nédoncelle:1937:47.

222 Vanderwall:1981:97; Dubay:1993:73,79; Michael:2004:43.

223 *LN*:xLi. Hügel told Tyrrell, 'thank you... for so kindly speaking out, and giving me a better chance of self-improvement...'<sup>SL</sup>:152.

224 Lillie:1925:64.

225 *SL*:57.

226 Cock:1953:151.

227 Petre:1937b:55.

228 Petre:1937:256.

229 Bedoyère:1951:54.

230 Underhill:1933:209-210.

231 Underhill:1933:228.

232 *SL*:35.

233 Steere:1964:9,13.

234 Leonard:1997:142.

235 Whelan:1971:21.

236 Nédoncelle:1937:38.

237 Barmann:1972:14.

238 Barry & Connolly:1986:126; Ball:2007:116.

239 Greene:1932:128.

240 *SL*:57.

Quality	Evidence from directees/eyewitnesses	Evidence from scholars
loving <sup>241</sup>	Gwen: 'love and care' <sup>242</sup> 'loved... people' <sup>243</sup> 'He loved and he wanted to teach us to love' <sup>244</sup> Juliet: 'fatherly love' <sup>245</sup> Evelyn: 'homely love' <sup>246</sup> 'lovable' <sup>247</sup> 'his love of souls' <sup>248</sup> A woman: 'open heart for every... soul' <sup>249</sup> Söderblom: 'lover of mankind' <sup>250</sup> Frances: 'always the... loving person' <sup>251</sup>	Leonard: 'affection... love' <sup>252</sup> Whelan: 'his splendid charity' <sup>253</sup> Nédoncelle: 'deeply interested in human beings' <sup>254</sup> Bedoyère: 'a full heart' <sup>255</sup>
firm but gentle <sup>256</sup>	Dr Gow: 'so gentle a kindness and yet... so firm... a clarity' <sup>257</sup> Frances: 'truthful and careful' <sup>258</sup> Hildegard: 'so...gentle with me... never forcing me unduly... always gentle' <sup>259</sup> Unnamed friend: 'often a stern reminder where one should seek and find one's own mistakes, a clear, unhesitating judgement... yet the tender and warm understanding' <sup>260</sup>	Steere: 'no forcing' <sup>261</sup> 'Salesian gentleness' <sup>262</sup> 'so gentle a kindness and yet with so firm and penetrative a clarity to the difficulties involved' <sup>263</sup> Gibbard: 'a gentle guide' <sup>264</sup>

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- 241 Vanderwall:1981:55,70; Nemeck:1985:147-148; Michael:2004:40,43; Barry & Connolly:1986:126; Demarest:2003:181.
- 242 *LN*:viii.
- 243 Greene:1932:131.
- 244 *LN*:ix.
- 245 Mansel:1951:2-3.
- 246 Underhill:1933:209-10.
- 247 Underhill:1933:209.
- 248 Underhill:1928:823.
- 249 *SL*:56.
- 250 *SL*:53.
- 251 Barrows:1969:99.
- 252 Leonard:1997:104-5.
- 253 Whelan:1971:15.
- 254 Nédoncelle:1937:36.
- 255 Bedoyère:1951:262.
- 256 Jones:1999:3,74; Vanderwall:1981:54; Nemeck:1985:126-128; Nemeck:1985:156-7; Houston:2006:135; Guenther:1992:63.
- 257 Steere:1948:173.
- 258 Barrows:1969:111.
- 259 Bedoyère:1951:54.
- 260 *SL*:56.
- 261 Steere:1964:18.
- 262 Steere:1964:20.
- 263 Steere:1948:173.
- 264 Gibbard:1975:17.

Quality	Evidence from directees/eyewitnesses	Evidence from scholars
kind	Norman: 'extraordinary kindness' <sup>265</sup> A friend: 'kind friend...' <sup>266</sup> Söderblom: 'sincere kindheartedness' <sup>267</sup> Loisy: 'his kindness' <sup>268</sup> Frances: 'kind' <sup>269</sup> 'dear and kind' <sup>270</sup> Evelyn: 'he has been most awfully kind to me' <sup>271</sup>	Nédoncelle: 'true kindness... stamped on his face' <sup>272</sup>
generous	Edward Talbot 'extraordinary generosity' <sup>273</sup> Norman: 'generous interest' <sup>274</sup> Evelyn: 'his generously given advice... he gave so generously' <sup>275</sup>	Steere: 'gave himself without reserve to those... he believed God had sent to him for help' <sup>276</sup> 'self-spending servant' <sup>277</sup>
intuitive <sup>278</sup> and discerning <sup>279</sup>	Gwen: 'quick as light, in spite of his deafness, to pick up one's thought; the most delicate shade of feeling would somehow always penetrate to him' <sup>280</sup> Bowman: 'His spiritual insight' <sup>281</sup> Söderblom: 'penetrator into the very mysteries of the human heart' <sup>282</sup> Dolly: 'surprisingly observant' <sup>283</sup>	Steere: 'understanding souls of different types' <sup>284</sup> 'spiritual insight...' <sup>285</sup> Bedoyère: 'intuitions into the... spiritual' <sup>286</sup> Bedoyère: 'spiritual riches of his insight' <sup>287</sup> Bedoyère: 'insight into the ways of God to men which is outstanding' <sup>288</sup> D'Arcy: 'wonderful spiritual insight' <sup>289</sup> Leonard: 'perceptive director' <sup>290</sup>

265 SL:55.

266 SL:56.

267 ms3071:SAUL:26/4/1922.

268 SL:334.

269 Barrows:1969;123.

270 Barrows:1969;111.

271 Williams:1943:129.

272 Nédoncelle:1937:39.

273 SL:57.

274 Barmann:1981:106.

275 Underhill:1933:230, 232.

276 Steere:1964:12.

277 Steere:1948:172.

278 Michael:2004:39.

279 Nemeck:1985:58,148; Demarest:2003:180.

280 Greene:1932:131.

281 Bowman in Barmann:1981:166.

282 SL:53.

283 DD:15/9/1922:SPA.

284 Steere:1964:9.

285 SteereL1948:166.

286 Bedoyère:1951:xiii.

287 Bedoyère:1951:262.

288 Bedoyère:1951:295.

289 D'Arcy:1991:78.

290 Leonard:1991:253.

Quality	Evidence from directees/eyewitnesses	Evidence from scholars
understanding and sympathetic <sup>291</sup>	Gwen: 'his understanding... very deep' <sup>292</sup> Juliet: 'deep understanding' <sup>293</sup> Norman: 'sympathy' <sup>294</sup> A woman: 'sympathy and comprehension' <sup>295</sup> A woman: 'wide sympathy' <sup>296</sup> Edward Talbot: 'quick... sympathies' <sup>297</sup> Hildegard: 'wonderful sympathy... so understanding' <sup>298</sup> Petre: 'power of sympathy...' <sup>299</sup>	Leonard: 'offered sympathy' <sup>300</sup> Whelan: 'broad sympathy' <sup>301</sup> Nédoncelle: 'penetration of understanding' <sup>302</sup> Gibbard: 'knew... how to understand' <sup>303</sup>
good-humoured <sup>304</sup>	Emilie: 'full of jokes' <sup>305</sup> Cock: 'his humour' <sup>306</sup> CCJ Webb: 'a man of humour' <sup>307</sup> Gwen: 'a great laugher... when he was teaching me definitely religious things, there used to come such shouts of laughter from the garden where we sat' <sup>308</sup> Frances: 'told... jokes, <sup>309</sup> 'full of fun.' <sup>310</sup> Juliet: 'delightful... sense of humour' <sup>311</sup> Visitor at Gertrud's hospital: 'shouts of laughter... like a huge schoolboy.' <sup>312</sup> Fawkes: 'his quiet humour' <sup>313</sup> Evelyn: 'able to enjoy small jokes' <sup>314</sup>	Chambers: 'He was a great laugher.' <sup>315</sup> Hendrie: 'a very real sense of fun... sense of humour' <sup>316</sup> Cropper: 'he could laugh... with [Evelyn].' <sup>317</sup>

291 Barry and Connolly:1986:126; Dubay:1993:76.

292 Greene:1932:129.

293 Mansel:1951:2-3.

294 Barmann:1981:56.

295 *SL*:55.

296 *SL*:56.

297 *SL*:57.

298 Bedoyère:1951:54.

299 Petre:1925:86.

300 Leonard:1993:103.

301 Whelan:1971:21.

302 Nédoncelle:1937:46.

303 Gibbard:1975:17.

304 Barry & Connolly:1986::124; Demarest:2003:177. Guenther emphasises 'play' in spiritual direction (Guenther:1992:60).

305 Steere:1964:31.

306 Cock:1953:152.

307 CCJ Webb Journals;*BOU*;Mss-Eng-Misc-d1117-Fol-34;17/1/1925.

308 *TW*:94.

309 Barrows:1969:115.

310 Barrows:1969;123.

311 Mansel:1951:2.

312 Bedoyère:1951:286.

313 Fawkes:1925:663.

314 Underhill:1933:210.

315 Chambers:1945:20.

316 Hendrie:2001:27.

317 Cropper:2003:84.



Quality	Evidence from directees/eyewitnesses	Evidence from scholars
holy <sup>318</sup>	<p>Evelyn: 'His great sanctity'<sup>319</sup> 'a saint'<sup>320</sup> 'so saintly'<sup>321</sup> 'the saint'<sup>322</sup> 'Full of the breadth, the depth... tenderness of the Saints.'<sup>323</sup> 'twin flames of genius and sanctity'<sup>324</sup></p> <p>Frances: 'a very holy man'<sup>325</sup></p> <p>Wilfred: 'a saint'<sup>326</sup></p> <p>Petre: 'the saint'<sup>327</sup> 'truly holy'<sup>328</sup></p> <p>A woman: 'his profound piety'<sup>329</sup></p> <p>A woman: 'holiness... shone through his words and actions'<sup>330</sup></p> <p>Edward Talbot: 'master in... saintliness'<sup>331</sup></p> <p>Wilfred Ward: 'intense personal piety'<sup>332</sup></p> <p>Cock: 'his... holiness'<sup>333</sup></p> <p>Loisy: 'his sanctity'<sup>334</sup></p> <p>Söderblom: 'that blessed saint.'<sup>335</sup></p> <p>Dowden: 'beautiful of soul.'<sup>336</sup></p> <p>T.S. Eliot: 'a saint... master of the devotional life.'<sup>337</sup></p> <p>Maisie Ward: 'One feels it is into a school for saints that these letters bring one.'<sup>338</sup></p> <p>Montefiore: 'rare combination of scholar and saint.'<sup>339</sup></p>	<p>Chambers: 'The term saint has often been applied to him... How deep the impression of his sanctity'<sup>340</sup></p> <p>Bedoyère: 'a saint'<sup>341</sup></p> <p>Dakin: 'massive, saintly character'<sup>342</sup></p> <p>Whelan: 'gigantic sanctity'<sup>343</sup></p> <p>Loome: 'sanctity'<sup>344</sup></p> <p>Nédoncelle: 'holiness,'<sup>345</sup> 'Living on a level... so near the Cross'<sup>346</sup></p> <p>Hendrie: 'his growth to... sanctity... sincere piety...'<sup>347</sup> 'saintly'<sup>348</sup></p>

318 Nemeck:1985:40; Dubay:1993:76; Barry:1992:94; Michael:2004:38; Demarest:2003:181.

319 Underhill:1933:230.

320 Underhill in Greene:1993:26. Also Underhill:1933:209-210.

321 Williams:1943:129.

322 Underhill:1933:210.

323 Underhill:1933:233.

324 Underhill:1928:823.

325 Lillie:1925:64.

326 Ward:1937:479.

327 Petre:1937b:203.

328 Petre:1937:256.

329 *SL*:55.

330 *SL*:56.

331 *SL*:57.

332 Ward:1937:158.

333 Cock:1953:152.

334 *SL*:52.

335 *SL*:53,

336 Bedoyère:1951:60.

337 Eliot:1928:112.

338 Ward:1937:513.

339 *SL*:35.

340 Chambers:1945:15-16.

341 Bedoyère:1951:xvi.

342 Dakin:1934:vii.

343 Whelan:1971:15.

344 Loome:1979:11.

345 Nédoncelle:1937:46.

346 Nédoncelle:1937:30.

347 Hendrie:2001:172.

348 Hendrie:2001:10.

## **VI.i. Additional personal qualities**

But we also find explicit mention of other qualities that Hügel possessed that complement those typically discussed in the literature.

### **VI.i.a. Secure**

The point of departure for Hügel's nurture of directees was that God is the true spiritual director. He wrote to Gwen of his desire 'to let God lead' in her life.<sup>349</sup> He also saw himself as a mouthpiece for God, telling Juliet: 'take all I am now going to write as very deliberately meant, as, I do humbly believe, coming from God. Through me unworthy, to you... the poor thing that scribbles these lines is the work of religion. I weigh my words, Child.'<sup>350</sup> Therefore Hügel was explicitly concerned to make his directees dependent on God, not himself. He wrote, 'The golden rule is, to help those we love to escape from us; and never try to begin to help people, or influence them, till they ask, but wait for them... One should wait silent for those who do not open out to us, who are not intended, perhaps, ever to be helped by us - except by our prayers (the best of all helps).'<sup>351</sup>

Hügel's security was also displayed when he was happy for Gwen also to receive spiritual nurture from the Anglican, Edward Talbot. He explicitly applauded Talbot's 'wise,<sup>352</sup> 'excellent advice' to Gwen,<sup>353</sup> and described him as someone who would help her spiritually into the future.<sup>354</sup> This sense of working in partnership with Talbot was clearly displayed when Hügel wrote to Talbot about his nurture of Gwen, before she attended his retreat. Following the retreat, Talbot wrote to Hügel concerning Gwen, and later visited him.<sup>355</sup>

### **VI.i.b. Genuine interest in directees**

In an understanding, sympathetic way, Hügel took a genuine interest in his directees' activities. We see this particularly with Juliet. Hügel wrote to her: 'I so love to know of your doings;<sup>356</sup> 'no detail

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349 LN:123.

350 ms37194/26a:SAUL:24/5/11. This is similar to his words to Wilfred as discussed in chapter 3.

351 LN:xxix.

352 LN:181.

353 LN:164. Hügel described Talbot as 'an Anglican clerical adviser of a deeply Catholic mind...' LN:103.

354 BA:31/8/20.

355 However, in one diary entry, Hügel mentioned that Gwen's recent letter said 'nothing about Edward Talbot.' (D:28/8/1919). This may indicate a slight, hidden insecurity of Hügel's concerning the extent of the influence of Talbot over Gwen.

356 ms37194/5:SAUL:11/1/10.

will be too small for me.<sup>357</sup> His practical interest was shown when Hügel bought Juliet's dress for a ball,<sup>358</sup> and gold shoes for her presentation at court.<sup>359</sup>

Similarly Hügel expressed 'my interest in you'<sup>360</sup> to Emilia, and was a sympathetic ear for her pain at losing her mother, her sister, and her eyesight.<sup>361</sup> It is not surprising that Hügel showed 'profound interest' in Henri's first Communion,<sup>362</sup> but he also, for example, watched Henri playing baseball.<sup>363</sup>

### **VI.i.c. Consolation**

Another interesting aspect of Hügel's spiritual direction that is worth noting is that he found it personally rewarding. He told Maude Petre that helping another grow spiritually is 'about the one profound refreshment which one soul can itself experience.'<sup>364</sup> Hügel repeatedly told Juliet of his joy in helping her.<sup>365</sup> He also stated, 'has not the deep constant care for you, Child, helped me on *immensely*?'<sup>366</sup>

This same consolation was revealed when Hügel told Gwen he 'love[s] to write' to her<sup>367</sup> and that her letters 'simply rest and refresh' him.<sup>368</sup> Similarly, Evelyn was told, 'it will be... consolation to me, if you let me help as much as ever you feel the need,<sup>369</sup> and of 'the great joy your long letter... has given me.'<sup>370</sup>

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357 ms37194/22a:SAUL. Similarly he wrote, 'I care for every little hurt or pain that comes to you' (ms37194/28b:SAUL:8/9/11); 'everything honest really matters... I care about it all deeply.' (ms37194/10a:SAUL:4/4/10). Juliet appeared to show no sign of finding these comments suffocating.

358 D:6/6/12.

359 D:5/2/13.

360 ms38776/8:SAUL:13/6/1911.

361 D:2/11/21.

362 Garceau:1935:283-4.

363 D:18/7/18.

364 SL:88.

365 'I so love to give you, or to do for you... [things] that rejoice and expand you' (ms37194/18a:SAUL); 'It will be a joy to me... to serve my little old daughter' (ms37194/11/1a:SAUL:23/4/10); 'I want now to refresh myself, in the midst of my hard and difficult work, by writing you, sweet, a little letter' (ms37194/18a:SAUL:4/10/10); 'How it refreshes me to get such a little talk with you... and to feel sure you are growing in... devotedness' (ms37194/18a:SAUL:4/10/10); 'your letter gave me the *biggest consolation you have ever given me*' (ms37194/26a:SAUL:24/5/11); '*it will greatly refresh and revive me...* if I inaugurate it by a little letter to you' (ms37194/28a:SAUL:8/9/11). He also spoke of the 'joy' of buying Juliet books (ms37194/23a:SAUL:9/5/11) and told Adeline, 'I so love to know her' (ms37194/25a:SAUL:12/ 5/11); '[I] feel... richer for such a soul's love and trust' (ms37194/31:SAUL:16/4/1912). Later, in 1921, he wrote it would be a 'true treat' to visit Juliet each week (ms37194/50a:SAUL:6/1/21). The repetition of these comments feels a little extreme and may point to Hügel's own needs more than Juliet's!

366 ms37194/25:SAUL:12/5/1911.

367 LN:132.

368 LN:195.

369 Cropper:2003:70.

370 ms5552:1:SAUL.

## VI.ii. Qualities not evident in Hügel's spiritual direction

The main qualities in the literature where Hügel is found lacking, cluster around listening,<sup>371</sup> effective questioning<sup>372</sup> and being dialogical.<sup>373</sup> As discussed earlier, this is a significant weakness, and is largely attributable to Hügel's deafness. Yet this weakness should also not be overstated. Hügel clearly listened and responded to his directees' questions and concerns in their letters, and given his deafness, even seemed to do reasonably well in person. Petre, for instance, described Hügel as 'the most patient and charitable listener to a tale of sheer temptation, to a confession of failure and sin.'<sup>374</sup>

So we see that Hügel fared reasonably well in terms of the qualities seen necessary for effective spiritual direction. We turn not to focussing more on the *practices* associated with Hügel's spiritual direction.

## VII. Hügel's practices as spiritual director

Contemporary spiritual direction literature also discusses the practices of an effective spiritual director. There is less agreement over these than personal qualities, but the following seem to be often associated with the best spiritual directors: being prayerful; loving God deeply; practising contemplative prayer; teaching; having the gift of discernment; teaching by example; knowing Scripture, theology and spirituality; being a fellow pilgrim; and (particularly in the Catholic context) the importance of sacramental practices.

Table 3 collates some of the evidence for Hügel's engagement in these practices in his spiritual direction. The second column provides evidence from directees and contemporaries, and the third from scholars.

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371 Jones:1999:ix; Vanderwall:1981:70; Nemeck:1985:61-66; Barry:1992:95; Michael:2004:42; Barry & Connolly:1982:127; Ruffing:2011:116-7; Demarest:2003:174; Ball:2007:62;102-4,121.

372 Guenther:1992:24,42,65; Vanderwall:1981:73; Demarest:2003:174; Vanderwall:1981:74-5.

373 Demarest:2003:174.

374 Petre:1925:78-9. Similarly, Gibbard commented that Hügel 'knew how to listen.' (Gibbard:1975:17).

Table 3: Hügel's practices as spiritual director

Practice	Evidence from directees and contemporaries	Evidence from scholars
prayerful <sup>375</sup>	Gwen: 'my uncle, whose significance lay perhaps deeper down – in... prayer... deeply conscious concentration on, and absorption in, the Spirit of God.' <sup>376</sup> 'He lived in a deep interior world' <sup>377</sup> Cuthbert Butler: 'eyes on the Tabernacle, the whole being wrapt in an absorption of prayer, devotion, contemplation' <sup>378</sup> A friend: 'He certainly lived "in Christ" <sup>379</sup> Maisie Ward: 'intensely prayerful by practice' <sup>380</sup> Maude: 'nothing came to us from him that had not been prepared by thought and prayer...' <sup>381</sup> Evelyn: 'custom of prayer before the... Sacrament...' <sup>382</sup>	Steere: 'the number of friends that he carried in intercession morning, noon, and night was never small' <sup>383</sup> Nédoncelle: 'His actions... permeated by his prayer' <sup>384</sup> Whelan: 'prayer is the central act... of... his spirituality' <sup>385</sup> Bedoyère: 'love of kneeling in prayer' <sup>386</sup>
practises contemplative prayer <sup>387</sup>	Gwen: 'a mystic.' <sup>388</sup> Evelyn: 'the contemplative' <sup>389</sup> Maisie Ward 'a mystic... a contemplative' <sup>390</sup> Taught Gwen about 'recollection' <sup>391</sup>	Barmann: 'personally discovered unusual depths and dimensions of spiritual reality' <sup>392</sup>
gift of discernment <sup>393</sup>	Söderblom: 'penetrator into the very mysteries of the human heart' <sup>394</sup> D'Arcy: 'wonderful spiritual insight' <sup>395</sup> A woman: 'his deep insight' <sup>396</sup>	Nédoncelle: 'He read faces quickly and often with much acumen' <sup>397</sup> Leonard: 'perceptive director' <sup>398</sup>

375 Jones:1999:66; Vanderwall:1981:54,79; Dubay:1993:104-5; Michael:2004:38; Demarest:2003:176; Bonhoeffer:1985:10; Leech:1993:xviii.

376 TW:183.

377 TW:101.

378 SL:49.

379 SL:56.

380 Ward:1937:490.

381 Petre:1937:256.

382 Underhill:1933:233.

383 Steere:1964:23.

384 Nédoncelle:1937:viii.

385 Whelan:1971:26.

386 Bedoyère:1951:356.

387 Dubay:1993:73; Michael:2004:44; Barry & Connolly:1986:124.

388 TW:180.

389 Underhill:1933:210.

390 Ward:1937:327.

391 LN:140.

392 Barmann:1972:64.

393 Ruffing:2011:17; Guenther:1992:44,54.i; Vanderwall:1981:56; Barry:1992:10,34,76-88; Michael:2004:39; Vanderwall:1981:56-69.

394 SL:53.

395 D'Arcy:1991:78.

396 SL:55.

397 Nédoncelle:1937:4.

398 Leonard:1997:113.

Practice	Evidence from directees and contemporaries	Assessment of scholars
loves God <sup>399</sup>	A friend: 'his intense love of God... was the motive force of all his life' <sup>400</sup> Evelyn: 'his passionate sense of God' <sup>401</sup> 'massive passion for God' <sup>402</sup> 'intense interior life... the awe and passion... when the Baron uttered the name of his God' <sup>403</sup> 'the adoring soul' <sup>404</sup> 'greatness of that passion for God which consumed him.' <sup>405</sup> Montefiore: 'talked about God... he had felt and experienced so much...' <sup>406</sup>	Nédoncelle: 'His love of God was the deepest thing in his life' <sup>407</sup> Steere: 'religious depth of soul' <sup>408</sup>
teaches <sup>409</sup>	Gwen: 'Teaching doctrine of God' <sup>410</sup> Söderblom: 'that universal teacher' <sup>411</sup> A woman: 'taught me all that I know which seems worth knowing' <sup>412</sup>	Bedoyère: 'rare gift of being able to find the words and phrases which... convey... [what] he was experiencing' <sup>413</sup>
teaches by example <sup>414</sup>	A woman: 'no one could be in any contact with him and remain unchanged' <sup>415</sup> Kemp Smith: 'thoughts of you... are continually... an inspiration' <sup>416</sup> Maude Petre: 'He influenced by radiation... penetrative action' <sup>417</sup> Petre: 'he inspired... many souls' <sup>418</sup>	Steere: 'sought to live as he taught' <sup>419</sup>

399 Barry & Connolly:1986:124.

400 *SL*:56.

401 Underhill:1933:209-210.

402 Underhill:1933:210.

403 Underhill:1933:209.

404 Underhill:1933:226.

405 Underhill:1928:823.

406 *SL*:35.

407 Nédoncelle:1937:viii.

408 Steere:1948:172.

409 Guenther argues 'spiritual direction - is teaching.' Guenther:1992:4.

410 *LN*:ix.

411 *SL*:53.

412 *SL*:55.

413 Bedoyère:1951:xiii-xiv.

414 Rogers:2004:43.

415 *SL*:55.

416 Barmann:1981:267.

417 Petre:1937b:x.

418 Petre:1925:79.

419 Steere:1964:34.

Practice	Evidence from directees and contemporaries	Assessment of scholars
knows Scripture, theology, and spirituality <sup>420</sup>	Gwen: 'his advice was so in accordance with that of the great directors of the past. He was in possession of a marvellously rich and correlated knowledge, which I have recognised... to be very rare' <sup>421</sup> Fawkes: 'his knowledge was encyclopedic' <sup>422</sup> Petre: 'a bold and deep thinker' <sup>423</sup>	No evidence
fellow pilgrim <sup>424</sup>	Gwen: 'never hesitated to relate his own experience... spoke with a warm and natural sincerity of his own... life' <sup>425</sup> "I try to live this, I try to work this into my life" These words of his were made actual in one's sight... his living faith <sup>426</sup> Evelyn: 'so truthful, sane and tolerant' <sup>427</sup>	No evidence
Sacramental context <sup>428</sup>	Union with Christ nourished through the Eucharist.	No evidence

Of the nine practices cited in Table 3, all relate to the Mystical Element of religion except for the sacramental context (the Institutional Element) and knowing Scripture and theology (the Intellectual Element). Of these nine, two stand out as particularly significant in Hügel's spiritual direction.

### *Deeply prayerful*

First, Hügel was deeply prayerful for all of his directees, believing his prayers were 'the best of all helps.'<sup>429</sup> Hügel repeatedly reassured his directees of his prayers: Gwen - 'you... are in my poor prayers thrice every day';<sup>430</sup> Juliet - 'I never forget my youngest daughter before God';<sup>431</sup> Evelyn - 'I will pray my little best for you';<sup>432</sup> Wilfred - 'I pray my poor best for you';<sup>433</sup> Frances - 'with

420 Vanderwall:1981:80; Nemeck:1985:158-9; Dubay:1993:37,65,104; Barry:1992:101; Michael:2004:39; Barry & Connolly:1986:131,133; Demarest:2003:180.

421 *Greene*:1932:129.

422 Fawkes:19925:663.

423 Petre:1925:87.

424 Barry & Connolly:1986:129; Guenther:1992:67.

425 *TW*:139.

426 *TW*:114.

427 Williams:1943:129.

428 Rogers writes 'it occurs in a sacramental context.' (Rogers:2004:32). Barrette argues that Catholic spiritual direction 'is connected to its sacraments.' (Barrette:2004:56). Vanderwall:1981:80.

429 *LN*:xxix.

430 *LN*:66. See also *LN*:53,185,192.

431 ms37194/23b:SAUL:9/5/11. Also, 'what I so persistently and quietly see in my prayers... for you.'  
ms37194/50a:SAUL. See also ms37194/7:SAUL:23/2/10; ms37194/9a:SAUL:23/3/10;  
ms37194/18a:SAUL:4/10/10.

432 ms5552:1:SAUL.

433 msVII.143/200:SAUL:6/4/1916. Also, 'your ...necessities [are]... in my prayers.'  
msVII.143/198a:SAUL:27/3/1916.

prayers... for your deepest peace;<sup>1434</sup> Margaret - '[my] daily prayer for yourself and Arthur;<sup>1435</sup> Maude - 'pray... thrice daily for you;<sup>1436</sup> Norman - 'well within my poor prayers;<sup>1437</sup> Watkins - 'I am praying for you...<sup>1438</sup>

### *Spiritual discernment*

Second, particularly noted in Hügel's spiritual direction was his perception, intuition and spiritual discernment, his ability to 'read' people. Gwen wrote: 'he was quick as light, in spite of his deafness, to pick up one's thought; the most delicate shade of feeling would somehow always penetrate to him.'<sup>1439</sup> Evelyn argued, Hügel had 'a power of 'discerning spirits'... often extremely disconcerting to its victims.'<sup>1440</sup> An example of this was Hügel discerning in Leo Ward:

an impression of over-stimulation, or an insufficient amount of innocent half-awakeness [sic] and of animal spirits, the pleasure and interest in games etc. I continue to trust that he will grow first into some of these things, so as, later on, to grow out of them.<sup>441</sup>

## **VIII. Unique features of Hügel's spiritual direction**

Hügel engaged in some practices which are generally not mentioned in the current literature on spiritual direction.

### **VIII.i. Taking the Eucharist of behalf of directees**

A notable instance is Hügel's practice of taking Holy Communion on behalf of a directee. In one letter, Hügel mentioned his 'last three Holy Communions' were 'specially for' Juliet,<sup>442</sup> and on at least another three occasions Holy Communion was recorded as 'specially' for Juliet.<sup>443</sup> During one of these Eucharists, he 'saw' Juliet 'so vividly... in the two conditions of soul and of action' expressing her 'deepest, truest personality and call' to Hügel.<sup>444</sup> On another three occasions, Hügel

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434 Lillie:1925:38. See also LN:102.

435 ms30994:SAUL.

436 SL:200.

437 Barmann:1981:37.

438 USFSC:2/10/1923.

439 Greene:1932:131.

440 Underhill:1933:230.

441 msVII.143/193:SAUL.

442 Mansel:1951:11.

443 ms37194/50a:SAUL:6/1/21;D:16/12/15;D:11/3/17.

444 ms37194/50a:SAUL:6/1/1921.



took his Holy Communion for Wilfred.<sup>445</sup> When asked to teach Arthur about sexuality, Hügel wrote to Margaret, 'I have offered my Sunday Holy Communion, very specifically, for the gaining of light in this matter.'<sup>446</sup> He also took his Communion on occasion for Mary.<sup>447</sup> In each instance, it appears that taking the Eucharist on behalf of others meant a deliberate immersing in prayer for wisdom in relation to the directee.

### **VIII.ii. Suffering for directees**

Hügel repeatedly spoke of the personal cost involved in giving spiritual direction. Spiritual direction was a calling that involved a large measure of suffering. Hügel told Gwen that giving 'interior things... cost one a good deal... [to] help... the life of another soul means... a specially large double death to self on the part of the life-bringing soul.'<sup>448</sup> This 'death to self' comes as one assesses what should be said, then as one 'anticipate(s) the acceptance... of that essence.'<sup>449</sup> Then after the communication, 'the light-bearing soul' needs to help the soul 'clothe the newly won essence in clothing from the wardrobe of this other soul.'<sup>450</sup> Hügel felt that 'suffering for others, voluntarily given, is like storing up riches for souls';<sup>451</sup> 'consecrated suffering of one soul teaches another.'<sup>452</sup> Hügel told Gwen, 'we can... suffer for each other... these long, trying wakings... I was able to offer... to God... for my Gwen-child – that He might ever strengthen... her.'<sup>453</sup>

Hügel's suffering on Juliet's behalf was expressed similarly: 'all that affects you, for joy or sorrow... passes through my old heart, Dearie, with and for you.'<sup>454</sup> Hügel also told Violet, 'how keenly I have suffered and I still suffer with your suffering.'<sup>455</sup> So we see Hügel apparently suffering for others as part of his commitment to their direction and spiritual maturity.

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445 msVII.143/199:SAUL:3/4/1916;msVII.143/201:SAUL:7/4/1916;msVII.143/200:SAUL:28/2/1916.

446 ms30994:SAUL.

447 ms38776/9:SAUL:19/5/1895.

448 LN:27.

449 LN:27.

450 LN:27.

451 LN:xxx.

452 LN:xv.

453 LN:25.

454 ms37194/7:SAUL:23/2/10.

455 EAI:116

## IX. Contemporary emphases in spiritual direction

There are a number of emphases in contemporary spiritual direction which are less directly evident in Hügel's spiritual direction, or where his approach might seem unusual in the light of current practice. We explore some of the nuances and contrasts in what follows.

### IX.i.a. Obedience versus freedom

One area of some debate in the spiritual direction literature concerns the degree of obedience and submission in the director-directee relationship. Some emphasise a relationship 'based on both obedience and submission.'<sup>456</sup> Dubay, for instance, writes that a directee should 'follow guidance given without disagreeing and objecting.'<sup>457</sup>

Others view this as overbearing authoritarianism, and instead emphasise that 'obedience in spiritual direction means listening to God and acting upon His word insofar as it is revealed through the director. Obedience denotes first and foremost listening to our Abba-Father.'<sup>458</sup> Some reject the term 'director' altogether, suggesting terms that represent greater mutuality such as 'soul friend'<sup>459</sup>, 'spiritual friend'<sup>460</sup> and 'spiritual midwife.'<sup>461</sup> They emphasise a 'peer relationship and a compassionate process' in which both director and directee share somewhat equally.<sup>462</sup>

For his part, Hügel never explicitly required 'obedience' from his directees.<sup>463</sup> There were two occasions with Evelyn, however, when he made his advice as director quite strong. After teaching her about confession, he wrote, 'So long as you choose to remain under my Direction you will, please, never *think* of any confessions except such as these.'<sup>464</sup> He was also quite forceful with Evelyn about asking him about attending retreats: 'I do not recognise your right (given that you choose to have me for your spiritual adviser) to go without consulting me.'<sup>465</sup> Evelyn seemed fairly comfortable being obedient to Hügel writing, 'I have kept on my collar-and-chain.'<sup>466</sup> In March

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456 Jones:1999:20; Dubay:1993:23.

457 Dubay:1993:97. However, Dubay warns against 'over-control' and being 'authoritarian.' (Dubay:1993:98).

458 Nemeck:1985:176;

459 Leech:1973.

460 Jones:1999:4.

461 Guenther:1992:91.

462 Temple:2004:89.

463 Given several of Hügel's directees were Protestant, and unaccustomed to submission to a priest, Hügel's freer approach was probably more suited to them.

464 ms5552.37:SAUL:30/6/22.

465 Cropper:2003:97.

466 ms5552:53:SAUL. It is difficult to know if this is an expression of comfort or is Evelyn being a little facetious here?

1923, wondering if her experiences were authentic, she wrote, 'The only thing is to ask the Baron and accept his judgement as *final*.'<sup>467</sup>

However, such explicit direction from Hügel was fairly unusual. More typically, Hügel would tell his directees to just ignore any unhelpful advice. He told Gwen, 'Leave out all that does not help you. Take only... what helps. Wipe your feet on my old hair;'<sup>468</sup> 'Never try to force yourself to find things helpful for this or that reason when they do not help. Put them on one side... leave them.'<sup>469</sup> Any recommendation that didn't fit 'should always be quietly ignored.'<sup>470</sup> Hügel's advice to Evelyn de Vesci was very similar:

Never try to persuade yourself you like things or find them helpful when you do not... if we are... honest with ourselves we shall be sure to find just the food to suit us... browse knee-deep with a happy, half-dozing receptivity.<sup>471</sup>

Similarly, Margaret Clutton was told '*pick out what in this letter you find really to fit the case*.'<sup>472</sup> To help Gwen work out what is helpful, Hügel warned that new insights generally:

feel, at first, as just a size or two too big for us – as what gently stimulates us to a further growth and expansion; but they should always be quietly ignored, if, and in so far as they come before our quiet look at them as conundrums simply imposed on us from without.<sup>473</sup>

Similarly Juliet was told not to strain to try 'to do any one of the things... proposed to you. Only in the degree and manner in which, after thinking them well over, in a prayerful and open disposition, they really come home to your mind and really appeal to your own heart and conscience, will you quietly accept them and try and work them into your life.'<sup>474</sup>

After describing how 'more experienced souls' can help people, Hügel added:

Yet that authority is exercised and experienced in and through our human religious sense and conscience; and this social aid can (in proportion as we begin to attain the age and

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467 Greene:1993:38.

468 LN:x.

469 TW:114. Hügel told Gwen regarding Father Talbot's advice, she should be 'leaving quietly what does not help – using gratefully whatever may, upon prayerful reflection, really help.' LN:104.

470 LN:3.

471 MZ:17.

472 ms30994:SAUL.

473 LN:3.

474 Mansel:1951:4.

maturity of personal responsibility) act wholesomely *only in and through the unforced insight of our own... minds... wills*.<sup>475</sup>

Thus we find in Hügel's spiritual direction, an unusual mixture of requiring obedience occasionally on issues he felt truly important, but otherwise giving his directees a great deal of freedom to sift and weigh his advice for themselves, setting aside anything with which they did not feel comfortable.

### ***IX.i.b. Accountability and Supervision***

Some of the spiritual direction literature suggests that spiritual directors should provide accountability for directees.<sup>476</sup> This was not an area Hügel appears to regard as particularly important. He did check up on some of his directees in terms of their attendance at the Eucharist (particularly Henri and Juliet), but otherwise he seemed to provide more of a supportive role than holding his directees accountable. For instance, he told Juliet: 'I can be of use to you in sustaining you to follow these lights.'<sup>477</sup>

On the other side, much of the literature suggests that it is important that spiritual directors themselves be supervised, to safeguard their direction.<sup>478</sup> For example, Ruffing emphasises the necessity of supervision to help spiritual directors deal with issues of 'transference' and 'counter-transference'.<sup>479</sup>

Hügel's own spiritual director, Huvelin, died in 1910, and after that there is no evidence that Hügel had another spiritual director or was otherwise supervised in his spiritual direction for his final 15 years. With modern eyes this appears to be a significant weakness, although there is no evidence that it was ever an issue for any of Hügel's directees.

### ***IX.i.c. Professional Distance***

Another area of importance in contemporary spiritual direction is maintaining a degree of professional distance from one's directees.<sup>480</sup> Hügel would not fare particularly well in this regard, given the close and highly affectionate relationship he maintained with some of his directees.

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475 Mansel:1951:3.

476 Dubay:1993:60; Guenther:1992:xiii.

477 Mansel:1951:4.

478 Guenther:1992:12; Barry:1992:98,102,175; Ruffing:2000:169.

479 These psychological terms are applied to spiritual direction. See Ruffing:2000:155-169.

480 Edwards:2001:99.

His relationship with both Gwen and Juliet, whose fathers had both died, was particularly paternalistic. He called Gwen 'Niece-daughter'<sup>481</sup> and 'Daughter'<sup>482</sup> and called himself 'father',<sup>483</sup> 'Fatherly Uncle'<sup>484</sup> and 'Old Uncle Father.'<sup>485</sup> Similarly, Hügel referred to Juliet as 'spiritual daughter'<sup>486</sup> and 'daughterish Bit'<sup>487</sup> and called himself 'spiritual Father',<sup>488</sup> 'old Father'<sup>489</sup> and 'old devoted fatherly thing.'<sup>490</sup> He told both Gwen and Juliet that he loved them as if he was their physical father.<sup>491</sup>

Like a protective father, Hügel organised for Juliet to be put in a warmer dormitory at school.<sup>492</sup> Also, when he saw Juliet 'depressed' at her mother's 'ever increasing absorption in Suffragette work',<sup>493</sup> he had a long 'important talk' with Mildred, making her make promises.<sup>494</sup> He even walked the fine line of encouraging Juliet *not* to follow her mother's footsteps of 'suffrage work',<sup>495</sup> instead encouraging her to 'a more difficult, a richer, a more fruitful work and duty.'<sup>496</sup> When Juliet was in France during the war, Hügel wrote to her like a parent giving his 'approval of her delaying return.'<sup>497</sup> He also gave Juliet fatherly advice about her not marrying young, advising her to 'mature a bit... getting to know... your growing self and of the various types of others, before settling down.'<sup>498</sup>

Hügel's paternalism certainly made the relationships more complex, and to modern eyes it appears at least somewhat problematic. It certainly made the relationship with Gwen more asymmetrical, and negatively affected her ability to raise sensitive issues like the question of conversion.

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481 LN:53,157.

482 LN:26.

483 LN:25.

484 ms36998/59:SAUL:29/1/1923.

485 BA:5/5/1921;28/2/1922 (3 times).

486 Mansel:1951:11.

487 ms37194/5:SAUL:11/1/1910.

488 ms37194/7:SAUL:23/2/1910.

489 ms37194/7:SAUL:23/2/1910.

490 ms37194/23:SAUL:20/4/1911.

491 Gwen:LN:92;Juliet:ms37194/29:SAUL:30/10/1911. Hügel similarly acted as a father figure to Henri, whose father was absent during the war, although he always closed Henri's letters as 'your friend,' and never as 'father.'  
SL:236,241,249,366.

492 D:23/12/09.

493 D:8/12/10.

494 D:18/12/10.

495 ms37194/30a:SAUL:3/4/1912.

496 ms37194/50a:SAUL:6/1/1921. It appears that Hügel was not convinced of the necessity for the feminist cause.

497 D:3/10/17.

498 ms37194/21/b:SAUL:19/10/1910.

### **IX.i.d. Confidentiality**

Strict confidentiality is another very important area in contemporary discussions of spiritual direction.<sup>499</sup> Confidentiality was also important to Hügel, working as he was within the Catholic tradition of spiritual direction. For example, after Juliet's broken engagement, he was appalled that Mildred informed Gertrud. His diary tells of his 'impressing strongly upon G[ertrud] danger of any talk... about J[uliet]'s affairs.<sup>500</sup>

On the other hand, we see evidence of Hügel discussing his own directees with Hildegard: Juliet<sup>501</sup>, Iwashita<sup>502</sup>, Gilbert<sup>503</sup> and Violet Wynch<sup>504</sup>. Similarly, Hügel mentioned various directees in his letters to Gwen, including Frances,<sup>505</sup> Evelyn,<sup>506</sup> Crespi,<sup>507</sup> Iwashita,<sup>508</sup> and Norman.<sup>509</sup>

So strict confidentiality was not always practised by Hügel. This may have been in part because of the small world in which they moved, and the fact that Hildegard and Gwen knew at least some of his directees as friends.<sup>510</sup>

### **IX.i.e. Directive, Non-directive, or a blend**

Another aspect discussed in the literature is whether a spiritual director tends to be 'directive' (explicitly steering the conversation) or 'non-directive' (following the directee's lead).<sup>511</sup> Dubay argues that a blend of both is most effective.<sup>512</sup>

As we have already mentioned, conversations with Hügel tended to be structured as a series of back-and-forth monologues, rather than as a true dialogue, due to his deafness. This would presumably tend to make the interaction more directive than would otherwise be the case.

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499 Dubay:1993:102; Barry & Connolly:1986:121; Nemeck:1985:173;

500 D:28.5.12.

501 D:20/3/19;msIX.1272:DAA:24/9/12;27/3/20.

502 msIX.1272:DAA:27/8/20.

503 msIX.1272:DAA:27/12/20.

504 msIX.1272:DAA:27/8/20. However, it is not clear what level of detail was involved in these discussions.

505 LN:102;105;109-110;137;174.

506 LN:174-175 (though unnamed).

507 LN:117-8.

508 LN:98.

509 LN:100-101,200.

510 We see that directees were connected. In 1924, Evelyn described Gwen as one she was 'so closely linked with' (Greene:1993:61), and took notes from Hügel's letters to Gwen, writing them in her Green Notebook (Greene:1993:66-67:19/10/1924). Evelyn later dedicated her book *Concerning the Inner Life* 'to Gwendolen Plunket Greene.' (Underhill:1926).

511 Dubay:107.

512 Dubay:108.

On the other hand, we certainly see a good deal of flexibility and responsiveness in Hügel's direction of Gwen. He kept observing her and listening to her feedback and adjusting his recommendations of reading materials, as well as taking her letters as input to the direction process. Hügel responded to one early letter, for instance, saying 'Your letter has set me thinking – re-thinking your mind and soul, and how best quietly to feed and help them.'<sup>513</sup> Later he wrote, 'I have been revolving your letter – its points – in my old head and heart, and the following is the upshot.'<sup>514</sup> At another point Hügel recognised Gwen was 'hungering now, not for the knowledge of things to avoid, but for the further revelations of realities to love,'<sup>515</sup> and so he set aside the Gnostic writings they had been working on and introduced the writings of Tertullian.

Hügel's diary entries provide further evidence of him being personally responsive in his counsel. He wrote in his diary '3 practical points raised in my mind by her letter.'<sup>516</sup> Another diary entry noted that Gwen 'now wants more non-rel[igious] books.'<sup>517</sup> A similar responsiveness is revealed after Gwen's 'consolation' from a spiritual retreat, when Hügel started writing to her about 'desolation,' preparing her for what will inevitably follow.<sup>518</sup> So Gwen was to some extent treated as a partner who shaped their interaction and affected the direction she received.

Thus we see something of a blend in Hügel's style of direction – being quite directive in terms of leading the conversation and providing content, but also being quite responsive and adaptive to the needs and questions of the directee.

## **X. Critiquing Hügel**

The previous section explored some specific themes in contemporary spiritual direction, including a few areas in which we might have some concerns about Hügel's spiritual direction today, particularly supervision, paternalism, and confidentiality. This section continues that theme, suggesting further areas in which Hügel's spiritual direction might be open to critique.

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513 LN:24.

514 LN:35.

515 LN:38.

516 D:9/2/20.

517 D:1/3/20.

518 D:10/4/20;19/4/20.

## X.i. Asymmetry in the Director-Directee Relationship

Hügel's relationships with his directees tended to be fairly asymmetrical and hierarchical, with the director 'above' the directee and more active, and the directee 'below' and more passive. The physical organisation of face-to-face interactions tended to reflect this. Gwen, for instance, described how she always sat on 'the same little low chair.'<sup>519</sup> In an early letter to Gwen, Hügel wrote, 'sit on a footstool here, by me, Daughter; and I will try to give you... interior things.'<sup>520</sup> Gwen accepted this asymmetry as a part of the relationship: 'I always felt like a child with my uncle, and I never attempted to be anything else.'<sup>521</sup>

However, we see her frustration with this asymmetry when she wanted to speak of her desire to convert to Catholicism:

I do blame myself for not showing him, and saying out more certainly as time passed, that I had found where was my home and necessity... I had to show him more – and this I could not do. I was so used to listening and accepting, not explaining.<sup>522</sup>

So for directees the basic posture was one of 'listening and accepting', and Hügel set up his sessions to facilitate this. Thus he told Gwen that, 'people always listened best when they did something with their hands...'<sup>523</sup> So Gwen knitted during her sessions with Hügel, and he suggested to Frances that she bring 'hand-craft' to do while he spoke with her.<sup>524</sup> 'I am never quite comfortable speaking to a woman unless her fingers are busy meanwhile.'<sup>525</sup>

This is clearly a quite different model from the spiritual director who focuses on asking perceptive questions, and largely acts as an active listener, or a more peer-based model where spiritual direction is viewed as an interactive conversation of equals. Hügel's model was much more traditional, with him as the director largely doing the talking, and the directee predominantly 'listening and accepting.' And at least in the case of Gwen's conversion we have a clear instance

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519 LN:xi.

520 LN:26. Similarly, on the few occasions that Evelyn met with Hügel, she was instructed to sit on an uncomfortable chair facing the light. Greene:1993:27.

521 LN:xi.

522 LN:xL.

523 LN:xi.

524 D:16/10/24.

525 GTUSC:92-7-01:16/10/1924. It is unclear exactly what Hügel meant by this comment. Do women interrupt and ask questions more when their hands are not busy? So their hand-craft makes them better listeners and keeps the asymmetry the way Hügel wants it? Or was he uncomfortable with too much eye contact with a woman in a private setting, and focussing on hand-craft mitigated that, reducing the intimacy of the session?



where she felt that this arrangement was not ideal, and that having more space to articulate her own feelings and position would have produced a better outcome more quickly.

## **X.ii. The impact of Hügel's deafness**

Hügel's deafness was certainly a factor in these asymmetrical relationships, as it made normal dialogue difficult.<sup>526</sup> We see Hügel struggling with this reality when he wrote to Hillie: '*Richard* turned up... I wish I heard him better, for then I could draw him out more and could feel more sure of saying the right thing to him.'<sup>527</sup> Frances assumed that visiting Hügel 'there could be little conversation [because of] his deafness.'<sup>528</sup>

Maude wrote:

Owing to his deafness his talks were mainly monologues. But what monologues! They seemed to have divined beforehand, and now to have the one purpose of satisfying your special need of the moment, a need of which perhaps you had never been fully aware until that moment.<sup>529</sup>

His deafness was presumably why Hügel seemed to carry out much of his spiritual direction by letter, even in cases where personal meetings would have been easy and convenient (for example, Evelyn, who lived only streets away in London).<sup>530</sup> One might have expected Hügel to use these letters to compensate for his deafness, eliciting the input from his directees that was so difficult in person. But interestingly, that does not appear to be the case. Hügel's letters are written in quite a similar 'teaching' style, and are not significantly more dialogical. In *LN*, for instance, almost all the questions are rhetorical, rather than questions seeking responses and input from Gwen.<sup>531</sup> Gwen asked questions in her letters, to which Hügel responded in detail,<sup>532</sup> but they were not typically elicited by questions from Hügel.

So Hügel's asymmetrical and non-dialogical style was presumably reinforced by his deafness, but it did seem to his preferred model for spiritual direction, even in letters. This is a weakness of his

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526 Cock described Hügel's deafness as 'a severe and painful barrier to sustained social intercourse.' Cock:1953:2.

527 msIX.1272:DAA:17/3/1920.

528 Frances-to-Ellen-Starr:SSC:Box9.Folder31:10/9/1920. However she visited Hügel twice.

529 Petre:1937b:viii.

530 In addition, given his ill-health, letter writing freed Hügel to write when he felt well, rather than having to cancel appointments when his health deteriorated.

531 *LN*:13,14,16,25,29,31,49,61,71,103,120,124,129,135,148.

532 See his answers to Gwen's questions in *LN*:124-7.

spiritual direction, but as Maude's comments indicate, it seems to be one that his directees largely just acknowledged and worked around.

### **X.iii. The Place of Suffering**

As we have seen in Chapter 6, Hügel was more tempered on the question of suffering than Huvelin, recognising that it was an evil that naturally would only 'harden, narrow and embitter [the soul].'<sup>533</sup> But Hügel retained a very high view of suffering as a means for spiritual growth when freely accepted by the soul in dependence on God. Thus 'suffering and joy' were the 'two notes' of Christianity,<sup>534</sup> 'religion thrives, not by the absence of difficulties, but by the presence.'<sup>535</sup> So for Hügel suffering was a primary context for spiritual growth, and to be joyfully embraced and endured.

This still seems dangerously romantic, and a glorification of suffering, leading towards a spirituality in which suffering is sought rather than patiently endured. It overstates the role of suffering in spiritual growth. Hügel's words, 'suffering holds a necessary place' in Christianity, for instance, imply the *necessity* of suffering, rather than just the possibility of suffering well.<sup>536</sup> In addition, it seems to lead to a dangerously instrumental view of suffering - suffering comes *in order that* spiritual growth might follow, rather than suffering being the result of living in a fallen world. Such an instrumental view perhaps leads to less empathy with those who are suffering - we see the death of a child or a rape as opportunities for growth, rather than first and foremost events of evil that are deeply *wrong*.<sup>537</sup>

On the other hand, I wonder whether Hügel can also challenge us here, as modern Western theology seems to lack much of a theology of suffering. Suffering and dying well have both been significant themes in the past, about which we hear very little today. Is contemporary theology here more shaped by the materialist culture in which we live, with its modern taboos on the topics of death and suffering? If Hügel still goes too far in embracing suffering, is it possible that we do not go far enough?

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533 *EAI*:110:(1914).

534 *LN*:xix-xx.

535 *LN*:72.

536 *LN*:84.

537 Interestingly, Juliet felt that Hügel did not understand her suffering and loss during the War, and this became a problem in their relationship. There also seems to be a strange lack of empathy from Hügel towards Violet when her baby died.

#### X.iv. Hügel and activism

One of the great challenges of spirituality is rightly locating our human activity and response in the context of the work and action of God. Too much emphasis on the action of God leaves no room for a human response, and leads to Christian quietism; too much emphasis on our human activity makes our responses too important, and leads to Christian activism. How does Hügel fare on getting this balance right?

First, as we saw in Chapter 5, Hügel placed a strong emphasis on the prevenience of God, whose actions always precede ours: 'God loved us before we loved, or could love, Him. God's love of us rendered possible and actual our love of God.'<sup>538</sup> So theologically Hügel was well placed, and throughout his direction there was an ongoing emphasis that spiritual growth takes place because God is at work in us, not because of what we do: 'He works in us, not by us.'<sup>539</sup>

But the main body of Hügel's spiritual direction was squarely focussed on the human response, and included a lot of imperatives and exhortations: 'Be very humble,'<sup>540</sup> 'fight self,'<sup>541</sup> 'love God.'<sup>542</sup> There was also a lot of attention to various spiritual disciplines, as we have seen: spiritual reading, contemplative prayer, visiting the poor, etc. Throughout these exhortations Hügel encouraged his directees not to focus on themselves, but to focus on Christ, for that is clearly a danger here - a focus on the doing self, rather than the God whom we are seeking.

There are perhaps two main criticisms that can be made of Hügel here. The first is that the background of prevenience and God's initiative became lost in the foreground of human action. There was so much more talk about what directees should do than there was of what God has already done, so the note of *response* was muted. There is also a danger that the actions themselves became too important, that they lost the context of unconditionality and grace in which these are free responses, and could unknowingly slide into Pelagianism.

A second criticism is that there does not seem to be much of a note of *participation* in the actions of directees. God's prevenience may be the context for our action, but there was not always much of a sense that God is active right now around and in us, that Christ is interceding for us before the

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538 *EAI*:224.

539 *LN*:xviii.

540 *LN*:xvi.

541 ms37194/28b:SAUL:18/9/11.

542 ms37194/29:SAUL:30/10/1911.

Father, that the Spirit is praying in us as we pray, etc. The emphasis seemed to be more on directees as actors, than as true participants.<sup>543</sup>

Having said that, there was also a strong thread throughout Hügel's direction that was strongly *anti-activist*. As we have seen in Chapter 6, Hügel spoke repeatedly of the need for rest, moderation, and the need to reduce spiritual activities. It seemed that a good proportion of his directees were naturally inclined towards the kind of spiritual 'intensity' to which Hügel himself was drawn, and that he responded not by encouraging that intensity, but by seeking to soften it. So his encouragement to 'drop' things, to sabbath-keeping, to 'leisurely' spirituality, and to non-religious interests can all be seen as measures to mitigate an activism to which Hügel could see his directees were naturally inclined. It would perhaps have been nice to see Hügel link these practices of moderation more explicitly to the context of grace and the prevenience of God.

#### **X.v. Gender issues**

We have seen in section IX.i.c. Hügel's paternalism towards Gwen and Juliet, and questioned its appropriateness in the context of spiritual direction. It is clear, however, that Hügel took the intellectual and spiritual development of women seriously, educating his daughters, Gwen and Juliet, engaging intellectually with Evelyn and Emilia, and using Adeline as an editor for his own writings. While some of his views towards women were stereotypical and condescending,<sup>544</sup> the amount of time he was willing to invest in women must make him a man well ahead of his time.

Hügel also suggested that he may not have been the best person to direct these women: 'Many women are better helped by women than by men.'<sup>545</sup> Some feminist spiritual directors would agree, arguing that women's spirituality is 'distinctive.'<sup>546</sup> Guenther argues that women work differently as spiritual directors, and that women may benefit more from female spiritual directors.<sup>547</sup> For example, female metaphors of 'offering hospitality' or the 'attentive presence' of a 'midwife' provide avenues for a spiritual direction that is 'not authoritarian.'<sup>548</sup>

543 Perhaps relatedly, Hügel's Christology seemed to more emphasise the divinity of Christ, rather than his humanity, largely as a reaction to his Modernist context. The danger here is that Hügel lost the sense of Christ's ongoing obedience in our place, focussing only on the worship of the glorified Christ.

544 Hügel argued 'women generally tend either to an excess to the external, to superstition; or of the emotional, to fanaticism. Men... appear generally to incline to an excess of the intellectual, to rationalism and indifference.' (MEI:58). He also told Gwen not to read his works because they were writings of 'a masculine mind' so 'contain far more sheer thinking than is suited to a woman.' LN:58. While recognising these views come from his Victorian world-view, Leonard characterised Hügel as 'overpowering and chauvinistic.' Leonard:1991:256.

545 LN:xxix.

546 Guenther:1992:110.

547 Guenther:1992:110-139.

548 Guenther:1992:97.

Another gender-related question is whether Hügel had to deal with any attraction to any of these women. We note him missing Gwen's letters when he hadn't heard from her for some months in 1923,<sup>549</sup> and there are repeated mentions to Juliet of his delight in her letters, but it is difficult to see more than a genuine 'paternal' affection here. As mentioned, perhaps Hügel's suggestion to have women do 'hand-craft' when together in person may have been about mitigating intimacy and reducing eye-contact, but this is largely speculative.

## **X.vi. Miscellaneous questions**

It is worth simply raising three questions that come from studying Hügel's spiritual direction.

### ***X.vi.a. Sacramental Practices in 'low' Church***

To what extent is Hügel's high view of the sacraments and his teachings regarding the Institutional Element tied to the Catholic Church? Presumably since Hügel was comfortable with Gwen remaining where she was, there was at least some applicability to a High Anglican context. But how does it apply to the wider Church? Would Hügel be equally comfortable with a directee's experience of the Institutional Element in a 'low', protestant denomination?

### ***X.vi.b. An Aristocratic Spirituality?***

Is Hügel's spirituality really only applicable to upper-class directees with time and domestic help? Is 'leisurely' spirituality only relevant to the leisure class? How is Hügel's spirituality meaningful to a poor, single mother or a blue-collar worker holding down two jobs?<sup>550</sup>

### ***X.vi.c. Instrumental Spirituality***

Does Hügel's recommendation that his directees spend time weekly with the poor cross the line from being an act of service to being purely instrumental i.e. for the benefit of the directees rather than for the poor? How does one protect such acts of service from becoming selfish acts of self-improvement?

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549 LN:194-5.

550 Certainly Gwen ended her life living in relative poverty, and there is no suggestion that she found Hügel's spirituality inappropriate in her straitened circumstances. It is also interesting that there does not seem to be any discussion of money in any of Hügel's direction, other than the general discussion of finance-related issues like moving houses. Was Hügel's privileged background a blind-spot that meant that his spiritual nurture was less applicable to those who were not from aristocratic backgrounds?

## **XI. Learning from Hügel**

This final section reflects, albeit briefly, on what Hügel might stand to offer the church, and where his practice of spiritual direction might challenge our contemporary practices and theology.

### **XI.i. Tension and Friction**

One of the more striking features of Hügel's theology and spirituality is his embrace of tension and friction - the willingness to hold multiple ideas simultaneously, valuing the creative tension that comes from the interaction of those separate poles. We see this in numerous contexts throughout Hügel's spirituality: in the balance held between the Three Elements of Religion; in the tension between God's Otherness and his nearness; in the balance to be held between the religious life and non-religious interests; in Hügel's general approach to moderation (e.g. in practices like the frequency of retreats and confession); in his preference for the 'mixed life' over a life of 'pure mysticism'; in his embrace of both 'body' and 'spirit', and his refusal to see the two separated; in his preference for synthesis over analysis; and in the tension and continuity between clarity and dimness.

Tension and friction are fundamental principles of Hügel's spirituality. He argued that true wholeness comes not by taking a reductionist approach to complexity, but from the interplay of multiplicity-in-unity.<sup>551</sup> Hügel's emphasis on balance, tension and friction keeps his theology dynamic and flexible, and enables him to embrace 'either-or' dichotomies with a 'both-and'.

### **XI.ii. The Three Elements of Religion**

The specific tension for which Hügel is best-known is his Three Elements of Religion, and this does comprise one of his main contributions to Christian theology and spirituality. In my view, the Three Elements provides a robust framework for structuring and critiquing contemporary spirituality.

By way of example, much contemporary spiritual direction focuses almost exclusively on the Mystical Element, focussing on prayer, attentiveness to God, and recommending spiritual disciplines. We might critique this as being appropriate only to the extent that directees are already well grounded in an intellectual theology, and embedded in a worshipping community and tradition.

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<sup>551</sup> Which is, of course, how Hügel characterised the Trinity. *MEI*:66.

Similarly, much Evangelical 'discipleship' in the Reformed tradition, tends to focus primarily on the Intellectual Element, seeking to ground spiritual growth primarily in an increasing biblical knowledge. Houston criticises such practices as causing many to 'despair over the absence of reality in their faith because it was communicated to them cognitively and never allowed to develop emotionally.'<sup>552</sup> One might also criticise these practices from an institutional perspective as being overly individualistic, failing to embed spiritual growth in the context of a living and loving community.<sup>553</sup>

In general, the framework of the Three Elements helps to dissolve several unhelpful dichotomies, for example, between intellect vs. experience (mind vs. heart); rationality vs. imagination; spirit vs. body; individual vs. community; Scripture vs. tradition; apophatic vs. sacramental; theory vs. praxis; Spirit vs. word; evangelism vs. social action. In every case, the Three Elements suggests we want *both*, as much as possible, never a simplistic either-or. The Three Elements is a useful framework calling us towards a more holistic spirituality maturing all of who we are - head, heart, and hands.

### **XI.iii. Spiritual direction grounded in theology, not psychology**

Hügel provides us with an example of spiritual direction that is grounded in theology, rather than the more psychological orientation we see in much contemporary spiritual direction. Several commentators have highlighted the 'current trend to psychologise spiritual direction.'<sup>554</sup> Dubay argues that, in many cases, contemporary 'spiritual direction has become little more than an exercise in psychological feel-good.'<sup>555</sup> Peterson suggests that "'Faddish" contemporary spiritual direction, dependent as it is on Jungian psychology, is at risk of being reduced to therapeutic counselling sprinkled with holy water.'<sup>556</sup> Barry argues that if we are to help people in their relationship with God, spiritual direction needs to become 'theologically more grounded' and 'Trinitarian.'<sup>557</sup> Peterson concurs:

in matters of the Christian life, and especially prayer, it is the theologian we want at our side, to help us start with God... If you're trying to understand yourself, go ahead and

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552 Houston:2006:140.

553 Charismatic churches can similarly be criticised for having too much emphasis on the Mystical Element, with little focus on the Intellectual Element or the sacramental aspects of the Institutional Element of Religion.

554 Dubay:1993:17. For example, Michael argues 'a good spiritual director will have a working knowledge of Jungian psychology.' Michael:1989:40.

555 Dubay:1993:17.

556 Eugene Peterson: Letter to author:12/5/2007.

557 Barry:1992:8.

consult a psychologist, but if it's God you're after, get a theologian....We Christians need theologians far more than we need psychologists.<sup>558</sup>

As we have seen, Hügel's spiritual direction was grounded in theology and in the prevenient action of God. His intent was always to get the focus away from the self, and back to God and Christ. Self-knowledge was always a double-knowledge that lead to humility on the one hand, and adoration on the other.

#### **XI.iv. The particularity of the individual**

One of the more unusual features of Hügel's spiritual direction was the extent to which he particularised his direction to the needs of the individual, matching his direction to each person's unique 'attrait'.<sup>559</sup> Gwen's experience with Hügel was markedly different to Evelyn's, which was also quite different to Juliet's. In fact, the various directees examined in this dissertation all received quite different experiences of spiritual direction.

Further, Hügel was quite explicit and intentional about the desirability of treating his directees as individuals, and encouraging their variety rather than uniformity. He commented that, 'The garden of God holds so many... various flowers,<sup>560</sup> and to Gwen: 'Never forget the enormous variety of souls.'<sup>561</sup> He thus tried to emancipate his directees from the 'childish tyranny of thoughtless imitation,' which he viewed as 'the mark of a soul spiritually asleep.'<sup>562</sup> And Hügel endeavoured to 'raise souls through their natural bent,<sup>563</sup> 'encouraging others to become quite different from ourselves.'<sup>564</sup> He argued, 'Souls are never dittos. The souls thus to be helped are mostly at quite different stages from our own, or they have quite a different attrait.'<sup>565</sup>

And as we have seen, Hügel also gave his directees the freedom to filter his advice, accepting what seemed to suit them, and ignoring anything that was not comfortable or timely. This is both a recognition of the uniqueness of the individual, and a mark of humility on the part of the director,

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558 Peterson:1998:49-50.

559 Hügel repeatedly used the term 'attrait' in relation to Gwen and retreats (*LN*:198) and confession (*LN*:142); with Juliet and her 'religious program' (ms37194/29:SAUL:30/10/11); with Evelyn and reciting the Office (Cropper:2003:116) and with Emilia (Steere:1964:63-4) and Frances (Barmann:1981:112). Gwen wrote that Hügel 'dreaded to... mix up their "attrait" for them.' *LN*:x.

560 ms37194/37a:SAUL:23/8/1915.

561 *LN*:xxix-xxx.

562 *EAI*:265.

563 *SL*:243.

564 *LN*:63.

565 *LN*:xxix.



who cannot possibly get it always right all the time for the vast multiplicity of individuals. Spiritual direction is not 'one size fits all.'

#### **XI.v. Miscellaneous challenges**

A number of additional challenges to us emerge from particular focuses included within Hügel's Three Elements of Religion:

##### ***XI.v.a. A socially engaged spirituality***

One challenge Hügel's Institutional Element brings is that a privatised, individualistic spirituality is insufficient and truncated, and that a holistic spirituality involves being embedded in various communities, serving one's neighbours in whatever form they take: children, parents, the poor, colleagues, society in general, etc. Spirituality is as truly expressed in service as in prayer.

##### ***XI.v.b. The role of the institutional church***

Leonard rightly notes that, 'The temptation to abandon the historical institutional expressions of Christianity may be even stronger for us' than for persons at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>566</sup> As such, Hügel's deep commitment to the institutional church - and right through the serious challenges thrown up by the Modernist crisis - is highly challenging to a culture more comfortable with church-shopping than church-commitment.

Similarly, Hügel's recognition that church is often costly and difficult - his 'hairshirt' - challenges our tendency to see church as required to 'meet our needs', rather than as a community and a tradition whose primary role is to help us grow, often by having to be patient with difficult people and situations.

##### ***XI.v.c. The role of history***

Leonard also notes that Hügel recognised the necessity to 'be rooted in the community, past and present.'<sup>567</sup> Again this sense of historicity is an area in which we are probably more impoverished than were those of Hügel's generation. Houston suggests that 'the historical perspective has become dislodged by a more technical orientation.'<sup>568</sup>

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566 Leonard:1991:256.

567 Leonard:1991:253.

568 *JE*:149.

Hügel reminds us that we can and should learn from those who have gone before us, learning from their examples and their mistakes, and allowing them to critique our contemporary blind-spots (as he did in his study of Catherine of Genoa). Similarly, Hügel's attentiveness to history in his direction of Gwen underlines the relevance of history to contemporary issues - we keep making the same errors and falling into the same heresies. Having a long view of history helps keep us realistic and grounded, able to see the big picture, and humble enough to learn from the past.

***XI.v.d. The place of the body***

Hügel taught his directees that we do not *have* bodies, we *are* bodies; that senses awaken spirit; and the sacramental is fundamentally important to the life of the spirit. This refusal to allow the spirit to be separated from the body is at least as relevant today, both for those intellectuals within the church who ignore the worlds of art and sense and sacrament in their pursuit of pure spirituality, and for a sex-obsessed culture that refuses to allow the joining of bodies to have any meaning beyond that of pleasure.

***XI.v.e. Both clarity and dimness***

Hügel's treatment of 'dimness' challenges the idea that all our knowledge must be equally clear, reserving space for 'creaturely' finiteness, for the mystery of God, and for areas about which we simply have too little information, and can only speculate.

At the same time, Hügel insists there are areas about which we can and should be clear, so this is not a uniform scepticism. It is rather a form of practical, epistemological humility, suggesting that we should be committed to truths about which there is sufficient clarity, but flexible and humble in areas where there is less light.

## XII. Conclusion

In conclusion, Hügel's spiritual direction reveals both weaknesses and strengths. The weaknesses are typically elements of his time that he only partially managed to escape. The strengths are elements that have stood the test of time, and which, as I have suggested, serve to challenge some of the assumptions that characterise our contemporary culture.

It is extremely difficult to provide further evaluation of a regime of spiritual direction that was adapted to its time and context. Spiritual needs are, after all, shaped by the demands and expectations of an era. In terms of its effects, we should probably judge Hügel's spiritual direction in positive terms given that his directees, and particularly Gwen and Evelyn, appeared to be vibrant, spiritually rich and fulfilled women, who attributed much of their spiritual growth to Hügel's influence and care.<sup>569</sup>

Hügel's primary challenge to contemporary practices of spiritual direction remains his holistic approach, with his Three Elements of Religion providing a rich, nuanced framework for guiding and evaluating a spirituality of the whole person. Admirably, Hügel can be seen to have embodied these three Elements in his own personal commitment to the Catholic church, to scholarship and to personal sanctity. Consequently, he impacted his directees, not only in what he taught, but in who he was. Gwen Greene, the directee who knew him most intimately of all, described the key to what made him so 'immensely rich' as a person:

he contrives to contain within himself to an almost unique degree, a fragment of all the three elements that man's religious nature requires for its fullest growth... He is active, intellectual *and* mystical - neither of the three alone; so he spoke of all three in conjunction, and did not dwell only on one.<sup>570</sup>

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569 His one 'failure' (to the extent it can be judged) would be Juliet, who seemed to become a worn young woman who showed 'no sign of religion.' D:7/1/22.

570 Greene:1930:290.



*Hegel in his final years.*  
*SL:2.*

## Appendix 1: Hügel's contacts with Gwen Greene (1899-1924)

The following table summarises Hügel's contacts with Gwen Green, and his letters to her, as recorded in his diary. The *LN* column indicates if the letter was published in *LN*, the relevant page numbers, and whether the letter includes additional unpublished sections (marked with a '\*').

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
20/07/99		Gwen's wedding; Hügel didn't attend, Mary and Gertrud did.
21/08/08		Hügel at Wilton; Gwen comes with her three to stay; 'the two charming boys at lunch.'
03/10/13		Gwen goes with Mary to see Thekla as a nun.
06/12/13		Gwen stays at Roehampton with Mary.
09/12/13		Gwen stays overnight with the Hügel's and leaves them in the afternoon.
09/10/16		Gwen and Olivia stay overnight and leave the Hügel's at 5pm.
18/01/17		Letter 1 to Gwen with three books on loan: Pelham's <i>Outline of Roman History</i> , Stuart's <i>Roman Empire</i> and Carter's <i>Relief to Rome</i>
22/01/17		Postcard 1 from Gwen acknowledging receipt of books.
12/04/17		Letter 2 to Gwen with 3 Bossier books.
30/06/17		Postcard 2 from Gwen.
02/07/17		Postcard 3 from Gwen: 'thanks.' [Presumably this thank you is for other books Hügel sent Gwen that are not recorded in his diary].
15/12/17		Letter 4 from Gwen, and G Boissier's <i>Tacite</i> and <i>Hindu Pagamisme</i> 2 vols, returned by her.
15/12/17		Letter 3 to Gwen: Sent her Mackari's <i>Roth Litter</i> , <i>Lucretius</i> tr Munro, Sellari's <i>Virgil</i> and Fairclough's tr of <i>Virgil</i> vol I.
18/02/18		Letter 5 from Gwen 'as to the Roman books - Lucretius & Virgil esp.'
21/02/18		Letter 6 from Gwen 'asking for more books.'
24/04/18		Letter 7 from Gwen (to Mary): 'is in bed, with a trained Nurse – an operation ahead; H [Hillie] thinks for an abscess on brain.'
25/04/18	pp. 3-4	Letter 4 to Gwen.
30/04/18		Letter 8 from Gwen 'about prayer, that the operation has been put off and David much better.'
15/06/18		Note 9 from Gwen.
11/07/18		Letter 5 to Gwen and sends 'Caesar, Otford travel & Cicero's Offices de (Boha) – gifts; & Haverfield's <i>Rowan of Roman Britain</i> and Fowler's <i>Roman Festivals</i> – loan – with note of explanation.'
18/07/18		Note 10 from Gwen 'of thanks.'
24/09/18		Note 11 from Gwen: '(has read Caesar, <i>Gallic War</i> w. interest; loves Cicero's <i>Offices</i> , but interrupted by house work just now again).'

<b>Date</b>	<b>LN</b>	<b>Contact with Hügel/Event</b>
30/09/18	pp. 4-6	Molly hears from Gwen that <i>Hubert lies most dangerously ill (septic poisoning)</i> at Rustington... <i>wrote a careful letter to Gwen- sympathy &amp; admir for H[ubert]; regret at my past tactlessness; remarks as to scepticism &amp; prayer.'</i> Letter 6 to Gwen.
02/10/18		Letter 12 from Gwen: 'very sweet, a little more hopeful...'
03/10/18		Letter 13 from Gwen: 'Hubert slightly better.'
07/10/18		'5pm. <i>Hubert Parry died at Knightscroft, Rustington</i> 'most peacefully' – after 'terrible sufferings and longings and struggles to die' (Gwen to Molly).'
08/10/18		Letter 7 to Gwen (letter of condolence).
09/10/18	pp. 6-7	Letter 8 to Gwen.
18/10/18		Visit from Gwen: Hügel got 'ready lists of book packets for Gwen. Gwen came at 2: read her out my lists of books for her.'
12/11/18		Hügel has an operation in this period. He dictates to Hillie a letter to Gwen and sends her ' <i>Boisseur La Religion Roman</i> , 2 vols; Boissier <i>Etude sure Harron</i> , & illegible & Evan's <i>Gifford</i> (loans); and Johnson's <i>Vanity of Human Wishes</i> (gift).'
14/11/18		Letter 14 from Gwen 'her thanks for fresh haven of books; difficulties as to governess for Olivia.-'
26/11/18		Visit from Gwen: spends night with Hügel's then comes to Baron for an hour's talk.
27/11/18		Next morning at 9:30am, Gwen comes for another hour: 'Talked abt war etc.'
05/12/18		Letter 15 from Gwen: ' <i>Long, important letter abt religion fr Gwen...</i> '
11/12/18	pp. 8-16	Letter 9 to Gwen. 'Began very long, imp letter to Gwen, on the religious points brought up by her... <i>very long letter... 18 pages.'</i>
16/12/18		Hügel sees David for a minute (he stayed the night).
17/12/18		Letter 16 from Gwen: 'warm letter of thanks'; she returns his <i>Religion and Illusion</i> and <i>Religion and Reality</i> articles.
30/12/18		Letter 16 from Gwen announcing she has 'finished Boissier's <i>Rel Rome</i> – enthusiastic about it.'
30/12/18		Letter 10 to Gwen 'abt Varro; the next packet, and advantage of these studies.'
Back of 1918 Diary		Pages 368-371 under the heading 'Gwen' are references to books. On page 372, we read 'For Gwen' and more references to books.
02/01/19		Letter 17 from Gwen.

<b>Date</b>	<b>LN</b>	<b>Contact with Hügel/Event</b>
23/01/19	pp. 16-17*	Richard visits: '17 yrs of age; at Willington Coll, doing Science (esp Chemistry) after Winchester, where he cared much f Classics – had to have it bec of health – very shy.' Letter 11 to Gwen 'abt Richard, & booing bits in her training...'
28/01/19		Letter 18 from Gwen and returning 'Boissier's <i>La Religion Romaine</i> 2 vols. & Varro...'
31/01/19	pp. 18-21	Letter 12 to Gwen, plus sending as gifts 'Virgil... Tacitus, Minor Writings; Tacitus, <i>Historia</i> , 2 vols... and Pliny's Letters...'
04/01/19		Letter 19 from Gwen – thanks for the packet.
06/02/19		Postcard 20 from Gwen telling him she's 'beginning Tacitus in the right order – the Minor writings first...'
08/02/19		Postcard 13 to Gwen with '3 points.'
14/02/19		Letter 21 from Gwen returning 'the Juvenal – Persius in English (Bohn).'
28/02/19		Letter 22 from Gwen telling of her 'awful dreams at night, because of Tacitus's <i>Histories</i> , Has now finished all T's minor Writings & Histories, and the Younger Pliny's Letters; and wants more books.'
28/02/19		Letter 14 to Gwen - 'Long letter to her & parcel: <i>Select Essays of Plutarch</i> , & Plutarch's <i>Lives of Coriolanus, Anthony Caesar</i> – these 2 vols, presents, & Farrar's <i>Seekers After God</i> & Lightfoots <i>St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians</i> , these 2 vols, loans...'
01/03/19		'Hillie visited David, Gwen's 2nd boy, at Harrow today – lunched & tea w him. He took her all over the school... David says he, Dr F, has a violent temper. Also that Gwen is thinking of moving to Salisbury, to live w the Oliviers there.'
10/03/19	pp. 21-24	Letter 15 to Gwen, 'w an enclosure concerning her proposed move to Salisbury. The letter dealt w a system of book-marking, & with keeping her mind open for growth, esp in religious matters.'
15/03/19		Letter 23 from Gwen concerning Salisbury that Harry 'himself proposed it – that he loves the place and would like a lease there.'
01/04/19		Letter 24 from Gwen 'Long important letter from Gwen – must not be 'pinned down' to definite Church positions. Wd sooner die than lose faith in God, and is deeply attached to Xt, but must keep the rest all vague. She feels this, in looking at Lightfoot's <i>Philippians</i> ...'
05/04/19		Letter 16 to Gwen – [Hügel is still unwell so writes explaining why he can't at once answer her letter] 'as to Church, as union of suffering as well as of other action...'
06/04/19		Letter 25 from Gwen: 'Sweet little letter fr Gwen – as to her, Gwen's 'all stormy' inner life.'
07/04/19	pp. 24-25	Letter 17 to Gwen.
09/04/19		Letter 24 from Gwen: 'sympathy with my unwellness'

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
21/04/19		Letter 25 from Gwen: 'asks for fresh batch of books. Has read many times and has enjoyed Lightfoot's <i>St Paul</i> and Sheca; also the Plutach – Shakespeare vol – the Farrah. <i>Seekers after God</i> she found useful but small compared w the great books she has become accustomed to. Has now weeks of packing and unpacking. Gives her new, Salisbury address.'
23/04/19		Letter 26 from Gwen: returns by post Lightfoot's <i>Philippians</i> and Farrar's <i>Seekers after God</i> .
24/04/19		Written in diary: 'Illegible <i>Apologia</i> and <i>Florina</i> , & his <i>Amor and Psyche</i> ; and Ibsen's <i>Emperor and Sabilean</i> – all translations,- for Gwen.'
05/05/19	pp. 26-33	Letter 18 to Gwen: 'long letter to her abt the Church.' Sends Gwen Wiseman's <i>Fabiola</i> and Prudentins's <i>Catherinea</i> (Eng Tr), as presents; and Paul Allard's <i>Persecutions de Eglise</i> vols 1, 4 & 5, as loans.
06/05/19		Postcard 27 from Gwen.
06/05/19	pp. 33-34	Postcard 19 to Gwen: '(as to the 5 vols, & my health).'
08/05/19		Postcard 28 from Gwen thanking him for the books and letter.
08/05/19	pp. 34-35	Card note 20 to Gwen, inviting her to Clonboy.
12/05/19		Letter 29 from Gwen saying she can't visit at Clonboy as she is going to a 3 day retreat under Edward Keble Talbot, the Bishop of Winchester's son.
14/05/19	p. 35*	Postcard 21 to Gwen.
14/05/19		Hügel writes 'Very long, imp letter to Edward Talbot – abt Gwen, in view of her coming 3 days under him (strictly confidential).'
17/05/19		Hügel writes another card note to Edward Talbot: "(abt Gwen – her Father a clean, devoted character but essent a <i>revoltic</i> ; she, a frequenter of H. Com.)-'
20/05/19		Hügel receives a letter from Edward Talbot: 'very kind and interested in Gwen and in my proposals for her...'
05/06/19		Hügel 'did up (to wait in my study) 3 packets of books for Gwen: Gnosticism; Minuein's & Filet, Tertullian & Palladius; St Jerome & St Augustine.' Hügel leaves for Clonboy.
10/06/19		Letter 30 from Gwen.
12-13/06/19	pp. 35-44	Letter 22 to Gwen (written at Clonboy). 'Finished very long letter to Gwen – abt Shakespeare; Milton; the Gnostic packet I had intended to send; the Persecutions books – why I had sent them; the new packet sent her by H from London today (Miman's Filex 'Octavius', Turmel's 'Tertullian... and Pallnain's Illegible <i>History</i> (tr); Worldliness & Prayer of Quiet.'
18/06/19		Letter 31 (long) from Gwen 'concerning Shakespeare, Tertullian etc (is with Olivia on a short visit near Salisbury)...'
21/06/19		Gwen sends Hügel 'Paul Alard, <i>Les Martyrs</i> vols I, IV, V.'
22/06/19		Hügel receives a letter from Edward Talbot about Gwen.



Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
28/06/19		Letter 32 from Gwen: 'Letter (long) fr Gwen (The Old Palace, Canterbury) about her Retreat there, as one of 12 ladies - Edward Talbot's addresses and the services perfect; an elderly cleric's evening talks on S. Francis of Assisi, dull; much distracting chatter among the ladies.'
30/06/19		Letter 33 from Gwen concerning her retreat: 'actual acute pain in mind fr its great growth, those days.'
03/07/19	pp. 45-47*	Letter 23 to Gwen, written at Clonboy.
05/07/19	pp. 47-48	Card note 24 to Gwen.
14/07/19		Gwen comes to stay at Clonboy: 'A good talk with her [Gwen] in garden after tea.'
15/07/19		A 'second talk in the garden.' (Hügel and Gwen). Third talk in the garden 'began reading selections from Bigg's tr of St Augustine's <i>Confessions</i> to her.'
16/07/19		Fourth and fifth talk with Gwen and 'more <i>Confessions</i> aloud to her.'
17/07/19		'Sixth & last talk w Gwen in garden. Gave her with explanations: the Bigg <i>Confessions of St Aug.</i> ; the Montgomery Selects fr St Aug's <i>Confessions</i> (tr); Montgomery's <i>Aspects of St Augustine's Life &amp; Work</i> ; and Turmel's <i>Saint Jerome</i> (all gifts); and Lagrange's <i>Lettres de S Jerome</i> (tr) loan.' [Hügel sees Gwen off and then immediately orders another three books to be sent to Gwen].
22/07/19		Letter 34 from Gwen 'as to her stay, and as to definite thoughts about God.'
25/07/19		Letter 35 from Gwen to say she's received the 3 books and she writes 'stories about her Father in his last illness...'
07/08/19	pp. 48-53*	Letter 25 to Gwen. Diary states 'Finished very long letter to Gwen – (conditions) – with much abt her Father in it.'
16/08/19		Letter 36 from Gwen (17th published letter, 54-58). 'with question as to Invinc. Ign. [Invincible Ignorance] as to God, Xt, Church.'
26/08/19		Letter 37 from Gwen: 'Olivia & David were lost on top of worst mountain round there on Aug 24. - Search party sent up at dark. They came down a very dangerous way all right. G continues full of 'Confes', saying nothing abt Edw Talbot.'
01/09/19	pp. 58-60	Letter 26 to Gwen: 'proposals how she shd intentionalise her fortnight of packing beginning tomorrow.'
04/09/19		Letter 38 from Gwen: 'Long touching letter fr Gwen (Hurst Farm); finds Mrs Currie (nee Hanbury) 'a restless Roman Catholic.'
17/09/19	pp. 60-64	Letter 27 to Gwen. [No mention in his diary of this letter].
23/09/19	pp. 64-66	Letter 28 to Gwen. [No mention in his diary of this letter].
03/10/19		Letter 39 from Gwen: '(felt odd & sad when cut off, 1 <sup>st</sup> 3 days of strike, fr all communication w London etc; spends her days in the Cathedral; cannot come to London at present)...'

<b>Date</b>	<b>LN</b>	<b>Contact with Hügel/Event</b>
06/10/19	pp. 66-71	Letter 29 to Gwen.
08/10/19		Letter 40 from Gwen.
09/10/19		Gwen's son, Richard comes to visit Hügel for 45 minutes. Hügel records 'Talked abt his Mother, the Greek Classics, Oxford, his asthma. Gave him card of introd to the C. [Clement] Webbs.' Letter 30 to Gwen: Writes that afternoon '(abt Richard etc; Bec Pembroke (Knoyle) (abt introductions for Gwen)...'
11/10/19		Letter 41 from Gwen about Richard's visit to Hügel.
31/10/19	pp. 71-72	Letter 31 to Gwen: 'a long letter to Gwen.'
13/11/19		Letter 32 to Gwen 'abt M.P. [Modern Painting] and Olivia.'
17/11/19		'Gwen arrived, for night, by lunch time. I took her, w Puck, in drizzle, on foot, to Carmelite Convent. <i>Thekla saw her for nearly two full hours....</i> At 6:30 talk w Gwen till dinner, about points in the spir life.'
18/11/19		Gwen stays the night and the following morning Hügel has a 'talk w Gwen, on certain difficulties in faith and rel practice.- She told abt Arthur, Dolly etc.- Lent her my two Papers <i>Rel &amp; Ill</i> [Illusion] & <i>Rel &amp; Real</i> [Reality]. Gave her as a present, <i>The Imitation of Christ</i> , morocco bound. After lunch, Gwen left, in taxi, for Baker Street Station and Harrow... Lent her Muther's <i>Hist of M.P</i> [Modern Painting] vol 3.'
29/11/19		Letter 42 from Gwen 'abt Abbé Huvelin's <i>Quelques Dir d'Ames</i> & her Father's Eton Diaries.'
03/12/19	pp. 72-74	Letter 33 to Gwen, and sends <i>Eternal Life</i> as a gift.
16/12/19		Note 43 from Gwen returning Hügel's <i>Religion and Illusion</i> and <i>Religion and Reality</i> papers.
17/12/19	pp. 92-93	Letter 34 to Gwen '(after M had seen Maude Parry, who said Gwen would be lunching w her one of these days) to look me up.'
18/12/19		Letter 44 from Gwen.
19/12/19		Hügel writes out '20 recommendations of Abbé Huvelin to him for Gwen.'
20/12/19		Gwen visited Hügel from 11:15 until 12:30. Hügel gave her his Huvelin recommendations and lent her his paper, <i>The Apocalyptic Element in the Teaching of Jesus</i> .
Back of 1919 Diary		Hügel has 6 pages of book titles 'for Gwen.' For example, Dent's Temple Classics <i>Venerable Bede; Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation</i> ; Sir Thomas Browne's <i>Religio Medici and Urn Burial</i> .
02/01/20	pp. 74-75	Letter 35 to Gwen.
16/01/20		Note 36 to Gwen with Percy Gardner's <i>Types of Greek Coins</i> .
17/01/20		'Posted packet of 5 books (Great subjects) to Gwen – 3 of them gifts.'
19/01/20		Letter 45 from Gwen to say she's been in Oxford with her children looking at the colleges and that she has received the Gardner book.

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
20/01/20		Letter 46 from Gwen saying she had a 'varied trip' and has received the 5 books.
27/01/20		Letter 47 from Gwen to say she has found a house: 'a battered, ugly former rectory... Lots to do to get it all in order.'
04/02/20		Letter 48 from Gwen 'abt Ellen Mitchell etc.' Letter 37 to Gwen and Hügel sends her 7 of his articles, including '2 Troeltsches; art on Campbell; <i>Progress in Rel...</i> '
06/02/20		Letter 38 to Gwen 'a v long letter.'
09/02/20		Letter 49 from Gwen: ' <i>Very long, very private illegible letter fr Gwen.</i> ' Letter 39 to Gwen 'Wrote very long letter to Gwen, about 3 practical points raised in my mind by her letter.'
14/02/20		Letter 50 from Gwen 'Long letter from Gwen. (Richard all right – has declared himself for purity & that religion is the most real thing in the world).'
17/02/20	p. 76	Letter 40 to Gwen, not mentioned in diary.
20/02/20	pp. 76-78	Letter 41 to Gwen, not mentioned in diary.
21/02/20		Letter 42 to Gwen (Unpublished letter found at archive in Mirfield monastery, now at SAUL); Not mentioned in diary.
28/02/20		Letter 51 from Gwen 'mostly about the <i>M.E.</i> '
01/03/20		Letter 52 from Gwen 'has headache; has received ' <i>ME</i> ', but now wants more non-rel books, as she has resumed her general reading.'
03/03/20		Letter 53 from Gwen 'thanks for <i>M.E.</i> Has resumed classical reading...'
05/03/20	pp. 78-80	Letter 43 to Gwen (26th published letter; 76-78).
09/03/20		Hügel sends <i>Companion to Greek Studies</i> as a gift to Gwen.
10/03/20		Hügel sends <i>Coins of the Ancients &amp; Greek &amp; Roman Private Life</i> , as gifts, and Myer's <i>The Odes of Pindar</i> as loan, to Gwen
15/03/20		Richard Greene visits: 'Long talk. I heard him very badly. He doesn't like Neville [Edward?] Talbot, talked also critically of the new (old) house.' Letter 53 from Gwen reporting that she may have to give up her violin.
17/03/20	pp. 80-81	Letter 44 to Gwen: 'Note to Gwen – about her headaches – long.'
18/03/20		Letter 54 from Gwen.
26/03/20	pp. 81-83	Letter 45 to Gwen.
05/04/20	pp. 83-84*	Letter 46 to Gwen: 'Very long letter to Gwen (Good Friday, Easter, her & my monks, bad Clerics).' 3 unpublished sections of letter.
10/04/20		Letter 55 from Gwen; 'goes beginning of May again to a 4 days Retreat under Edward Talbot. Abt her finances.'
16/04/20		Letter 56 from Gwen. 'She has had Edward Talbot's little visit and is off for a few days with her children to Knople House as her Mother is staying there with Bec Pembroke.'
19/04/20		Letter 47 to Gwen; ' <i>Long letter to Gwen – chiefly about Desolation.</i> '

<b>Date</b>	<b>LN</b>	<b>Contact with Hügel/Event</b>
21/04/20	pp. 85-88	Letter 57 from Gwen; 'Serena again.' Letter 48 to Gwen.
26/04/20		Letter 58 from Gwen 'about desolation etc.'
26/04/20		Letter 49 to Gwen: 'slip to Gwen, in 'Little Flowers of St Francis' – a gift to her.' [However he does not post this letter until 29/4/20].
1/5/20 but in diary it's 21/5/20		Letter 50 to Gwen (32nd published letter, 88-91). [No mention of this letter in diary and can see content of letter talks about visiting Richard which happened on 18/5].
04/05/20	p. 92	Letter 51 to Gwen.
06/05/20		Note 59 from Gwen 'is going to Canterbury after all...'
07/05/20		Note 60 from Gwen at Canterbury 'feeling joy being there...'
07/05/20		Note 52 to Gwen 'about Olivia before music...'
18/05/20		Hügel visits Richard at New College, Oxford. 'Tea with him – 2 hours together. He most attentive but shy. Walked with me to door of Campion Hall.'
21/05/20		Letter 53 to Gwen: ' <i>Very long letter to Gwen...</i> ' (32nd published letter, 88-91; this letter is wrongly dated in LN as 1 May 1920). Hügel sends her as presents 'Rawlinson's <i>Herodotus...</i> ' 'Thucydides <i>The Sicilian Expedition</i> ; the Speeches in Thucydides; and <i>Guide to Egyptian Antiquity</i> .'
22/05/20		Letter 61 from Gwen 'not been well; 2 servs come next week, and nice Fr. Governess soon after...'
24/05/20		Letter 62 from Gwen thanking Hügel for the books of Browning's letters he sent her.
31/05/20		Letter 63 from Gwen; 'her new Cook must leave; about Richard...'
31/05/20		Letter 54 to Gwen about Muriel's engagement, Clonboy visit and his DD.
21/06/20		Letter 64 from Gwen a ' <i>Very long, touchingly devoted &amp; rel letter...</i> '
23/06/20	p. 92*	Letter 55 to Gwen.
01/07/20		Note 65 from Gwen and Richard Greene.
10/07/20		Letter 66 from Gwen regarding train times.
10/07/20		Postcard 56 to Gwen regarding trains.
14/07/20		Gwen arrives at Clonboy to stay for 3 nights. [Note that Juliet is there but once Gwen arrives, all talks are with Gwen not Juliet]. First talk with Gwen '...from pencil notes.'
15/07/20		A two hour talk with Gwen 'from pencil notes' in the morning, a walk in Windsor Great Park, a two hour talk with her in the evening and then reading out to her Browning's poetry after the evening talk (reading 'Touch him ne'er so lightly' and 'Natural magic.')

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16/07/20		Two hour talk with Gwen; Hügel gives Gwen his <i>German Soul</i> and paper <i>Relations between God and man</i> as presents. He reads her Browning's 'Round about the woodlands.'
17/07/20		Half hour talk with Gwen about church and her children then sees her off to Salisbury.
20/07/20		Letter 67 from Gwen 'a touching letter... proposing she shd have Ed Talbot to stay for [with?] me.'
30/07/20		Postcard 57 to Gwen arranging his visit to her on 4 <sup>th</sup> of August lunch for two talks and lunch.
04/08/20		[Hügel leaves Clonboy for a few days at Wilton House to attend Muriel Herbert's wedding. Bec drives him into Salisbury where he is met by Gwen's children in the market place, then they travel to Odstock. He has lunch with Gwen, her children and Mildred Olivier at the Old Rectory]. We read 'Lay down afterwards in Gwen's large bed-room, with the crucifix in it.- Tea there, too, at 4. She showed me over the little pre-reformation Church in her grounds.- She took me to 'the Old Yew' Inn, where I got the white poney cart again. It took me back to Salisbury market Place. From there, after some 20 m wait back to Wilton, by Bus...'
10/08/20		Letter 58 to Gwen (35th published letter, 93-95). Incomplete.
18/08/20		Letter to Olivia from Hügel with ' <i>The Brownings for the Young ...a present really for all 3.</i> '
20/08/20		Letter 68 from Gwen 'asking for one; H [Harry] arriving.'
21/08/20		Letter 59 to Gwen; 'Very long letter to Gwen – about Lourtfield & cheer up as to H's [Harry's] visit.-...'
24/08/20		Letter 69 from Gwen "full of Beatrice's religion...'
31/08/20	pp. 95-98*	Letter 60 to Gwen. No mention in diary. 5 unpublished sections from the letter in original.
04/10/20	pp. 98-103	Letter 61 to Gwen. No mention in diary.
08/10/20		'Gwen came to me at 11. Told her abt Anna, Mrs Lillie, Heiler. Lent her the articles by & abt DuBose in Sept <i>Constructive Quarterly</i> . Took her to Bus, off to see Dolly...'
26/10/20	pp. 103-106	Letter 62 to Gwen.
12/11/20		Postcard 70 from Gwen.
23/11/20	pp. 106-110	Letter 63 to Gwen.
25/11/20		Letter 71 from Gwen 'long letter... in answer to mine remarks abt the Church & Harry...'
29/11/20		Letter 72 from Gwen '(after an acute headache & vein attack)- abt a Miss Russell, Agnostic, & the Church etc...'
06/12/20		Letter 73 from Gwen.
08/12/20	pp. 110-116*	Letter 64 to Gwen, with a slip of his essay <i>Christianity and the Supernatural</i> .

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
09/12/20		Hügel sends Gwen volumes 1-3 of Fenelon's <i>Correspondence</i> on loan.
22/12/20		Letter 74 from Gwen: ' <i>Long, immensely fervent letter from Gwen...</i> '
31/12/20	p. 116*	Letter 65 to Gwen.
08/01/21		Card-note 66 to Gwen.
13/01/21		Note from Richard Greene (from New College, Oxford).
14/01/21		Letter 67 to Gwen.
17/01/21		Letter and postcard 75 from Gwen to say Olivia is well again and they are going for 4 days with Mrs Morrison and 4 days with Dolly.
31/01/21	pp. 116-120	Letter 68 to Gwen (completes letter on 2/2/21).
04/02/21		Letter 75 from Gwen '...long letter... is in light, but doing OK historians precisely bec she is, to keep balance & moderation; will now go back fr Theoclidides to Gerodotus; will practice violin 1-1 ½ hrs daily; gets H.C. every Thursday at Cathedral; her affinity for Cath. Churches.-'
05/02/21	pp. 120-121	Note 76 from Gwen. Letter 69 to Gwen, and a German woodcut postcard for Gwen whose birthday is the next day.
06/02/21		'Gwen 44 yrs old.'
07/02/21		Note 77 from Gwen: 'line re money.'
08/02/21	pp. 121-122	Letter 70 to Gwen.
14/02/21		[Gwen comes at 4:30 and has tea with Mary for half an hour, then has a two hour talk with Hügel]. 'Told her New Religions illegible about Corrance & Illegible (lent her my notes on it); <i>and abt the trial for Scholars &amp; thinkers in Church. Read her Deleware's letter abt it.</i> Illegible my first clear revelation of this situation to her.- Was as ever very dear & ardent; I hope I have not done harm.'
21/02/21		Hügel's fears are realised: 'Letter fr Gwen (evidently perturbed & checked by my reveln as to extr. R. theologians; has eczema in r. arm, disabled from violin; Illegible.'
22/02/21	pp. 122-129	Letter 71 to Gwen. Hügel's response to her letter of 21/2/21.
26/02/21		Letter 78 from Gwen: 'Very long letter fr Gwen reassuring me.'
28/02/21	p. 130	Letter 72 to Gwen.
01/03/21		Letter 79 from Gwen to say a friend's baby girl died.
01/03/21	pp. 130-131*	Letter 73 to Gwen.
03/03/21		Postcard 80 from Gwen returning Hügel's Fénelon <i>Correspondence</i> volumes 2-4.
04/03/21		Letter 74 to Gwen; Hügel unwell at this stage.
09/03/21		Letter 81 from Gwen: she has received St Francois, vol 1 and Fenelon's <i>Educ des Filles</i> .
19/03/21		Postcard 82 from Gwen.

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
20/03/21		Richard Greene comes to visit Hügel: 'He talked w depression now of his music – cannot hear the music from reading the score etc.- Tried to get him to drop such minute self-reflection; also came out about the maturer classics and the depths of religion being of necessity above the comprehension of the young.'
23/03/21		Letter 83 from Gwen speaking of bad headaches and 'worried as to this 270 pounds a year school that Olivia is determined to go to.'
24/03/21		Letter 75 to Gwen ' <i>Wrote long letter to Gwen</i> abt her need of rest; Olivia; her misapprehension of one of my points in the Heiler article; Farnham Castle etc.'
25/03/21		Arthur & Dolly both want Gwen to let Olivia go to that expensive school – that it will not cost more than the present Fr, Governess plus her & Olivia's illegible.
25/03/21		Note 76 to Gwen: 'Short note to Gwen telling her what her mother said, and that, if H.P.G. [Harry] reckons accurately, I want her G to let O go, but to require O to go not simply to see how she will get on.'
29/03/21		Letter 84 from Gwen: ' <i>A very long, hurt letter fr Gwen, and a second, shorter one, on same subject</i> – her att. towards her children.'
30/03/21		Letter 77 to Gwen: ' <i>Very long, important letter to Gwen.</i> '
04/04/21		Letters 85 and 86 from Gwen: 'the one about the affair I had just written to her about (very sweet & touching) – the other conclusion of acct as to visit at Farnham Castle.'
11/04/21	p. 131	Letter 78 to Gwen. Not mentioned in diary.
05/05/21	pp. 132-133*	Letter 79 to Gwen, and sending a Parallel Psalter as a present. Unpublished section to finish letter.
07/05/21		Note 87 from Gwen.
10/05/21		Hügel finishes writing out the 20 recommendations of Abbé Huvelin for Gwen.
10/05/21		David Greene stays the night at Vicarage Gate as he attended a concert of Hubert's music.
11/05/21		Gwen visits: 'An hour's talk; is better since dropping violin; has no governess now for Olivia; told me how she stands abt the money fr her mother.- I re-lent her Huvelin's ' <i>Quelues Dir d'Ames</i> ' & gave her (a present) the second batch of extracts fr his Recommendations.- With Gwen & Puck to her Mother's door, and then w her & Olivia back to the Buses.'
16/05/21		Letter 88 from Gwen.
19/05/21	pp. 133-136	Letter 80 to Gwen: ' <i>Long letter, w St Bernard on his Brother Gerald...</i> '
25/05/21		Letter 89 from Gwen: 'still on visits...– In peace and happy.'
30/05/21	pp. 136-137	Letter 81 to Gwen, and sends his manuscript for 'Suffering and God.'
14/06/21		Gwen comes to stay until the Saturday. Talk with Hügel after dinner.

<b>Date</b>	<b>LN</b>	<b>Contact with Hügel/Event</b>
15/06/21		Hügel has a talk with Gwen at 11, but Gwen's head is bad so they 'soon broke off...' That evening, 6:30-8pm, Hügel reads Gwen 'Browning's poetry: <i>Epistle of Janshish &amp; Home thoughts from the Seal</i> (both new to her) and 3 other short pieces known to her already. Hügel lent her Caird's <i>Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers.</i> '
16/06/21		Hügel has a 3/4 hour talk with Gwen about Philistinism in Church.
17/06/21		Hügel talks with Gwen at 5 for 2 hours, then read aloud to her Browning's <i>Odeon</i> .
18/06/21		Hügel talks with Gwen for 75 minutes reading his memorandum on the Sadhu and his letter of Lord Radstock. She left before lunch.
08/07/21		[Gwen and Olivia came at tea-time to stay the night so Olivia could attend a children's ball]. 'Pencil note from Gwen, dreading the event.'
09/07/21		Gwen and Olivia leave to return to Odstock: ' <i>Olivia... feeling sick from ball.</i> '
21/07/21	pp. 138-143	Letter 82 to Gwen, and sends her ' <i>Dialogues of Plato, Illegible, Anabaptists, Illegible (Bohn) &amp; Sabre's 'She longs, We love.'</i> All presents except Burnet. Sent Burnet's <i>Plato's Phaedo</i> , Jowett's 4 Socratic.'
23/07/21		Letter 90 from Gwen 'about Socrates books just received & question as to confess of obligation and Confs of Devotion.'
25/07/21		[Hügel also writes the above diary entry 'Long letter from Gwen...' but then crosses it out – had the wrong day. But you can see a bit more through the crossing out: 'spoke of Harry's enthusiasm over the French auto-exaggeration book.']
27/07/21	pp. 143-147	Letter 83 to Gwen.
29/07/21	pp. 147-150	Letter 91 from Gwen: 'Long letter fr Gwen about the Sadhu and the suggestion book...' Letter 84 to Gwen: 'long letter to Gwen; about the Sadhu & as to suggestion etc; w my memorandum on the Sadhu; 5 pounds illegible W Fr Walker on 'Ep Es in 'Symp?' on Morales Reli.'
31/07/21		Hügel goes into Kensington Gardens with Hillie 'Talk about G.- [Gwen].'
01/08/21		Letter 92 from Gwen: 'Long letter fr Gwen – warm thanks & is off w David & Olivia to illegible.'
08/08/21	pp. 150-151	Letter 85 to Gwen.
09/08/21		[Hügel visits Thekla who is] 'Wistful as to whether she had "put her foot in it" by her letter to Gwen, never answered or acknowledge to herself by latter.'
10/08/21		Hügel stays at Farnham Castle. 'Little walk w the Bishop – talked chiefly about Gwen.'
23/08/21	pp. 151-154	Letter 86 to Gwen: 'long letter... first since I left home.'
07/09/21		Letter 87 to Gwen: 'Long letter...'



Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
09/09/21		'note fr Dolly Ponsonby... P.C. To Dolly Ponsonby...'
26/09/21		Postcard 88 to Gwen.
27/09/21		Note 93 from Gwen. 'Note to her, w little cheque...'
28/09/21		Note 94 from Gwen; 'proposed to come after Oct 17.'
03/10/21		Note 95 from Gwen: 'thanks for "Essays"...'
07/10/21	pp. 154-156*	Letter 89 to Gwen: 'Short note, & <i>v important long letter to Gwen... about Purgatory.</i> '
08/10/21		Note 96 from Gwen.
11/10/21		Note 97 from Gwen '...(about Purgatory etc).'
17/10/21		'Gwen comes for 2 nights, by lunch to me. First talk w Gwen – abt purity among men etc 5 to 6:30.'
18/10/21		'Second talk with Gwen, 7-8 about her health, house, monies etc.'
10/10/21		'Third talk with Gwen – about "Get behind me Satan", & cursing of Barren Fig tree – passages in Synopt Gospels. 3 to 4:30. Tea with her. The Jowett's Plato's Dialogues, 4 vols, 1 <sup>st</sup> Ed & Vol I of 2 <sup>nd</sup> Ed came for Gwen. I unpacked & showed them to her. Puck & I saw her off to Kensington High Street Station – going for night to the Fords at Harrow...'
22/10/21		'Gwen has received the Platos...'
03/11/21		Letter 98 from Gwen 'about her visit to Farnham Castle.'
05/11/21		Maude Parry [Gwen's mother] visits.
12-14/11/21	pp. 156-159*	Letter 90 to Gwen. Maude Parry came to see Mary.
14/11/21		Letter 99 from Gwen; 'Long letter... (doing all the cooking; has now read Plato's 'Protagoras' (Jowett's tr).-'
17/11/21		'Finished more 'Protagoras' for Gwen.'
18/11/21		'Finished 'Protogoras' for Gwen – made notes in it.-'
19/11/21	pp. 159-162	Letter 91 to Gwen: 'Finished very long letter to Gwen (abt Hilda Currie & Protagoras).'
22/11/21		Letter 100 from Gwen.
09/12/21	pp. 163-168*	Letter 92 to Gwen. Not mentioned in diary.
13/12/21	pp. 168-169	Postcard 93 to Gwen. Not mentioned in diary.
14/01/22		Letter 101 from Gwen: 'rather sad & empty – hurt that Olivia & David were not asked to Longleat ball.-'
20/01/22	pp. 169-179	Letter 94 to Gwen. Not mentioned in diary.
24/01/22	pp. 179-180	Letter 95 to Gwen. Not mentioned in diary.
03/02/22		Card note 96 to Gwen.

<b>Date</b>	<b>LN</b>	<b>Contact with Hügel/Event</b>
20/02/22		'Gwen came to me at 6: we talked till 7:50, abt points in her last letters; about books (gave her as presents 'the Spirit of man', Ibsen's 'Brankd' & Ibsens' 'Peer Gynt.' She dined with M and me & Pucky & I saw her off to a friend at Nottinghill Gate.'
28/02/22	pp. 180-182	Letter 97 to Gwen.
06/03/22		Postcard 98 to Gwen.
13/03/22		'Gwen arrived for 3 nights before dinner.'
14/03/22		'5:40-7:15 – Gwen comes to my study for talk. We talked abt her health, Lensky, Kemp Smith's letter, my engagement to Knutsford, the 3 points abt Johannine mysticism to Apassamy.- Lent her Bazin's ' <i>Charles de Foucault</i> .' [That morning, Hügel had finished writing his criticism of Apasamy's Introduction and Chapter IV of his thesis on the mysticism of the Bhakti writers and the mysticism of St John's Gospel].
15/03/22		5-7: Second talk with Gwen. [That morning Hügel had begun work at <i>Reality of God</i> ].
16/03/22		A little talk with Gwen after lunch. She went for night to Harrow.
17/03/22		'Gwen returned bef lunch from Harrow; a little talk with her then. She left us after lunch for illeg.'
27/03/22		Letter 102 from Gwen: 'Sad letter fr Gwen – her health & difficulties as to resting...'
28/03/22		Letter 99 to Gwen: 'Long letter to Gwen, abt how to take her ill health.'
29/03/22		Letter 100 to Gwen: 'Sent off long letter to Gwen, w 2 pounds inside it...'
07/04/22		Letter 103 from Gwen: ' <i>Note fr Gwen, most happy in bed – children come to her only to bring her meals.</i> '
11/04/22	pp. 182-185	Letter 101 to Gwen. No mention in diary.
17/04/22		Letter 103 from Gwen: '(hankering after Church)...'
20/04/22		'Letter to Abbé Maubec, asking for a family which cd take in David & Olivia for May, June, July.-'
24/04/22		'Gwen arrived for night at 6:15; she lay down in my study & I talked to her abt spirituality amongst Anglicans, & poorness of average Catholics.- Lent her Walton's 'Lives'; and gave her (as presents) Aristotle's ' <i>Ethics</i> ' (Bohn), Aristotle's ' <i>Poetics</i> ' (Gilbert Murray) and Apuileins's ' <i>Amor and Psyche</i> ', Engl tr, (Temple Classics).'
25/04/22		Saw Gwen on getting down for a minute.
26/04/22		'Letter fr Abbe Maubec – proposes a family in Rouen for David & Olivia.'
27/04/22		'Sent Abbe Maubec's letter to Gwen... A 2 <sup>nd</sup> note fr Abbe Maubec about D & O. Wrote to Gwen about it.-'

<b>Date</b>	<b>LN</b>	<b>Contact with Hügel/Event</b>
29/04/22		Letter 104 from Gwen: 'has not shown Abbe Maubec's letter to D & O. Harry gone off to Scotland without paying for Richard's last term (Oxford) or his time in France.'
08/05/22		'Gwen (w David & Olivia) left Old Rectory, Odstock, for a week at Quay Hotel, Harland, N. Devon.'
23/05/22	pp. 185-187	Letter 102 to Gwen. Not mentioned in diary.
06/06/22		' <i>Gwen arrived</i> for 2 nights, before lunch... 6-7:45: <i>Talk with Gwen</i> ; gave her: Grant's ' <i>Aristotle</i> ' (Blackwood); the Bohn tr of Aristotle's ' <i>Politics</i> ' & Jowett's tr of same (Oxf Trs); also Law's ' <i>Serious Call</i> ' as presents; Traherne's ' <i>Century of Medits</i> ' as loan. Gave her (presents) typed copies of my words at LSSR on Archb Soderblom and on Travers Hereford.- Talked abt her plans etc. Strawberry Ices at dinner (M. finds Ices made by Cook very expensive).
07/06/22		'6:30 2 <sup>nd</sup> talk w Gwen.'
09/06/22		'A little talk with Gwen after dinner.'
10/06/22		'Little talk w <i>Gwen</i> before she <i>left us</i> , at 10:45 for Shawford & Harland.'
17/06/22		'Letter fr Gwen, Gray Hotel, Harland: immensely happy alone by sea – out almost all day long; bath at Mrs.....; but loses her little sitting room in Hotel soon; cannot be kept at all beyond July 31...'
21/06/22		'Very long letter fr Gwen, will have to go on July 26 to Lundy Island w the 3 children for all August. Will have to settle in London – Campden Hill or Hampstead...'
29/06/22	pp. 187-189	Letter 103 to Gwen: '(Short letter to Gwen, enclosing Mrs St Moore's notes abt houses for her).'
01/07/22		'Richard Green's birthday.' Letter 105 from Gwen: 'Playfair will only allow Putney Heath or Wimbledon.'
29/07/22		Letter 104 to Gwen.
21/08/22	pp. 189-191	Letter 105 to Gwen. Not mentioned in diary.
24/08/22		'Note from Dolly Ponsonby. Wrote to Dolly P...'
11/09/22		PC to Dolly Parry.
15/09/22		'Dolly Ponsonby fetched me at 3, for Shulbrede Priory, Lynchmere. Arthur P drove us; and Dolly had Elizabeth & a girlfriend of E's in the carriage.'
22/09/22		Letter 105 from Gwen.
Oct '22	pp. 191-192*	Letter 106 to Gwen.
13/10/22		Mary goes to Coliseum with Gwen & Olivia & Richard.
15/10/22		'Gwen to lunch with Olivia (after hearing Fr Bede Jarrett on St Teresa) & Richard.'

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
26/10/22		'At 4, met <i>Gwen</i> in S Kensington Station arcade – to tea with her at her lodging. - She had a headache and had to send Richard to fetch me. Tea w her & Olivia. She has half done Aquinas ' <i>On God and Creatures</i> ' (Fr Rickaby's tr).- She came with me to S. Kensington Station.'
30/10/22		' <i>Edward K. Talbot C.R. to dinner</i> – his 1 <sup>st</sup> coming to our house. Good talk abt G, with him alone in my study after dinner.'
31/10/22		'...In aft, to Swain, House Agent, for <i>Gwen</i> – visit.'
18/11/22		Note 106 from <i>Gwen</i> : 'abt returned books; a stranger, a Pacifist, thanks for my writings; and Miss Liddell – sympathy abt Puck.' Letter 98 to <i>Gwen</i> .
10/12/22		' <i>Gwen turned up</i> before lunch; a little talk w her after lunch; lent her Kerr's ' <i>Dark Age</i> '; and the Loeb Boethius. Gave her Vilani's ' <i>Florentine Chronicles</i> ' – with her in Taxi to her lodging in Bolton Gardens. Walked back.'
17/12/22		' <i>Gwen</i> to lunch; an hour's talk w her afterwards: she took away 3 books...'
30/12/22		'To G Green's Elm Square: tea with C.P.Shaw, Stewarts. Met Sir..... there.'
07/01/23		'to 107 Cromwell Rd, to make sure <i>Gwen</i> was going there; left little note for her – she arrives there tonight. Richard Green to lunch...'
14/01/23		' <i>Gwen</i> came at 2: talk w her till 3:15. Distressed to learn that in her little house (taken for 5 years) Lowes Dickinson & his sister will live above them, sharing hot water etc.-'
28/01/23		' <i>Gwen</i> to lunch.'
25/02/23		' <u>Conf</u> (only a fortnight since last, bec prick as to what I told <i>Gwen</i> )...'
04/03/23		'In aft, <i>Gwen</i> came at 2: talk w her till 3:15.'
29/03/23		'4:45: <i>Gwen</i> came: she & I both tired – goes to Mrs Morrison for Easter Sunday.'
07/04/23		'In aft... left note at <i>Gwen</i> 's (out).'
30/04/23		' <i>Gwen</i> to lunch.'
07/05/23		' <i>Gwen</i> came to lunch. Talk w her afterwards.'
26/05/23	p. 192	Postcard 107 to <i>Gwen</i> .
11/07/23	pp. 192-193	Letter 108 to <i>Gwen</i> .
31/07/23		'In aft, left Vicarage Gate w <i>Gwen</i> and Eva... to Thursley...'
01/08/23		'In aft, w <i>Gwen</i> to Wye House.'
2-5/8/23		[Diary days are empty but <i>Gwen</i> is at Thursley with Hügel.]
06/08/23		' <i>Gwen left me</i> and Eva <i>in afternoon</i> . - Goes on Wednesday to Hatland, N Devon; and on Thursday crosses to Lundy Island – Richard awaiting her there in the little house she has rented, putting into it furniture of her own.'

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
06/10/23		'Gwen to lunch with David (grown to 6-3 or 6-4, and corresp. Broad). A few minutes in my study with her. In spite of her long silence, affectionate as usual. Is taking 'Peg' Antrim to a Retreat at Wantage on Monday & after that, she goes alone to her mother at Rustington for 3 nights. She took away a 3 <sup>rd</sup> 'Temple' Dante – gift to her.'
22/10/23	pp. 194-195	Letter 109 to Gwen. No mention in diary.
01/11/23	pp. 195-196	Letter 110 to Gwen: 'Given Temple Dante & Eliz Leseur's <i>Journal</i> to Gwen (presents).'
04/11/23	pp. 196-197	Letter 111 to Gwen. Not mentioned in diary.
05/11/23		'Gwen to lunch: talk w her afterwards. Lent her ' <i>Lettres Spirituelles</i> ' of Ch de Foucauld.'
15/11/23		'the memorial service for Belle – 'the Honourable Lady Herbert.' Very few people present. Hillie came, also Gwen... Gwen came with us in 2.C, to Kens High St, & went on to Nottinghill Gate.'
19/11/23		'1: Gwen to lunch: short talk w her alone afterwards. Gwen by C.L.R to Bond Street. '4:... Gwen came with me into his consulting room. He took great trouble w me, and finally declared <i>I still had excellent eyes, due to last without an operation for many years...</i> G & I then went together to Spiller's Optician... We then had tea...'
20/11/23		'After tea w M, Richard Green came to me in my study. Long address to him abt duty to get paying work. He is determined to keep up his music (piano, composition) from 6pm daily; but is quite willing to take (indeed is actively seeking) paid post of anything he can do. Was always bad at figures; thinks of a book seller's assistant or Librarian. Accepts to see Cecil Chapman, was very gentle, rather shy.'
21/11/23		'Letter 107 from Gwen: 'Long, important letter abt the family finances from <i>Gwen</i> ; shall keep this. She is most glad I shd help to get paid work for R.-'
24/11/23		' <i>Cecil Chapman to lunch</i> . A little talk w him afterwards abt Richard Green.'
27/11/23		'Our Golden Wedding Day (1873) ...Gwen to lunch.'
03/12/23		'Gwen to lunch – talk w her afterwards.'
12/12/23		'Gwen to lunch.'
20/12/23		' <i>Gwen came to lunch</i> – Talk w her afterwards, abt Lotze etc.-'
31/01/24		' <i>Gwen came to lunch</i> : talk w her afterwards.'
11/02/24		Letter 112 from Gwen: 'Letter from... Gwen (full of Plotinus)...' Letter 101 to Gwen: 'A second Plotinus letter...'
14/02/24		' <i>Gwen to lunch</i> : talk to me afterwards.'
17/03/24	pp. 198-199	Letter 113 to Gwen.

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
27/03/24		'After tea, <i>Gwen</i> came up to me. Told abt Richard's career, her recent experiences of over zealous young clerics.'
03/04/24		'Gwen came for an hour at 5.'
08/04/24		'Gwen came – brought me her 'poor children in London' 2 ¼ pp in 'National Review' for April – got 3.3 pounds for it.-'
10/04/24		'5: Gwen came: felt sickish and dull. Read her de Richmont's letter.' [about the armchair Adeline Duchess of Bedford gave Abbé Huvelin].
17/04/24		'Gwen comes to me at 5 (after tea w M). Gave her Brother Lawrence on ' <i>The Presence of God</i> .'
19/04/24		Note 108 from Gwen.
21/04/24		'After lunch, Gwen came for a time to me; we sat in dining room by open win in sunshine.'
24/04/24		'At 5 Gwen came.'
28/04/24		'After lunch, Gwen came into my study to see me – bad cold she had, so little to say.' [All crossed out as if he had the wrong day by mistake].
30/04/24		'(Pinafore – Molly took Gwen to see it a 2:30 matinee (Stalls) after giving Gwen lunch here.)'
01/05/24		'At 5, Gwen came: gave her back her ' <i>Nat Rev</i> ' April...'
15/05/24		'Gwen came at 5 – brought me back Edwyn Bevan's book, given me by him.'
21/05/24		' <i>Molly's birthday</i> ... Gwen came at 5 (after tea w. M): talked abt David... the Talbots.'
29/05/24		'At 5:10, <i>Gwen</i> came to me after tea w M.- Talked abt Richard – is now established in Oxford, in a tiny lodging, to perfect his mus. training. She had just been seeing Rev & Mrs Edw. Talbot at the Chelsea Flower Show – had not seen them for 2 yrs...'
05/06/24		'At 5:15: <i>Gwen</i> came to me - brought me her second published article 'Our Workhouse' in ' <i>Nat. Review</i> ' for June – again 3pp.- Has now finished Title's 'Elements of Source of Religion', but must 1 <sup>st</sup> read Dostoyevsky's ' <i>Idiot</i> ' before she accepts further books from me.-'
11/06/24		'3:30: Harold Johnson (engaged to home unless Dr sends me away for recruiting). Talked spec abt his one... Son, who has had 2 yrs of a Poultry Farm... who has now lost his post owing to the marriage – the determination to be rid of him of the wife – of the senior partner, now on this young man's marriage.- I promised to speak to Gwen abt it.'
12/06/24		'5:20. Gwen came to me – rather tired and flat. Told her of Harold Johnson's son & will speak or write abt him to Lord Antriew's brother, to report to me within the next 3 weeks.'
13/06/24		'Gwen's Olivia dined w H., & came with her into my study after dinner.-'
19/06/24		' <i>Gwen</i> comes to me at 5:30; an hour's talk.'

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
01/07/24		'5: Gwen comes (exceptional day).'
10/07/24		'Gwen came, after tea alone upstairs, to see me at 5:10. Full of David – the improvement coming in him now – insisted on paying his debts with the little accumulation of his own at the Bank, & has fully willed for not going to France this year – a thing he loves above all.- She herself has her leg become bad.'
16/07/24		'Gwen comes at 5.'
27/07/24		'Gwen lunched w H & Mrs Davis here; came to me for talk at 1:45 to 2:45. Talked abt her Mother & David etc – off tomorrow morning for week's stay with Dolly.-'
28/07/24		Letter 109 from Gwen: 'happy over her successful interview.'
12/08/24	pp. 199-200	Letter 114 to Gwen.
13/08/24		'Gwen comes to see me: 5 pm.- Gave her, as present, newly published English (Irish) tr of St Bernard's <i>Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles.</i> '
25/08/24		'Long letter from Gwen (from Lundy Island; the 10 young people wildly happy and she, with plenty of time for reading Rolle and St Bernard).'
01/09/24		Letter 110 from Gwen: '2 <sup>nd</sup> long letter fr Gwen on Lundy Island - abt Theastetas & Plato generally.-'
02/09/24		Postcard 115 to Gwen '(on Lundy Island).'
14/09/24	pp. 200-201	Letter 116 to Gwen.
01/10/24		'Gwen came to me 5:20 – had to leave at 6:15 (had been long with Molly. I talked most of time, but she spoke a little abt St Bernard – has just begun 2 <sup>nd</sup> vol of his <i>Ss on Canticle of Cants.</i> - Leave her (as a present) John Elmer Illegible ' <i>The Religion of Plato</i> ' (Princeton Univ. Press).'
07/10/24		Letter 111 from Gwen: '(pencil fr Littleden, Christchurch, Hants, Mabel Morrison's new, smaller, very pretty house with sea in distance...'
31/10/24		Letter 117 to Gwen (published extract in <i>SL</i> :373 not in <i>LN</i> ).
09/11/24		'Gwen to tea with Molly; I saw her at 5:40 to 6:50: She sat away fr me w a heavy cold in her head. I told her abt Mr Carmichael's (' <i>Tablet</i> ') articles... & abt Mrs Lilley's 'Mendel Institute' and frame of mind.'
15/11/24		'Gwen comes to me at 5:30 after an hour with M.- Talked w anx abt Richard's restlessness – is reading Dostoyevsky's ' <i>The Brothers Karasmov</i> ' to please & keep up with him – What 'Terence' wants her read.- Mrs Stuart Moore has brought her back fr. Rome, blest by a Dominican there, the Illegible for her; I explained its use to her.-'
30/11/24		'Gwen comes to tea w. M at 4:30; to me at 5:30. Still full of her Retreat from Oct 20 to Oct 25 at Wantage. Is now ready for Montalembert's ' <i>Moines d'Occident</i> '; rheumatic in back.-'
02/11/24		'Saw Gwen for some minutes on her coming away fr. M.-'

Date	LN	Contact with Hügel/Event
07/11/24		'5:15. Gwen comes to me after tea w. M. - till 6:30. Lent her Abbot (now card) Gasquet's 'Introd to Engl tr of Montalembert's <i>'Moines de'Occident.'</i> She was full of Richard – his affections- now renewed search for paid work.'
13/11/24		'Gwen came to me at 5 to 6:15. Relent her Montalembert's <i>'Monks of the West'</i> , Mrs Oliphants tr., vol I. She was full of Richard's eagerness for a paid post; 2 brilliant offers (thro' an exc educ agency) fr Dr Vaughan; Had Master of Rugby, & fr. Japanese Embassy and 2 less good ones – but still 250 pounds p.a. with House found.-'
20/11/24		'Gwen came to me at 5: staid till 6. Talk abt Montalembert's <i>'Moin's,</i> Olivia, Richard.'
25/11/24		'At 5 Bishop Edward S. Talbot came to tea with me; M still unable to be down for him.. (same info as yesterday).'
26/11/24		'The vols II-VI of Jowett's <i>'Plato'</i> for Richard Green came fr Banks Sisters.'
27/11/24		'After my tea, Gwen came to me – talked chiefly abt Richard (now without any imm prospect of a paid post) & Edith [Olivier] on illegible? She took away Montalembert's <i>'Moines d'Occident'</i> vols II & III (London Library; she to return them to me).-'
28/11/24		'Saw Thekla in lower parlour... talked abt Gwen...'
04/12/24		'After my tea <i>Gwen</i> came for hour's talk – chiefly abt Richard & poor Edith Olivier; also a little abt Montalenebert's <i>'Monks'</i> .- She took away (London Library) Montalembert's <i>'Moines d'Occident'</i> , vols II & III (due back to me).'
11/12/24		'Gwen came to me after her & M 4:30 tea at 5.-'
18/12/24		'Gwen came to me at 5. Gav her (Xtmas present) Abbé <i>'Vacandard: 'S. Bernard de Clairvaux et son Temps'</i> (2 vols). More news abt Richard. Settled abt Olivia's present.'



## Appendix 2: Hügel's contacts with Juliet Mansel (1899-1924)

The following table summarises Hügel's contacts with Juliet Mansel, and his letters to her, as recorded in his diary.

Date	Contact with von Hügel/Event
12/06/86	'Onto Heath w. Juliet.'
03/07/86	'w Juliet & Hildegard to Toy Shop. (Bought J toy).'
27/07/99	Juliet to von Hügel's for lunch with mother.
03/05/09	' <i>Little Juliet Mansel installed with us.</i> (since last Tuesday) <i>Saw her</i> thus first at this dinner.'
19/05/09	'Mildred Mansel & Juliet M lunched w us... Marcia Mansel to dinner – Mildred M took her out to a party afterwards.'
23/05/09	'To the Cottage... I bought Juliet Mansel back w me.'
28/05/09	'Juliet began her Whitsun holiday today (till Wednesday morning).'
01/06/09	'Juliet returned, but was out in evening.'
02/06/09	'Dined alone w Juliet.'
05/06/09	'w M, H & Juliet Mansel...to Olympia... Horse Show.'
06/06/09	'W Juliet Mansel to Nat Hist Museum. Showed her rapidly over Fossils Rooms...'
10/06/09	'M out with Juliet Mansel to a concert.'
11/06/09	'Col. Mansel took away Juliet, after lunch today, till Monday morning.'
19/06/09	'To Br Museum w Juliet Mansel. Saw Archaic & Illeg Gk Rooms fairly well, & Parthenon Room very carefully. Give her a Parthenon Guide. Coffee & tea w her at...Cafe.'
20/06/09	'To Nat Hist Museum w Juliet Mansel... catalogue I had bought for Juliet.'
21/06/09	'Mildred Mansel comes to see me at 5:30. Talked abt Juliet & High Wycombe School etc.'
25/06/09	'Juliet Mansel left for the Cottage after lunch...'
27/06/09	'To the Cottage... Mildred Mansel came in, with Hilda Guest & Juliet Mansel. MM had been speaking for over an hour, on Barnes Common about Female Suffrage & next Tuesday's meeting. Brought away Juliet. We walked, motored & bused back. '
29/06/09	'In evening, read aloud to Juliet, , Miss Cecily Bond, M & H Browning's... <i>Mildred Mansel</i> one of the Suffragettes who tried to reach House of Commons, to interview Prime Minister, <i>arrested</i> , with some 120 others.'

Date	Contact with von Hügel/Event
30/06/09	'Found in 'Telegraph' that 120 of Suffragettes & sympathisers were arrested last night – among them Mildred Mansel. Got down to Juliet at telephone talking to her mother, 1 <sup>st</sup> out on bail at Roehampton. Latter to appear at 10 am at Bow Street Police Court. I went there in taxi cab. Refused admittance; but got in, on second try, with help of Alfred Mutt. Sat by Mrs Chapman till 12:30. Had to come away without seeing any Suffragettes brought before Sir Albert de Rutzoni. On getting opposite Carmelites, met Mildred Mansel & her Mother, former released with the other demonstrators of last night, on bail for 10 days on ground that Constitutional point raised by their council, - that they had a right to present a Petition to the Pr M why too important to be settled off hand. MM looked very tired & excited.'
01/07/09	'Long letter to Mildred Mansel trying to determine her to keep quiet during these next ten days, for sake of cause itself, and her own balance (hence usefulness at home & elsewhere).'
03/07/09	'Letter fr Adeline Chapman with Juliet's 4 High Wycombe School Exam Papers. For me to arrange with J about.... In aft, letter to Mrs Chapman abt other method of proceeding now to the Papers... Short talk with Juliet. She did her General Knowledge & Arithmetic Papers – very slowly... Juliet in afternoon did her English & Arithmetic Papers.'
04/07/09	'Juliet did her French Paper... In aft, with Juliet... to... Br Museum... coffee at Viennese Café w her'.
05/07/09	'Sent off w note, Juliet's 3 (Engl. Arithm, & Fr) Papers to Miss Dove, asking abt Latin Paper.'
07/07/09	'Note to Miss Dove's Secretary – returning the Latin Paper (unused) that had been sent for Juliet... Dined alone with Juliet.'
09/07/09	'Juliet back for lunch. In aft, <i>Juliet received telephone message from Mr Cecil Chapman that Sir Albert de Rutzen was about to adjourn the decision on all the Suffragettes today on remand before him, to after the long vacation, for the Constitutional question (of their right to petition) to go up before a... Court. He was to fetch away Juliet to Roehampton for the weekend where she would have her Mother.'</i>
24/07/09	'At 12, began reading Browning's 'Paracelus' w Juliet Mansel.... Read an hour with Juliet at 'Paracelus.'
25/07/09	'Long read on in 'Paracelus' w Juliet. Visit Cecil Chapmans... w Juliet... Mildred & Marcia Mansel... and two suffragette ladies there.'
30/07/09	'At 3:30 walked with Juliet to Wallner Collection; said there from 4:30 to 6. Tea at an Oxford St... shop.'
31/07/09	'W Juliet... to Zoo. Tea there...'
01/08/09	'Finished Browning's 'Paracelus' w Juliet.'
02/08/09	'An hour's reading of 'Pippa Passes' w Juliet...'
03/08/09	'In aft, with Juliet to Kew Gardens. Into great Palm House & Orchid House, & into Queen's Cottage Park.'
04/08/09	'At 11 – finished R Browning's 'Pippa Passes' with Juliet. In aft, with Juliet to 3 bookshops for birthday present for the little Hamilton. Visited Br M – the Assyrian reliefs...'

<b>Date</b>	<b>Contact with von Hügel/Event</b>
05/08/09	'The 3 little Hamiltons danced & played, with Juliet aiding...'
06/08/09	'Saw <i>Juliet Mansel</i> to say 'good-bye'; proposed 15 m 'Spiritual Reading' to her every afternoon. <i>She left us at 12.</i> [Hügel to Great Malvern for summer holiday.]
22/09/09	'Waited at Chief entrance for Mildred Mansel & Juliet. Ran to their train platform... Saw them off to High Wycombe: Juliet to enter at the Abbey School there today.'
23/09/09	'Card note of thanks for my coming to station & announcing that Juliet found herself, yesterday on arrival at the Abbey School, one of 240 girls, but with her Tangiers cousin to support her.'
24/09/09	'On getting home, found Mildred Mansel... Had my coffee w her. Read Juliet's 1 <sup>st</sup> letter to her from Abbey School.'
30/09/09	'Mildred Mansel... A little talk w her, after lunch, about Juliet – been seen by her Cousin's Mother & has written how very homesick; and about the Government & its refusal (also this morning, thro Winston Churchill whom MM had an interview) to promise any bill giving votes to women.'
06/10/09	<b>Letter 1 from Juliet:</b> 'In evening, Dowden's 'Browning' returned by Juliet, with long letter from the dear child, fr her High Wycombe School (1 <sup>st</sup> letter from there).'
16/10/09	<b>Letter 1 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter to Juliet announcing my visit to her on Nov 4, proposing she shd on Dec 10 stay 11 days w us and applauding her for throwing herself into the School's Spirit.'
16/11/09	<b>Letter 2 to Juliet:</b> 'Wrote little letter to Juliet Mansel.'
27/11/09	<b>Letter 2 from Juliet:</b> 'Note fr Juliet.'
30/11/09	<b>Letter 3 to Juliet:</b> 'Note to Juliet, abandoning my visit to her before holidays.'
07/12/09	<b>Letter 3 from Juliet:</b> 'Note fr Juliet.'
08/12/09	<b>Letter 4 to Juliet:</b> 'Wrote note to Juliet (as to rejection of appeal of her Mother & the other non-violent Suffragettes)...'
16/12/09	' <i>Juliet Mansel comes to stay – arrived with 10 other girls, 8:30am at Paddington. Eva fetched her. Began reading Carlyle's 'Sartor Resartus' with her – her 2<sup>nd</sup> &amp; my 2<sup>nd</sup> (or 3<sup>rd</sup>?) reading. Lunch alone with her... More 'Sartor' with Juliet.</i>
17/12/09	'Continued ' <i>Sartor Resartus</i> ' w Juliet. Lunch alone w her. Took her... visited Grafton Gallery w her... Read the 'Excubent altho' passage in Aimid VI to Juliet.'
18/12/09	'Lunch w M & Juliet. Went w J ...to zoo... At 7, some more ' <i>Sartor</i> ' w J.'
19/12/09	'Juliet went off to Buckingham Gate for day, till 6pm: went w her Grandmother to Dr Cobb's church... At 6:30 good long talk w Juliet about Dr Cobb's Sermon she had heart at St Ethelburgh in the morning; and abt her eventually studying for a History degree at the London University.'
20/12/09	'Lunch alone w M & Juliet.... w J...to N. Portrait Gallery... At 7, more ' <i>Sartor</i> ' with Juliet.'
21/12/09	'Down at 10. An hour's reading of ' <i>Sartor</i> '... w Juliet... <i>Juliet went to meet her mother, returning from suffragette work at Dundee, at Euston, at 6pm. She dined at Buckingham Gate.</i>

Date	Contact with von Hügel/Event
22/12/09	'An hour's talk & reading with Juliet... An hour's talk & ' <i>Sartor Resartus</i> ' with Juliet at tea. At lunch w J...to Victoria & Albert Museum... We went for tea to 24 Buckingham Gate. I had a good talk w Adeline Chapman & with Mildred Mansel – latter looking wonderfully well & telling much abt the men working in Dundee, & very willing I shd write tomorrow to Lady Airlie, abt the cold in the Dormitory at High Wycombe School. The Hon Mrs ....., one of the 2 test cases amongst the hundred odd Suffragettes arrested last July 2... back by 2 C w J home. '
23/12/09	'Last talk w Juliet. Her Confirmn is on March 13. Her next vacation is on April 27 for 3 weeks. I am to come & see her on first Thursday in April. She makes 10 mins daily Spir Reading at School. She left us at 10:30 for shopping in morning, and to leave w her Mother, in aft, for Wincanton. Wrote long letter to Dowager Lady Airlie about the cold of the Daws Hill, J's Dormitory at the Abbey School. Sent registered to Juliet, her 'Sartor' & her Report.'
11/01/10	<b>Letter 5 to Juliet: first letter in archive.</b>
11/01/10	<b>Letter 4 from Juliet:</b> (her Mother just returned to Dundee; J had hunting twice a week). <b>Letter 6 to Juliet:</b> (as to whether her Mother wrote to or heard fr Miss Dove, abt the Dormitory)...
25/01/10	'Juliet ( <i>has been put into a warmer cubicle</i> )...'
04/02/10	<b>Letter 7 to Juliet: second letter in archive;</b> 'abt warmer cubicle, politics and Dean Church's book. Sent... Church's ' <i>Gifts of Civilisation</i> ' as a present to read those next Sundays.'
11/02/10	'Mildred Mansel to lunch... some talk w Mildred afterwards. Most satisfactory declaration by her, as to her gratitude for my helping Juliet, in matters where she herself knows not how; & that, as long as I live, J shall come & spend as much of her long vacation with us...' <b>Letter 5 from Juliet:</b> '...saying 'I want much to be confirmed', enthusiastic for Church – reads a little every night, by special permission from her form mistress...'
13/02/10	'to Cecil Chapmans: much talk w her [Adeline]... Decided w her that I wd go to Abbey School on March 3 <sup>rd</sup> , bec of her coming confirm. M gave only middling acct of her, as seen yesterday.'
22/02/10	'Note to Mildred M asking what she knows and advises as to School's rules about my proposed visit to Juliet...'
23/02/10	'After my coffee, <i>Mildred M came abt a pathetic trouble come to J</i> . Discussed w her about my visit to J on 3 <sup>rd</sup> ...'
23/02/10	<b>Letter 8 to Juliet: third letter in archive.</b>
25/02/10	'Mildred Mansel to lunch... A little talk w Mildred also alone. Gave her the name of Mother Julian as a possible book for Juliet...'
02/03/10	'Began making notes for talk w Juliet...'

Date	Contact with von Hügel/Event
03/03/10	'Finished notes for talk w Juliet... to High Wycombe. <i>I saw Miss Dove</i> afterwards. She was angry at J having complained of the cold dormitory, so that unfavourable reports agst the School had gone the round of London. I managed to pacify her somewhat. <i>Good long talk</i> [w J] about her circumstances, character, our mutual relation concerning religion, her great requirement of religion; her special faults; the 4 great religious facts & habits for her to cultivate. We went and saw the Church... Very long letter to Mildred abt my day...'
06/03/10	'Visit Cecil Chapmans... Told A Ch [Adeline] about my visit to Juliet... '
09/03/10	'Juliet M's birthday, 17 years old... In aft, took Latin <i>Imitation</i> to Bookshop to be rebound, as H's present to Juliet...'
11/03/10	<b>Letter 9 to Juliet: fourth letter in archive.</b>
12/03/10	'Continued & finished copying fair of letter & P.S. as to the four principles & practices of religion, and as to general home attitude, to Juliet...'
14/03/10	'Juliet's Confirmation... [Hügel didn't attend]'
18/03/10	<b>Letter 6 from Juliet:</b> 'An excellent little letter from Juliet about her Confirmation and my letter abt it... Weise and I walked back... there he left me for Suffragette meeting...'
20/03/10	'Visit Chapmans... Mildred told me.. that she, J, [Juliet] might perhaps stay with us till Tuesday the 19 <sup>th</sup> April; and that she, M, would then take her on to Exmoor for a week...'
23/03/10	<b>Letter 10 to Juliet: fifth letter in archive.</b>
28/03/10	<b>Letter 7 from Juliet:</b> ( <i>has now also made her 1<sup>st</sup> H Com</i> )...
04/04/10	<b>Letter 11 to Juliet: sixth letter in archive.</b>
14/04/10	'Juliet comes from Abbey School to us till Thursday next. Talk & reading with her 11 to 1. Continued Carlyle's ' <i>Sartor Resartus</i> '... In aft, with Juliet to National Gallery... A short reading with J before dinner... Felt too bad to sit up a bit with J.'
15/04/10	'Talk abt ' <i>Sartor</i> ' with Juliet, 11-1. In aft w J by Bus & on foot (pouring rain) to National Gallery again. Saw British Art, esp the Constables & Turners, very carefully. Got her a photograph there... H took J to 'the Blue Bird' (Hay Market Theatre)...'
16/04/10	'Talk & reading (Browning's ' <i>Cleon</i> ') with J. 11-1... M & J to 'The Fascinating Tommy'... Some talk with Juliet at 7:30. Mildred came to stay at 9pm.'
17/04/10	'J with her mother to Dr Cobb's Church service... J and her mother back to late lunch... Crespi came but put him off... Browning's ' <i>Guard of Lairess</i> ' with J 3-4:30. J and Mildred went for supper... with the Chapmans. They came back after we had all gone to bed.'
18/04/10	'Some good talk with J abt Rel Matters and read her Burke on ' <i>Party</i> ' (at and of ' <i>Present Discontents</i> '), 11-12:30; 1-1:30... With J... looked at statues in Public Embankment Gardens, Cleopatra's Needle – to National Gallery, 3 <sup>rd</sup> visit – looked at early Italian pictures... Mildred & J had early dinner...'
19/04/10	'After lunch I had important talks w Mildred and Juliet... Mildred & Juliet left at 4 for Bayford Lodge...'
05/05/10	'Long letter from Mildred (is writing Miss Dove to ask whether J is likely to get into 6 <sup>th</sup> form, and will make J's staying on beyond Xmas depend upon the answer; J goes back on 9 <sup>th</sup> , instead of 3 <sup>rd</sup> ).'

<b>Date</b>	<b>Contact with von Hügel/Event</b>
11/05/10	'Long letter fr Mildred. Telling of her & Marcia's reading of my letter to on her Confirmation, and enclosing Miss Dove's answer to Mildred's enquiry – that if J distinguishes herself greatly she can get into Vith in September...'
16/05/10	'Letter from Juliet, - went with whole school last Thursday to their S London Mission – driving in Waggonettes thro' the slums & having a service conducted by Bp Talbot at Southwark. She is finding school easier this term. She wants me promptly to decide as to visiting her or not on June 2 <sup>nd</sup> ...' <b>Letter 12 to Juliet:</b> 'Wrote short pencil note to J, giving up all thought of coming on June 2 <sup>nd</sup> , but asking her to keep July 7 for me.'
02/06/10	<b>Letter 13 to Juliet:</b> 'Letter to Juliet, with photo of Joseph Israel's ' <i>Der Mutter Steitze</i> .' Proposed that we shd write each once a fortnight, on alternate Thursdays – so that we shd get or write a letter a week.'
06/06/10	<b>Letter 8 from Juliet:</b> 'instead of next Thursday when she cannot write...'
09/06/10	'Mildred to lunch – good talk with her later, quite decided to let J finish schooling at Xtmas. Hopes to take her to Rome... begin College – Possibly Bedford Coll & London University in autumn...'
23/06/10	<b>Letter 14 to Juliet: seventh letter in archive.</b>
29/06/10	<b>Letter 15 to Juliet:</b> 'Sent Juliet... 'Rome... with mem to read up to p.112 – all the Introd & monarchy,- twice making notes...'
01/07/10	<b>Letter 9 from Juliet. Letter 16 to Juliet:</b> 'Wrote to Juliet & Mildred proposing she, J, shd spend July 28-Aug 4 as first week of her fortnight, with us; second week to be fixed, later on, for Sept...'
02/07/10	'Read on for Juliet.'
06/07/10	'Very busy throughout morning copying... my 2 <sup>nd</sup> Paper for J... Continued copying of 2 <sup>nd</sup> Paper for J.'
07/07/10	<b>Letter 16 to Juliet: eighth letter in archive.</b> 'Finished the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Roman Paper for J... Visit Juliet at High Wycombe Abbey School... J came into hall, very distressed bec Miss Dove had decided yesterday afternoon that the girls must play a cricket match this (today) afternoon, and she J had written putting me off, in consequence; the letter must now be awaiting me at V.G. Miss Logan (her House Mistress) then arranged that I shd have some lunch at the school, w J and me. At 2 we went to the playing ground...'
10/07/10	'Important talk w H [Hillie] abt J's [Juliet's] holidays...'
13/07/10	'Long letter to Mildred – abt... Juliet's coming... <i>Mildred's... brother-in-law... suddenly died...</i> '
14/07/10	<b>Letter 17 to Juliet:</b> 'abt Col Mansel's death...'
15/07/10	<b>Letter 10 from Juliet:</b> 'Long letter...'

Date	Contact with von Hügel/Event
22/07/10	'...Mildred to lunch... Arranged with her (1) <i>that Juliet comes for certain to us, at West Malvern, on Aug 25, for at least a whole week;</i> (2) that she stays on then also for her second week, if by that time she is doubtful of being able to come to us, when we have returned to London. (3) that if she then is certain of being able to come again thus later, she will come for her 2 <sup>nd</sup> week to us in London, on or after Sept 8; (4) and that she may do ½ hr daily of Roman Studies during her Vacation, but <i>is to have a full, fortnight of no work to begin with...</i> '
28/07/10	'Juliet begins her long holidays...'
29/07/10	Talked with Adeline 'abt J...'
05/08/10	<b>Letter 11 from Juliet:</b> ' <i>...(came out 2<sup>nd</sup> among the 67 girls of her Form, her Algebra preventing her getting a 1<sup>st</sup>; she leaves the School at Xtmass)...</i> '
05/08/10	<b>Letter 18 to Juliet: ninth letter in archive.</b>
08/08/10	<b>Letter 19 to Juliet: tenth letter in archive.</b>
20/08/10	<b>Letter 20 to Juliet: eleventh letter in archive.</b>
25/08/10	'Met Juliet who arrived... <i>she is to stay with us.</i> ' [Hügel on summer holiday].
26/08/10	'Began R Browning's ' <i>Ring and the Book</i> ' with J. In aft, walked with J on the hills/ Sat facing Worcester Plain. Saw fine rainbow. Finished there 1 <sup>st</sup> Section of ' <i>R and B.</i> '
27/08/10	'Sat out on hillside, with J, reading ' <i>R and B</i> '. Finished ' <i>Ring and Book</i> ' section. In aft, walked with J down, round by 3 farms. She lost a carpet bit, I broke my umbrella again, and horses prevented our getting over a stile on the right road... More Browning but only a little. Began 'one half Rome.'
28/08/10	'With M, G and Eva, in Carriage to St Josephs... Mass and Com w M... Much Browning with J. Finished ' <i>One half Rome.</i> '...'
29/08/10	'Very wet all day. Read on with ' <i>R and B</i> '. Began ' <i>The Other Half Rome.</i> ' In aft, more Browning with J. ' <i>The Other Half Rome</i> ' continued.'
30/08/10	'With J walked over hill into Gt Malvern. She bought an engraving in old curiosity shop and a book in bookshop. We visited the Priory Church carefully... In aft, with G to Vicarage... Finished ' <i>The Other Half Rome</i> ' with J...'
31/08/10	'Browning with J... In aft, with her, over hill, into Gt Malvern... We bought chocolate at British Camp Hotel, and climbed to top of Camp. Drove back... went into Priory Church, J's 2 <sup>nd</sup> visit – for some minutes, and examined and smelled some fine Datura blooms of plants in pots... Coffee and tea – sat in Public Garden. Back by Brake, with J to Broomhill...'
01/09/10	'Began reading ' <i>Guido Franceschina</i> ' with J on lawn of Hotel and in my room.'
02/09/10	'Finished reading aloud to J. ' <i>Guido Franceschini</i> '. J lent me a letter to her fr her Baba, with many kind messages to me. After lunch, with her in Trap to Bellevue Terrace, Gt Malvern. With her in Four Horse Brake to Wych, British Camp, thro Eastnor Park (stopped and saw Eastnor Church, with Cahntrey of the Somers-Cocks Family – the Last Lord's Sower's recumbant effigy in midst), up down and alongside of Rugged Stone Hills. Down to Castle Morton and well land, up to Malvern Wells and back to Gt Malvern. We were dropped at, and walked back from the golf links to Bellevue Terrace. Coffee and tea there. Bought Picture-Papers...'

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03/09/10	'In aft, by carriage (which took us at same rate as brake) into Gt Malvern w J. Continued ' <i>Caponsacchi</i> ' there, in Public Gardens. Tea and coffee at Pastry cooks. J walked back to W Malvern; I walked down to Gt Malvern Station. Got station master to check Miss Farrer's trains as made out by J... Finished ' <i>Caponsacchi</i> ' with J...'
04/09/10	'In aft, began ' <i>Pompilia</i> ' with J, sitting in field above Hotel...'
05/09/10	'With J into grounds of St James'. Sat there, and finished ' <i>Pompilia</i> ' with her. Went thru First Roman Paper with J...'
06/09/10	'With J in Taxi-cab to Gt Malvern. Saw her off...'
07/09/10	<b>Letter 12 from Juliet:</b> '...(announcing safely met by her mother at Bath...'
21/09/10	'...Long letter from Mildred, announcing... Oswald Walker... <i>as Marcia's fiancee; marriage in Dec next; Juliet still to go with her Mother to Rome before next Easter; to return to Wycombe for only a half-term; and not to come for her 3 remaining days to us now, but between her half term and Marcia's wedding.-...</i>
26/09/10	<b>Letter 13 from Juliet:</b> 'short, very happy.' <b>Letter 21 to Juliet:</b> 'as to quite understanding her absorption in new conditions...'
28/09/10	<b>Letter 22 to Juliet: twelfth letter in archive</b> ' <i>...(as to the Abbey School, to which she returns, for a last half-term, tonight. Sent her one of my Mayall photos...)</i>
03/10/10	<b>Letter 14 from Juliet:</b> 'Marcia's wedding is on Dec 14, then J will have to stay with her Mother for some days; will be glad of a Roman paper now. Has taken advanced Mathematics. History. Latin, English Essay. Sculpture as her subjects...'
04/10/10	<b>Letter 23 to Juliet: thirteenth letter in archive.</b>
06/10/10	<b>Letter 24 to Juliet: fourteenth letter in archive.</b>
19/10/10	<b>Letter 25 to Juliet: fifteenth letter in archive.</b>
31/10/10	'Letter to Mildred – about J's being w Marcia before wedding – possibly seeing... whilst sleeping here...'
19/10/10	<b>Letter 26 to Juliet: sixteenth letter in archive.</b>
26/10/10	' <i>Juliet leaves High Wycombe School, and all School, for good, early in morning, to stay at Buckingham Gave, with Marcia and her Mother, till wedding of Marcia...'</i>
30/11/10	' <i>Juliet waiting for me, when I got back &amp; saw the little thing, her old true self, for 20 minutes. Told me her misgivings as to being able to pass Exam in June beginning to prepare only in Jan.-'</i>
01/12/10	'A capital <i>long talk w Mildred abt J's coming Exam and Expenses at Nurham, visit to Rome etc.</i> Saw Juliet & Marcia a little first.'
08/12/10	'Juliet comes to lunch... Short talk w J. Then, after sleep, with her by JC to Buckingham Gate. Sat there, for 20 minutes with her – everyone out... Little thing pleased at adjournment of Exam from June to Xtmas, but sad at abandonment of Rome expedition, and <i>depressed at M.M's ever increasing absorption in S. [suffragette] work....'</i>
11/12/10	' <i>Visit Mildred and Juliet. Important talk w them...'</i>
14/12/10	'Saw Marcia Mansel married to Captain Oswald... saw Juliet for a minute...'
23/12/10	<b>Letter 27 to Juliet: seventeenth letter in archive.</b>



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26/12/10	<b>Letter 15 from Juliet:</b> '...with a photo of herself, framed...'
27/12/10	<b>Letter 16 from Juliet.</b>
14/01/11	Letter 17 from Juliet: 'about her 1 <sup>st</sup> 2 dances (wants to try to pass her Exam in June. <i>A touch of sadness in her letter...</i> )'
06/02/11	'Long letter from Mildred. J has now started 7 hrs work a day, preparing for History Exam in March; will then try another... in June, a little go exam in October... They still hope to get to Rome in April but J must have no more Papers before Exam... continued work at J's paper...'
13/02/11	<b>Letter 17 from Juliet</b> 'Long, excellent letter...'
18/02/11	<b>Letter 28 to Juliet.</b>
08/03/11	<b>Letter 29 to Juliet:</b> 'Sent Mrs Gaskell's 'Wives and Daughters' as b present to J...'
09/03/11	Juliet's Birthday, 18 years old...
12/03/11	'To Cecil Chapmans.- <i>Found Juliet there – been working with a coach, for her for a week there now.</i> Two good long talks with her alone. '
16/03/11	'Mildred to lunch. Good talk w her alone afterwards. Rome again become uncertain...'
17/03/11	'First day of Juliet's Exam at Cambridge...'
18/03/11	' <i>2<sup>nd</sup> day of Juliet's Exam at Cambridge...</i> In aftn by 2C to King's X. Met Juliet (coming from Cambridge where she had 5 and 3 hours of Exam, and saw Miss Gardner) and <i>brought her home, in motor cab to stay with us.</i> Visit. Some talk with J, Gave her my Father's <i>Mausin</i> ; Murray's 'Rome' and Plutarch's 'Lives.' Continued copying fair of Vth Rome letter.'
19/03/11	'Juliet after bkfast, w Eva to Buckingham Gate... She lunched at B Gate... Began with J reading Introduction to Murray's 'Rome' J came back with news that <i>she has passed her Exam...</i> '
20/03/11	'Another talk with J about Persecution, Pantheism, Indifference etc.'
21/03/11	'Read on at 'the Pope' with J... Letter to Mildred – specially as to any certainty J has passed, entirely tho' the objective worth of her Papers in the instill of the Examiners... In aft, w J on motor buses to and fr Tottenham Ct Road to Br Museum... Emperor's Busts and the Casts... Continued with her Murray, Introd on Hilsen's Map of Ancient Rome...'
22/03/11	'Read on with J, at 'the Pope.' In aft w J into KG sat there... <i>had excellent talk</i> about her home circumstances, character, plans – she talking almost all the time... Told J on about Roman Classical monuments.'
23/03/11	'J went to Buckinham Gate to see her Mother... Finished 'The Pope' with J. Began explaining to her the few points where I felt her B [behaviour?] showed (slight) trans of her 1 <sup>st</sup> m troubles – but I stopped at end of 1 <sup>st</sup> of the 4 points, <i>at request of dear J.</i> Lunch ¼ to 1. <i>J left us for Kings' X and York.</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> visit there)...'
24/03/11	<b>Letter 18 from Juliet.</b>
06/04/11	'See Mildred and J off to Paris... Rome at Victoria. '
08/04/11	<b>Letter 19 from Juliet:</b> 'arrived safely. Awful crossing but both quite recovered...'

<b>Date</b>	<b>Contact with von Hügel/Event</b>
09/04/11	J's 1 <sup>st</sup> Sunday in Rome.
11/04/11	<b>Letter 30 to Juliet:</b> '1 <sup>st</sup> comm to her in Rome...'
13/04/11	Letter 20 from Juliet: 'Been to St Peters and on Pencil. In Vatican (Sistine Chapel etc), and in V Borgese – Delighted.'
15/04/11	PC from Adeline (quoting Mildred's letter to her from Rome...)
18/04/11	<b>Letter 31 to Juliet:</b> 'as to further things to see in Rome.'
20/04/11	<b>Letter 32 to Juliet: eighteenth letter in archive.</b>
05/05/11	<i>'Juliet came at 12, from Bedford Square where she and her Mother arrived from Rome, Genoa, Paris, Charring + at 11 last night. She showed me her Rome bought photographs. She lunched with me... I took her by tubes to Waterloo station. Saw Mildred there. J and M left ... for Wincanton...'</i>
09/05/11	<b>Letter 33 to Juliet: nineteenth letter in archive.</b>
11/05/11	<b>Letter 20 from Juliet:</b> <i>'her father's 3<sup>rd</sup> brother, Ernest Mansel died suddenly on Sunday last. J much upset and wistful as to Prov...'</i>
12/05/11	<b>Letter 34 to Juliet: twentieth letter in archive.</b> <i>'Very long letter to J, about her Uncle Ernest Mansel's death,- immortality &amp; Theism, important.'</i>
18/05/11	<i>'Long letter from Mildred; is coming abt June for a month's seasoning with and for J; to Marcia (who will have a house in London for then) and to the Cottage'.</i>
22/05/11	<i>'Long, important, most satisf letter from J, showing great sp. Growth...'</i> [itals added]
24/05/11	<b>Letter 35 to Juliet: twenty-first letter in archive.</b> <i>'Long letter to J about self renunciation...'</i>
30/05/11	<i>'Card note (important) to Mildred – about Government promising to give facilities for Suffrage bill next session, and my delight at J's comfort to her...'</i>
05/06/11	(Juliet begins stay at 16 Eton Terrace, London, her first little Season)... [Socialising to find husbands]
13/06/11	<i>'Late lunch. J came to it. Out with her to Orangery, and saw her to her Baba's office. She told me details of Marcia's operation... J saw her 1<sup>st</sup> time this morning; getting on beautifully... We could not get intimate talk...'</i> [itals added]
16/06/11	<i>'Tea with Mildred and Juliet- Mildred talked alone w me about G's life in Rome and with F.- J showed me her photographings in Rome. Took her by 2C and on foot to Queen's Gate, where a party was going to go with her to the White City...'</i>
20/06/11	<i>'I went to see Juliet dressed as Shakespeare's Juliet, and go off, with her maid to Lady Wimborne's to be taken on to the Shakespearean ball at the Albert Hall. She was quite dazed and dumb with a sudden bit of shyness, but looked very well.'</i>
05/07/11	<i>'Juliet to lunch. Imp long talk w her afterwards...'</i>
08/07/11	<b>Letter 36 to Juliet:</b> <i>'Sent [her] 2 books... Letter fr Mildred (J much happier, and engaged right thru next week for pleasant things)....'</i>

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11/07/11	<b>Letter 21 from Juliet:</b> 'thanks... for the books – is evidently happier & much impressed with Sir Edward Ward's modesty and kindness.' <b>Letter 38 to Juliet:</b> '...enclosing Papers about Mrs Coates of Leverne, and proposing her submitting thru to Sir Edward Ward....'
25/07/11	<b>Letter 22 from Juliet:</b> 'Long letter... (cannot come to stay during our holiday time, since Rhys is with them till he sails for India on Sept 14)...'
04/08/11	<b>Letter 39 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter... about plans and dates; Bishop Paget's death; suggestion to get Rhys to speak to his Father abt letting Mildred have the housekeeping; and as to appillation of her, now she is grown up.'
17/08/11	<b>Letter 23 from Juliet:</b> <i>Rhys will speak to his father abt letting his Mother again have the house-keeping. Just off to the moors with Rhys...'</i>
31/08/11	<b>Letter 40 to Juliet: twenty-second letter in archive.</b>
18/09/11	<b>Letter 41 to Juliet: twenty-third letter in archive.</b>
30/10/11	<b>Letter 42 to Juliet: twenty-fourth letter in archive.</b>
01/01/15	<b>Letter 24 from Juliet:</b> '...still believes O.W. [Oswald] is alive – his trumpeter having now been (unoff) reported alive. She writes from bed – had flu, interrupting her Nursing (evidently wounded soldiers have now turned up)...'
09/03/15	<i>(Juliet, 22 yrs old).</i>
02/05/15	<b>Letter 43 to Juliet.</b>
04/06/15	Letter 25 from Juliet: 'Long letter... she has offered to go to Nurse in France; Rhys abt to return to front...'
09/06/15	<b>Letter 43 to Juliet: twenty-fifth letter in archive.</b>
14/08/15	<b>Letter 44 to Juliet: twenty-sixth letter in archive.</b>
25/08/15	<b>Contact 25 from Juliet:</b> Wire from Juliet... Dieppe.
02/09/15	'In aft, Mildred and Juliet came...'
03/09/15	'Juliet came, for about an hour to me. Very sweet, but rather tired...'
29/10/15	<i>'Juliet came from Wincanton for the night. A good talk w her at 6:30 till 7:45: is trying to be allowed to go to help Marcia in Dieppi (who is superintendence of 600 French wounded): difficulty as to her age – required not by Fr government to be 23. She scalded her left hand badly a fortnight ago at the small hospital at Wincanton...'</i>
30/10/15	'At 3, in taxi with Juliet and Puck to Waterloo. Saw her off to Wincanton... She is coming back, for a month's stay, to the Grandmother's on Wednesday. We have agreed to do some Marlowe and 'The Psychol and Ethical Issues of the War' once a week together... <i>Had an accident in trying to mount a Bus in motion... we both escaped with only a shaking...'</i>
07/11/15	<i>'Juliet came for 1<sup>st</sup> reading in Marlowe. At 5. We began 'The History of Dr Faustus'... and about 1/3 of the play – J very good for the comic parts.'</i>
11/11/15	<i>'...J came at 4:30, to tea w me, and then more Marlowe (Dr Faustus) – we read about 1/3<sup>rd</sup> – the 2<sup>nd</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> of whole.-'</i>

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23/11/15	'At 11 prepared remainder of Marlowe's 'Faust' for J... 4:30. Juliet comes, for Marlowe reading. She had to be late and cd not stay to dinner since Rhys is still about – he may be leaving ... in the troops tomorrow. We read from 6:15 to 7:20: finished Marlowe's 'Faust.'...'
30/11/15	'Juliet came late – 6:20 – had to work (on corres abt killed and missing officers... has only today begun this)...
08/12/15	'Juliet came to stay by dinner time – looking truly pretty in a black dress she got whilst in France...'
09/12/15	'Juliet telephoned that Rhys had again turned up fr Sheppey – so she dared not return in time for any reading today... She returned to us by bedtime.'
10/12/15	'H dined out w Juliet and Norah Stourton.'
11/12/15	'At 5:15 Juliet offered to read then, or soon, w me. She wanted to dress at 7, to go and dine w Mrs Peptoe and her 2 sons just back from the front; arranged to read at 5:45 with her. I waited then, but at 6 she was being off in a taxi to Buckinham Gate to try to find Rhys. <i>A wire from Mildred had just reached J saying Jack Mansel, her father, had had a dangerous hunting accident, and telling her to come at once...</i> '
12/12/15	'Telegram... from Juliet: 'Father died last night at 8:30.' So Rhys and she cannot have arrived in time. At 12 w H and Puck into HP: much talk about Mildred and her 3...'
13/12/15	'H received letter fr Juliet – her Father brought to Bayford on Sat at 4am. Conscious, but quite unhurt; the 2 Drs who came promptly considered it a paralytic stroke – he had slid, unhurt, off his horse. Never regained consciousness...'
14/12/15	<b>Letter 45 to Juliet:</b> '(abt Purg & Prayers for Dead).'
15/12/15	'In aft, at 2:15, a ¼ hour's visit in Church, for the 5 Mansells, during <i>his</i> Funeral...'
16/12/15	'Mass, com...for Jack Mansel and Mildred and their 3. <b>Letter 46 to Juliet:</b> ' <i>Wrote careful letter abt Pray for Dead and Purgatory...</i> '
22/12/15	<b>Letter 47 to Juliet: Twenty-seventh letter in archive.</b> 'Letter of sympathy abt Rhy's engagement, and a PS asking what present he wd like... and underlining and accepting her own sense of 'shortcomings' as symptom of spir health and growth.'
07/01/16	'Juliet came for tea w me at 4:30. Read her the 2 <sup>nd</sup> D of Buckingham's Epitaph to General Lord Fairfax, his Father in Law.'
13/01/16	'In aft, Juliet came at 3:15. With her and Puck to Bookshop ...much talk abt yesterday's wedding. J had her tea with me. Read her F's Colonel's report, A.J. Balfour's letter on Crespi's points, and A.L.Smith's estimate of Matthew Parts (in his 'Ch & St in M.A.'). She staid w me till 6...'
17/01/16	'Letter to Juliet: '...(proposing her reading one of 2 books, to be supplied by me, w, her Mother now at once; referring to her mother's delight when they so read together, in N Devon, some years back). <i>Juliet and Mildred arrived this afternoon at Bayford...</i> '
20/01/16	<b>Letter 26 from Juliet:</b> 'Her mother does not feel in mood to read w her just now; she asks me what I think of Royce's ' <i>Introd to Philosophy</i> ' and of Spinoza and his philosophy, Wants also for me to explain my letter of Purgatory. A very aff letter, but still curiously young.'

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05/02/16	Letter 27 from Juliet: Long letter... (very satisfactory as to principles; is going w Mildred for 14 days, on Feb 20, to Pau)... <b>Letter 48 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter..'
<u>08/03/16</u>	<b>Letter 49 to Juliet:</b> ' <i>...long letter to J for her birthday, with imp frankness on hereditary failing &amp; danger.</i> '
08/04/16	<b>Letter 50 to Juliet:</b> 'long letter..'
24/04/16	<b>Letter 27 from Juliet:</b> 'Long pencil letter fr J – has remained on the Limoges Br Red + Hospital – cd not have these terrible cases of Fr soldiers from Western front – Is v pleased w my 2 letters but puts off any answer on central point to when we meet...'
16/05/16	'A big packet of J's letters fr Limoges to her mother, fr Mildred w letter to me fr latter.'
22/06/16	'Note fr Mildred that J remains at Wimoges.'
23/06/16	<b>Letter 28 from Juliet:</b> 'J wrote... that she was finally leaving Limoges on Wednesday (next day). 21 <sup>st</sup> , to work under Marcia at her Hospital at Dieppe...'
28/07/16	<b>Letter 29 from Juliet:</b> 'Long letter, most aff and full of her very hard- daily night – work fr Juliet at the Dieppe Hospital – now only for 1 <sup>st</sup> cases direct fr Somme front- they only keep the man a fortnight.'
07/09/16	'In aft, at tea time <i>Mildred &amp; Juliet turned up in Marcia's motor car</i> – which J is taking over to Havre & Dieppe on Monday next. J is anxious abt her petrol allowance. A little turn w her alone in grounds. She was looking specially well & blooming. They left again for Bayford at about 6:30).'
04/11/16	<b>Letter 30 from Juliet.</b>
30/01/17	<b>Letter 51 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter...'
28/02/17	'In evening, <i>telephone to H from Juliet – just arrived at the Rhys Mansel's from Dieppe.</i> '
02/03/17	'Juliet to lunch. With her (and Puck) in Tube to Oxford Circus. Left her at Lady Wimborne's door. She looked well and was very dear and aff...'
08/03/17	' <i>Juliet came at 5:15 – staid till 6:30. Asked her abt her Red Cross work. She was somewhat restless, dissatisfied. Depressed, with various plans in her head. Hopes Marcia will come back w her children in June – whether permanently or not, I cd not get her to decide. Her (J's) birthday (24 yrs old!) tomorrow...</i> '
09/03/17	<b>Letter 52 to Juliet:</b> ' <i>Long, important letter to J – proposing her to come next Sunday, same time as myself. For her beginning her majority...</i> ' 'Juliet 24 yrs old today...'
11/03/17	'Conf. Mass, Com (for Thekla & Juliet)...'
12/03/17	<b>Letter 31 from Juliet:</b> 'was going to H, Com yesterday). <b>Letter 53 to Juliet:</b> 'about Nature and Grace.'
23/03/17	' <i>Juliet came again – to coffee with me, at 5 till 6:30. Gave me her new photograph (in Nurse's dress). Was very dear &amp; sweet – so reluctant to say 'Goodbye' for at least 6 months amongst utter strangers and bad cases of wounded. Gave her (present) Seiley's 'Exp of Engl' &amp; lent her Ibsen's 'The Apostate'...</i> '
26/03/17	'Juliet left this forenoon for Dieppe. On route to her new post... note to Mildred – symp as to Juliet's departure...'

Date	Contact with von Hügel/Event
18/04/17	<b>Letter 32 from Juliet:</b> 'The Hosp still very chaotic, wounded (so far) only slight cases...'
21/04/17	<b>Letter 54 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter...'
05/05/17	<b>Letter 55 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter...'
18/05/17	<b>Letter 56 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter...'
26/05/17	Letter 33 from Juliet: 'depressed as to the war...but deeply affectionate, and has carefully read...'Exp of Engl' and 1 <sup>st</sup> part of Ibsen's great Roman Trilogy.'
02/06/17	<b>Letter 57 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter...'
16/06/17	<b>Letter 58 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter... and packet to her – Bridge's ' <i>Spirit of Man</i> ' and 3 copies of Gen Ammut's ' <i>Address on Commonwealth of Nations</i> ' – Posted all myself...'
30/06/17	<b>Letter 59 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter...'
02/07/17	<b>Letter 60 to Juliet.</b>
14/07/17	<b>Letter 61 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter...'
22/07/17	'to the Cottage... Juliet has been given good, responsible nursing work at... - 5 deaths in one night – her first on duty there...'
11/08/17	<b>Letter 62 to Juliet:</b> 'abt my Hatfield visit...'
25/08/17	<b>Letter 63 to Juliet.</b>
08/09/17	<b>Letter 64 to Juliet:</b> 'about Jowett etc.'
22/09/17	<b>Letter 65 to Juliet:</b> 'Letter to Juliet – about Farnham Castle, and as to Muriel and marriage (also of her, J- my hopes for her, H& Muriel) that I will now not write again till I see her, or she writes herself...'
26/09/17	<b>Letter 33 from Juliet:</b> ' <i>leaves Iuydcote for London on Oct 8<sup>th</sup></i> . Marcia to return later, prob for good. Very dear little letter...'
09/10/17	'J is not now leaving Dunkirk till 28 <sup>th</sup> ...'
03/10/17	<b>Letter 66 to Juliet:</b> 'approval of her delaying return.'
15/11/17	' <i>Juliet came to dinner.</i> Good little talk with her alone afterwards. <i>She is wonderfully rooted and calm at bottom now – so religious devoted, sweet.</i> But tension w her Mother has promptly rebegun. Is going tomorrow to Wareham (the Rhys Mansel's) w her Mother for some days. Saw her off at K.H.St Station. Gave her, as present, Dobson's 'A Bookman Budget.'
09/12/17	' <i>Juliet came at 5 to tea with me.</i> - Excellent long talk abt her nursing, faith in God and Immortality, prayer etc; also abt keeping a diary now on getting back; and abt her Mother – distressed she appears less able to throw off little accidents and ailments – less and less, every visit home wh. J now makes. Read aloud to her Villers D of Buckingham's 'Epitaph on Lord Fairfax.' She had some talk with M at 7. She dined with us. I took her to Bus in K. Hight Street. She leaves, on 3 months engagement for Dunkirk (Ingdcote) on Tuesday. Still so peaceful, strong, sweet, religious.'
16/12/17	'visited the Chapmans... She [Adeline] talked coldly, somehow, of Juliet – still so restless etc...'

<b>Date</b>	<b>Contact with von Hügel/Event</b>
04/03/18	<b>Letter 34 from Juliet:</b> 'Long letter... still detained (now 6 weeks) at Indycote... full of good will & affection.'
06/03/18	<b>Letter 67 to Juliet:</b> 'Long letter... (for her birthday).'
09/03/18	'Juliet 25 years old.'
23/06/18	'Marcia & Juliet doing intensive grand Nursing work...'
02/07/18	<b>Letter 35 from Juliet:</b> '(fr. Oise Hospital). Expects to get away for holiday...'
06/07/18	<b>Letter 68 to Juliet:</b> 'long letter...'
07/07/18	<i>'Juliet returned on 10 days leave last night to the Cottage, Roehampton – telephoned...'</i>
08/07/18	<i>'Juliet came at 5:45 – looking well and plump. Staid talking with me for an hour. Then up to M.- Mildred fetched her away. Gave her 'Golden Treasury' (Palgrave) &amp; Illegible 'Illegible &amp; Doctrines de Philosophes.' A little talk w Mildred (looking draggled &amp; weary). With Puck saw Juliet &amp; Mildred off at K. H. St Station – for the Cottage. They go together to Liss tomorrow for a week. J. intends returning to England in mid November for 3, 4 months – her mother will get the Ashley Place flat back for that time. J refused to return the Rarne - says she loves it, will study it etc.-'</i>
15/07/18	'Juliet came at 6:30 – talk w, her alone ill dinner – delightful – abt French & English etc... Puck and I saw her off at K. H. St. Station at 9:45 – <i>She leaves for her Red X Work on Oise, next Friday.-'</i>
26/08/18	<b>Letter 36 from Juliet.</b> [Gap in letters from H because of his operation and recovery time].
13/12/18	<b>Letter 37 from Juliet:</b> '...Metz, will go also to Mainz, but hopes to be home by Xtnas...'
16/12/18	'Juliet has put off her return, now the mil. situation has <i>so</i> changed.'
26/11/18	'Adeline Chapman came to see me – full of... Juliet's... last letters etc...'
13/12/18	<b>Letter 38 from Juliet.</b>
25/12/18	<b>Letter 39 from Juliet:</b> 'Hamburg, Bavaria- is going on to Mainz and then to Paris.'
03/01/19	'Mildred came to tea w me at 5. I read J's letter to her (She got to a Lutheran church service, having wanted to get to Cath Midnight Mass, which however cannot be during the occupation. She wrote bitterly upon the whole of the Germans...)'
06/01/19	<b>Letter 69 to Juliet:</b> 'very long letter... abt the Germ Prots 'Union', abt the returning Germ respect for Englishman & offering for us to have her on visit bef Mildred's flat is ready...'
10/01/19	'Telephone fr Cottage that <i>Juliet has just been awarded the highest distinction the French can give a woman – the Croix de Guerre...'</i>
14/02/19	<b>Letter 40 from Juliet:</b> ' <i>has now returned fr abroad for good, and asks when, next week, she could come to see us.'</i> Letter 70 to Juliet: 'asking her to bring her Croix de Guerie... with her.'
17/02/19	<b>Letter 41 from Juliet:</b> 'cannot come till Friday...'

Date	Contact with von Hügel/Event
21/02/19	'4:30. <i>Juliet came</i> : 1 <sup>st</sup> sight since her final return from war work abroad. Very well on surface, but strained & overwrought underneath. I sadly lost my temper over talk as to the frontier wished for by the French. The dear child was most sweet & humble. She staid with me till 6:30. I felt bad afterwards. J will come to me every Friday.'
22/02/19	'Good night, in spite of little upset yesterday aft.'
23/02/19	'Juliet came to me, for a little, after her much downstairs. Said to read some St Benve with her every Friday.'
28/02/19	'In aft, Juliet unable to come today – evidently not quite fit...'
01/03/19	'Note fr Juliet, as to her non- appearance yesterday... M went to tea w Mildred & Juliet...'
07/03/19	' <i>Juliet came at 4:30</i> . Had her tea w me. Talked about English climate, life etc. She is still very restless – wd like to get her mother to travel abroad w her. <i>We began Sainte Benve's 'Causeries du Lundi'</i> – vol I. Read aloud to her the two introductory little notices...'
12/03/19	' <i>Juliet came at 6</i> . She brought & showed me many snap-shot photos of the various ambulances served by her... <i>Began reading aloud to her Saint Beuvi's 'Moliere'</i> . Gave her the Oxford Moliere as her Birthday present. She is expanding her Journal first, the piece about Metz – to be offered to Blackwood's Magazine.'
20/03/19	'Good talk w H abt J.- ... <i>Juliet came at 5</i> : sad at her Metz Paper not having been found good enough by Mr Campbell (of the 'Times'). Altogether, she was depressed and restless, <i>we began reading Moliere aloud together: she, the women; I, the men. We started 'Les Precicuses Ridicules'</i> Read the first 9 scenes.'
22/03/19	'Hillie told me what J narrated to her, last night, at a musical party (where J sang very sweetly)...
26/03/19	'In aft, Juliet came... is full of buoyance, yet war-weary underneath... J going to be away from London for 3 weeks, with Rhys & Sylvia, beginning some time next week. <i>We finished reading aloud to each other Moliere's 'Previenses Ridicules'; began similarly M's 'Ecole des Maris.'</i> J was in a light & varied mood – full of her readings in Edm, La Rochefoncauld & Ranke etc.'
30/03/19	'Juliet to lunch – she came up afterwards, mostly with Hillie and M... J took with her, by train and bus to the Cottage... M enjoyed her outing much.'
02/04/19	'4:30 Juliet due. She did not come up till 5:45. Very sweet and gentle in mood – <i>had done little or no reading</i> – seeing much of Marcia, Rhys etc. We continued reading aloud to each other Moliere's ' <i>Ecole des Maris.</i> ' [Italics added]
09/04/19	'Juliet came: we finished reading aloud to each other, Moliere's ' <i>Ecole des Maris</i> ' (my 3 <sup>rd</sup> r); and we began Moliere's ' <i>Ecole des Femmes</i> ' in same way.- <i>J very restless</i> . Wants not to try translation work from French.' [Italics added]
21/04/19	<b>Letter 42 from Juliet.</b>
22/04/19	<b>Letter 70 to Juliet.</b>



Date	Contact with von Hügel/Event
09/05/19	'Juliet 6:35.- The poor little thing came terribly restless and storm-tossed, and readily hurt and tearful at my hurtness as to her Literary attempts etc. Told of her Mother, detained by the Dr at Mrs Oldfield's at Shillingstone, Dorset, for a month's rest, because of heart weakness.- She, J, came up again to me for some minutes after dinner, prettily penitent as to her vehemence before but plainly still deeply restless.'
15/05/19	'Juliet 4:30: she had tea with me, and we read aloud to each other Acts II and III of Moliere's ' <i>Ecole des Femmes</i> '. She was quite peaceful, indeed very expansive and happy – charming. Staid till 5:30.'
19/05/19	'poor Juliet more of her black moods...' [reported by Hillie]
22/05/19	'Juliet, after tea w M, came up to me. We finished reading Moliere's ' <i>Ecole des Femmes</i> ' aloud to each other. She goes Sat- Monday to her Mother at Shillingstone; and then to Paris for a week – has a free ticket for this...'
21/06/19	[Hügel at Clonboy] 'In aft, Hillie returned, bringing Juliet Mansel with her for weekend.- Hillie & Evie, Juliet and I, into Windsor Park...'
22/06/19	'to Beaumont 8 o'clock Mass – H communicated, but not J... In aft, after tea with J into Windsor Park... J talked about a young French Chemist, a friend of hers – a great admirer of Renante. J herself curiously little fixed.'
23/06/19	'In garden, read aloud to J Moliere's ' <i>Remerciment all Roi</i> '1663; and ' <i>Le Dome die vae de Grace</i> .' In aft, after tea Juliet and I had a walk w Puck in Windor Forest- he threatened to pursue the deer. Talk w her abt Agnosticisim, Individuation etc.- She very restless, unsettled, surfacey on all these matters. Seemed rattled, too, at Marcia's borrowing of Thureau Dangin's 'Renaissance Cath' from me. <u>Juliet left us at 7:15pm</u> for Waterloo, where she & her mother resume their Ashpey Place flat.-'
01/07/19	'H showed me letters received by her fr Juliet – goes to Paris on 12 <sup>th</sup> , & cannot come again before then...'
18/08/19	<b>Letter 43 from Juliet:</b> 'Charming letter... from Clos Normand... where she is staying ... has for a month now been leading a 'golf, tennis, bathing, lolling in the sun life' and been 'simply enjoying every minute of it.'...Proposes to come here for 3 days...'
06/09/19	<b>Letter 44 from Juliet:</b> 'cannot come again to Clonboy...'
07/09/19	<b>Letter 71 to Juliet:</b> '... (good wishes for her string of country house visits)...'
13/07/19	<b>Letter 45 from Juliet:</b> '...had to go off to Sylvia, expecting her 2 <sup>nd</sup> baby; writes from Hertfordshire; and was leaving next day with her mother for Ireland – her visits being spoilt with toothache and dentists;...'
10/11/19	'Juliet to lunch – had to leave at 2. In delightful mood, so rested & sweet...'
19/11/19	<b>Letter 46 from Juliet:</b> '...as to coming on Wednesdays...'
26/11/19	'Juliet: 4:30.- She had tea with me. We read aloud to each other Moliere's 'Critique des Femmes' for an hour- finishing it. She had just bought herself vol I of Peguay's Writings – Reman's Catholic grandson. She had been reading Renan's 'Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse' apparently without any distress or dissatisfaction.'
03/12/19	<b>Letter 47 from Juliet.</b> 'Juliet to lunch... We saw, in Agnews Gallery...portraits... We walked to Knightsbridge...'
10/12/19	'Juliet came at 2:15. With her to Coronet Theatre...'

Date	Contact with von Hügel/Event
17/12/19	'In aft, Juliet came at 5:15... gave me Debas's 'La Philosophic Francaise' as a Xmas present; and I gave her Wildon Carr's 'Bergson' w a critical note on B.- She left at 5 – very busy, as she <i>leaves England for Murren (Switzerland) on Friday for 3 weeks (with the married daughter of Mrs Petle &amp; her Officer husband. Other 9 persons going).</i> '
09/03/20	'Juliet 27 years old.'
11/03/20	'Letter (w cheque for 1 pound), registered to Juliet... for her birthday...'
31/03/20	Letter 72 to Juliet: '(at Grasse)...'
12/07/20	[travel to Clonboy with Juliet and Hillie]
13/07/20	'Sat out in garden w Juliet. We began reading – I aloud to her... 'Life of Robert Browning.' In aft, walked w Juliet in Forest a little... With Juliet to Miss Liddle...'
14/07/20	'Read on, in garden, to Juliet... In aft... with Juliet to the Cumberland Monument. A somewhat heated talk abt 'League of Nations' etc on way back. <i>Gwen came...</i> First talk to Gwen, from pencil notes, in garden at 6:30.' [Once Gwen arrives, the next two days speak of vH's talks to Gwen and Juliet is not mentioned at all).
17/07/20	'saw Gwen off at Egham for Waterloo- Salisbury... At 11, read aloud, in 'Life of Robert Browning' to Juliet... In aft, turn w Juliet in Forest... Mary, Juliet and Lensky in motor cab to Windsor... M & Juliet bringing back <i>Mildred for night...</i> '
18/07/20	'At 12, walk w Mildred & Juliet in Forest; J very contradictory to M... A moment's hotness w dear J. Read on to Juliet in 'Life of Robt Browning.'
19/07/20	'Finished 4 <sup>th</sup> & last of the married life cc in 'The Life of Robert Browning' aloud to Juliet.- We then began Dante's <i>Paradiso</i> – Canto I. In aft, walked w J to Equestrian Statue of King George III. After tea, finished Dante's <i>Paradiso</i> , Canto I and began Canto II.'
20/07/20	'With Juliet caught 12 (noon) bus to Windsor...J and I saw St George's Chapel... we lunched at the 'Windlesora' Restaurant. I liked the cider and determined to resume it as my ordinary table drink. We walked to <i>Eton College</i> . <i>Saw the Library</i> : the first ed of Shakespeare... We went into the Chapel – choir boys (all & always <i>liked!</i> ) preparing for service. Walked back, J being crochet wool on way.- Again into... Chapel for the singing ( J thought it not good)...'
21/07/20	'Finished with Juliet, Canto II of Dante's 'Paradiso'. She, <i>Juliet, left us at 11:30 for Putney &amp; the Cottage. Roehampton.</i> '
22/07/20	<b>Letter 48 from Juliet:</b> '...letter of thanks for her visit...'
05/09/20	'Juliet to lunch. With her and Puck into KG – finished up with Italian Garden. She is very busy cleaning up the flat with her Mother for train own occupation.'
11/09/20	'Mildred & Juliet to lunch, - They went with M to the big Music Hall in Piccadilly Circus for a matinee.'
14/09/20	'Juliet came for tea – late, at 5:20, Now works in Fulham Charity Organisation Society 10 to 5. Read her aloud Mrs Browning's 'Wine of Cyprus.' She was in a most touching mood.'

<b>Date</b>	<b>Contact with von Hügel/Event</b>
07/10/20	'Juliet has now paid work under Mrs Le Blond (restoration of Rheines Cathedral).'
15/10/20	'Juliet came to tea – has already left Mrs Le Blond's Office – looking for some other paid work...'
14/11/20	'to Juliet, who staid an hour, after tea with M – lent her the Browning love letters, 2 vols. With her & Puck to High Street station...'
25/11/20	'Juliet came to lunch...visited Wallace Collection w her...'
19/12/20	'Juliet telephoned herself off from lunch with us today...'
27/12/20	<b>Letter 49 from Juliet:</b> <i>'Touching note fr Juliet – broken down nerves fr the War... To the Cottage. Arrived at 2:45: Stayed till 6:15. Much talk w Adeline. Mildred there staying with Juliet. (J up contrary to Dr's orders).'</i>
03/01/21	<i>'Tea with Mildred &amp; Juliet at 4 at Ashley Gardens. Long talk alone with Juliet, who was very affectionate but still very nerve-broken. Goes to Pau with a Miss Mansel on Jan 17 or 18.'</i>
06/01/21	<b>Letter 72 to Juliet: Twenty-eighth letter in archive.</b> <i>'Important letter to Juliet, about her religion – to communicate next Sunday.'</i>
09/01/21	<i>'(Juliet communicated this morning).'</i>
10/01/21	<i>'Visited Juliet: 3-5; she leaves tonight, with an old Miss Mansel for Southampton, Havre and Pau (to Marcia there)... had also some talk alone with J. (She has evidently had some unhappy love affair, poor little thing. Has had 'nerve-storms.'). She went to H. Comm yesterday morning.'</i>
19/01/21	Letter 50 from Juliet: <i>'...at Marcia's, Pau – is already much better...'</i>
21/10/21	<b>Letter 73 to Juliet.</b>
04/11/21	<i>'Juliet to tea w me. Looking well, full of the acting. But spoke as tho' religion had not been growing.- At 5:45 went up to Molly...' [Itals added].</i>
14/11/21	<i>'4:30. Juliet to tea. Talk till 6.'</i>
21/11/21	<i>'Juliet to lunch. With her afterwards to Coronet Theatre...'</i>
07/01/22	<i>'Juliet to lunch – with her by Z.C to Victoria. Then Tram to river. Walked to Tate Gallery. Saw the Cubist horrors (very delighted)... Walked together to Westm Bridge Station. By 2.C. To Victoria... She was in a very pleasant, gentle mood, but no sign of religion.-'</i>
14/02/22	<i>'With M to Aldwych Theatre to see Juliet act in Patteron's 'L'Etincelle' ... she acted very well in a difficult part... letter to Adeline about her Flue &amp; Juliet's acting.'</i>
23/03/22	<b>Letter 74 to Juliet:</b> <i>'Ordered book for Juliet. Wrote letter to Juliet about her renewed plan of going on stage... abt her actress plan.'</i>
24/03/22	<b>Letter 50 from Juliet:</b> <i>'Little letter from Juliet abt her actress plans, sweet...'</i>
28/03/22	<i>'Juliet comes to lunch. With her afterwards to London Museum... We went by Bus (Juliet lost her purse – in Bus on way to Museum)... to Refreshment room...we had tea together; then walked to St James' Park Station...'</i>
24/06/22	<i>'w M...to Princes Theatre (saw Mildred &amp; Juliet there)...'</i>
28/06/22	<i>'Juliet did not turn up for night.'</i>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Contact with von Hügel/Event</b>
08/08/22	'taxi to Waterloo Station.- <i>Juliet Mansel</i> joined me there & Hillie came to see us off.- Juliet...' [Diary entry finishes here and next few diary entries are empty].
24/08/22	'Readdressed & posted a letter for Juliet to Chateua de Seran.'
23/10/22	[dictated letter to Juliet – 7 pounds for her]
28/10/22	<b>Letter 51 from Juliet.</b>
01/11/22	' <i>To Mildred...</i> Took away (back) Vols I and II of Ranke's ' <i>Westgeschichte</i> ', which I gave to Juliet 7 ½ years ago.'
01/01/23	<b>Letter 75 to Juliet:</b> '(cheque)...
08/03/23	<b>Letter 76 to Juliet:</b> 'for her birthday (w 3.10 pound present).-'
09/03/23	<b>Letter 77 to Juliet:</b> 'Juliet's birthday... note to Juliet (a P.S)...'
07/06/23	'Juliet Mansel to dinner with M; she came to me afterwards: very well & bright after her 10 days in Paris (to receive her prize at Theatre Francaise; w this she paid for her trip...'
27/09/23	'Juliet came at 6:30; tea w M, then some m with me: ' <i>Cymbeline</i> ; gets withdrawn in a week (a boring play even to the actors); she is looking for a fresh engagement <i>away fr. Sibyll Thorndike.</i> '
10/11/23	' <i>Juliet to lunch...</i> '
19/03/24	'Gondoliers: Juliet ... took a girl friend to the 2 Dress Circle seats.'
25/03/24	'After tea, Juliet Mansel came for ½ an hour full of Bernard Shaw's ' <i>Joan</i> ' production next Sat... J has 2 'walking' parts in it.-'
13/05/24	'Juliet Mansel comes.'
04/07/24	Adeline Chapman came to me, after tea w M. - Talked much of Juliet – how what she had now recovered from after a few days away (she is now again acting w St Joan), was a bad throat etc from the horrible state in which the dressing rooms are left at all theatres.'
05/07/24	<b>Letter 78 to Juliet.</b>
09/07/24	'Juliet came, looking very well & very bright, in spite of bad time w ulcerated throat etc. Full of a fortnight's holiday she will spend w the Edwyn Bevan's wife of July betw finishing her ' <i>St Joan</i> ' acting, & her playing in a piece at Brixton.-'
15/07/24	'Juliet... at 5:30 – I went out in chair at 6:30- 7 still waiting for her, then, on into K.G., giving her up.'
17/07/24	'Juliet came at 12, to sit with me, and lunch with me at 1.'
31/07/24	<b>Letter 79 to Juliet:</b> '(Bishop Talbot's address)...'
21/09/24	'Saw Juliet a little aft bkfast – is leaving us for Cardiff at 12 – is acting there for a week – knows it from acting there...'

### Appendix 3: Shifts in Hügel's conversations with Juliet over time

Date	Description of Juliet or content of conversation
19/12/09	'good long talk w Juliet about Dr Cobb's Sermon...'
11/02/10	'I want much to be confirmed', enthusiastic for Church – reads a little every night...'
03/03/10	'good long talk abt... our mutual relation concerning religion, her great requirement of religion, her special faults, the four great religious facts and habits for her to cultivate. We went and saw the Church...'
18/04/10	'good talk with Juliet abt Rel matters...'
30/11/10	'saw the little thing, her old true self...'
20/03/11	'another talk w J abt Persecution, Pantheism, Indifference...'
22/03/11	<i>'had excellent talk</i> about her home circumstances, character, plans – she talking almost all the time...'
12/05/11	'immortality & Theism, important...'
24/05/11	'self renunciation.'
22/05/11	'long, important, most satisfactory letter from J, showing great sp Growth...'
13/06/11	'We could not get intimate talk...'
05/07/11	'Imp long talk w her afterwards...'
14/12/11	'abt Purg & Prayers for Dead.'
01/04/12	'Talk... a good one alone w J.'
27/08/12	'J prayed there w me... J in fine spirits and v aff.'
26/12/12	'Long letter fr J (charmingly balanced, happy, affectionate)...'
08/02/13	<i>'J came to see me...so sweet, happy, easier...'</i>
16/03/13	'She feels she has grown in mind by being out there – especially as to Eastern passivity, and as to importance of religion.'
11/11/13	'Juliet comes. Very sweet and her full old self.'
21/11/13	'charming half-hour's talk alone with her downstairs;'
03/07/13 7/7/13	After he gives a public lecture, he writes to Juliet ' <i>...as to her absence fr Address etc.</i> ' <sup>1</sup> 'J came at 2:30... (very affectionate and natural – showed all old attachment; but said nothing abt 'questions in my letter, for which she thanked me. As ever, a most dear little daughter).
21/03/14	'J somewhat contentious, irritable, vehement; but full of affection and wish to please, dear Child.' <sup>2</sup>
05/04/14	'J (looking strained or irritated).'
22/05/14	'Good talk w her there abt the Dram Academy, her character, outing etc. Teachingly simply humble, self-knowing, affectionate.'
19/06/14	'a good talk with her afterwards: cheerful and sweet, tho' somewhat tired.'

1 D:3/7/13.

2 D:21/3/14.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Description of Juliet or content of conversation</b>
27/06/14	'J has gained the scholarship at the Academy of Dramatic Art. Will give it to girl next best to herself. So humble and pretty over it.'
27/12/15	'underlining and accepting her own sense of 'shortcomings' as symptom of spir health and growth.'
20/01/16	'still curiously young.'
08/03/16	'with imp frankness on hereditary failing and danger.'
08/03/16	'She was somewhat restless, dissatisfied. Depressed, with various plans in her head.'
12/03/17	'card note to her about Nature and Grace.'
02/06/17	'(depressed as to the war...but deeply affectionate, and has carefully read...'Exp of Engl' and 1 <sup>st</sup> part of Ibsen's great Roman Trilogy.'
15/11/17	'Good little talk with her alone afterwards. <i>She is wonderfully rooted and calm at bottom now – so religious devoted, sweet.</i> '
08/03/17	'somewhat restless, dissatisfied, depressed...'
12/03/17	'abt Nature & Grace;'
22/09/17	'I will now not write again till I see her, or she writes herself.' [Hügel had written 9 letters in a row and had no reply from Juliet. Four days later, she writes to him].
15/11/17	'so religious devoted, sweet...'
09/12/17	'Excellent long talk abt ...faith in God & Immortality, prayer etc....Still so peaceful, strong, sweet, religious.'
04/03/18	'full of good will & affection.'
15/07/18	'talk w, her alone ill dinner – delightful – abt French & English etc...-'
03/01/19	'She got to a Lutheran church service, having wanted to get to Cath Midnight Mass...'
21/02/19	'Very well on surface, but strained & overwrought underneath. I sadly lost my temper...'
28/02/19	'Juliet unable to come today – evidently not quite fit...'
07/03/19	'She is still very restless...'
20/03/19	'depressed and restless;'
25/03/19	'in a light & varied mood – full of her readings in... La Rochefoucauld & Ranke etc.' <sup>13</sup>
26/03/19	'full of bouyance [sic], yet war-weary underneath;'
09/04/19	'very restless;'
09/05/19	'terribly restless & storm-tossed and readily hurt and tearful... still deeply restless.'
15/05/19	'quite peaceful, indeed very expansive and happy – charming.'
19/05/19	'more of her black moods...'
22/06/19	'J herself curiously little fixed.'
23/06/19	'Talk... abt Agnosticism, Individuation etc. She very restless, unsettled, surfacey on these matters. Seemed rattled...'
10/11/19	'In delightful mood, so rested & sweet...'

3 D:25/3/19. Ranke a German historian; La Rochefoucauld a French essayist.

Date	Description of Juliet or content of conversation
26/11/19	'had been reading Renan's ' <i>Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse</i> ' apparently without any distress or dissatisfaction.'
18/07/20	'J very contradictory [sic] w M [Mildred]... A moment's hotness w dear J;'
14/09/20	'She was in a most touching mood.'
27/12/20	'broken down nerves fr the war...'
03/01/21	'Long talk alone with Juliet, who was very affectionate but still very nerve-broken.'
05/05/21	'We talked abt Hinton... She smoked a cigarette... my first sight of her since her return from France...' <sup>4</sup>
04/11/21	'full of the acting. But spoke as tho' religion had not been growing.-'
23/03/22	'Wrote letter to Juliet about her renewed plan of going on stage... abt her actress plan.'
24/03/22	'Little letter from Juliet abt her actress plans, sweet...'
27/09/23	'I m with me: 'Cymbeline; gets withdrawn in a week (a boring play even to the actors); she is looking for a fresh engagement <i>away fr: Sibyll Thorndike.</i> '
25/03/24	'full of Bernard Shaw's 'Joan' production next Sat... J has 2 'walking' parts in it.'
09/07/24	'looking very well & very bright, in spite of a bad time w ulcerated throat etc. Full of a fortnight's holiday she will spend w the Edwyn Bevan's wife of July betw finishing her 'St Joan' acting, & her playing in a piece at Brixton.-'
21/09/24	'Saw Juliet a little aft bkfast – is leaving us for Cardiff at 12 – is acting there for a week – knows it from acting there...'

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4 D:5/5/21.

## Appendix 4: Hügel's contacts with Evelyn Underhill

The following table summarises Hügel's contacts with Evelyn Underhill, and his letters to her, as recorded in his diary.

Date	Contact with Hügel/event
16/07/11	[First meeting. Evelyn visits Hügel and they discuss <i>Mysticism</i> . They give each other gifts].
11/01/12	'Note to Mrs Stuart Moore.'
13/02/16	'Note fr Mrs Stuart Moore. Inviting me, in name of Committee of 'Rel Thought Circle' to address them, beginning of June, on 'What do we mean by Heaven and Hell?'
17/02/16	'Note fr Mrs Stuart Moore.'
12/12/16	[Evelyn attends lecture Hügel gives: 'What do we mean by Heaven? What do we mean by Hell?']
14/12/16	'Charming letter abt my Address on 12 <sup>th</sup> from Mrs Stuart Moore. Long letter (12 pp) in answer to Mrs Stuart Moore...'
16/12/16	'Note to Mrs Stuart Moore, w 'Pr in Rel'...'
Back of 1916 diary	[Hügel has only 1 and a half pages of book titles at the back of this diary. Two of the books are by Evelyn Underhill: 'Ruysbroek' and 'Theophanies' (verse)].
29/11/17	[Evelyn attends Hügel's lecture 'Religion and Illusion'].
27/11/19	'Wrote thanks to Mrs Stuart Moore for her 'Jacopone da Todi.'
30/10/21	'left later for Mrs Stuart Moore at her house...'
24/06/22	'Her 6 month's sp report fr Mrs Stuart Moore, & a note fr her abt house for Gwen.-...'
26/06/22	'Read Mrs Stuart Moore's report of her spiritual condition & attempts the last 6 months.'
06/07/22	'In aft visit, walked Campden Hill Square left note for Mrs Stuart Moore...'
22/07/22	'5:30: Mrs Stuart Moore.'
22/09/22	'Rough draft & then copying fair of an additional point for Mrs Stuart Moore's religious practice; posted it at night...'
17/04/24	'Roses w kind note fr Mrs Stuart Moore.'
05/05/24	flowers from Mrs Stuart Moore [Hügel's birthday].'
29/04/24	'Jigsaw puzzles, late property of Mrs Stuart Moore's mother, given to me by Mrs Stuart Moore.'



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