TRADITIONS OF SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE

Evelyn Underhill, A Companion on Many Journeys

> When I grow up I should like to be an author because you can influence people more widely by books than by pictures . . . Goodbye sixteen years old. I hope my mind will not grow tall to look down on things, but wide to embrace all sorts of things in the coming year.[1]

WITH THIS JOURNAL ENTRY on the eve of her seventeenth birthday, Evelyn Underhill offered an uncanny prophecy of the path her life and career would follow. Acclaiming Underhill as a writer with 'an insight into the meaning of the culture and of the individual gropings of the soul that was unmatched by any of the professional teachers of her day',[2] *The Times Literary Supplement* would testify after her death to the fulfilment of her adolescent vision. She had indeed come to 'embrace all sorts of things' as the years passed and, with apparently unerring insight, touched countless lives in the process, chiefly through her role as 'spiritual director to her generation'.[3] Recognized as such an influential guide, Underhill deserves retrieving in the contemporary search for meaningful spiritual guidance.

A prolific early twentieth-century British spiritual and theological writer, Evelyn Underhill (1875–1941) was the first woman to lecture on theology at Oxford, the first women to assume leadership in retreat work in the Anglican community of her day, and among the first to be involved in ecumenical dialogue. Although best known for her two classic works, *Mysticism* (1911, first edition) and *Worship* (1936), Underhill's written corpus includes poetry and novels from early in her career, more than thirty books on various aspects of mysticism and the spiritual life, as well as numerous articles, lectures, essays and book reviews. The partial eclipsing after her death of the contribution she had made to the spiritual life of the Church of England has been vindicated by the recent decision of the Episcopal Church to add Evelyn Underhill to the liturgical calendar as 'mystic and theologian'.[4]

Underhill's youth gave little indication of the spiritual concerns which would occupy her later years. Growing up in a family where she 'wasn't brought up to religion really—except just in a formal way',[5] she would progress through a period of eight or nine years where she believed herself

to be an atheist, to a time of involvement with the Hermetic Society of the Golden Dawn, to a time of growing toward a rather generic sense of Christian belief, which culminated in a profound conversion experience in 1907. Even that event would take years of sorting on her own before she made a formal commitment and shared that struggle as she sought spiritual direction herself. The significance of faith and the need for companions on the journey proved a gradual revelation to Underhill. And yet, had Underhill emerged from a more religiously orthodox upbringing, her generation might not have had her as a pathfinder for so many searching souls. Someone who had to discover her own way would develop an instinctive empathy for those struggling with similar questions.[6]

Underhill as guide

Having established something of Underhill's credibility as a commentator upon and model of spiritual guidance, the remainder of this article will examine her actual practice in such a role.[7] Although Underhill had a frequent stream of directees approaching her, much of her guidance was offered through regular correspondence. An analysis of her extended correspondence with one particularly close directee,[8] additional letters to others seeking guidance, and comments by others about her approach to direction will illustrate her style and themes. The concluding segment will synthesize what appear to be Underhill's most effective and relevant characteristics as a contemporary role model.

Lucy Menzies, the most intimate of Evelyn Underhill's 'family' of directees, spent the first six years of their relationship meeting her director only through letters. Menzies began writing to her during World War I and in 1923 the two correspondents finally met. The relationship between these two women was deepened by Menzies' assumption of the role of Warden of Underhill's beloved retreat centre at Pleshey. The letters during the ten year period testify to Underhill's growing concern over her friend's over-conscientiousness in fulfilling her duties and her own sense of inadequacy in offering direction to individuals who approached her. Lucy Menzies found Underhill's advice a continuing support and challenge, and, to the end of her life, never ceased her accolades. To a correspondent in 1946 Menzies wrote:

> How glad I am to hear from anyone who reads Evelyn Underhill. She was, and is, my greatest friend. To me, too, her writings opened a new world. No one else ever made me conscious of God as she did. Everything she wrote somehow helped me on.[9]

A case study of direction

In her correspondence with Lucy Menzies, Underhill assumes a role which has three primary functions: co-discerner, resource person, and

balancing element in the life of her directee. The first of these duties contrasts with an understanding of a director as someone necessarily and overly directive. Throughout the years of their writing, Underhill consistently urged Menzies to listen to her own attractions in prayer, to respond to her natural *attrait* rather than looking for ready made answers and systems. Such a sensitivity to the uniqueness of each person's path to God was obvious even in her earliest letters of direction. In 1908 Underhill wrote to Margaret Robinson, perhaps her earliest directee, 'The fact that I say I think I have found a path in one direction is no valid reason for you to alter your course . . . do not give up the form of prayer that comes naturally to you'.[10] The following year when Robinson had been tempted to compare her spiritual growth and progress with someone else's, Underhill reminded, 'Each spiritual life is unique and its personal quality should be above all things respected'.[11]

Although she made specific suggestions to Lucy Menzies and other inquirers, Underhill frequently qualified her advice with such provisos as, 'You must only do so if you clearly feel it is God's call for you'.[12] Never does she present a single way of approaching God or suggest that a particular method can substitute for individual on-going discernment. She presupposed that there has first been a peaceful listening for that call. The task of the spiritual guide was to affirm that invitation rather than dictate it before the directee had perceived it.

For her the role of director was co-listener and discerner rather than the expert instructor who had ready-made answers about the path one should follow. Thus she quickly reacted when one correspondent misinterpreted a previous suggestion as having been a hope on Underhill's part to make the writer 'a thorough-going Catholic'. Underhill's response clarifies her self-understanding of her role as guide. 'I hope', she explained, 'I shall never try to make you any particular thing! My job is simply to try to help you find out what *God* wants you to be, and what will help and support your particular type of soul in His service.'[13] There was to be only one Creator, and she was not it. The director, especially Underhill as director, was never to be 'a sort of she-who-must-be-obeyed'. Only one Person deserved such obedience and surrender. This basic self-deprecation, plus her basic presupposition that the director's job is secondary to the directee's personal reflection on the experience of God in his or her life, did not prevent Underhill from offering specific advice when she deemed it appropriate. She also clearly believed that acting as a resource person, drawing upon what she had learned in her own journey and in encounters with other seekers, could be a valuable service.

Thus Evelyn Underhill proposed reading materials and definite times for prayer, the latter, one surmises after reading the on-going correspondence with Lucy Menzies, more to provide limits for such an overly conscientious personality than to prescribe absolutes. As a self-educated

and recognized scholar on the spiritual life, Underhill's research provided her with the richest treasures of the Christian spiritual tradition to draw upon in her reading suggestions. Her own experiences, about which she was typically reticent, she was willing to share when she considered them helpful for her directee. Regarding her positive encouragement toward Church membership, she explained, 'I stood out against it myself for so long and have been so thoroughly convinced of my own error, that I do not want other people to waste time in the same way'.[14] About sacramental practice she confessed and advocated, 'After being myself both a non-sacramentalist and a sacramentalist, there is no doubt at all left in my own mind as to what is the simplest and most direct channel through which grace comes to the soul'.[15] If these personal revelations could be a resource for assisting another's growth, even these guarded stories could be shared.

Perhaps the most consistent and important function Underhill exercised was that of moderator for her often overly anxious charge. Without knowing anything of Menzies' personal background, a reader of Underhill's letters would perceive her directee as one prone to over-exertion, ill health, and a certain Pelagian rigidity in her approach to the spiritual life. Whereas Menzies strained toward a perfectionism which tended to overly spiritualize life and stretch her health to the breaking point, Underhill constantly encouraged her toward an incarnational approach, one which presupposed a holistic understanding of how Christian spirituality should be embodied. Letter after letter addressed the issue of Menzies' poor health, always urging her to do whatever is necessary to take care of herself. 'It is physically as much as spiritually I want you quieted and normalized', Underhill exhorted, 'The body must not be driven beyond its strength.'[16] When Menzies pursued the question of adding physical penances or fasting to her Rule, Underhill discouraged forms of asceticism which would jeopardize her health. 'Fragile persons are never allowed to fast',[17] reminded this balancing guide. The more Menzies struggled to achieve her own spiritualized ideal, the more Underhill called her back to being-in-the-world.

Avoiding any suggestion of extra penances, greater effort, longer prayers, Underhill stabilized Menzies' over-intensity with psychologically and spiritually sound advice. A letter to an evidently distraught Menzies directed:

> Take **special** pains now to keep up fully or develop some definite non-religious interest, e.g. your music. Work at it, consider it an obligation to do so. It is more necessary to your spiritual health; and you will very soon find that it has a steadying effect. 'Good works' won't do—it must be something you really like for its own sake . . . If you could take a few days off and keep quite quiet it

> would be good, but if this is impossible at any rate go along gently, look after your body, don't saturate yourself the whole time with mystical books . . . Hot milk and a thoroughly foolish novel are better things for you to go to bed on just now than St. Teresa.[18]

Some letters reveal Menzies as tending to overdramatize experiences of both consolation and darkness, thus eliciting from Underhill an attempt to moderate her moods and reminding her that there is a psychic as well as a spiritual side to all of her experiences. In one case Underhill writes, 'It is your psychic side which has been too fully roused and upset your equilibrium . . . It is not God but your too eagerly enjoying psyche which keeps you awake and tears you to bits with an over-exciting joy.'[19] When the emotional pendulum had finally swung in the other direction, Underhill would again try to balance Menzies' reaction with a gentle reminder: 'Quiet acceptance and common-sense are the way to get fervour back again. Repulsive programme, isn't it?'[20]

If one were to choose a word characteristic of this modulating role that Underhill played, it might well be 'gentle'. Whether it was countering a sense of scrupulous preoccupation with sin, warning against over-intensity, or tempering Menzies' moods of jubilation or desolation, Underhill, throughout the years of their relationship, constantly sprinkles her advice with gentleness. '. . . Keep quiet and in a state of gentle acceptance';[21] 'sink down gently into that self-abandoned peace',[22]—always the emphasis falls on a quiet relaxing of effort and strain, a growing sense of surrender and abandonment to God, a 'resting in the Lord'. 'Adherence rather than effort'[23] becomes one of Underhill's favourite images. But such advice does not encourage a quietistic response. Always a staunch opponent of such an approach to prayer and contemplation, Underhill used fecundity as the criterion for judging the reality of a life of prayer. 'What are the fruits of the encounter?' is always a key question.

The aim of direction

Judging from the correspondence with Lucy Menzies, Underhill's immediate aim as spiritual guide appears to be sensitizing her directee to the realities of her life so that she might view these events as sacramental encounters with the living God. Her aim includes a broadening of Menzies' vision to perceive all aspects of her daily existence, not just the 'spiritual' or religious elements, as potential mediations of God's presence. Such a consciousness would ultimately lead to adoration. The focus, Underhill contended, should more and more be on God's presence and action rather than on self-scrutinizing introspection.

Everything is to be done with an awareness of the human condition and a sensitivity to the fact that life grows at its own pace and rhythm.

As the correspondence chronicles Menzies' shifts from the emotionally positive experience of light and presence to the negative onslaught of darkness and a sense of absence, the reader finds Underhill urging Menzies to accept such movement as natural and necessary for growth. In response to one desperate-sounding letter, Underhill's advice is typical of the balance she tried to instil in Menzies:

> But you MUST settle down and quiet yourself. Your present state if encouraged will be in the end as bad for you spiritually as physically. I know it is not easy to do. Nevertheless it will in the nature of things come about gradually and I want you to help it all you know. If you allow rapture or vehemence to have its way too much, you risk a violent reaction to dryness, whereas if you act prudently you will keep the deep steady permanent peace, in the long run more precious and more fruitful than the dazzling light.[24]

Self-preoccupation and 'soul-scraping' are to be avoided at all costs and non-religious interests are frequently recommended as an antidote for such introspection. The final test of real spiritual life, a consistent refrain in Underhill's thought since her writing of *Mysticism*, is not so much the dissecting of one's particular stage in prayer, but rather the fruitfulness of a holy life. 'The test is not of course our understanding of this or that, but the effects produced by bits of work we are given to do—or rather, which are done through us.'[25] The aim of her direction is always to instil a theocentric, not an introspective focus.

Underhill's qualifications as a spiritual guide

As an analysis of her writings and method confirms, Evelyn Underhill embodied a fortuitous combination of solid theological insight, a critical knowledge of psychology, and natural human skills which qualified her for such a role. The last section of this article suggests reasons for Underhill's personal effectiveness as a guide.

As one who continued the quest for God throughout her lifetime, often struggling through periods of darkness or searching for certitude about the validity of that pursuit, Underhill first of all possessed an experiential knowledge of the power that one soul can have on another. She had for a long time travelled her faith pilgrimage alone, only gradually risking sharing her quest and questions with others.[26] A preoccupation with the interconnectedness of souls often coloured Underhill's thinking and writing. In letters of direction as early as 1908, she had challenged a correspondent who tended to make religion a *tête-à-tête* affair rather than viewing herself as part of the communion of saints, 'one of the household of faith, related to every other soul in that household, living and

dead'.[27] This relational horizon repeatedly appears as the background in Underhill's understanding of how one grows in the spiritual life.

Underhill closely associated this union of souls with a frequently expressed but never fully developed theology of redemption, that is, 'that strange power of one spirit to penetrate, illuminate, support and rescue other spirits, through which so much of the spiritual work of the world seems to be done'.[28] Consistent with an increasingly incarnational spirituality, Underhill envisioned the creative and transforming experience of redemption as manifested through the lives and concern of Christians affecting one another in contemporary situations. The situation of spiritual guidance was a significant context for such an experience. Just as God could use bodies and minds to transform and improve the physical world, so too could God use human spirits to continue the saving and creative work of redemption.[29] From her perspective, not only a director of souls, but anyone living a truly contemplative life is involved in mediatorship, 'a sort of redemptive and clarifying power working on other souls—a tiny co-operation in the work of Christ'.[30]

Reviewing the classical traditions of spiritual direction to determine characteristics typically associated with such ministry, Martin Thornton in *Spiritual direction* concludes that 'all authorities without exception top the list with *learning*'.[31] He continues,

> Knowledge comes before anything, including personal holiness, because all [people] are different and personal sanctity can be, indeed must be, ascetically narrow. Saints can inspire but they need not be good practical guides for everyone.[32]

Although such a claim may at first be disconcerting to the pietistic ear, a search of many of the great guides of the past substantiates his claim. If this be the case, Evelyn Underhill unquestionably possessed this important quality. She was recognized as a committed scholar, writer and creative explorer of the spiritual life early in her career. The poetry and novels of her younger days gave way to her growing mystical, spiritual and theological interests. In the course of her research, she walked with the giants of the past and absorbed their collective wisdom. Whether it was an introduction to a new translation of one of the mystics, an insightful essay or book on some aspect of the spiritual life, a carefully researched lecture to collegians, retreatants or clergy, or a finely analytic review of other contemporary authors, Underhill's work witnessed to an unselfish love of learning which had to be shared.

In an address to teachers presented in 1927, Underhill's encouragement reflects another of her major qualifications as spiritual director. In her clarification of the essential elements of their role as instructors of young people, Underhill gave primacy to a sense of vision. As she stated:

> . . . the most important thing for you is your vision, your sense of that God whom your work must glorify. The richer, deeper, wider, truer your vision of Divine Reality the more real, rich and fruitful your work is going to be. You must feel the mysterious attraction of God, His loveliness and wonder, if you are ever going—in however simple a way—to impart it to others.[33]

As a spiritual teacher herself, Underhill spent a major portion of her ministry refining the initial vision that had first stimulated her to undertake her spiritual quest. That first sight of Reality gradually led to a sharpened vision of the love of God, most especially appearing in the presence of the Incarnate Christ. With such an emphasis, Underhill's approach to spiritual guidance avoided the two poles about which she warned other teachers: that of dwelling in a 'spiritual dreamland remote from actual life, or sink[ing] to the merely naturalistic strangely compounded human personality which psychology invites us to accept'.[34] As she immersed herself in the lives of an increasing number of retreatants and directees, the vision of a spirituality founded on the sense of the divine in the midst of real life intensified.

As a corrective to an ethereal spirituality, Underhill increasingly advocated an incarnational and sacramental approach to Christian holiness. The principle of Incarnation provided the foundation, and sacramentalism as the 'self-imparting of the Infinite God, in humanity and for humanity',[35] was derivative of it. Both of these help explain the attractiveness of her approach for individuals who might not otherwise have considered themselves as particularly 'spiritual'. She based her sacramentalism upon the belief that grace comes 'through the medium of things—God coming into our souls by means of humblest accidents—the intermingling of spirit and sense',[36] and encouraged her listeners to share the consciousness of God-in-their-midst. A constantly recurring refrain in her talks and writing urged individuals to discover the medium of ordinary daily life as the channel of God's self-communication. There is no need to go outside normal experience to discover the already present God. With such an overriding vision in mind, one can understand the homey examples and deceptively simple style of so much of Underhill's work. As she admitted to one correspondent: 'I have been during my life (I am now approaching 60) through many phases of religious belief and I now realize—have done in fact for some time—that human beings can make little real progress on a basis of vague spirituality'.[37] This finding God in the 'sacrament of the present moment' was attractive to busy and world-involved directees. She provided the witness of one who had spent her adult years trying to live the truth she now spent her time so generously sharing, that Christianity means 'getting down to actual ordinary life as the medium of the Incarnation'.[38]

It would be the details of ordinary life rather than pietistic religiosity that Underhill would repeatedly emphasize in her letters of guidance. For a correspondent tending to do otherwise she would remind:

> I feel with you, especially just at present, that it is most necessary to keep your human, non-theological contacts and interests supple and alive. Kindly acts of service, firm discipline of your tendency to judge other people, to look at them and their views critically, etc., and all kinds of humble work in which you can forget yourself, are all things which will do most to make your soul fit to realize Christ. So do keep up all your general interests, mix with people, love them, but don't try to 'do them good' or discuss religion with them! All this will make a better preparation for your Retreat than reading religious books and thinking of your soul.[39]

Escapist spiritualizing of the ordinary human demands never failed to elicit a similar reminder to her 'family' of directees.

As previously mentioned, Underhill's approach to spiritual guidance incorporated a profound respect for the uniqueness of each individual's path to God, his or her natural *attrait*. Such an attitude further qualified her as a spiritual mentor. Hers was an inclusive approach to spiritual living, recognizing that different people were called to different paths to prayer. Although Underhill knew well the spiritual traditions and patterns of spiritual development suggested in classical writings, she never substituted them for an attentiveness to the inner urgings of the Spirit in each directee's life. For her, '*no* account of "states of prayer" reduced to a system can be really accurate, because we are not machines and each go [*sic*] within certain general limitations our own way'.[40] In this conviction Underhill never lost her initial admiration for the first-hand experience of reality which she had so admired and sought to share in her research on the mystics. A second-hand experience, or a blind following in the footsteps someone else had trod, could never substitute for the personal quest. Near the end of her life, writing to her friend Maisie Spens, Underhill mused about the apparent inability of Christians to use their gifts of power seriously. Her musing was triggered by the growing grip of another world war. She reflected:

> It is because our Christianity is so impoverished, so second-hand and non-organic, that we now feel we are incapable of the transformation of life which is needed to get humanity out of its present mess.[41]

It was that sense of personal power, coming from a belief in the presence of God acting in each person's life to which Underhill had committed so much of her energizing of others.

Underhill's relational skills clearly complemented her theological foundations, thus helping to explain the attraction which members of her 'family' felt in approaching her. Throughout her life, individuals came to Underhill with various troubles and questions about faith, about life decisions, about church, most especially about a life of prayer. Underhill must have been a consummate listener, a crucial ability for anyone who would attract such devoted directees. Olive Wyon recounted one interview which illustrates the impact of this skill:

> One young woman who went to see her . . . says that she can never forget the way Evelyn *listened*. It was a winter afternoon; gradually the daylight faded, and still the two sat on in the light of the fire; the house was absolutely quiet, and Evelyn listened, as this girl had never been listened to before; there was a sense of being utterly understood. When Evelyn spoke, at the end, her few words were wise and quiet, and she followed the talk with a letter of direction which was invaluable in its wisdom and loving understanding.[42]

Her natural listening ability was refined through the years of practice with her directees. She did not lose this ability to listen and give clear direction even when recuperating from frequent bouts of debilitating illness or struggling with less obvious rounds of her own doubts, when 'not only [her] own inner experience, but the whole spiritual scheme seem[ed] in question'.[43] She never let her own questionings confuse the clear direction she gave to her directees.

The encouragement Underhill offered to other teachers relates to her own experiences of doubt and reflects perhaps the most significant of her characteristics as spiritual guide. In her address she reminded them:

> Your vocation is a very exciting one, and sometimes spiritual emptiness and exhaustion may be part of the price you have to pay for fulfilling it. Hungry and thirsty, conscious of your ignorance and poverty, you must still feed and cherish those lambs to whom you are sent; and out of your own need still give what you can to other souls.[44]

Above all other characteristics, Underhill's sense that direction of souls was her real vocation would explain her efficacy in such a role. She began such ministering reluctantly, fearing that her own inadequacies and uncertainties disqualified her as anyone's guide. But she never failed to respond to the many who, not surprisingly in light of the nature of her writings, came seeking her advice. She did not choose this path initially, but rather, was chosen to undertake such ministry and responded wholeheartedly to the call. As Barkway has commented:

> A sense of vocation will alone supply the right motive and support for its exercise, when one's own natural energy is exhausted and when one's own natural compassion is depleted . . . [Underhill] combined a metaphysical passion for absolutes with an intense compassion for the least of human needs. She had no use for what she called the 'museum-like atmosphere of much traditional piety', and was always anxious that Martha should not be under-rated by those who admired Mary.[45]

The evidence of her continually growing 'family' of directees, her constant response to requests as a speaker and retreat director, and the steadfastness with which she continued her work until her death: all verify the fact that Evelyn Underhill possessed such a sense of vocation.

In one of her many book reviews, she commented on the appearance of saints and teachers at various points in history:

> Saints, and those vigorous spiritual teachers and reformers who yet fall short of the serene heights of holiness, seem always to appear because they are required to fill a certain place; and against all odds—often enough against their own preferences—they somehow reach that place.[46]

Most especially in the period between the two world wars in England, Evelyn Underhill, even if somewhat reluctantly, filled the role of 'spiritual director of her generation', affecting the lives of many of her contemporaries and of all those who would be touched and taught by her writings. As she commented in another review, 'the true masters of the spiritual life lived what they taught, and taught in order to share their discoveries'.[47] The witness of her commitment to spiritual guidance and the effectiveness of her work with twentieth-century searchers qualifies Evelyn Underhill for those ranks of those whom she so admired and presents her as a credible model for spiritual direction today.

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NOTES

[1] Quotation from Evelyn Underhill in a December 5, 1892 notebook entry. Cited in Cropper, Margaret: *Evelyn Underhill* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1958), p 6.

[2] Cited in Barkway, Lumsden: 'Introduction' to *An anthology of the love of God*, by Evelyn Underhill (Wilton, Ct.: Morehouse-Barlow Co, 1976), p 17.

[3] Bodgener, Henry: 'Evelyn Underhill: A spiritual director to her generation', *The London quarterly and Holborn review*, vol 27 (June 1958).

[4] At the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in Detroit, Michigan in 1988, deputies voted to make this inclusion.
[5] Underhill, Evelyn: *The letters of Evelyn Underhill*, ed Charles Williams (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1940), p 125.
[6] For more detailed accounts of the life of Evelyn Underhill, three biographical sources are available: Cropper, Margaret: *Evelyn Underhill* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1958); Armstrong, Christopher: *Evelyn Underhill: an introduction to her life and writing* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1975); and Greene, Dana: *Evelyn Underhill: artist of the infinite life* (New York: Crossroad, forthcoming).
[7] The most sustained discussion of her theoretical insights regarding spiritual guidance can be found in her 1926 address to the clergy of the Liverpool Anglican diocese which was later published as *Concerning the inner life* (London: Methuen and Co, 1926).
[8] Listed as 'to a friend 1923-41' in the *Letters*, these were written to Miss Lucy Menzies, a close friend and devoted disciple of Underhill.
[9] Cited in Barkway, Lumsden: 'Lucy Menzies: a memoir', in *Evelyn Underhill* by Margaret Cropper, p xvii.
[10] *Letters*, p 73.
[11] *Ibid.*, p 107.
[12] *Letters*, p 317.
[13] *Ibid.*, p 189.
[14] *Ibid.*, p 311–312.
[15] *Ibid.*, p 317.
[16] *Ibid.*, p 317.
[17] *Ibid.*, p 314.
[18] *Ibid.*, p 313.
[19] *Ibid.*, p 315.
[20] *Ibid.*, p 319.
[21] *Ibid.*, p 316.
[22] *Ibid.*, p 322.
[23] *Ibid.*, p 335.
[24] *Ibid.*, p 312.
[25] *Ibid.*, p 336.
[26] Among those whom Underhill would eventually trust in this capacity, she would see none more influential than Baron Friedrich von Hügel who began as her director at a critical period in 1921. Dom John Chapman, Bishop Walter Frere, and Reverend R. H. Ward would also share her journey at differing times.
[27] *Letters*, p 81, 83.
[28] Underhill, Evelyn: 'The possibility of prayer', *Theology*, vol 14 (April 1927), pp 202–3.
[29] Underhill, Evelyn: 'The teacher's vocation', in *Collected papers*, ed Lucy Menzies (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1946), p 198.
[30] *Letters*, p 323.
[31] Thornton, Martin: *Spiritual direction* (Cambridge, Ma.: Cowley Publications, 1984), p 18.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] The talk was later reprinted as 'The teacher's vocation' and was included in *Collected papers*, pp 182–199.
[34] *Ibid.*, p 193.
[35] *Letters*, p 193.
[36] *Ibid.*, p 155.
[37] *Ibid.*, p 239.
[38] *Ibid.*, p 259.
[39] *Ibid.*, p 188.
[40] *Ibid.*, p 328.
[41] *Ibid.*, p 296.

[42] Wyon, Olive: 'Evelyn Underhill', in *Desire for God: a study of three spiritual classics* (London: Collins, Fontana Books, 1966), p 97.
[43] Letter to Baron von Hügel cited in Cropper, p 108.
[44] Underhill: 'The spiritual life of the teacher', in *Collected papers*, p 210–211.
[45] Barkway: 'Evelyn Underhill', *Theology* 56 (1953), p 369.
[46] Underhill, Evelyn: 'Types of holiness', *Spectator*, 1 June 1929, p 865.
[47] Underhill, Evelyn: 'A historian of the soul', *Spectator*, 22 December 1928, p 963.