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WRITING OUT OF ORTHODOXY:

LILY DOUGALL, ANGLICAN MODERNIST, 1858-1923

By
Joanna E. Dean, B.A. Hons. M.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History
Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada
August 3, 1999

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27 September 1999

Abstract

Lily Dougall (1858-1923) was a Canadian novelist and religious essayist. This biography charts her intellectual development from her evangelical youth in Montreal and New York to her prominence as a religious speaker and writer with the Anglican Modernist movement in Oxford, England. It is an investigation into the gendered cultural context within which modern experiential faith has developed.

Lily Dougall was known in Britain for her thought-provoking novels, such as *Beggars All* (1891), when she published, anonymously, the controversial lyrical religious essay, *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* (1900). Between 1900 and 1923 she wrote and edited a series of widely read works of modern theology, and became a popular modernist speaker, an advocate of spiritual healing through the Guild of Health, and a mentor to the Student Christian Movement and the Anglican Fellowship. With Canon B.H. Streeter, she created the Cumnor Group, an influential discussion group dedicated to liberal theology.

As a religious modernist, Lily Dougall advocated free intellectual inquiry and rejected the traditional authorities of creed, doctrine and the Bible. She did not find miracles, even the miracles of the virgin birth and physical resurrection of Christ, central to her faith. Instead her theology was experiential, based on the personal experience of God. The thesis identifies the origins of this liberal and experiential faith in the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher, Thomas Carlyle, F.D. Maurice, and American holiness theologian Thomas Upham, and describes the evolution of her religious thought through evangelicalism, the Anglican Broad Church, Christian socialism, personal idealism, modernism and Christian fellowship.

The thesis argues for a more contextual and historically nuanced understanding of religious experience. It analyses the gendered nature of liberal spirituality, which shaped, and sometimes silenced, women's theological expression, and discusses Dougall's difficulties entering and working within the masculine world of theology. Finally, it examines the links between Edwardian experiential faith and the development of feminist theology, the modern study of mysticism, and the early science of psychology.

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I would also like to thank librarians and archivists, especially Colin Harris at the Bodleian Library and Richard Virr at the McGill University Library. The rich collection of theology at St. Paul's University Library was invaluable, and Callista Kelly at the Interlibrary Loan Department at Carleton University cheerfully filled in on the occasions that St. Paul's couldn't supply a book. I would also like to thank Oxford local historian, Louise Armstrong, whose work on Dougall's house, Cutts End, was so helpful, and Edda Smith who invited me into Cutts End, and let me poke around. Professor Dorothy Emmet not only reminisced about Dougall, but gave me dinner.

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Lily Dougall

Reprinted from *Types of Canadian Women*, Henry James Morgan, ed., Vol. I
(Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1903), 93. National Library of Canada.

Lily Dougall, c. 1920.

Lily Dougall Collection, Department of Western Manuscripts,
Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Introduction

There are two memorials to Lily Dougall in her parish church near Oxford, England.

One is a strikingly modern stone tablet mounted by her friends on the wall of the twelfth-century transept.

In Grateful Memory of Lily Dougall
author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*
and other adventures in religious thought,
also of *Beggars All* and other stories
who lived at Cutt's End, Cumnor, 1911-1923

The tribute concludes with a quotation from Dougall's theological work: "Whatever is true is God's way of revealing Himself."¹ The second memorial is harder to find: a rough slab of stone, six feet long, lying flat to the ground in a corner of the graveyard. Turf has crept up over the inscriptions on each long edge: on one side, "Lily Dougall, Born at Montreal April 16 1858, Died at Cumnor Oct 9 1923," and on the other, a similar notation for her lifelong partner Mary Sophia Earp. Underneath Lily Dougall's name, deep in the turf, is a quotation from the Psalms: "He Satisfieth the Longing Soul."² The two quotations, one to the unfettered pursuit of truth and the other to religious longing, sum up Lily Dougall's life and work. Dougall was an Anglican modernist, an advocate of free inquiry within the historic Church of England, and she serves as a fascinating figure of modernity. She was committed to the pursuit of "truth," and she was

¹ Lily Dougall, "God In Action," in *The Spirit: God and his Relation to Man Considered From the Standpoint of Philosophy, Psychology and Art*, ed. Burnett Hillman Streeter (London: Macmillan, 1919), 28.

² Psalm 107:9: "For he satisfieth the longing soul, and filleth the hungry soul with goodness."

responsive to faith, which she understood as a sense of longing, fulfilled in religious experience, rather than commitment to a particular creed.

Edwardian modernists like Dougall bypassed the Victorian battle between science and faith by defining faith simply as the experience of the presence of God. They explored the experiential heights of neoPlatonic mysticism, psychic research, Quaker inner light, and new metaphysical movements like mental science. “Religion was alive again,” wrote George Bernard Shaw, “coming back upon men, even upon clergymen, with such power that the Church of England itself could not keep it out.”³ This heightened interiority evaporated in the harsh light of the Great War, but the experiential nexus provided fertile ground for the emergence of modern psychology, the New Age movement, and the academic study of mysticism.

The Edwardian pursuit of the experiential has received little attention from historians, who tend to trace an unwavering trajectory from Victorian science to modern secular society. But then, history has long been the enemy of faith. Michel de Certeau has reminded us that in the sixteenth century the rise of history paralleled the ebb of faith; in the nineteenth century, higher critics deployed the new weapon of historical criticism upon the Bible.⁴ The modernist turn to the experiential was a flight from history, an attempt to find new foundations for faith beyond the acid reach of critical thought. God had retreated from the cosmic world of the early middle ages, from the sacred text of the Bible, but could still be found in the still small voice of the soul. A faith that rested upon

³George Bernard Shaw, *Plays Pleasant* (London: Penguin, 1940), Preface. Cited in Peter d’A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914, Religion, Class, and Social Conscience in Late-Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 99.

⁴Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Vol. 1, trans. Michael B. Smith (1982; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

the rock of personal experience held firm against the play of historical change. Its empirical basis lay beyond the investigations of the historian.

For much of this century we have had a form of truce, in which historians have (with a degree of condescension) rarely considered the experiential. “These inward movements are too profound for those who experience them to articulate successfully,” said the influential historian of secularisation, Owen Chadwick. “They can give hints and suggestions and poetic phrases. Biographer and historian can hardly pass beyond such little lights.”⁵ The “inward movements” of such figures as St. Augustine, J.H. Newman, and C.H. Lewis, he suggested, operated outside history. Fellow historians have generally followed suit and refrained from investigating the intimacy of an experiential faith, except to denigrate the “feminisation” of religious culture.

I do not intend, in this thesis, to reach beyond such “little lights,” but will work to place them in the concrete particularity of place and time. I will historicise the turn-of-the-century recourse to religious experience through the study of Lily Dougall’s life and work, and examine the ways in which experiential faith was supported, undermined and altered by the cultural context, how it changed over time. Chadwick, for example, equated the religious experiences of J.H. Newman and C.S. Lewis. But Newman withdrew into the orthodox ramparts of Roman Catholicism to protect his faith; Lewis did not. The transition between the vulnerability of Newman’s religious experience and the resilience of Lewis’ is the theme of this thesis. And while I respect the continuities in the transition, the irreducible elements, my emphasis will be on charting the culturally contingent nature of the experience and the expression of that experience.

⁵Owen Chadwick, *The Secularisation of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 13.

Biography is the ideal vehicle for the exploration of the intersection of subjective religious experience and the historical context. An exploration of Lily Dougall's life and work is long overdue.⁶ Born in Montreal, the daughter of evangelical publisher, John Dougall, she grew up in Montreal, New York City, and Edinburgh. Independent, even as an adolescent, she left the emotive warmth of her family's Congregationalism at the age of seventeen for the Episcopalian Church. She wrote a series of novels, the first of which, *Beggars All* (1891), was the hit of the literary season in London, but reviewers repeatedly chided her for letting theology dominate her fiction, and in 1900 she turned anonymously to her first interest, religious controversy, with *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* (1900). This essay led the way for four theological books, *Christus Futurus* (1907), *Absente Reo* (1910), *Voluntas Dei* (1912), and *The Practice of Christianity* (1913). In 1902, she settled in England with her life-long companion, Sophie Earp, moving to Oxford in 1911. They made their home into a centre for a liberal religious circle, the Cumnor Group, which produced three influential books of liberal theology: *Concerning Prayer* (1916), *Immortality* (1917), and *The Spirit* (1919). Dougall then published *Lord of Thought* (1922) with C.W. Emmet, and *God and the Struggle for Existence* (1919) with B.H. Streeter, who edited *God's Way with Man* (1924) after her death. As she emerged from anonymity, Dougall took a prominent role in liberal theological circles in Britain. She was instrumental in the creation of the ecumenical Guild of Health, and acted as a mentor for such progressive organisations as the

⁶A literary scholar, Lorraine McMullen has been the first to retrieve Lily Dougall from obscurity. See Lorraine McMullen, "Lily Dougall's Vision of Canada," in *A Mazing Grace: Writing Canadian Women Writing*, ed. Shirley Neuman and Smaro Kamboureli (Edmonton: Longspoon Press/Newest Press, 1986), 137-147; and Lorraine McMullen, "Lily Dougall: The Religious Vision of a Canadian Novelist," *Studies in Religion/ Etudes Religieuses* 16,1 (Winter 1987): 79-90. A thoughtful M.A. thesis has been written on three of Dougall's novels: Scott Rothwell Swanson, "Beyond Common Sense: Ideal Love in Three Novels of Lily Dougall" (Master's Thesis, University of Victoria, 1993). There has not yet been, however, a full biographical study of Dougall or any consideration of Dougall's theological work as a religious modernist.

modernist Churchman's Union, the Student Christian Movement and the Anglican Fellowship.

Dougall's trajectory was an idiosyncratic one, from the heart creeds of American evangelicalism into the academic enclaves of Anglican modernism, but her liberal religion was not uncommon. We have no simple word for a faith that is critical, liberal, and yet seated upon a deeply felt personal experience of God. The term I have chosen to describe her faith is "experiential," defined as "of or based upon experience." It is a word rooted in the historical context: Lily Dougall's friends understood themselves to have based their faith upon religious experience. As her associate, the future archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, said in 1914, "the great mark of most of the religious thought of our own day is its constant appeal to religious experience."⁷ It is a word that encompasses the mysticism of her liberal friends, the empiricism of her psychologist associates, and the incarnational theology of the Anglo-Catholic clerics in her religious groups, and it also suggests the lines of continuity with the "experimental" piety of her evangelical family.⁸ The word emphasises the centrality of experience in a faith that doubts all other authority.

Dougall has been described as an Anglican modernist. The term "modernist" was coined in the early twentieth century by the Papacy in condemnation of Roman Catholic

⁷ William Temple, "'Religious Experience': A sermon preached at Manchester Cathedral on Sunday morning [July 6, 1914]," in *Religious Experience and Other Essays and Addresses* collected and edited by Canon A.E. Baker (London: James Clarke, 1958), 58.

⁸ The word "experiential" travels comfortably with Dougall from the evangelical Protestantism of her family to her adult interest in Anglo-Catholicism. And it is free of the modern usages and definitional baggage that accompanies the words "mystical" and "spiritual," and the historic specificity of words like "piety" and "devotionalism" and "perfection." While "piety" accurately describes the emphasis upon the inner experience of God, it also suggests a suspension of reason, an emotive irrationality suspicious of critical thought. "Mysticism" is, as we shall see, suitably liberal, but it smacks of a spiritual athleticism and

liberals, and subsequently adopted by Anglicans. It has always carried a political edge; the adoption of the label by Anglican liberals marked a departure from the academic Broad Church movement into combative ecclesiastical debate. In North America, modernism is best known as the antithesis of a militant fundamentalism. (Religious modernism is distinct from the modernist movements in art and literature.) The Anglican modernist movement was at the height of its influence at the time of Lily Dougall's death. Had she died a decade earlier or later, friends might not have been so quick to identify her with this movement, as her interests were broader, her sympathies wider, and her religious feeling deeper than the party label might suggest.

The retrieval of Lily Dougall's liberal experiential faith poses a number of problems. First, there is the methodological question raised by Chadwick, the question of grappling with the "little lights" of an ineffable religious experience. Second, there are the difficulties in historicising an experience that was understood to stand beyond the pull of historical change, in situating in the flux of the competing ideas a faith that was understood to be firmly empirical and ahistorical. The third, and perhaps most difficult problem for a historian of women, is the persistent association of an experiential faith with a weak and sentimental femininity.

To overcome these problems we need to identify and break away from the conceptual framework that we have inherited from Dougall's modernist generation, the "common core" interpretation of religious experience.⁹ Liberals like Dougall assumed all

exclusivity. "Spirituality" has become a popular label, but it is too broad and amorphous a term for our purposes.

⁹ For the continuing power of this "common core" understanding of religion among academics, see Tracy Fessenden's description of the perception of religion in religious studies textbooks: "as alluring but finally dispensable in their particularity, universally tuned to the sacred . . ." Fessenden argues that this is the "Tillich effect," the result of Paul Tillich's understanding of religion as "ultimate concern." I would place

religions to be one at their experiential core: initially all Protestantism was assumed to share a common essence, then all Christianity, until, with William James' psychology of religion and the modern study of mysticism, the experience of religion has come to be understood to be a universal one, clothed in the varied garments of Buddhism, Hinduism, or Anglicanism. A number of feminists of Lily Dougall's generation drew upon this liberal frame to argue that the experience of faith is potentially emancipatory: the living Spirit is not confined by the fixed doctrines of the church. They rejected traditional theology, built upon male experience. Modern feminists have developed the critique of the hermeneutics of masculine experience into a sustained attack on masculinised orthodoxy. Feminist theologians have built instead an experiential theology based upon the "life of the Spirit."¹⁰ A spirituality that rises unsullied from the depths of the human encounter with the divine is, apparently, free from the play of gendered power.

The temptation is to accept this perspective and present a modernist like Lily Dougall as a champion of religious freedom. The even more dangerous temptation is to present her as an early exponent of an essentially female spirituality, one that stands in opposition to the hierarchy and authority of masculinised theologies. This study will resist both these interpretations. I will argue that the idea of an experiential faith unsullied by the historical context is naïve. The very notion of a universal experience of faith was itself the product of a particular time and place: the late nineteenth-century

Tillich as one important figure in the larger modernist project. Tracy Fessenden, "'Woman' and the 'Primitive' in Paul Tillich's Life and Work: Some Implications for the Study of Religion," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 14, 2 (1998): 73.

¹⁰ Ursula King has suggested that feminist theology is primarily about "the life of the spirit," and argues feminist theologians may be characterised in Karl Rahner's terms as "affective existentialist thinkers." Ursula King, *Women and Spirituality: Voices of Protest and Promise* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 197-198. See the discussion of feminist theology in Chapter Two.

world of idealist philosophy and liberal theology. Dougall's generation shook off the shackles of orthodoxy, and replaced them with the individual, and purportedly rational, pursuit of the subjective experience of faith. But, as we shall see, their understanding of this experience (as well as, arguably, the experience itself) was informed by their reading in quietist mysticism, Cambridge Platonism, romanticism, and idealism. The study of Lily Dougall will demonstrate that the very flight from theology was grounded in a particular moment, and in a particular theology.

To break from the "common core" approach we will draw upon the study of spirituality, which combines a focus on religious experience with close attention to context, what Bernard McGinn has described as the "lived experience of Christian belief." The emphasis is, as McGinn explains, on "spirituality as an experience rooted in a particular community's history rather than as a dimension of human existence as such."¹¹ Some feminist theologians have moved in a similar direction. Carol P. Christ argues for "embodied thinking": "We seek to speak a truth rooted in our experience, our time and place, our bodies. We can affirm the relativity of all universal truth claims, because we know that all truth claims are rooted in time and space, in experience and body. And there is no experience or body that is not perspectival."¹² In a reversal of the "common core" approach to mysticism, these theologians find the authenticity of religious experience to lie in its location in the particular, historical moment.

¹¹Bernard McGinn, "The Letter and the Spirit: Spirituality as a Academic Discipline," *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 1, 2 (1993): 6.

¹²Carol P. Christ, "Embodied Thinking: Reflections on Feminist Theological Method," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 5, 1 (1989): 14.

Placing religious experience into context, however, means recognising the play of gendered power upon the “life of the Spirit.” Dougall approached spiritual experience with expectations derived from the long historical association of women and piety, and her description of her spiritual life was informed and, at times, silenced by this history. The nineteenth-century liberal theology that shaped her life was written as a dialectic: Schleiermacher described masculine rationality meeting feminine piety in the romantic *coincidentia oppositorum*, or coincidence of opposites, through which it is resolved into a higher piety.¹³ The narrative is an inherently masculine one that serves to ease a man’s transition from childish faith to a mature religious philosophy. Women play only a supporting role, frozen in an irrational piety. Those who have studied women’s autobiography have identified the difficulties of women trying to write themselves into the “privileged cultural fictions of male selfhood.”¹⁴ We shall see how Dougall wrote her fiction to conform to this narrative, and how she shaped her life and her reputation as a religious writer to fit within its narrow parameters.

I will approach Dougall’s faith, then, as the product of a particular historical world. It was a world in transition from the sureties of orthodox theology to a modern liberalism, and Dougall, as the daughter of Canadian evangelicals living amongst Oxford idealists, personified that transition. Her books are a series of attempts to find a modern vehicle, the appropriate imagery, and a compatible intellectual framework to understand and describe the central experience of her youth, her sense of a personal relationship with

¹³See the discussion of the romantic *coincidentia oppositorum* in Chapter One.

¹⁴Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women’s Autobiography: Marginalities and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988). Cited in Helen M. Buss, *Mapping Ourselves: Canadian Women’s Autobiography in English* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), 17.

God. The attempts often appear confused and provisional. She adopts the tenets of philosophic idealism, of psychic research, Bergsonian vitalism, and neoPlatonic mysticism, and even flirts briefly with mental science. But the central focus is an Anglican one, on the incarnational “life of the Spirit,” and the continuing direction is one toward “fellowship.” Over time, and through the influence of Anglo-Catholic and Quaker friends, Dougall came to develop a new sense of religious authority in the shared experience of a community of believers.

This study of Lily Dougall will begin by setting the context of transatlantic liberal experiential faith. In the first chapter, I will examine the liberal theologies of Freidrich Schleiermacher, Thomas Upham, and F.D. Maurice and then look at the masculinized rejection of these theologies in the early twentieth century. The second chapter will suggest that this reorientation has resulted in the virtual erasure of liberal experiential faith from the Canadian historical record. We must turn from history to the study of mysticism, particularly the debate over contextualism, to shed some light on the conceptual issues complicating the historical study of experiential faith. The next chapters, three through eight, follow in chronological order the events of Lily Dougall’s life, her evangelical childhood, her turn to the Episcopalian Church, and her adoption of personal idealism. In each chapter, I situate her particular life story in the appropriate theological, literary, and social context. The chronological structure dissolves at this point, as the various streams of thought weave together in her work. Mysticism, Christian socialism, Anglican modernism, and Christian healing tangle in a modernist web. I will attempt to look at each of these influences in the order in which they have emerged in her work, but the chapters overlap. I will examine her most lasting

contributions to British religious climate through the Anglican Fellowship, the Student Christian Movement, and the Cumnor Group, and then, in the final chapter, suggest that this modern and experiential faith lost its grounding with the dawn of the new science of psychology.

This is a study of ideas. Although these ideas are seen to be integrally tied to the story of her life, this thesis does not purport to tell all of Dougall's life. The study draws primarily upon two rich sources of family and personal papers, but there are many archival treasures left undug; the British Student Christian Movement papers, unsorted and uncatalogued, no doubt will shed more light upon Dougall's involvement with that organisation. The papers of the Anglican Fellowship and the records of fellow modernists will also one day further illuminate her life.¹⁵ My interest has been in taking the main lineaments of her life and connecting them with the larger world of ideas, and showing how the two, her experience and the ideas through which she understood that experience, produced her theology. This is the story of one woman's attempt to interpret her sense of the spiritual in and for a modern world.

¹⁵ Lily Dougall's papers are held at the National Archives of Canada (NAC) and the Bodleian Library (BL) at the University of Oxford. The Dougall Family Papers (DFP) at the National Archives include family records and correspondence, with a number of Lily's letters, and family papers. Dougall's companion, M.S. Earp, collected her personal and publishing papers after her death and compiled a draft biography. A typescript of this biography is at the National Archives of Canada: M.S. Earp, "Selected Letters of Lily Dougall with biographical notes," typescript, NAC, DFP, 5,9. A number of these papers were then given to B.H. Streeter for his proposed biography of Lily Dougall, and are now at the Bodleian Library, in the Lily Dougall Collection (LDP). They have never been organised and are stored loosely in a number of temporary boxes.

Chapter One

Gender and the Theologies of Experience

“Piety was the mother’s womb.”
Friedrich Schleiermacher¹

An introductory chapter is the place to define experiential faith. Rather than attempt a universalizing definition – a favourite project among the students of the “common core” school of mysticism – I will examine the origins of the liberal understanding of experiential faith and allow the meaning to emerge from the theological and historical context. This chapter starts in 1799 with Friedrich Schleiermacher, the “father of liberal theology,” and then turns to examine two other theologians whose work laid the foundations for Lily Dougall’s adult faith: Thomas Upham, the unsung American theologian of liberal holiness, and F.D. Maurice, the Christian socialist and Broad Church theologian. The discussion will serve three purposes. It will demonstrate that liberal piety had a sound theological grounding and was not (as some modern historians have claimed) simply an emotive “sentimentality.” It will demonstrate that this piety was deeply and fundamentally gendered. And it will show that this feminised experiential faith was vehemently rejected in the early twentieth century in a broad ecumenical exercise of theological machismo.²

¹Friedrich Schleiermacher, *On Religion, Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*, trans. John Oman, new ed. with an introduction by Rudolf Otto (1799; 1893; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958), 9.

²The term “theological machismo” is borrowed from W.R. Hutchison’s description of fundamentalist masculinisation in *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 200.

1.1 Friedrich Schleiermacher and the Virility of Ritschl

Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) laid the theological groundwork for liberal experiential faith with *On Religion, Speeches to its Cultured Despisers* (1799).

Schleiermacher appealed to the “cultured despisers” of religion by describing faith in experiential terms as the immediate consciousness of the sacred, a consciousness that was characterised by “the feeling of absolute dependence.” Religion did not consist of the intellectual proofs of theology or the moral life. Rather, “[t]he sum total of all religion is to feel that . . . our being and living is a being and living in and through God.”³

Schleiermacher drew heavily upon his childhood Moravian Pietism, and his language, perhaps because of his familiarity with the mystic poet Novalis, was frequently mystical.⁴

He described religious experience as union with the divine:

You become sense and the Whole becomes object. Sense and object mingle and unite, and then each returns to its place, and the object rent from sense is a perception, and you rent from the object are for yourselves, a feeling. It is this earlier moment I mean, which you always experience, yet never experience. The phenomena of your life is just its constant departure and return. It is scarcely in time at all, so swiftly it passes; it can scarcely be described, so little does it

³ Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 39; 49-50. For an introduction to Schleiermacher’s theology see Richard B. Brandt, *The Philosophy of Schleiermacher: The Development of His Theory of Scientific and Religious Knowledge* (Westport: Greenwood, 1941).

⁴Pietism emphasized individual regeneration, emotional warmth, personal godliness, denial of the world, and universal spiritual priesthood. It was similar to medieval mysticism in its essential inwardness and perfectionism. Pietism was itself historically a reaction to the intellectualism and formalism of seventeenth century Lutheran and Calvinist orthodoxy. See Andrew Weeks, *German Mysticism, From Hildegard of Bingen to Ludwig Wittgenstein, A Literary and Intellectual History* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993), 220, for a discussion of the Pietist, mystical and idealist milieu from which Schleiermacher drew his ideas. For insight into the background of pietism, with an interesting analysis of the nature of piety, see Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), and T. Almar Kantonen, “Pietism” in *An Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), 585.

properly exist. Would that I could hold it fast, and refer to it your commonest as well as your highest activities.

Did I venture to compare it, seeing I cannot describe it, I would say it is fleeting and transparent as a maiden's kiss, it is holy and fruitful like a bridal embrace. Nor is it merely like, it is all this. It is the first contact of the universal life with the individual. It fills not time and fashions nothing palpable. It is the holy wedlock of the Universe with the incarnated Reason for a creative, productive embrace. It is immediate, raised above all error and misunderstanding. You lie directly on the bosom of the infinite world. In that moment you are its soul. Through one part of your nature you feel, as your own, all its powers and its endless life.⁵

The religious experience as he describes it is pre-rational, prior to the distinction of subject and object, a fleeting moment that disappears in the act of recognition. Rational thought is secondary; it is not contradictory to religious feeling, but it is subsequent to this feeling, and subsidiary to it, just as the creeds and doctrines of the church are secondary to the experience of faith. Situated beyond rationality, this feeling is also beyond words: "it can scarcely be described so little does it properly exist." Like the mystics, Schleiermacher evoked sexual imagery and language in his attempt to express the inexpressible. Like a maiden's kiss, or a bridal embrace -- "nor is it merely like, it is all this" -- the religious experience is one that stands before time and beyond cultural expression.⁶

Schleiermacher's liberal theology was deeply gendered. He invoked the feminine, which he understood as intuition, feeling, and spirituality, in order to balance the dual masculinities of Enlightenment rationalism and religious orthodoxy. Piety was figured

⁵Friedrich Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 43. For a discussion of the mystical tendencies of Schleiermacher's thought, see Brandt, *Schleiermacher*, 95-144.

⁶Schleiermacher's apparent emphasis on the emotional has allowed him to be summarily dismissed; Hegel's cutting comment was that a dog might be the best example of "unconditional dependence." Paul Tillich's defence is a useful one. He argues that Schleiermacher was not defining the experience as a subjective emotion but rather "the impact of the universe upon us in the depths of our being which transcends subject and object. . . [Schleiermacher's term] intuition of the universe . . . the immediate awareness of that which is beyond subject and object, the ground of everything within us." Paul Tillich, *Perspectives on Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Protestant Theology*, ed. and intro. by Carl E. Braaten (London: Harper and Rowe, 1967), 96.

female -- “piety was the mother’s womb”-- and counterposed to an orthodoxy he figured male, the “faith of the fathers.”⁷ This piety was transformed through the encounter with rationality, in the Romantic *coincidentia oppositorum*, or coincidence of opposites, to achieve a pietism, as Schleiermacher had put it, “of a higher order.”

Romantics like Schleiermacher have left a conflicted legacy for women.⁸ He has been claimed as a proto-feminist: not only did he celebrate feminine piety, but he worked closely with intellectual women and promoted women’s independence. Two women of the Romantic circle are thought to have influenced the genesis of *On Religion*, Henriette Herz and Dorothea Veit.⁹ His views on women were revealed in the anonymous publication of “A Reasonable Catechism (In Outline) for Noble Women,” which advocates the education and independence of women, and anticipates that women can transcend femininity, through will and education, to achieve a higher “eternal Humanity.”¹⁰

⁷Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 8. Such gendered piety has a long history in Christianity. We might trace it back to Saint Augustine whose first taste of God’s beneficence came with his mother’s milk. “But in my mother’s breast Thou hadst already begun Thy temple, and the foundation of Thy holy habitation, whereas my father was as yet but a Catechumen, and that but recently.” Saint Augustine, *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, trans. E.B. Pusey (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1838), Book 2.3.6.

⁸In a series of books and articles -- most notably the collection *Schleiermacher and Feminism* (1992) -- scholars have debated his feminist credentials. See the early discussion of Schleiermacher and androgeny in the first edition of Elizabeth Clark and Herbert Richardson, *Women and Religion: A Feminist Sourcebook*, rev. ed. (1977; New York: Harper and Rowe, 1995). They say that Schleiermacher regretted not having been born a woman, a position, they note, that baffled Reformed theologian Karl Barth. The discussion is more nuanced in *Schleiermacher and Feminism: Sources, Evaluations and Responses*, ed. Iain G. Nicol (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992).

⁹Herz, who like Veit was Jewish, was the most famous woman in the Romantic circle, known as the Tragic Muse; she knew eight languages, and studied Sanskrit and Turkish. She was married to Marcus Herz, Kant’s favourite pupil. The Romantics met in her home. Veit later married Schlegel. See Rudolf Otto, “How Schleiermacher Rediscovered the Sensus Numinis,” in *Religious Essays: A Supplement to “The Idea of the Holy,”* trans. Brian Lunn (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

¹⁰The article was first published anonymously in the Romantic journal, *The Athenaeum*, in 1798. See Robert F. Streetman, “Commentary on Schleiermacher’s Thoughts on Women, Love and Marriage,” in

Schleiermacher's Catechism was still hotly debated in the twentieth century. One scholar in 1913 was alarmed that "this woman demands her alleged rights; she sees herself as having the same rights as man."¹¹ The Catechism was translated into English in 1928, for publication in a journal to which Lily Dougall contributed, *The Hibbert Journal*. The translator, Joseph King, commented on Schleiermacher's prescience regarding not only theology but the position of women in society. More recently, Robert Streetman has described the importance of women in the genesis of Schleiermacher's thought, and suggested the feminist implications of his work.¹² Most feminist scholars, however, are more critical.¹³ They point out that the emphasis in the Romantic *coincidentia*

Schleiermacher and Feminism, 3-12. It lists ten commandments, the last of which reads: "Thou shalt covet what Men have in Education, Art, Intellect and Honour," and a creed which starts: "I believe in the eternal Humanity, which was before it ever took on the Veil of Male and Female." Translated in J. King, "Schleiermacher's Catechism for Noble Women," *Hibbert Journal* XXVI, 4 (July, 1928): 710.

¹¹Hermann Walseman, "Schleiermacher and die Frauen," in *Preubische Harbüche*, Bd. 154, ed. Hans Delbrücke (Berlin: George Stilke, 1913), 463. Cited in Patricia Guenther-Gleason, "Schleiermacher's Feminist Impulses in the Context of his Later Work," in *Schleiermacher and Feminism*, 96.

¹²Streetman, "Romanticism and the *Sensus Numinis* in Schleiermacher," in *The Interpretation of Belief, Coleridge, Schleiermacher and Romanticism*, ed. David Jasper (London: Macmillan, 1986), 104-125. and "Commentary on Schleiermacher's Thoughts on Women, Love and Marriage," in *Schleiermacher and Feminism*, 3-12. Streetman provided the initial inspiration for this volume of essays.

¹³They observe that Schleiermacher's description of female development in the Catechism -- their right "to be and to grow" -- was an anomaly, and that Schleiermacher turned to a more conservative position in his later work, repeatedly advocating the exclusion of women from the public sphere. For an excellent summation of this aspect of enlightenment and romantic thought, see Sarah Coakley, "Gender and Knowledge in Western Philosophy: The 'Man of Reason' and the 'Feminine' 'Other' in Enlightenment and Romantic Thought," in *The Special Nature of Women?*, ed. Ann Carr and Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza (London: SCM Press, 1991), 75-83.

For a more unusual position, see Marilyn Chapin Massey, "Religion, Gender, and Ideology: A Historical Explanation," *Journal of Religion* 67, 2 (1987): 151-163 and *The Feminine Soul: The Fate of an Ideal* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985). Massey argues that the idea of the feminine soul was a "heretical religious vision" that was suppressed by the combined forces of religious orthodoxy and secularism. Stripped of its transcendent potential, she says, the idea was reduced to a psychology, and served only to subjugate women in a domestic role. The heretical potential of this idea, however, is being realised among what she refers to as "women-centred feminists." Massey is critical of Schleiermacher's description of the feminine soul in his *Christmas Eve Dialogue*, and Dawn DeVries has challenged her analysis, and defended Schleiermacher in "Schleiermacher's *Christmas Eve Dialogue*: Bourgeois Ideology or Feminist Theology?" *Journal of Religion* 69 (1989): 169-183.

oppositorum was upon male development; female piety was static. It was a dialectic with a masculine subject in which the feminine figured only to propel the masculine to a higher level. Katherine M. Faull notes, "Although [Schleiermacher] overtly intends to liberate women from the contemporary moral and philosophical constraints, he actually appears to relegate them, once again, to a passive, secondary role as mediators for men of religious experience."¹⁴

The complexities of Schleiermacher's position are important because his liberal and experiential theology laid the foundations for the liberal Protestantism that dominated Lily Dougall's life. In the transatlantic world, evangelicalism provided the pietist base, and evolutionary science and higher criticism provided the rationalist assault from which a Schleiermachian romantic liberal experiential faith could emerge. Schleiermacher's name appeared frequently in British lectures, commentaries, and periodicals in the early nineteenth century, and scholars like Benjamin Jowett collected his works, although controversy delayed translation of *On Religion* (1799) until 1893.¹⁵ Liberal theologians

Some have suggested that, although the history of the feminised experiential has been an ambiguous one, it offers a feminist potential. Even those who are critical of the gendered dualism of Schleiermacher's argument see feminist components in his work. Iain G. Nicoll identifies a "feminist mysticism." See Katherine M. Faull, "Schleiermacher – A Feminist? Or, How to Read Gender Inflected Theology"; Guenther-Gleason, "Schleiermacher's Feminist Impulses"; Iain G. Nicoll, "Moral Woman and Immoral Society: Schleiermacher on Female and Male," and Ruth Drucilla Richardson, "Schleiermacher's 1800 'Versuch über die Schaamhaftigkeit': A Contribution Toward a Truly Human Ethic," in *Schleiermacher and Feminism*.

¹⁴ Katherine M. Faull, "Schleiermacher – A Feminist? Or, How to Read Gender Inflected Theology," in *Schleiermacher and Feminism*, 15. See also Grace Jantzen's criticism of Schleiermacher in *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Conclusion.

¹⁵ See Rev. Ievan Ellis, "Schleiermacher in Britain," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 33, 4 : 417-542. Ellis argues that Schleiermacher's influence was strong and subtle, although there were periods of reaction in 1830 and 1860. He cites Henry Loguevilll Mansell who said in his Bampton lectures that Schleiermacher's views "in all their essential features, have been ably and maintained and widely diffused among ourselves." *On Religion* was, significantly, translated at the urging of Calderwood, the Edinburgh philosopher, who taught Lily Dougall moral philosophy in 1888.

such as Egbert Smyth and Newman Smyth brought Schleiermacher's thought directly from Germany to North America. His influence was stronger, however, than these direct connections would suggest. His ideas were reinforced and echoed by other influential proponents of the experiential: S.T. Coleridge, British Unitarian, James Martineau, Scottish mystic, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, and American Horace Bushnell.¹⁶

At the turn of the century, however, Schleiermacher's influence was countered by a "back to Kant" movement which rejected the experiential for a return to the moral imperative. As Paul Tillich wrote, "[Kant] allows no room for the presence of the divine

¹⁶B.M.G. Reardon, who gave his history of English theology the telling title, *From Coleridge to Gore*, wrote: "To English theology [Coleridge] gave what certainly it most needed, a broader horizon and a wholly fresh inspiration, doing for it indeed, in his way, what Schleiermacher in different circumstances did for theology in Germany." Bernard M. G. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore, A Century of Religious Thought in Britain* (London: Longman, 1971), 64.

Discussions of James Martineau (1805-1900) appear in the *Hibbert Journal* and in Dougall's review, *World Wide*. Rev. John Watson, "James Martineau, A Saint of Theism," *Hibbert Journal* 1.1: Dr.A.M. Fairbairn, "James Martineau," reprinted from the *Contemporary Review*, London, in *World Wide* III, 8 (February 21, 1903): 123-124; "A.S.W." "A New Life of Dr. Martineau" reprinted from the Manchester Guardian, *World Wide* V, 26 (May 27, 1905): 510; "James Martineau," *World Wide* V, 40 (September 2, 1905): 789. Lily Dougall's mentor, Congregationalist A.M. Fairbairn, wrote that Martineau "did in England something of the same work that Schleiermacher achieved in Germany," and the major influences on Martineau's theology were Channing, Emerson, Theodore Parker, and Schleiermacher. Fairbairn said Martineau was influenced by mystics: "He told us more than once that when he sought religious inspiration it was not to the thinkers of his own school or the teachers of his own faith that he went, but to the great mystics and saints of other communions."

Martineau wrote: "That wonder and reverence are the condition of insight and the source of strength, -- that faith is prior to knowledge and deeper, too; -- that empirical science can but play on the surface of unfathomable mysteries; -- that in the order of reality the ideal and invisible is the world's true adamant In the inmost thoughts of men there is a thirst to which the springs of nature are a mere mirage, and which presses on to the waters of eternity." James Martineau, *Essays, Reviews, and Addresses*, (1890) I, 268. Cited in Alex Vidler, *F.D. Maurice and Company, Nineteenth Century Studies* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1966), 207-208.

Thomas Erskine (1788-1870) was a lay mystic but his influence upon theologians like Maurice was significant. A contemporary of Lily Dougall's wrote: "Erskine without any indebtedness to Schleiermacher or Coleridge, and almost as early as either, was in Scotland an apostle of the 'Christian consciousness.' He led in the great reaction against mere formal orthodoxy." John Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the 19th Century* (1885), 132. Cited in Vidler, *F.D. Maurice*, 246. Reardon describes Erskine's influence on F.D. Maurice in *From Coleridge to Gore*, 397-404.

Spirit in the human spirit with its ecstatic implications. The mystical presence of the divine is radically denied.”

Therefore this great “back to Kant” movement was extremely hostile to all forms of mysticism, including the theologies of experience, because there is a mystical element present in Schleiermacher’s idea of religious consciousness and the other forms of experiential theology. Experience means having the divine within ourselves, not necessarily by nature, but yet given and felt within our own being. But this was not admitted by the neo-Kantian school. They protested not only against genuine mysticism, but also against every theology of experience. What was then left? Only two things. The one is historical research . . . [the other is] the moral imperative . . . Religion is then that which makes us able to actualize ourselves as moral persons. Religion is the supporting power of the ethical.¹⁷

German theologian Albrecht Ritschl, and his pupils, Wilhelm Hermann and Adolf von Harnack, erased the experiential from Schleiermacher’s liberalism and gave it a rational and ethical emphasis. Pietism and mysticism became derogatory terms.¹⁸ The rejection of Schleiermacher’s mysticism took on gendered tones. The pietism that Schleiermacher had understood to be the female contribution to a liberal faith was rejected as a weak and effeminate impulse. One Cambridge scholar compared the “eternal womanly” in Schleiermacher to the “virility” of Ritschl:

The religious genius of Schleiermacher was akin to that of [mystic Count] Zizendorf [who organised the Moravian Brethren]. Wendland has described it as

¹⁷Paul Tillich, *Perspectives on Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Protestant Theology*, edited and with an introduction by Carl E. Braaten (London: Harper and Row, 1967), 68-69, 216-217. Similarly, H.R. Mackintosh said of Ritschl: “Religion tends to become only a new aspect of moral activity. The Kingdom of God, stripped of its eschatological transcendence that belongs to it in the Gospels, is now hardly more than (as with Kant) a realm of moral ends, a purely present and mundane commonwealth.” *Types of Modern Theology* (London, 1947). Cited in Cook, *The Regenerators*, 44, n.15. See also the discussion of Harnack by the Anglican writer on mysticism, W.R. Inge, Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral, “Harnack and Liberal Protestantism,” *Hibbert Journal* VI, 4 (July, 1928): 633-646.

¹⁸For a brief discussion of the rejection of the mystical in Continental Protestant theology, see Bernard McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, Vol. 1. (New York: Crossroad, 1991; London: SCM Press, 1992), 267-269. As one observer noted, the “term ‘pietism’ has had pejorative overtones in the rhetoric of both orthodox and liberals who have served as our chief arbiters of theological fashions.” Albert C. Outler, “Pietism and Enlightenment: Alternatives to Tradition,” in *Christian Spirituality: Post-Reformation and Modern*, ed. Louis Dupré and Don E. Saliers (New York: Crossroad, 1996), 242.

an expression of the feminine side of religion . . . both Zinzendorf and Schleiermacher laid their religious emphasis on peace, on receptivity, on dependence, on the immediate touch of God in the human heart.... If we dared to find something of the “eternal womanly” in the piety of Schleiermacher, we could find nothing save virility in that of Ritschl.¹⁹

Even liberal idealists, like Lily Dougall’s acquaintance, C.C.J. Webb, contrasted the “stern manliness of [Kant’s] ethics” to the “sentimental laxity” of his time.²⁰

1.2 Thomas Upham and the Fulminations of B.B. Warfield

Thomas Upham (1799-1872) was another theologian of the inner life whose work laid the gendered ground for Lily Dougall’s theology.²¹ Upham was a Congregationalist professor of mental and moral philosophy at Bates College, Maine, and an early member of Phoebe Palmer’s holiness movement. His books were read by thousands of Americans: they informed Horace Bushnell’s sermons on the Holy Spirit and Harriet Beecher Stowe’s “sentimental” novels, and were still being published in 1947.²² Upham introduced evangelical Americans

¹⁹R. Newton Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology, An Historical Study of the Christian Ideal for the Present Life* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 343. Flew qualifies this remark: “Whether the modern feminist or the modern student of feminine psychology would agree that the distinctive characteristics of the ‘eternal womanly’ are in the passive virtues, is another and more dangerous question” (p. 343).

²⁰C.C.J. Webb, *A Century of Anglican Theology and Other Lectures* (New York: D.Appleton, 1924), 43.

²¹For a recent discussion of Thomas Upham, see Darius L. Salter, *Spirit and Intellect: Thomas Upham’s Holiness Theology* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1986). Salter argues that Upham replaced Phoebe Palmer’s Wesleyan doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit with a common sense “Intuition” (p. 70-71). See Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1980), 53-57, for another, brief, assessment of Upham’s influence.

²²His popular biography of Madame Guyon went into 37 editions, *Interior Life* (1843) went into 18 editions, and the scholarly *Mental Philosophy* went into 57 editions. Salter, *Spirit and Intellect*, 12. They were still being published well into the twentieth century: the modernist Anglican bishop, W.R. Inge,

to an earlier strain of perfectionism among Roman Catholic mystics in *Principles of the Interior or Hidden Life* (1843).²³ His biographies, *Life of Madame Catherine Adorna* (1845) (St Catherine of Genoa) and *Life and Religious Opinions and Experience of Madame de la Mothe Guyon* (1849) use the lives of these Quietists to explicate holiness. *Treatise on Divine Union: Designed to point out some of the intimate relations between God and Man in the higher forms of religious experience* (1857) explores mysticism and he further develops the ideas of Madame Guyon in his analysis of *A Method of Prayer* (1859).²⁴

Upham is not well known today. His liberal piety came under attack by early twentieth-century fundamentalists who defined their nascent theology in sharp distinction from the mysticism, the liberalism and the incipient feminism in Upham's holiness theology.²⁵

edited a version of Upham's biography of Madame Guyon that was revised as late as 1947. It is interesting that the liberal Smyth brothers, who brought Schleiermacher's ideas to the United States, both studied at Bowdoin College, Maine, where they probably came under the influence of Upham. Egbert C. Smyth received his Doctor of Divinity at Bowdoin College in 1866 and Newman Smyth graduated in 1863. Timothy L. Smith argues that Upham was a central influence upon Horace Bushnell. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), 106. Dieter describes Upham's influence upon Stowe. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival*, 53-57. For insight into the influence of Quietists like Fénelon upon an American author, see George L. Prentiss, *The Life and Letters of Elizabeth Prentiss* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1882; reprint Garland Press, 1986).

²³Upham described John Tauler, Behman, Thomas à Kempis, Law, St. Theresa, Francis de Sales, Michel Molinos, La Combe, Madame Guyon, Fénelon, Antoinette Bourignon, and Père Labaz.

²⁴Thomas Upham, *Elements of Mental Philosophy, embracing two departments of the intellect and the sensibilities* (1831; New York: Harper, 1850); *Outlines of Imperfect and Disordered Mental Action* (1840); *Principles of the Interior or Hidden Life* (1843); *Life of Madame Catherine Adorna* (1845) (St Catherine of Genoa); *The Life of Faith* (1845; New York: Garland, 1984); *Life, Religious Opinions and Experience of Madame Guyon including an account of the personal history and religious opinions of Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai*, ed. and rev. by an English Clergyman, with a new introduction by W.R. Inge, new ed. (1847; 1905; London: Allenson & Co., 1947); *Treatise on Divine Union: Designed to point out some of the intimate relations between God and Man in the higher forms of religious experience* (1852).

²⁵See Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield, *Perfectionism*, vol. II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931). Warfield was one of the original fundamentalists, a contributor to *The Fundamentals*, who made his reputation as the spokesman for Princeton theology. See William Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 199-201. Salter's biography of Upham includes a full chapter responding to the "Warfield Critique."

“[A] great deal of the perfectionism which vexed the American churches through the first three quarters of the nineteenth century was mystically coloured,” Princeton theologian Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield wrote, condemning it as an “irrational feminine mysticism.”²⁶

Warfield’s reasoned diatribe provides an excellent lens through which to view Upham; in his effort to limit women’s role in the church, Warfield condemns the very aspects of Upham’s work that a feminist theology might celebrate.²⁷ A recent biography by Darius L. Salter provides a corrective to Warfield.²⁸

Upham, like Schleiermacher, worked closely with women. He was introduced to perfectionism by his wife, who received special permission for him to attend the women’s Tuesday meetings held by holiness leader, Phoebe Palmer. Palmer was an advocate of women’s right to preach who, as Warfield pointed out with some horror, looked upon Professor Upham as her pupil, not hesitating to rebuke him.²⁹ The subjects of Upham’s work were also frequently women, such as Madame Guyon and Catherine Adorno. Even

R.A. Knox touches on some of the same points as Warfield in his discussion of Upham. Knox, a leading Anglo-Catholic who converted to Roman Catholicism in 1917, was keen to distinguish between Catholicism and ecumenical liberalism that was pervading the Anglican Church. R.A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion with Special Reference to the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950). Knox was a member of the group of Anglo-Catholic thinkers associated with Lily Dougall’s close friend, Canon B.H. Streeter. He was critical, however, of their edited volume, *Foundations* and wrote a book in response, *Some Loose Stones, Being a consideration of certain tendencies in modern theology illustrated by reference to a book called “Foundations”* (London: Longman’s, Green, 1914).

²⁶Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 337, 381.

²⁷Warfield personally opposed women’s preaching. “We may not like what St. Paul said,” he argued in 1920, “but there is no room for doubt in what he says.” B. Warfield, “Paul on Women Speaking in the Church,” *Presbyterian* July 15, 1920, 8-9. Cited in Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 36.

²⁸Salter, *Spirit and Intellect*.

²⁹Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 359. Palmer’s *The Promise of the Father* (1859) was the strongest early defence of women’s right to preach.

his God was feminised; Warfield referred to Upham's "grotesque speculations" that the Trinity is a duality, a Father-Mother God, which produced a son in the form of creation.³⁰

Upham's theology offered women a way to step outside masculine ecclesiastical hierarchies and claim a higher divine authority. His biography of Madame Guyon (1648-1717), reaching 37 editions, introduced thousands of Protestants to a nun who threatened the Roman Catholic Church by espousing Quietism, a doctrine of possible perfection in a mystic union with God. The radical potential of a Quietist mysticism is paradoxical; the Quietist by renouncing her own will effectively claims divine authority for her action. As Steven Ozment has noted, mysticism provides the "raw material of dissent" by locating the source of authority within the self:

Even if the experience (or the theory) does not issue in dissent, reform or revolutionary activity, it uniquely drives home the ideological prerequisite for such, viz. an understanding of the penultimate character of all worldly power and authority. In the mystical tradition quietism is no less negative a judgement on established power than violent revolution. *Mystical salvation is the discovery of the final power and authority of the Self within one's own self.*³¹

Quietist mysticism fuelled an individualist faith that was disruptive of established (masculine) power. As Warfield noted, this theology unsettled women's customary respect for authority. Quietist nuns were, he wrote, "very independent towards their superiors and

³⁰Upham, Warfield says, appealed to a "long catalogue of heresies, ancient Gnostics, the Jewish Cabala, Mediaeval Mystics, the Familists, the Philadelphians, the Shakers, and --this is the culmination of all-- 'the Bible Communists'" in making this "precious speculation." Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 359. Of course, this concept of the dual God was not necessarily emancipatory for women; in John Noyes' Oneida sect, the Bible Communists Warfield refers to, the dual God was a hierarchical one, with the male element greater than the female.

³¹(Emphasis added.) Steven Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 12. Ozment traced the influence of medieval mystics in the Reformation. As he points out, Rufus Jones (an associate of Lily Dougall's), traced a similar dynamic in the seventeenth century, in *Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1932). Ozment, *Mysticism*, 12, n. 25. For a more sceptical discussion of the democratising powers of mysticism, see Paula M. Cooley, *Religious Imagination and the Body* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

directors, very full of presumption and pride They attended preaching as little as they could saying that it distracted them, and they needed nothing but God. . . . They conceived of so lively and so inconvenient an appetite for prayer they neglected their most necessary duties.”³²

Mysticism, by locating the godhead in the soul, gave women a new sense of self.

Upham had written of Madame Guyon:

The subject of this Memoir, however warm-hearted and diffusive may have been her charity to others, felt that there were duties to *herself*. Something within her, told her that God’s providence, which searches through all space and reaches all hearts, had designated her, not merely as a subject of forgiveness, but as a subject of *sanctifying* grace; not merely as a sinner to be saved, but as a living Temple in which His own Godhead should dwell. And He who, in dwelling in the soul, constitutes its true life, inspired desires within her, corresponding to these designs.³³

Upham described this in positive terms, but Warfield commented acerbically: “And this is the characteristic mental attitude of the mystic -- a truly morbid preoccupation with his own subjective states and experiences. He looks within to find God, he says: it is with difficulty, apparently, that he finds anything there but himself.”³⁴ Without necessarily agreeing with Warfield that the women found nothing but self in the mystical experience, one might suggest that for women the discovery of self was one of the great benefits of this form of spirituality. Warfield’s greatest criticism of Guyon was her renunciation of her maternal feelings on the death of her daughter. “Madame Guyon’s freedom of soul, it seems, was unlikely to be shackled by domestic affections, which were but partially

³²Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 381. Warfield says he is citing (and presumably translating) Ernest Seillière for this quotation. *Madame Guyon et Fénelon, Precurseurs de Rousseau* (1918), 143 f.

³³(Emphasis in the original.) Upham, *Madame Guyon*, 56.

³⁴Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 431.

sanctified. . . . It would seem quite dangerous to live within the reach of the only partially sanctified emotions of a saint.”³⁵ We might read this inward turning very differently: what Warfield saw as the danger of Quietist mysticism might be read as its potential for those holiness women who were, in effect, “shackled by domestic affections.”

Upham’s importation of Catholic devotional literature into Protestantism horrified his fundamentalist historian. Warfield accused Upham of turning the Catholic Quietists into Protestants, and another critic, Roman Catholic R.A. Knox, argued: “The trick of it is to substitute, at every turn, the jargon of Evangelical piety for the Quietist jargon in which Madame Guyon wrote.”³⁶ Protestantism, however, has a long history of borrowing from Catholic devotionalism (John Wesley wrote a biography of Guyon) and Upham was explicit about the licence he took: “What I give as a translation is, in some cases, of the nature of an *interpreted* translation, a translation of the spirit rather than the letter.”³⁷ Upham defended himself by arguing that Madame Guyon’s book, *Method of Prayer*, was more Protestant than orthodox Protestantism.³⁸ Like Protestantism, he says, Madame Guyon replaced works and

³⁵Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 431.

³⁶R.A. Knox, *Enthusiasm*, 236.

³⁷Upham, *Madame Guyon*, 42. For Puritan adoption of Roman Catholic devotional literature see Charles Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth Century New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), and “Puritan Spirituality in America,” in *Christian Spirituality: Post Reformation and Modern*, ed. Louis Dupré and Don E. Saliers (New York: Crossroad, 1996), 338-353. For Methodist antecedents, see John Wesley, *An Extract of the Life of Madame Guyon* (London: R. Hawes, 1776). For Quaker influences, see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 156: “The assimilation of Quietist influences by the Evangelicals within the Society of Friends was one of the ways in which alien ideas were sanitised, as it were, before reception by the broader Evangelical community.”

³⁸“Its doctrines are essentially Protestant; making Faith, in distinction from the merits of works, the foundation of the religious life, and even carrying the power of faith in the renovation of our inward nature beyond what is commonly found in Protestant writers.” Upham, *Madame Guyon*, i. (1849), 398. Cited in Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 376.

outward displays of belief with an inner faith, a walking and talking with God, and focused on the figure of Christ.

No sound was heard but that of “the still small voice” which speaks inwardly and effectually. There was no dream, no vision, no audible message. Her change was characterised, not by experience, not by revelations imparted from without and known only as existing from without, but by affections inspired by the Holy Ghost from within and constituting, from the time of their origin, a part of the inward consciousness.³⁹

There were, however, some important innovations in Upham’s translation of Quietism, innovations that anticipate the work of Douglass’s modernist cohorts.⁴⁰ Upham had argued that mystical divine union was simply the highest stage of sanctification, the highest stage in a *relationship* with the divine. As he wrote, “It is taken for granted that the subject of this higher experience has passed through the more common forms of religious experience; and has advanced from the incipient state of justification, and from the earlier gradations or steps of sanctification, to that state of *divine union*, in which he can say with a good degree of confidence, ‘I and my Father are one.’”⁴¹ This comes close to Madame Guyon’s argument that the “soul is not merely hidden in God, but has in God become God.”⁴² Warfield, however, shows that Upham’s “divine man,” unlike the Quietist mystic, never loses his individuality, never annihilates self, in the union with the divine. The distinction is an important one that anticipated the adaptations made by modernist students of mysticism. Upham’s holiness

³⁹Upham, *Madame Guyon*, 40.

⁴⁰“In taking over the conception of ‘divine union’ from the Quietists he had profoundly modified it, and reduced it to the level of mere sanctification.” Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 392.

⁴¹Thomas Upham, *A Treatise on Divine Union*, 6th ed., 325. Cited in Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 392.

⁴²“Lettres Spirituelles,” ii. p. 187. Cited in Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 398. Phoebe Palmer was similarly cautious about Upham’s understanding of divine union, and insisted upon the Bible as a corrective to such subjective faith: “Surely the excellency of the religious experience is only to be trusted by conformity with the Word of God.” Richard Wheatley, *The Life and Letters of Mrs. Phoebe Palmer* (New York: W.C. Palmer, Jr., 1876), 522. Cited in Dieter, *Holiness*, 81.

faith, although it borrows from Quietism, retains a sense of individuality, what members of Dougall's generation were to call "personality," which is never lost in the divine.

We cannot turn, as we could with Schleiermacher, to a feminist parsing of the Upham's experiential theology. No one has yet traced the tantalizing links between Upham's feminised experiential faith and the emergence of the psychology of religion, mysticism, and feminist theology in the twentieth century. The best evidence for the unsettling power of Upham's liberal holiness theology lies in the heat of Warfield's condemnation. Warfield's attacks on "irrational feminine mysticism" were part of a concerted and highly misogynist effort to move evangelicalism from an experiential, feminised orientation. The fundamentalist movement, as Betty A. De Berg, Janet Hassey, and Margaret Bendroth have noted, was a concerted backlash against late nineteenth-century women's advances into paid employment, social reform, and political activity.⁴³ The revisions continued into the twentieth century, and when Warfield's theological heirs, the neo-evangelicals, laid claim to the evangelical past, they quietly excised Upham from history.⁴⁴ The silence -- given the 37 editions of *Madame Guyon* and the 18 editions of *Principles of the Interior or Hidden Life*, and the continuing energy of Bushnell's new theology and Hannah Whitall Smith's holiness -- is deafening.

⁴³De Berg observed: "The fundamentalists used religious appeals and sanctions to reinforce the sexual and social conventions of the separate spheres and to attack woman's movement outside her sphere into paid employment, social reform, electoral politics and higher education." Betty A. De Berg, *UnGodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 148. For the exclusion of church women by fundamentalists, see Janette Hassey, *Not Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Ministry around the Turn of the Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986) and Margaret Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

⁴⁴Donald W. Dayton, "Some Doubts About the Usefulness of the Category 'Evangelical,'" in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, ed. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston (Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 250-251. See also Leonard I. Sweet, "Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves: The New Evangelical

1.3 F.D. Maurice and a Muscular Christianity

Schleiermacher and Upham laid the groundwork for Lily Dougall's faith, but F.D.

Maurice's theology gave her new directions in her difficult adolescence and set her on her adult path. Maurice was the leading theologian of the Broad Church movement in the Church of England, and his theology provided the basis for Dougall's modernism.

Maurice's theology is not easily categorised. His life reveals a constant attraction to an experiential faith, in his mother's evangelical piety, in Coleridge's Romanticism, and in Tractarian Catholicism, constrained by the need to locate this experiential within a tradition. His theology might be described as an Anglican framework, constructed from Platonic idealism and Biblical faith, that shelters the intangibles of the inner light.⁴⁵ As we will be exploring it further in the context of Dougall's religious writing, we will focus here upon his interpretation of the central image of the social gospel, the Kingdom of Christ.

In Maurice's work, the Kingdom has an experiential mystical dimension. In his most important book, *The Kingdom of Christ* (1838), Maurice described humanity as members of an eternal kingdom.⁴⁶ "We then have reasonable excuse for inquiring, whether there be on this earth a spiritual and universal kingdom, which the different religious systems have

Historiography," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* LVI, 3 (1988): 397-416, and Douglas Sweeney, "The Essential Evangelical Dialectic," *Church History* 60 (1991).

⁴⁵ For the need to locate the inner light within a tradition, see F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ, or Hints to a Quaker, respecting the principles, constitution and ordinances of the Catholic Church*, 2d ed., (London: Rivington, 1842). For the connections between the Platonic and Biblical elements see Torben Christensen, *The Origin and History of Christian Socialism, 1848-1854* (Copenhagen: Universitetsforlaget I Aarhus, 1962), and *The Divine Order, A Study of F.D. Maurice's Theology* (Leiden: E.J.Brill., 1973).

⁴⁶ The idea of a mystical Kingdom of God originated with a millenarian curate, with whom Maurice worked, Rev. James Stephenson.

not been able to supersede or destroy; which is likely to make itself manifest when they have all perished; and with which we of the nineteenth century may have fellowship?"⁴⁷ It was a profoundly optimistic vision; rather than sinners in need of salvation, people were already members of a spiritual kingdom. They were not waiting for the millennium but already living within the Kingdom of God, and only had to recognise the fact to realise the Kingdom. The role of this idealist kingdom in motivating social reform will become clear in the discussion of Lily Dougall's Christian socialism. Her use of the concept suggests a complex trope, a vision of the future that was grounded in an experiential present. Christian socialists like Vida Scudder (1861-1954) harnessed this powerful experiential dimension to a broad program of social action.

Biographers have observed the influence of women on Maurice's theology.⁴⁸ He has been described -- in the narrative structure of Schleiermacher's *coincidentia oppositorum* -- as the liberal son produced in the dialectics between a rational father and pietist mother. His father was a Unitarian, but the women of the family rejected his chapel for a Calvinist pietism, and it was the influence of these women that was paramount: "My mother," Maurice recalled, "had a far clearer intellect than my father. . . if my father had

⁴⁷ Maurice, *Kingdom of Christ*, I, 326.

⁴⁸ The discussion of Maurice's influence upon women is drawn largely from John McClain, "On Women," in McClain, Richard Norris, and John Orens, *F.D. Maurice, A Study* (Cambridge, MA: Cowley Publications, 1982). McClain's article provides useful background on Maurice but it is marred by an uncritical acceptance of Maurice's romantic understanding of gender. McClain compares the "power of the intellect, sometimes spoken of as masculine focused awareness" and "*diffused* awareness." He concludes, "We must realize that both of these qualities are intrinsically present in the nature of every human being to a greater or lesser degree, but it may still be possible to speak of a masculine *focused* awareness and of a feminine *diffused* awareness, an awareness of relationship and unity." (p.56-57.) For the narrative structure see Olive J. Brose, *Frederick Denison Maurice, Rebellious Conformist* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1971).

any hope of making me business-like and scientific he certainly failed.”⁴⁹ His evangelical sister, Emma, drew him to a Biblical personal faith.⁵⁰ Another sister, Elizabeth, introduced him to Anglicanism. His first wife, Annie Barton, introduced him to Schleiermacher, and then took dictation for *Kingdom of Christ*. He developed his understanding of religious experience in a long correspondence with Sara Coleridge, S.T. Coleridge’s daughter.

Maurice’s understanding of women is classically Romantic; they represent the feminine complement to the masculine principle. They bring men to faith. His dying words, as he took Communion, were “something about it being *women’s work* to teach men its meaning.”⁵¹ His interpretation of this limited role resulted, however, in significant advances for women. Maurice actively promoted suffrage and women’s education in a series of alliances with some of the most progressive women of the nineteenth century: Florence Nightingale, Octavia Hill, Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Gaskell, Mme. Bodichon, Anna Jameson, and Josephine Butler. Maurice played a role in founding two early women’s colleges: Queen’s College, Harley St., founded in 1848, and the Working Women’s College, founded in 1855. His female students and friends founded North London Collegiate School and Bedford College, and the two schools that educated Lily Dougall’s lifelong companion, Sophie Earp, Girton College and Cheltenham Ladies College.

Maurice’s theology has been affected by the same masculinised reorientation that we have observed in the Ritschlian redirection of Schleiermacher, and in the

⁴⁹ Maurice, *Life*. 1:14. 1:17. Cited in McClain, *Maurice*, 34.

⁵⁰ Brose, *Frederick Denison Maurice, Rebellious Conformist*. 33. 34.

⁵¹ *Life*, p. 643. Cited in McClain, *Maurice*, 57.

fundamentalist rejection of Thomas Upham's holiness. Charles Kingsley masculinised Maurice's theology in "muscular Christianity." Historians have tried unsuccessfully to identify Maurice with this development. Donald Hall, for example, could only point to some aggressive metaphors: "Maurice's name is often linked with the muscular Christian movement even though he wrote only one unsuccessful religious novel and rarely mentioned fist fights or sporting events in his sermons or essays. Nevertheless, the physicality of some of Maurice's metaphors does give his work a 'sinewy' quality" The very quotation Hall supplies, however, argues for the powers of the weak, powers more frequently associated with femininity: "The battle with principalities and powers is fought, for the most part, by weak arms; which, nevertheless, shall prevail."⁵² Similarly, Norman Vance, although he includes Maurice in his study of Christian manliness, can only point to Maurice's evocation of a moral strength as evidence for a masculine ethos, and admits: "A devout and saintly man with a rather endearing lack of practical capacity, he seems if anything an even more improbable inspiration for the robust and intensely practical Christianity of Kingsley and [Thomas] Hughes. He was distinctly alarmed when Hughes proposed to teach boxing" ⁵³ Vance turns to the muscular Christianity of Kingsley and Hughes, and the military careers of Maurice's son and grandson to establish the masculine implications of Maurice's teaching.

⁵² See David E. Hall, "On the making and unmaking of monsters: Christian Socialism, muscular Christianity, and the metaphorization of class conflict," *Muscular Christianity, Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. David E. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 45-65.

⁵³ Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit, The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 52.

The tortuous logic employed by Vance and Hall suggests that muscular Christianity might be more fruitfully posed as a counterfoil to Maurice's teaching. Is it possible that the emphasis on masculinity in Kingsley is a reaction to the "emasculating" potential of Maurice's theology? Maurice had Tractarian leanings, but Kingsley described the "twisted" feminine mysticism of the medieval church and posed it against a chivalric manly Protestantism. The patristic and medieval church had been characterised, he said, "by all that is loveliest in the ideal female character, gentleness, patience, resignation, self-sacrifice and self-devotion," but this had become distorted by the monks (who like ambitious women were crafty, cunning, and false) into a twisted feminine piety. Kingsley argued that this feminine piety was replaced by the explicitly masculine chivalric ideal, which "asserted the possibility of consecrating the whole manhood, and not merely a few faculties thereof, to God, and it thus contained the first germ of that Protestantism that conquered at the Reformation."⁵⁴ Protestantism then was figured in contrast to Romanism as "a healthful and manful Christianity; one which does not exalt the feminine virtues to the exclusion of the masculine."⁵⁵ Kingsley's manful faith excluded that mysticism, whether "Romish or Puritan," that he said characterised the soul as feminine and so emasculated the believer.⁵⁶

The American social gospel built upon Kingsley's muscular Christianity and adopted a masculinised imagery that stands in marked contrast to Mauricean Christian

⁵⁴ F.E. Kingsley, ed., *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of His Life* (London: Macmillan, 1894; abridged ed., New York: Armstrong and Co., 1877), 212-213.

⁵⁵ Cited in Robert Bernard Martin, *The Dust of Combat: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959), 220. Cited in Hall, *Muscular Christianity*, 150.

⁵⁶ Kingsley, *Memories of his Life*, Vol. I, ed. F.E. Kingsley (London: Macmillan, 1894), 210.

socialism.⁵⁷ This masculinity, as Janet Fishburn and Gail Bederman have noted, operated on two levels; not only was the faith itself figured male, but men were actively recruited to take part.⁵⁸ Canadian progressives like S.D. Chown and C.W. Gordon (Ralph Connor)

⁵⁷Walter Rauschenbusch read Maurice and Kingsley in his early days as preacher, and he paid tribute to them in his first book and in his Yale Lectures: "Maurice, one of the finest minds of England in the Victorian Age"; "The little group of early Christian socialists in England, led by Maurice, Kingsley and Hughes, now stand by common consent in the history of that generation as one of its finest products" Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907; New York: Harper and Rowe, 1964), 271, 417. For reference to his New York studies and his Yale lectures, see Donovan Smucker, *The Origins of Walter Rauschenbusch's Social Ethics* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 123-129.

Despite these tributes and the shared emphasis on the Kingdom of God, biographers of Rauschenbusch do not stress Maurice's influence. It is generally argued that Rauschenbusch discovered the Kingdom of God as a theme on his 1891 trip to Germany; and most biographers point to the influence of German theology. In his study of Maurice in America, Colin Brown could find little direct influence on Rauschenbusch: "one can only say his themes fit in with Walter Rauschenbusch's thought notably the Kingdom of God as a central category of thought and interpretation. These and other ideas which Rauschenbusch derived from Maurice and others he utilized with a real degree of freedom and creativity." Brown, "Maurice," 68. Similarly, although Donovan Smucker notes Rauschenbusch's admiration for Maurice, he attributes Rauschenbusch's use of the Kingdom of God theme to his Berlin studies of the New Testament and sociology, and argues he was unlikely to have been influenced by Maurice at this time. *Walter Rauschenbusch*, 17. See also 123-129.

It appears that the dominant Social Gospel theology shed the experiential component for Kingsley's masculinised faith. Winthrop Hudson argued that Walter Rauschenbusch's piety was exceptional, and most Social Gospellers lacked a strong personal spirituality: "Social activists seldom have time for either reflection or the routine of spiritual discipline. Nor do social reformers tend to stress and urge upon others the primacy of the inner life of the Spirit." Winthrop S. Hudson, "Introduction," *Walter Rauschenbusch, Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 4. And even Rauschenbusch's piety was probably closer to the "heart religion" disparaged by Maurice (*Kingdom of Heaven*, I, xix) than it was to the mysticism (often Anglo-Catholic) that characterised many Christian socialists.

Lily Dougall's Quaker friend, Rufus Jones, (who contributed an essay on mysticism to her volume, *Concerning Prayer*) was a mystic, a modernist, and a social gospeller: "[Rufus Jones' thought] had three major elements: progressive revelation, mysticism, and social gospel." Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism, Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 149; see further 144-160.

⁵⁷Rauschenbusch's debt to Ritschl, and to Ritschlians, especially Harnack, is well established. See Smucker, *Rauschenbusch*, 87-92, 98-101.

⁵⁸Janet Forsyth Fishburn, *The Fatherhood of God and the Victorian Family: The Social Gospel in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981). Fishburn draws some interesting parallels between the changing family structure and the masculine theology of the social gospel: "In a day when the church and ministry were associated with feminine faculties and the domestic sphere, the social concern and worldly orientation of the social gospel provided a masculine model for the ministry." (p. 169.)

In her study of the Men and Religion Forward Movement, Gail Bederman argues that the movement appropriated the energy of the social gospel into its own drive for masculinisation. A close reading of Rauschenbusch, and his predecessors in Kingsley and Ritschl, suggests that the theology of the Social Gospel had its own inherently masculine tendency, and into which the Men and Religion Forward

appealed to men to put aside effeminate piety for a "strong muscular ethical religion."⁵⁹ In the United States, the masculinisation of the social gospel was most evident in the Men and Religion Forward Movement, an evangelical and social campaign that ran across the country from 1910-1912.⁶⁰ Walter Rauschenbusch, the theologian of the American social gospel, followed Kingsley by linking mysticism with passivity, asceticism, and withdrawal from the world, attributes derided as feminine, and posing it against an activist, this-worldly faith. Rauschenbusch contrasted the activist implementation of the Kingdom of God with an ascetic world-denying desire for eternal life. He set the two visions, held in dynamic tension in Maurician theology, into opposing camps. "Jesus never held, and never could hold, a purely abstract, internal, spiritualised conception of the kingdom, which claims only the inner world of the soul and its ethical outflow for God, and leaves

Movement fit very neatly. "The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough': The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912 and the Masculinization of Middle-Class Protestantism," *American Quarterly* 41 (September 1989): 432-465.

⁵⁹ See Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie, *A Full-Orbed Christianity* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996), 95-100, for a description of the appeal by Canadian progressives for a more manly and activist faith.

⁶⁰ This movement, built upon denominational brotherhood organisations, the men's and boys' department of the Sunday School Association, and the Young Men's Christian Association, and run upon a self-consciously "business basis," was explicitly masculine. "The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912 is another evidence of the social ascendancy of social Christianity. . . . All the varied departments of the movement found their spiritual center and unity in the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth, which is the doctrine of social Christianity. When the movement began to be tried out, it grew increasingly plain that it was the trumpet call of the social gospel which rallied the audiences and brought men under moral and religious conviction." Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order* (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 19. Cited in Donald K. Gorrell, *The Age of Social Responsibility, The Social Gospel in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 156. As Fred B. Smith wrote in *A Man's Religion*, the social gospel provided a new 'magnet' for the "red-blooded, high-minded men, of large vision and keen intelligence" who might otherwise leave the church. Fred B. Smith, *A Man's Religion* (New York: Association Press, 1913), 174-175. Cited in Gorrell, *Social Gospel*, 162-163. Rauschenbusch, and subsequently historians, have seen the movement as proof of the success of the social gospel; he emphasized its social aspects, although social service constituted only one of six areas of emphasis, and viewed it in isolation from other forms of reform that were dominated by women. Gorrell, although he follows Rauschenbusch in devoting a chapter to the movement, notes that it was dwarfed by the WCTU. Gorrell, *Social Responsibility*, 7.

the outward organization of the world with its thousand fold wrong and misery intact.”⁶¹ In Rauschenbusch’s theology, one had to choose between the purely abstract inner conception of the kingdom or activist vision. Rauschenbusch also drew upon Kingsley’s chivalric metaphor. He described the mysticism of the middle ages in crude anti-Catholic terms and contrasted it to the activist social gospel, the “Holy Chivalry” of his Brotherhood of the Kingdom.⁶²

Rauschenbusch’s Kingdom of God was thus a vision shorn of the spiritual and mystical dimension, a purely ethical and earthly kingdom. “The Kingdom of God was a social and collective hope and it was for this earth.”⁶³ There are at times in Rauschenbusch’s work a suggestion of a spiritual kingdom: “To [Christ] it was not merely near, but here, germinating in their hearts, pulsating in their common thoughts, reversing their valuation of things, sweetening their relations, lifting the least of them above the highest representative of the old order and quietly creating a new world.” Even this passage, however, concludes in a way that suggests that the kingdom only existed in the present as a potential: “He said you cannot draw a line and say Lo here, or Lo there; it is

⁶¹Willibald Beyschlag (1823-1900), *Leben Jesum (Life of Christ)*, I (1885), 232. Cited in Rauschenbusch, *Social Order*, 67. Rauschenbusch was criticised by President Strong of the Rochester Theological Seminary for leaving the “union with Christ” out of his *Theology of the Social Gospel*!. See Smucker, *Walter Rauschenbusch*, 44.

⁶²Fishburn, *Fatherhood of God*, 169-170. The masculinity of Rauschenbusch’s text is evident in his discussion of the Cross: “In art too [Christ’s] image has been stripped of virility and turned into that of the meek and passive sufferer. But the Jesus with whom his enemies dealt, and from whom they backed away, was never very passive. He was high-power energy from first to last. His death itself was action. It was the most terrific blow that organized evil ever got.” Rauschenbusch, *Social Order*, 67.

⁶³Rauschenbusch, *Social Crisis*, 162. Rauschenbusch’s language suggests that the Kingdom exists only in the future, as an aim, rather than an existing reality: “The Kingdom of God is humanity organized according to the will of God, since the Kingdom is the supreme end of God, it must be the purpose for which the church exists” Walter Rauschenbusch, *The Theology of the Social Gospel*, 131-145.

coming without clamor; it is now among you. When will your boy become a man? Look into his eyes and see the man now.”⁶⁴ Rauschenbusch equates the kingdom, in this typically masculine metaphor, with a boy’s potential but as yet unrealised manhood. He has also altered the scriptural phrase: the kingdom is no longer “within you” but rather “among you.” The Kingdom of God has moved from within each man to outside, among men.

At the end of the nineteenth century, then, Maurice’s mystical Christian socialism was overshadowed by an overtly masculinised social gospel. The experiential dimension was undermined by associations with medieval Catholicism, unhealthy asceticism, and a weak and sentimental femininity. For those women and men for whom the spiritual dimension continued to be important, it became a private matter, divorced from and existing in some tension with their public activism. The leading woman social gospeller in the United States, Vida Scudder, was torn between her Mauricean Anglican faith, expressed through a female devotional group, the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross, and her social reform work, which took place in a largely masculine environment. “My religious position consigned me again to solitude . . .” she wrote.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Rauschenbusch, *Social Order*, 65.

⁶⁵ Scudder wrote in full: “My religious position consigned me again to solitude, among radical comrades to whom I escaped for relief now and then. These were with a few notable exceptions secularists, imbued either with active antagonism or with contemptuous indifference toward any effort to hold or regain a lost spiritual heritage. There was a similar aloofness among the cultured Protestant groups with whom my professional work and my social activities more naturally lay. I had not worked out either my socialism or my religion alone, and in the synthesis of the two interests I was a disciple and a learner: yet my fellowship was rather with books than with men, and my union of religious conservatism and of Catholic sympathies with social radicalism was far more unusual then than now.” Vida Scudder, *On Journey* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1937). Cited in Lindley, “Neglected Voices.” 83.

Postscript: A Manly Mystery

The fault line of early twentieth-century theology is usually drawn along liberal/conservative lines. Betty De Berg, however, has suggested that gender dynamics were independent of this divide and frequently crossed over it. She speculated that the Social Gospel movement “could be understood not so much as a primary enemy against which the fundamentalists marshaled themselves but rather as a related, parallel but not identical, response by church people to the same late nineteenth-century gender crisis....”⁶⁶ Rauschenbusch, Warfield, and to a lesser extent, Ritschl, were brothers who attacked a feminised mystical faith and trumpeted a virile, active, masculinity. The heated responses of Ritschlian liberals, Social Gospellers and fundamentalists suggests the potential power of the liberal theologies of Friedrich Schleiermacher, Thomas Upham and F.D. Maurice. These liberal and experiential theologies grew out of a close association with the religious sensibilities of women: Schleiermacher’s association with Herz, Upham’s tutelage under Phoebe Palmer, and Maurice’s lessons at the hands of his sisters. And each has been seen as linked with women’s intellectual freedom. But the feminised experiential that we have identified should not be confused with a feminist theology. This liberal theology carries with it an ambivalent set of meanings: while it advocates women’s advance it does so on an essentialist, and in the final analysis, limiting, notion of women’s identity. As our examination of Lily Dougall will reveal, a feminised theology was a restrictive as well as an enabling creed.

⁶⁶De Berg, *UnGodly Women*, 141.

With the theological rejection of a feminised piety, the experiential did not entirely disappear. Exponents began to recast it in a light that did not suggest a feminine receptivity. God was recast as a transcendent and manly figure. As C.C.J. Webb regretfully noted in 1945, the new emphasis lay on God's power and humanity's depravity: "there has occurred within the last 20 years a marked shifting of emphasis . . . to the historically attested impact upon humanity of a transcendent Reality, condemning, converting, empowering that which, without its intervention, was ready to perish."⁶⁷ Rudolph Otto reintroduced the fear and trembling of the Calvinist outlook in his interpretation of religious experience as the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* -- an awe-inspiring and fascinating mystery, that he called the numinous.⁶⁸ The experience of faith was no longer a "holy wedlock," "a creative productive embrace." The believer did not "lie directly upon the bosom of the infinite world," and definitely did not feel "all its powers and its endless life." God was once again removed from humanity. Transcendent and awe-inspiring, the experiential father figure had replaced the warm maternal embrace. Otto's numinous replaced Schleiermacher's experiential, but it was a hostile takeover that supported the cultural shift *away* from a feminised experiential faith.

⁶⁷ C. C. J. Webb, *Religious Experience, A Public Lecture Delivered in the Hall of Oriel College on Friday 19 May, 1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), 25-26.

⁶⁸ Otto, Rudolf, *The Idea of the Holy (Das Heilige)* translated by John W. Harvey (London: Humphrey Milford, 1923). Otto coined the word numinous from the Latin, "numen."

Chapter Two

Max Weber's Long Shadow

“The great mark of most of the religious thought of our own day is its constant appeal to religious experience.”

William Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury, 1914¹

The function of a historiographical chapter in a thesis is usually an introductory one; the historiography lays the groundwork and establishes the foundation upon which the thesis will build. This chapter, however, demonstrates the *lack* of a foundation for the historical study of religious experience in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and analyses the reasons for that lack. It is the historiography of a vacuum. This is not to argue that we have no religious history. Whole sections of libraries are filled with books dedicated to church history, denominational feuds, theological developments, doctrinal debate, and missionary activities. But these books generally skirt the intimacies of faith; the yearning of the doubter, the prayers of the congregation, and the ecstasies of the mystic make up the ahistorical base on which a history of externalities is built.²

¹William Temple, “‘Religious Experience,’ A sermon preached at Manchester Cathedral on Sunday morning [July 6, 1914],” in *Religious Experience and Other Essays and Addresses*, collected and edited by Canon A.E. Baker (London: James Clarke, 1958), 58.

²Although the phrase “religious experience” is adopted with some frequency in the titles of books and articles, the concept is rarely subjected to critical examination, and is usually understood to be self-explanatory. George Rawlyk’s *Aspects of Evangelical Experience*, like Charles Lippy’s *American Encyclopedia of Religious Experience*, avoids conceptual or theological analysis for a descriptive account of the various denominations. See *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997); and Charles Lippy, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements* (New York: Scribner, 1988).

History has been the enemy of faith, to a degree rarely acknowledged in the discipline. Religious faith is essentially about the escape from daily reality into eternity, whether in a mystic moment or in a final resurrection. History charts time, puts a frame upon eternity, and denies the possibility of an escape from the mundane into miracle. As Michel de Certeau explains, the historian sees time as chronology, whereas the mystic “is seized by time as that which erupts and transforms.” The result is a contradiction: “These events which must be nothing but arrivals from an (impossible) eternity or a (postponed) end, continually contradict the time produced by historiography. But to what degree can they insinuate another type of duration into historiographical time?”³ The tensions between historiography and mysticism, he concludes, have no resolution.

The advent of the discipline of history, de Certeau argues, resulted in the decline of the religious world view. “Historiography begins at the point where the mourning of the *voice* begins.”⁴ Following Weber, he dates this development to the sixteenth century. But, for Protestants at least, the word of God lived on in the Bible, and it was only in the nineteenth century that the Bible’s authority was threatened. The findings of geology allowed historians to replace the providential structure of the Bible with the order and precision of historical time, and evolution placed a disturbing new pattern on the past. Higher critics subjected the sacred word of the Bible to historical investigation. At the close of the nineteenth century, Mary Ward positioned history against faith in the quintessential crisis-of-faith novel, *Robert Elsmere* (1888). In the novel, an older scholar,

³Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. Michael B. Smith (1982; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 11, 12.

⁴De Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 12-13.

wielding thirty years of historical research, proves to the young clergyman that the Bible is only the “imperfect half-childish product of the mind of the first century.”⁵ The clergyman abandons his calling.

Liberals like Lily Dougall retained their faith by placing it beyond the bounds of history. Dougall defended the historical analysis of the Bible: “by scientific methods of studying history, the *history* of the doctrine of the Atonement can be traced.” This, however, would not touch the basis of faith: “But to know the history of an idea — how it came to be — does not in the least explain it away, as so many suppose. After the history, and all that bears on the history, is fully known and widely considered, there is still a decision for pure theology, which science cannot touch.”⁶ Pure theology rested on religious experience. Religious modernists kept their faith (and avoided the historian) by relocating the voice of God in the experience of faith. God may have disappeared from the Bible, but could still be found in the still small voice of the soul.

For much of this century we have had a truce. Historians have rarely considered the experiential for they have busied themselves with building the new cultural edifice of academia and decrying the simultaneous collapse of the church. The study of the experiential has moved into departments of religious studies, where phenomenologists have surveyed the varieties of mystical experience. These new academic arbiters of the experiential have avoided the inroads of history by isolating the “common core” of mystical experience from the historical nexus of doctrine, liturgy, and creed. The result has been the creation of two solitudes: history, which ignores religious experience, and

⁵Mary (Mrs Humphrey) Ward, *Robert Elsmere*, Vol. 2 (London: Smith, 1888), 246.

⁶“Lovereen,” Vol. III, p. 383.

the philosophy of religion, which isolates religious experience by stripping away the historical context.⁷

In this chapter, I will examine the neglect of the liberal experiential in three schools of religious history: the secular world of intellectual historians, the religiously informed world of evangelical history, and the feminist study of women's history.⁸ The analysis will point to the pervasive influence of sociological formulations, particularly the Weberian "secularisation thesis." The explanatory power of the secularisation thesis has been most evident in intellectual history, but it has also informed evangelical history, and a feminist variant, the feminisation thesis, has set the parameters for the history of women. Historians mourned the death of religion, and traced the rise of their own secular discipline. Only recently have they acknowledged that the mourning was premature, at least in the Anglo-American world, and tried to account for the abundant energy of modern American religious faith. They are still struggling with the implications of this, and are considering new paradigms.

⁷The distance between the disciplines is suggested by their different treatment of a Canadian classic. Richard Maurice Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness* has served as an object of ridicule for historians and a subject for serious study in the philosophy of religion. See below p.56.

⁸My emphasis here is upon the Canadian historiography derived from British historian Owen Chadwick, with reference to both British and American influences. Among American historians, the model has been a slightly different one of declension from Puritanism. The historical discussion rarely refers to the early sociological literature: David Martin, *The Religious and the Secular: Studies in Secularisation* (New York: Schocken, 1969); Bryan Wilson, *Religion in a Secular Society: A Sociological Comment* (London: Watts, 1966), and Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Society* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967). For a recent discussion and defense of the thesis, see Steve Bruce, ed., *Religion and Modernization: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularisation Thesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). For a review of the criticism of the field in the United States, see Stephen Warner, "Work in Progress toward a New Paradigm for the Sociological Study of Religion in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1993): 1044-93.

We turn at the end of the chapter to the philosophy of religion, where the linguistic turn in philosophy has resulted in new sensitivity to the cultural context of the religious experience. The debate over context and religious experience is fascinating. It is this debate, rather than the historical literature, which raises the most interesting questions about religious experience, the role of language and narrative, the play of gender, and the impact of culture. The emerging study of spirituality, strongly contextualist and historical in orientation, provides background for our study of Lily Dougall.

2.1 A Sociological Straitjacket

In the early twentieth century, when the theologians were removing God to a respectable transcendent distance, the priests of a new secular order, the sociologists, began to explain an entirely godless world. By doing so, and by defining religion in the way that they did, sociologists helped to build the secular world they purported only to investigate. Max Weber was the key figure, although others like Emile Durkheim played strong supporting roles. Weber's central concern was the genesis of the modern rational world, a bleak world which religion was able only to haunt: his paradigmatic book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Rise of Capitalism*, was a post mortem of the traditional religious society.⁹ The tone of his work was ironic: the Reformation brought a godless capitalism rather than a

⁹Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons, introduction by Anthony Giddens (1958; New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1976), 182: "the idea of duty in one's calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs."

renewed spirituality. “[T]he cultural consequences . . . [were] predominantly unforeseen and even unwished for results of the reformers. They were often far removed from or even in contradiction to all that they themselves thought to attain.”¹⁰

Weber’s ideas have developed a life of their own. Peter Williams provides a summary of the idea of modernisation as it has been popularised:

This concept, which has its roots in the thought of Max Weber, refers to the broad process through which societies emerge from a traditionalistic orientation toward all aspects of communal life – authority, social organization, knowledge, economy, and so on – and move instead toward a rationalized, centralized, empirical, and efficiency-oriented cultural system *Modernization is in many ways a secularizing process*, and generally results in what we might call the “desacralization” of the world. Scientific, empirical, and pragmatic means of investigation displace authority, tradition and myth as sources of knowledge and orientation toward the universe.¹¹

This analysis operates on a series of polarities. Authority, tradition, and myth are posed against scientific, empirical, and pragmatic means of investigation, and a traditional orientation is compared with a rationalised, centralised, empirical, and efficiency-oriented cultural system. Modernity is seen to be inherently secular, a break from a religious past. Religion is by definition dead, or dying: it is associated with tradition and authority.

The sociological understanding of religion took hold of the historical profession in the 1970s. As British historian, Owen Chadwick, noted: “The new school of sociology . . . cut obliquely across the mental habits of historians of intellectual Europe. The problem of ‘Enlightenment’ began to turn into the new problem of ‘secularisation.’”¹² In *The*

¹⁰Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 90.

¹¹ (Emphasis added.) Peter Williams, *Popular Religion in America, Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 12.

¹²Chadwick, *Secularization*, 7. Although this perspective is presented by Chadwick as an advance from earlier elitist intellectual history, it did not mean that the ordinary person gained a voice in history. A sociological model is remarkably well suited for a conservative interpretation of religion as a source of social control. Chadwick has very little respect for the masses. They are incapable of critical thought.

Victorian Church (1970), Chadwick adopted sociological premises and described the decline of the churches in Britain in the late nineteenth century, a process he explored more broadly in *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (1975).¹³ Instead of understanding religion as a rational set of propositions, sociologists like Emile Durkheim inspired historians to consider “the nonrational, subconscious, inarticulate elements in society,” the “collective consciousness” of society, and to understand religion as an expression of these forces.¹⁴ As Chadwick observed, “Sociologists turned their attention to the elements which constitute society and instantly ran into the force of religion as an instrument of social consensus, family or community habit, public and civic rites and even social control.” Chadwick’s Victorian church was a force for social cohesion and the maintenance of order and proper hierarchy.

The process of secularisation, as Chadwick described it, is one of the declining authority of the institutional church, largely, though not exclusively, the Roman Catholic Church in Europe and the Anglican Church in Britain. As he traced the inroads on this authority, from religious toleration through political liberalism to disestablishment, each loosening of the grip of the established church unleashed the forces of dissent that led inevitably to secularisation. Chadwick dated secularisation from the publication in 1859 not only of Darwin’s *Origin of the Species*, but, significantly, of J.S. Mill’s essay *On Liberty*. Against Mill he wrote:

and act on subconscious impulses and social pressure: “Questions of truth did not loom large in [the working man’s] mind, hardly loomed at all” (p. 102).

¹³Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 Vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

¹⁴Chadwick, *Secularization*, 6.

Consensus rests upon authority, upon a large measure of mere acceptance by the crowd, of what a few men say who are trusted and responsible. The dangerous consequences of Mill's theory is to destroy all trust in authority. He urges us to challenge every authority, whether we are capable of it or not. And the end-result is fatal to society, fatal to consensus, fatal to reasonable authority.¹⁵

Most important, he argued, Mill's liberalism led to "scepticism in philosophy and agnosticism in religion, that is, *irrespective of the teachings being offered by philosophers and religious men.*"¹⁶ The danger lies in freedom itself, not in any particular doctrine.

Mill offered men a freedom with which they were not equipped to deal; he cut them adrift from religious and political authority and left them floundering among competing currents of thought.¹⁷ For Chadwick, then, the important distinction was not the intellectual one between faith and reason, but rather the social one between authority and liberty.

Left out of this picture of declining clerical authority was the world of religious feeling, the cultivation of intense inner experience that Colin Campbell has described as the "Other Protestant Ethic."¹⁸ In *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989), David Bebbington describes a vital and expressive religious world that grew alongside the dying world of Chadwick's *Victorian Church*; he traces from the late eighteenth into the twentieth century the world of Methodist revivals, the holiness movement, and the

¹⁵Chadwick, *Secularization*, 35.

¹⁶Emphasis in the original. Chadwick, *Secularization*, 35.

¹⁷Chadwick's description of the threat to religion posed by the modern press is revealing. The press was not dangerous because of the particular ideas it promulgated but because it operated outside the state-church nexus of authority. "Was it simply that a new instrument of power came into society, and the wielders of that power were detached, did not spring from the ordinary sources of authority hitherto known?" Chadwick, *Secularization*, 41.

¹⁸Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford and London: Blackwell, 1987). Campbell also genders romanticism feminine at times (p. 226). Jackson Lears expanded upon this in *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), Chapter Two.

Keswick school.¹⁹ This experiential element emerges occasionally in Chadwick's work to unsettle the steady trajectory of secularisation. He notes repeatedly in *The Secularisation of the European Mind*, and with some surprise, that Christianity often seems to ally itself with the forces acting for "secularisation." He says that the Christian emphasis on a religion of the heart and belief in individual freedom helped to undermine the power of the church.²⁰ "Christian conscience," he writes, "was the force which began to make Europe 'secular.'"²¹ In Chadwick's final chapter of *The Victorian Church*, entitled "Secularization," this contradiction emerges most clearly. The first sections of the chapter, "The Press," "Disestablishment," "The Universities," and "The Autonomy of Literature," predictably chart the rise of alternate authorities and the disengagement of the state, university, and literature from ecclesiastical control. But the final section, "Victorian Religion," touches on belief, and undermines this trend. Chadwick notes that the decline of the church was not always paralleled by a decline in religious feeling. Rather, there was a rise in mysticism. "If society was more secular, religious men were not less religious." Or later: "The intellectual difficulties of the nineteenth century were little reflected in devotion. They were the product of the discursive reason and not of the

¹⁹David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1992).

²⁰This distinction between institution and belief was commonly employed, as Chadwick himself observes, by the "nonrational" elements of society. Chadwick observes without comment that working men distinguished between Christianity and the Christian church, and that while they would hear no blasphemy against Christ, they were not offended by criticism of the clergy. "He did not at all object to people who were rude about clergymen and churches, he usually objected to people who were rude about God." The clergy were associated with the Tory party, and were implicated in state power, while religion itself was seen to be independent. Chadwick, *Secularization*, 100.

²¹Chadwick, *Secularization*, 23. And later: "When we study the idea of the secular, we keep running into the apparent paradox, that in so many respects the idea seems to owe its ancestry to certain aspects of the Christian tradition as Christianity tried to answer the needs of changing society." Chadwick, *Secularisation*, 66-67.

religious apprehension.”²² The contradictions between section and chapter, between religious apprehension and discursive reason, between feeling and authority, are left unresolved.

Chadwick also has difficulty accommodating his knowledge of the theological world of ideas to this sociological emphasis on religion as a form of authority. Intellectual and social forces coexist uneasily in his prose and his argument. He is evasive in his introductory discussion of secularisation, defining it only as the “growing tendency of mankind to do without religion, or try to do without religion.” His descriptions are mostly negative, in terms of what it is not: secularisation is not a change in fashion or custom, nor is it the restatement of creeds. But then, he says, it “cannot be denied” that secularisation and Christian restatement are connected. His use of double negatives and the contortions in his usually clear prose are revealing. “If I say that secularisation is not the same as an alteration in ideas about religion, I do not assert that one had no effect on the other. . . .” Chadwick refuses to define religion, for “that would be a logical proceeding, but not a historical.” The closest he comes to a definition is his suggestion that there may be fundamental articles of belief, such as a belief in miracles, “supernatural interruptions of the course of nature.” After hedging about, and admitting, as he is forced to by his own work in *The Victorian Church*, that it *is* possible for a Christian to deny the existence of

²²Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 466, 469. For further difficulties with sociology’s preoccupation with measurable indices, see Keith Robbins’ discussion of the reliance upon church attendance as a measure of religiosity: *History, Religion and Identity in Modern British History* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1993), 82.

miracles, he says “this very axiom, *miracles do not happen*, comes near the very heart of that elusive shift in the . . . mind we seek.”²³

The discomfort in Chadwick’s prose may simply originate in the difficulties of an intellectual historian standing on his head and trying to place the social forces before ideas. Yet the difficulties suggest a larger problem, the possibility that belief cannot be made to fit this sociological model of the authoritarian church, that religious faith in a sense escapes the straitjacket of the creeds, even the belief in miracles. It cannot be made to play the gatekeeping role that this model requires. Neither the evangelical world of feeling described by Bebbington, nor the theological world of ideas already familiar to Chadwick, can be accommodated in the sociological model of the church.

2.2 Canadian Models

Canadian religious history has been dominated by the sociological model. Although Chadwick’s work was an exploratory one, no more, he said, than a “prolegomena to an enquiry,” it has acquired a great deal of authority. A number of intellectual historians in Canada have adopted Chadwick’s assumptions; they have contributed to a historiographical school that has been dubbed, if retrospectively and by its critics, “the secularisation thesis.” The school, which incorporates such early work as Richard Allen’s study of the Social Gospel and A.B. McKillop’s work on critical and idealist thought, and more narrowly focused work such as Brian J. Fraser’s study of six Presbyterians, has

²³Chadwick, *Secularization*, 17, 6.

become identified with the tone and approach of Ramsay Cook's *The Regenerators, Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* and David Marshall's *Secularizing the Faith*.²⁴ The work is imbued with sociological formulations, particularly the equation of religion with authority and social cohesion and the assumption that modernity is inherently secular.

The Canadian literature is, like Chadwick's work, about cultural hegemony, the authority of the Protestant Church to define and control Canadian culture. As Frank Turner notes in his collection of essays, *Contesting Cultural Authority*, intellectual authority in Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century was "overwhelmingly Anglican," but by the end of the century a number of contending voices had arisen.²⁵ He argues that historians identified with the rise of the new intellectual elite and therefore described the decline of the church as an inevitable process of secularisation. Turner's insights are usefully applied to the Canadian historiography. A.B. McKillop has noted that in *A Disciplined Intelligence* he was defining the origins of his own subdiscipline; "... it was the study of the structure and rise to dominance (in Canada) of the intellect, a course of historical events that helped to bring about the very conditions that gave a phrase like 'intellectual history' a discernible meaning and thereby made possible the existence of the

²⁴Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: University of Waterloo Press, 1988). This book is a prosopography of six members of the Presbyterian Board of Social Services and Evangelism. Fraser's reliance on Owen Chadwick's formulation of secularisation is apparent in his article: "The Progress in Theology Debate (1882): Consensus and Conflict in North Atlantic Presbyterianism," in *Proceedings of the Canadian Society of Church History*, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, June 3-4, 1987. David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith, Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992). Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

subdiscipline of which the book is an example.”²⁶ Similarly Allen was charting the origins of his own political party, the New Democratic Party, when he described the Social Gospel.

While Chadwick emphasised the Anglican Church in England and the Roman Catholic Church in Europe, Canadian historians have focused on the Methodists and the Presbyterians, the progenitors of what might be considered English Canada’s national church, the United Church. The equation of religion with authority is usually implicit, but occasionally it surfaces: McKillop, for example, says the purpose of denominational colleges was to inculcate piety, “the suspension of critical judgement and investigation in the face of the will of God as revealed in the Scripture” and “[piety’s] secular equivalent, the habit of deference [which] meant acceptance -- equally involving the suspension of critical judgement -- of social and political authority.”²⁷ Thus the colleges, the focus of most intellectual history on secularisation, were understood to exist to inculcate piety, which was defined as deference to religious authority. Such an explanatory model easily incorporated much traditional church history, which had traced the fortunes of the denominational institutions.

This religious authority is seen to collapse under the combined threats of higher criticism and Darwinism. From the dying church emerges a new authority in the professional social sciences. Richard Allen’s work identified the role the Social Gospel played in reorienting the Protestant churches to social reform. A.B. McKillop described

²⁵Frank M. Turner, *Contesting Cultural Authority: Essays in Victorian Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

²⁶A.B. McKillop, *Contours of Canadian Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 26.

how critical thought, exemplified by the work of sceptics like William Dawson LeSueur, undermined the tenets of orthodox religion. Few of LeSueur's contemporaries were ready to follow him into evolutionary naturalism, and in *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*, McKillop described the transitional framework provided by absolute idealism brought to Queen's University by John Watson.²⁸ He suggests that the adoption of this philosophy by clerics at the turn of the century had a "deeply ironic legacy" for the Protestant churches, and led the way for the emergence of a secular moral order. More recently, in *Matters of Mind*, he has charted the consolidation of this secular order in the establishment of the social science perspective in Ontario universities. His thesis has been augmented by Sarah Z. Burke's close study of the University of Toronto's School of Social Work.²⁹ In both works, idealism provides an intellectual framework that eases the transition between a Christian world view and the rising authority of the secular social sciences.

Intellectual history in Canada has subsequently focused on the two strongholds of the social sciences: the university and the welfare state. These new cultural authorities emerged from under the wings of the Protestant churches, the secular university emerging from the denominational colleges, and the welfare state arising from the church

²⁷McKillop, *Contours of Canadian Thought*, 78.

²⁸A.B.McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979).

²⁹Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971). See also Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," *Canadian Historical Review* 49, 4 (December 1968): 381-399; A.B.McKillop, ed., *A Critical Spirit: The Thought of William Dawson LeSueur* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977); A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence*; A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), and Sarah Z. Burke.

philanthropies. Historians have charted the rise of these institutions in studies of social sciences like Marlene Shore's study of social research at McGill University, *The Science of Social Redemption*, and Suzanne Zeller's *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of the Transcontinental Nation* (1987), and the history of the bureaucratic welfare state, such as Doug Owram's *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (1986).³⁰

There is no question that this historiographical school has definitively charted shifting cultural authority; but it has been less successful in tracing the alteration in religious belief. This was not the intention of many of the authors, and one could argue on their behalf that the term "the secularisation thesis" is a bit of a misnomer. McKillop's work is more concerned with the rise of the critical intellect and the continuity of what he termed the Anglo-Canadian "moral imperative" and Allen's with the rise of social reform, than either work is with the decline of faith.³¹ McKillop argues for the continuation of the "moral imperative," religious in impulse, well into the twentieth century. Indeed, in Hegelian fashion, both his and Allen's work holds out the hope of a new synthesis. Although their books express regret at the losses of the church, McKillop and Allen retain an optimism about the new order, a hope that the secular city might continue to express in

Seeking the Highest Good: Social Science and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

³⁰Marlene Shore, *The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School and the Origins of Social Research in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of the Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), and Doug Owram, *The Government Generation, Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

³¹He described *The Disciplined Intelligence* as "a study of the structure and rise to dominance (in Canada) of the intellect." A.B. McKillop, *Contours of Canadian Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 26.

new forms the “moral imperative” of the Christian belief, that the religious thesis might, in facing its antithesis, generate a new and morally, if not necessarily spiritually, charged synthesis.³² McKillop identifies in his epilogue the voices of Canadian writers and intellectuals, particularly that of Northrop Frye; Allen’s own political activity in the New Democratic Party has been a legacy of the Social Gospel.

A different tone characterises the two Canadian works directly drawn from Chadwick and focused directly on the question of secularisation.³³ Ramsay Cook’s *The Regenerators* (1985) and David Marshall’s *Secularizing the Faith* (1992) also trace shifting cultural authority, but these works are characterised by the Weberian sense that modern civilisation, shorn of its religious purpose, is a bleak one.³⁴ Weber described the iron cage of modern civilisation, haunted by dead religious beliefs. Cook argued that free thinkers were left with only a “a debased or sentimentalized supernaturalism, things that go bump in the night.”³⁵ The tone of Cook’s work is one of Weberian irony.

³²See A.B. McKillop. “Moralists and Moderns.” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 14 (Winter, 1979-80): 144-150.

³³Cook is explicit in his dependence upon Chadwick. He says in his introduction to *The Regenerators, Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*, “There is substantial literature dealing with the complicated issue of secularisation from theological, sociological and historical viewpoints. My own thinking on this topic has been influenced particularly by a historian who approaches the subject from a theological perspective. Owen Chadwick” Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators*, 5. Cook quotes Chadwick’s definition of secularisation, “a growing tendency of mankind to do without religion. . . ,” and then revises it slightly, to “the shift from a religious explanation of man’s behaviour and relationships to a non religious one.” The revision is an odd one, for Chadwick, (who *was* explicitly employing a sociological rather than a theological frame) was in fact emphasising the *doing* without religion, not simply the *explaining*.

³⁴Weber, *The Spirit of Capitalism*, 182. Chadwick himself was more cautious about applying a “decline and fall” trajectory to the process of secularisation.

³⁵Cook, *The Regenerators*, 84.

A.B. McKillop was the first to note the ironic implications of the late nineteenth-century thought, and more recently Marguerite Van Die has noted the ironic outcome of Nathanael Burwash's work, but it was Cook who sharpened the irony almost to caricature. He selected a group of radical reformers, including a few eccentric public figures, and used their arcane speculations and wildly optimistic dreams to discredit a whole generation. He argued that their ideas derailed the church, and set the country in the direction of secular social reform. "The supreme irony of the regenerators was that the new birth to which they contributed was not, as they had hoped, the city of God on earth but rather the secular city."³⁶ Cook's words echo those of Max Weber: "the cultural consequences . . . [were] predominantly unforeseen and even unwished for results of the reformers."³⁷ Weber was explaining the devolution of the Protestant idea of a calling to the capitalist spirit of accumulation and Cook the devolution of the Protestant idea of the Kingdom of God to the secular city, but the line of argument is similar: Weber's Puritan became a capitalist, and Cook's minister became a sociologist.

To establish this ironic devolution, Cook (like Chadwick) wrote the experiential elements out of religious liberalism. He assumed that liberalism is inherently secular; as his phrase "secularized theological liberalism" implies, liberal theology is in his work only an unstable stepping stone to modern secularism.³⁸ Simply, and inaccurately, he equated modernists with the Social Gospel.³⁹ Evidence of an experiential liberal faith, whether in

³⁶Cook, *The Regenerators*, 4.

³⁷Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 90.

³⁸Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 222.

³⁹Cook describes "the modernist claim that the mission of Christianity was social regeneration," and refers to "modernist liberal thinking and its Social Gospel offspring." Cook, *The Regenerators*, 227. In sharp

Flora MacDonald Denison's theosophy or Mackenzie King's spiritualism, is ridiculed. Most significantly, Cook presents one of Canada's leading writers on mysticism, Richard Maurice Bucke, as an eccentric "heresiarch" who was not ill-placed in his position as the superintendent of an insane asylum. He dismisses Bucke's interest in the psychology of religion: "It is, however, evidence of Bucke's independence, not to say eccentricity, that at a time when liberal Protestants were turning away from 'conversion experiences' and seeking rational historical and sociological defences of religious belief, Dr. Bucke, the scientist, insisted that the mystical and emotional were the essence of religion."⁴⁰ The fact that Bucke's work *Cosmic Consciousness* (1901) was excerpted by William James in his classic *Varieties of Religious Experience*, is currently in press by two publishers, (including a mainstream press, Viking Penguin), and is still widely cited by scholars of mysticism, suggests that rather than being eccentric or backward, Bucke was a prescient figure whose fascination with psychology and religious experience anticipated modern preoccupations.⁴¹

contrast, Anglican modernist, A.M.G. Stephenson, has noted that modernists were often criticised for their lack of social concern. "Some have criticised the Modernist for being too intent on building the Kingdom of God on earth, but that is a mistake. It was true of the preacher of the Social Gospel but not of the English Modernist Indeed he would be constantly and heavily criticised for being insufficiently interested in social questions." Alan M.G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism: The Hulsean Lectures 1979-80* (London: SPCK, 1984), 8-9. The difference may lie in distinct forms of modernism, a Ritschlian liberalism conducive to the Social Gospel, and the bookish Anglo-Catholic modernism described by Stephenson. See the distinctions drawn in Chapter Nine.

⁴⁰Cook, *The Regenerators*, 100. Cook later reluctantly acknowledges: "Despite Bucke's unorthodoxy and the extravagance of his ideas, visions, and prophecies, his outlook was not entirely foreign to the spirit of the times" (p.102).

⁴¹Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness, A Study in the Evolution of the Human Mind* is listed in *Books in Print* in 1997 as available from both the Library of Mystic Arts, Citadel Press, Carol Publishing Group, in a 1993 paperback reprint, and from Viking Penguin in a 1991 reprint. His significance may be measured by the existence of such derivative books as Robert M. May, *Cosmic Consciousness Revisited, The Modern Origins of Western Spiritual Psychology*, rev. ed. (Element, MA: 1995). Hal Bridges credits

Although his book is characterised by a tone of regret rather than sarcasm, David Marshall has similarly equated liberalism with secularism. Paraphrasing Chadwick, Marshall argues that “a liberal society tends to develop in the direction of a secular society.” He assumes that the religion implies conformity to a particular set of doctrines that are imposed from above, by an authoritarian church. Liberalism led directly to the loss of faith: “Churches lose their monopoly position as social and intellectual life becomes more pluralistic. They are thrust into a competitive position” The resulting “marketplace of competing ideas” leads to debate and doubt: “diversity in religious practices would lead to debate, an essential prerequisite of the development of doubt.”⁴²

Marshall defines religion as “a system of beliefs, values and rituals acknowledging a form of being which transcends the world and a level of reality beyond what is observable to human beings. Religious people and institutions hold that the supernatural is a living, effective and intrusive force in the natural world and in human history.” Secularisation, it follows, is among other things, “religious change or the modernisation of belief and worship practices in a fashion that undermines the essential supernatural or other worldly aspects of the faith.”⁴³ Marshall’s emphasis on transcendence, on the supernatural, on an intrusive force, and particularly on the resurrection, results in a definition that excludes, or at least marginalises, a liberal experiential Christianity that emphasises immanence, nature, and incarnation. In an exchange of letters published in the

Bucke’s work with sparking his early interest in mysticism. Hal Bridges, *American Mysticism: From William James to Zen* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1970), ix.

⁴²Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 6, 22, 24. For the similarity between Marshall’s position and the arguments of American sociologist of secularisation, see footnote 122.

⁴³Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 21, 24, 7.

Canadian Historical Review, Phyllis Airhart accused Marshall of echoing “older theological critiques of liberal Protestantism.” She criticised his definition for being narrow and static, and “obscuring the complexities of liberal theology.” Marshall responded that “all inclusive and functional definitions fail to recognise anything distinctive in religion.”⁴⁴ They did not pursue the issue further, but the exchange revealed the theological subtext that operates within the sociological frame. The sociological proponents of the secularisation thesis, while they profess to be free of theology, have operated in tandem with a renewed theological emphasis on transcendence and authority. Neo-orthodox theology and the neo-evangelical theology represented a reassertion of hierarchical religious authority. Sociology, while it operated on a different intellectual axis, accepted and confirmed this definition of religion as authority.

One of the more thoughtful Canadian applications of sociological analysis, William Westfall’s *Two Worlds, The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario*, diverges from the tradition by arguing that religion transcends its social function:

When religion entered the house of man it did so as a servant that must see to the needs of the master. In the light of this process of social and religious change, this study makes one important assertion: the sacred must be returned to the history of religion in Canada, for it is the sacred that makes religion a meaningful category of existence.⁴⁵

Westfall does not expand upon this, but his analysis gives religious faith an unusually disruptive role. He describes the ordered world of Anglicanism, “a highly rational and systematic representation of religion,” a world that neatly fits the sociological model.

⁴⁴Phyllis Airhart, Review of *Secularizing the Faith*, *Canadian Historical Review* LXXIV, 4 (December, 1993); Marshall, David B. and Phyllis D. Airhart, “Letters to the Editors,” *CHR*, LXXV, 3 (September, 1994), 419–421.

⁴⁵W.R. Westfall, *Two Worlds, The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989), 18.

This “religion of order,” however, is contrasted with the world of revivalist experience represented by the Methodism of Egerton Ryerson, which was potentially disruptive.

Westfall’s real interest, like that of the sociologists, is in the role of religion in stabilising society, and he argues that the religion of order and the religion of experience merged in the mid-nineteenth-century evangelical consensus. Anglicanism lost its privileged alliance with the state when it lost exclusive claim to the clergy reserves, and Methodism tempered its revivalist element as the laity became middle class. The new consensus organized society with the idea of progress, and facilitated the development of economic progress by placing the sacred in the future. The emancipatory and destabilising element emerged again, however, in the late nineteenth-century premillennialism. Premillennialists argued that there was no point in working for earthly progress, as Christ would return unexpectedly to preside over the millennium, a thousand year reign. Although Westfall is unusual in recognising this counter-current, his real interest, again, is in the response it provoked among mainstream churches and the cultural power of the postmillennial vision they invoked.⁴⁶ His analysis is ordered to fit the prevailing sociological model by emphasising the evangelical consensus of the mid-nineteenth century and the postmillennialism of the late nineteenth century, but only a slight shift in emphasis would instead have presented a picture of an ongoing dualism, a tension in the religious world between experience and authority.

The difficulties faced by Canadian historians in accommodating the unruly world of religious experience into sociological frames has been, at least in part, the result of

⁴⁶Postmillennialists argued that Christ would only return after the Kingdom of God has been realized on earth.

imposing a model drawn from Europe onto the transatlantic world. The sociological models, drawn from a world characterised by the extremes of religious authority and free thought, simply were not able to accommodate the religious energy of the English-speaking world.⁴⁷ Weber's model continues to be fruitful in Europe for sociologists and historians, where Michel de Certeau's *The Mystic Fable* is the most innovative recent tracing of the Weberian trajectory.⁴⁸ But the transatlantic world, characterised by successive waves of revivals, is difficult to accommodate to the model. In 1911, idealist philosopher, Josiah Royce, distinguished between William James' interest in religious experience, drawn from the revivalism of the nineteenth century, and the barren European alternatives of ecclesiasticism and free thought.

The Varieties of Religious Experience is full of the spirit that, in our country, has long been effective in the formation of new religious sects; and this volume expresses better than any sectarian could express, the recent efforts of this spirit to come to an understanding with modern naturalism, and with the new psychology.

⁴⁷The Eighteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences acknowledged this distinction between the European and North American contexts in a round table entitled, "The Christianization of America and the DeChristianization of Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." The Eighteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Montreal, Canada, August 27 - September 3, 1995. Weber, admittedly, drew upon American Protestantism for *The Protestant Ethic*, but his argument, if not his evidence, was drawn from the European situation. Curiously, although its origins lay in European sociology, the transatlantic study of secularisation developed independently, with very little cross-fertilisation from European sociologists. See Karel Dobbelaere, "Some Trends in European Sociology of Religion: The Secularisation Debate," *Sociological Analysis* 48, 2 (1987): 107-137, 108.

⁴⁸De Certeau describes sixteenth and seventeenth-century mysticism as "the literature of mourning" of the traditional religious world. Unlike most Anglo-American historians, he adopts Weber's timetable. He is analysing the last vestiges of resistance before the advent of Weber's rational world. His sixteenth and seventeenth-century mystics "proliferated about a loss" of faith (p.25), at the "threshold of modernity." (p.13). "[The wildman] presents the silhouette of untamed desire, now cruel, now seductive, issuing forth from the forests to haunt the marketplaces and homes, while a fledgling bourgeoisie learns the asceticism of a productive rationality" (p. 205). "[T]hey have taken [the One] away' say so many chants of the mystics, who inaugurate, with the story of his loss, the history of his returns elsewhere and otherwise, in ways that are the effect rather than the refutation of his absence.... He haunts our environs"(p.2). He described modernity as "the vanishing of truths," "the humiliation of the Christian tradition," "tattered Christendom," "a fundamental defection, that of the institutions of meaning," "the decomposition of a cosmos" (p. 14, 25).

James' view of religious experience is meanwhile at once deliberately unconventional and intensely democratic. The old-world types of reverence for the external forms of the church find no place in his pages; but equally foreign is that barren hostility of the typical European freethinkers for the church with whose traditions they have broken . . . only an American could have written this survey.⁴⁹

Royce defines this undercurrent as quintessentially American -- "In James' book, then, the deeper spirit of our national religious life has found its most manifold and characteristic expression" -- but it may be better understood as a transatlantic phenomenon.⁵⁰ William James' lectures were delivered in England and prepared for an English audience. The world of experiential faith seems to have been a particularly transatlantic one. The currents of revivalism travelled swiftly across the Atlantic, gathering strength and returning. The thought of holiness workers like Hannah Whitall Smith and evangelicals like Moody and Sankey was amplified in Britain and echoed back across the Atlantic in a new and revised form.

2.3 An Evangelical Echo

Evangelical historians, like George Rawlyk in Canada, George Marsden in the United States, and David Bebbington in Britain, have taken up the neglected study of this resurgent evangelical tradition. As outsiders in a hostile academy, they have pointed to

⁴⁹Josiah Royce, *William James and Other Essays on the Philosophy of Life* (New York: MacMillan, 1911), 24.

⁵⁰"In James' book, then, the deeper spirit of our national religious life has found its most manifold and characteristic expression." Royce, *William James*, 25.

the anti-religious bias of the university.⁵¹ Secular control of the academy has loosened with the emergence of religion as an important force in Canadian (and perhaps more importantly, American) affairs.⁵² A renaissance of evangelical scholarship in the United States spilled over into Canada and evangelical historians like Marsden, Mark Noll, and Nathan Hatch supported Rawlyk in his pursuit of evangelical history. He subsequently provided that same support to a growing school of Canadian students of evangelicalism, who have traced a continuing “evangelical impulse” from the nineteenth century into twentieth-century evangelicalism.⁵³ These historians pose their work as a counterweight

⁵¹George Rawlyk has described the genesis of the secular university in terms of Gramscian cultural hegemony and recalled the pressures placed upon the Christian academic to conform: “To study the evangelical tradition seriously, objectively and with empathy is often viewed as a closed minded acceptance of the fundamentalist position and an irrational betrayal of all that is good progressive and open-minded — in other words, a betrayal of all that is perceived to be scholarly.” Rawlyk described the development of a secular McMaster University in the early twentieth century, “a place where the intellectual ‘deputies’ of the new dominant class could help to impose on their society hegemonic control and order.” George Rawlyk, ed., *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 62. Rawlyk describes the importance of American historians George Marsden, Mark Noll and Nathan Hatch in convincing him of the scholarly respectability of and the necessity for such work, in *Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism and the Maritime Baptists* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990), 4.

Philosopher George Grant recalled that progressive intellectuals were “as self-righteous as any ruling group in history” with a “sustained hostility to religion.” Grant wrote, “I think the main thing is that there has been a sustained hostility to religion which has been powerful but hidden. After all, to be really nasty, the progressives have been as self righteous as any ruling group in history. I think that is true. They were so in charge of intellectual life in Canada . . .” William Christian, “George Grant and Religion: A Conversation,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 1, 26 (Spring 1991): 43.

George Marsden has made similar analyses of the American universities. Marsden’s work is more recent: George Marsden, *The Soul of an American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Disbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), and *The Outrageous Idea of Christian Fellowship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁵²As George Marsden has pointed out, historians drawing upon a sociological framework have typically viewed fundamentalism as “the extreme and agonized defense of a dying way of life,” a “manifestation of a cultural lag.” The continuing power of fundamentalism, and the resurgence of evangelicalism in the late twentieth century have made this line of argument specious. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 4. For one critical discussion of this new historiography, see Leonard Sweet, “Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves,” *Journal of the Academy of Religion* 56, 3 (Fall 1988): 397-416.

⁵³Books published under his editorial direction through the McGill-Queen’s Studies in Religion have defined a new school of history. See, in particular, the contributions to *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997).

to the religious history written by intellectual historians. Michael Gauvreau, in particular, has taken a militant stance against the proponents of the “secularisation thesis.” The debate has enlivened Canadian religious history, but observers, blinded by the smoke and thunder, have not noted the extent to which the evangelical historians have conformed to the underlying dynamic of the “secularisation thesis.”

Take, for example, the debate over the timing of secularisation. Chadwick, Cook, and McKillop date the shift from the publication of Darwin’s *Origin of the Species* in 1859. Chadwick closes his study of secularisation with the turn of the century, although he leaves the final point ambiguous, saying it is a social rather than an intellectual fact, found in “the downward turn in French, German, and English churchgoing statistics during the 1880s, or in part until 1914.”⁵⁴ McKillop and Cook work with the later date, suggesting that the process was reaching its dénouement by the 1920s. This timing has been challenged by Gauvreau, who argues that Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Canada, unlike those in United States and Great Britain, resisted the “various currents of secular thought” through continued reliance on eighteenth-century Baconian science and prophetic ideas. While he demonstrates the persistence of the evangelical creed among clergymen into the early twentieth century, Gauvreau does not dispute that Protestant thought eventually underwent a radical transformation. Although he refuses to use a “catch-all universal category” such as secularisation, he acknowledges an “irrevocable” transformation from this evangelical consensus.⁵⁵ He suggests that it occurs in the

⁵⁴Chadwick, *Secularisation*, 18.

⁵⁵Gauvreau describes a radical shift in Protestant thought after 1905: “a movement that irrevocably altered the position of the clergyman professor and, more importantly, the nature and function of theology,” a

twentieth century, as a result of historical relativism, the development of social sciences, and a “self-absorbed culture.” The final rift came about, he says, as a result of idealism, not McKillop’s late nineteenth-century absolute idealism but a later idealism, early twentieth-century neo-Kantianism.⁵⁶ This philosophical turn isolated theologians from the clergy and the congregations, who, Gauvreau argues, were in need of “doctrinal and moral certainty.” The effect of his work is only to shift the date of secularisation, or what Gauvreau calls “the final crisis of the evangelical creed,” by a few decades. And even this delay is effected largely by Gauvreau’s decision to focus upon clergymen, who are understandably more conservative than McKillop’s philosophers and Cook’s reformers.⁵⁷

Gauvreau also adopts the underlying polarity of the sociological framework. Religion is represented by national church bodies, and is interpreted from the top down through the ideas of clerics and theologians. It is understood to be a conservative stabilising force, as the title of his final chapter, “The Evangelical Mind and the Persistence

challenge “to the continuity of the evangelical structure.” Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991), 290, 289.

⁵⁶“In transcending the legacy of Baconianism in the 1920s, Baillie and his colleagues supplied a language and concepts that enabled the theological outlook of the United Church to move, in the space of a single decade, from the intellectual world of the late eighteenth century Awakening to a twentieth century cultural climate dominated by relativity, process and uncertainty in both morals and science.” Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 282.

⁵⁷Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 9. In subsequent work, Gauvreau argues that the origins of secularization might be sought in the decades following World War Two. Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 250.

Marguerite Van Die makes a more subtle argument in her biography of Nathanael Burwash. She argues for the continued vitality of Methodist theology; that “an informed faith, based on religious experience,” was effective in laying Burwash’s religious doubts to rest. Like McKillop and Cook, however, she describes the liberal directions taken by Burwash’s younger colleagues George C. Workman, S.D. Chown, and J.S. Woodsworth and notes the irony that “in seeking to express the Methodism in terms meaningful to a changing environment, [Burwash] was at the same time quite unintentionally undermining the very religion he was trying to preserve.” Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind*, 186.

of the Eighteenth Century,” reveals. Gauvreau describes Canadian religiosity as a function of Canadian backwardness and isolation from the larger world of ideas. Like intellectual historians, he contrasts this conservative religious vision with the secular forces of modernity, the modern evils of urbanisation, industrialisation, and consumerism. John Stackhouse also defines evangelicals as those who cling to eighteenth-century orthodoxy: evangelicals are “those Christian *groups* that trace their heritage back to the North Atlantic revivals of the eighteenth century and who have not since departed from affirmations characteristic of those revivals.”⁵⁸ (Evangelical historians are, predictably, less sanguine than sociologists about the diminished role of the church in modern society and the rise of consumerism and the secular social sciences.⁵⁹)

The shared assumptions of intellectual and evangelical historians can also be seen in their common dismissal of liberal faith. Both groups see liberal faith as a contradiction in terms. Evangelical historians, speaking on behalf of faith, have insisted that their subjects need the “doctrinal and moral certainties” of an earlier, more orthodox age. Intellectual historians, speaking for liberalism, have demanded that their subjects (and readers) come to terms with the rational world of secular humanism. Those liberal

⁵⁸John G. Stackhouse, “‘Who Whom?’ Evangelicalism and Canadian Society” in *Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 55.

⁵⁹Indeed, secularism is often understood to be caused by the forces of “consumerism.” George Rawlyk, citing T. Jackson Lears’ influential *Culture of Consumption*, argues that “in the long run American consumerism may have had a far greater negative impact on the nineteenth century evangelical consensus than did the various manifestations of so-called modern scholarship.” G.A. Rawlyk, “A.L. McCrimmon, H.P. Whidden, T.T. Shields. Christian Higher Education and McMaster University,” in *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 36. Lears has since recanted. See his introduction in *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). David Marshall draws upon Lears’ earlier interpretation, and Michael Gauvreau also suggests that consumerism, imported from the United States, played a role in dissolving the evangelical consensus of the nineteenth century. He refers vaguely to the “less tangible but ultimately insurmountable difficulties faced in adjusting a structure of

evangelicals who lived this apparent contradiction are presented as conservatives (for example, D.L. Moody), proto-secular figures (Henry Drummond), or fools (Ramsay Cook's pantheon of reformers). Evangelical historians can be scathing about liberals: Rawlyk describes them as the apologists of an emerging commercial elite and Barry Mack condemns them as propagandists for a shallow and essentially middle-class morality.⁶⁰ Liberal evangelicalism, Mack argues, should not be considered as true evangelicalism.⁶¹ As a result, liberalism only appears in the growing school of evangelical literature when it is contrasted with emerging fundamentalism; it is a sign of its importance that, despite its derivative role, it emerges as a strong force.⁶²

theological and moral certainty to the needs of a culture increasingly attracted by the ideal of self-absorption and self fulfilment." Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 290.

⁶⁰Rawlyk, *Canadian Baptists*, 62. Barry Mack, "From Preaching to Propaganda to Marginalization: The Lost Centre of Twentieth Century Presbyterianism," in *Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 137-154.

⁶¹Barry Mack, "Ralph Connor and the Progressive Vision," M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1986; his comments are made in "The Lost Centre of Twentieth-Century Presbyterianism" in *Canadian Evangelical Experience*.

⁶²Liberal Baptists emerge briefly from the shadows in Barry Moody's description of liberal Baptists in Acadia College. Moody argues that the date of the college's founding, and the lack of an orthodoxy among Baptists at that time, resulted in a particularly open and liberal institution. "Having developed as denomination by challenging some of the orthodoxies of both church and state, and having as yet no collective orthodoxy of their own, they were free to revel in the new intellectual realms." Barry M. Moody, "Breadth of Vision, Breadth of Mind: The Baptists and Acadia College," in *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, ed. G.A.Rawlyk (Kingston and Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1988), 28.

George Rawlyk's "Fundamentalism, Modernism and the Maritime Baptists in the 1920s and 1930s," provides insight into the broadly liberal outlook of Maritime Baptists, and suggests why the schisms of United States and Ontario were not repeated in the Maritimes. Although Rawlyk describes the force of the liberal position and his article provides insight into modernism in the Maritimes, his focus is on the emerging fundamentalism of John James Sidey. His chapter on McMaster also focuses on fundamentalism, and on T.T. Shields, and the liberal forces that prevailed at McMaster University are revealed largely in contrast to fundamentalist forces. George Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth, Fundamentalism, Modernism and the Maritime Baptists* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

Ian S. Rennie describes liberal evangelicalism as the foil that shaped emergent "protofundamentalism" in early twentieth-century Britain. "Fundamentalism and the Variety of North American Evangelicalism," in David Bebbington, Mark Noll, and George Rawlyk, *Amazing Grace*,

There are exceptions to this perspective. Marguerite Van Die's biography of Nathanael Burwash describes Burwash's faith as a search for meaning rather than deference to a creed. She described Burwash's recourse in times of doubt to religious experience, the inner assurance of faith, "a direct sense of the Divine presence . . . an immediate personal consciousness of God which fills the soul with reverential and adoring love and joy."⁶³ This experiential faith provided a solid and unshakable base from which Burwash could safely explore new areas of knowledge. Van Die suggests in her conclusion that it was the loss of the experiential component that eventually undermined faith. She compares Burwash's successful recovery from a crisis of faith with Woodsworth's crisis and eventual departure from the church: "And so, since [Woodsworth] was unable to turn to the certainty of the witness of the Spirit, the only final authority to which he could appeal was his 'religious consciousness,' which he considered synonymous with 'reason, conscience, intuition, or commonsense.'"⁶⁴ Van Die's analysis is perceptive, but she leaves hanging the question that lies at the centre of this thesis: how does one distinguish between the Witness of the Spirit and a "religious consciousness"? Is the distinction a credal one, a cognitive one, or a matter of the depth

Evangelicalism in Australia, Great Britain, Canada and the United States (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

For a final example of this skewed emphasis on the fundamentalist aspect of a divided evangelical consensus, see Bebbington's article on Baptism and fundamentalism in inter-war Britain. D. W. Bebbington, "Baptism and Fundamentalism in Inter-war Britain," in *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c.1750- c.1950, Essays in Honour of W.R. Ward*, ed. Keith Robbins (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 369.

⁶³Van Die, *Nathanael Burwash*, 60-61. Burwash drew upon Methodist doctrines of the Witness of the Spirit to interpret this experience, and Van Die suggests that he made the work of the Spirit the focus of his theology and preaching. Van Die, *Nathanael Burwash*, 55

⁶⁴Van Die, *Nathanael Burwash*, 192.

or surety of faith? Van Die has pursued experiential faith further in two subsequent articles.⁶⁵ Phyllis Airhart also notes the connections between the “witness of the Spirit” and liberal thought.⁶⁶ For the most part, however, liberal experiential faith is ignored or rejected in the Canadian literature.

If we turn to the United States, which has provided much of the impetus for Canadian evangelical history, a similar vacuum exists. In *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, George Marsden has retrospectively coloured the broad and optimistic evangelicalism of the late nineteenth century in fundamentalist hues.⁶⁷ He argues that the evangelicals involved in the holiness movements and D.L. Moody’s revivalism reacted to the modernism of the early twentieth century by joining in a separatist fundamentalist coalition. Marsden overlooks the other legacies of these broad movements: the New Thought movements arising from holiness, and the liberal organizations like the Student Christian Movement arising from D.L. Moody’s work. As Phyllis Airhart notes: “For

⁶⁵Van Die’s more recent work, which has focused upon the evangelical experience, the way in which, as she puts it, “the sacred and the secular were once intertwined at the level of everyday life,” may help to answer these questions. Marguerite Van Die, “Recovering Religious Experience: Some Reflections on Methodology,” *Canadian Society of Church History, Historical Papers*, 1992, 155-169; and “‘March of Victory and Triumph in Praise of the ‘Beauty of Holiness,’ Laity and the Evangelical Impulse in Canadian Methodism, 1800-1884,” *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 73-89. The first article is an exploratory one in which she suggests the use of social theory, including cultural anthropology, in her current research on the recovery of religious experience. In the second article she traces the continuing power of the evangelical impulse through changing social conditions.

⁶⁶Airhart says many Methodists defended “what many would have thought an odd pair- the ‘old paths’ of Wesley and modern Biblical scholarship.” She notes that “[George Jackson’s] approach to the Bible was intimately related to (not divided from) his concern for piety. His fear was that traditional piety and the old methods of cultivating it were in danger of becoming irrelevant in the modern world. There was need to forge a new kind of evangelism.” Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 88, 90.

⁶⁷George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). In contrast, Ernest Sandeen had earlier identified much narrower roots in the millenarian and Princeton theologies. Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

liberal evangelicals, [Lily Dougall's friend, T.B.] Kilpatrick among them, Moody's legacy was not found in the fundamentalism that came to be associated with Moody's Bible Institute; it was carried by the city mission workers trained at the school in the 1890s and the missionaries inspired by Moody and the Student Volunteer Movement to seek 'the evangelization of the world in our generation.'"⁶⁸

Why have these liberal and experiential elements been overlooked? We can trace the rewriting of history back to B.B. Warfield's fundamentalist revisionism. We saw in the last chapter how Warfield systematically attacked the feminist and experiential components of Thomas Upham's theology. Warfield's theological heirs, the neo-evangelicals, have dominated the new school of evangelical history. These historians, as Leonard Sweet and others have noted, have read their own Reform theology back into the broad evangelicalism of the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ Donald Dayton argued: "This group

⁶⁸ Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 139.

⁶⁹ See Sweet, "Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves"; Douglas Sweeney, "The Essential Evangelicalism Dialectic: The Historiography of the Early Neo-Evangelical Movement and the Observer-Participant Dilemma," *Church History* 60 (1991); James Turner, "Forward," in *Reckoning with the Past*, ed. D.G. Hart (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995); Donald W. Dayton, "Some Doubts About the Usefulness of the Category 'Evangelical,'" in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, ed. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston (Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 250-251; and William H. Katerburg, "Redefining Evangelicalism in the Canadian Evangelical Church: Wycliffe College and the Evangelical Party, 1867-1995," in *Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 187. For a debate on the subject, see Donald W. Dayton's critique of George Marsden, "'The Search for Historical Evangelicalism': George Marsden's History of Fuller Seminary as a Case Study," and the ensuing remarks by Marsden and Joel Carpenter in the "Symposium on Evangelicalism," *Christian Scholar's Review* XXIII, 1 (1993): 12-67.

For the dominance of a Puritan model, see Nathan O. Hatch, "The Puzzle of American Methodism," *Church History* 63, 2 (June 1994): 175-189; James D. Bratt, "A New Narrative for American Religious History?" *Fides et Historia* 23 (1991): 19-30; and Jon Butler, "Historiographical Heresy: Catholicism as a Model for American Religious History," in *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches in European and American Religion*, ed. Thomas Kaselman (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 286-309.

Although the neo-evangelical school has dominated American religious history, there have been important and influential studies of Wesleyan tradition. See Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957); *Called Unto Holiness, The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962); and

wanted to claim as large a power base as possible for the ecclesiastical struggles in which they were engaged.”⁷⁰ They understood the evangelical past through what Dayton has referred to as the “Presbyterian paradigm.”⁷¹ The broad nineteenth-century evangelical movement has been cast in terms of the conservative Reform tradition, and the Wesleyan tradition has largely been ignored. The point is not that Marsden’s work is necessarily wrong, but that it needs to be balanced by a serious consideration of the liberal legacies of evangelicalism.

A similar dynamic can be observed among British historians of evangelicalism. David Bebbington’s *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* is more attentive to liberal theology, and he identifies an early twentieth-century parting of the ways between liberal and conservative evangelicals. However, in his broad definitions, Bebbington also tends to cast a conservative light over the past. He defines the full array of evangelical movements under one explanatory framework, the “evangelical quadrilateral”:

There are the four qualities that have been the special marks of Evangelical religion: *conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.⁷²

Douglas W. Frank, *Less Than Conquerors: How Evangelicalism Entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmann, 1986).

⁷⁰Donald W. Dayton, “Some Doubts about the Category ‘Evangelical,’” 250-251.

⁷¹“By the ‘Presbyterian paradigm,’ I mean *any* understanding of ‘evangelicalism’ that interprets the phenomenon as a ‘conservative’ ‘traditional’ or ‘orthodox’ response to the Enlightenment — any position interprets ‘evangelicalism’ primarily in terms of a ‘conservative/liberal’ spectrum on which ‘evangelicalism’ is a point just to the left of fundamentalism and just to the right of conservative neo-orthodoxy, no matter the what denominational tradition in question (whether Presbyterian, Methodist, Catholic or whatever).” Donald Dayton, “Rejoinder to Historiography Discussion,” *Christian Scholar’s Review* XXIII, 1 (September, 1993), 67.

⁷²Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 3.

The quadrilateral casts a fundamentalist shadow over nineteenth-century evangelicalism, for the defining power of two of the elements, biblicism and crucicentrism, is derived from the twentieth-century debate. The Bible's significance was heightened when the modernist critics forced the conservatives into an unprecedented Biblical literalism. Similarly, the emphasis on the cross was a turn-of-the-century departure from liberal evangelical Arminianism.⁷³ This emphasis is not necessarily a problem with Bebbington's work, which plays an important role in locating a past for modern evangelicalism and is itself cognisant of the liberal elements, but the problem lies instead in the lack of other works tracing different trajectories from nineteenth-century evangelicalism.

The neglect of religious modernism is even more glaring, given the importance of modernist thought to the genesis of a renewed Reform tradition. Fundamentalism has been defined by modernism, in Marsden's words as "originally a broad coalition of anti-

⁷³Crucicentrism has had a long history among evangelicals but its importance had waned at the end of the nineteenth century when an Arminian theology, emphasising free will and human agency, replaced the Calvinist emphasis on God's grace. The focus was on the incarnation rather than the crucifixion of Christ. The incarnation represented God's presence in the world, his immanence, whereas the cross signified man's sin and God's punitive justice. The cross, where it was mentioned, was understood in Abailardian terms, as an image that will move the believer to true repentance and recognition of God's sacrificial love. This shift is explained concisely and from a liberal perspective by Wilhelm Pauck of the University of Chicago in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*: "The humanists, particularly the Socinians, rejected the entire complex of ideas which explained the cross as a satisfaction. They pointed out that the conception of law underlying it rendered the Christian gospel of divine forgiveness and love invalid. In the course of time the attitude of mind reflected in this criticism became quite general. Arminians, Rationalists, and modern liberal theologians thus contributed to the downfall of the traditional theories. Only Abailard's doctrine was occasionally restated in modern forms." "Atonement in Christianity," *An Encyclopedia of Religion*, 44-45.

This emphasis shifted back, as Phyllis Airhart notes in her study of Canadian Methodism, when the Calvinist interpretation emerged again in the teachings of the Plymouth Brethren. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 40-45. Airhart argued that it was the doctrine of substitutionary atonement, rather than their premillennialism, that distinguished Plymouth Brethren from other evangelicals. The Plymouth Brethren caused a rift with the Methodists in Canada when they revived the notion of substitutionary atonement (the idea that Christ took humanity's punishment when he died on the cross). Pauck, writing in 1945, noted a recent return to the idea of God's suffering.

Bebbington, however, blurs the central distinction between the Arminian faith of the Methodists and the re-emerging Calvinism of the Plymouth Brethren, by his inclusion of both Methodist and Plymouth Brethren's idea of the resurrection, under the broad rubric of crucicentrism.

modernists,” a diverse group “united in their common resolve to concede nothing to the inroads of modernism.”⁷⁴ Yet few historians, inside or outside the evangelical school, have felt it necessary to understand modernism. In 1955, Norman Pittenger complained about the “silent treatment” given modernism.⁷⁵ Since that time, with the exceptions of W.R. Hutchison’s work on American modernism, A.M.G. Stephenson’s anecdotal account of Anglican modernism, and a few short studies by McGuire King, the field has continued to be neglected by transatlantic historians of religion.⁷⁶

The historians of evangelicalism have merely reinforced the secularisation thesis. Weber had described the religion in terms of authority and tradition, and this school of history has perpetuated this definition by emphasising the conservatism of the evangelical impulse. Dayton has observed: “Marsden has been fascinated in all his work, or so it seems to me, with a nineteenth century process of secularisation,” to which ‘evangelicalism’ is a ‘conservative’ response -- and this period provides a grid from which

⁷⁴Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. N. Eerdmans, 1987), 10, 32. These anti-modernists represented a diverse mix of revivalism, Keswick holiness, dispensationalism, and Princeton orthodoxy. See his reiteration of the importance of anti-modernism in his “Response to Don Dayton” in the “Symposium on Evangelicalism,” *Christian Scholar’s Review* XXIII, 1 (September, 1993): 34–40.

⁷⁵Norman Pittenger complained in 1955 of the “silent treatment” given modernists, and attempted to address the issue with a number of articles. Norman W. Pittenger, “The Christian Apologetic of James Franklin Bethune-Baker,” *Anglican Theological Review* XXXVII, 4 (October 1955): 260–77. Norman W. Pittenger, “The Christian Apologetic of James Franklin Bethune-Baker,” *Anglican Theological Review* XXXVII, 4 (October, 1955): 260–277. See also Paul Avis’ more recent criticism of short Anglican memory in “Charles Gore and Modernism: A Half-Centenary Exercise in ‘Corporate Believing,’” *Theology* LXXXV, 703 (1982): 269–277.

⁷⁶William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); Alan M. G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism, The Hulsean Lectures 1979–80* (London: SPCK, 1984); William McGuire King, “‘History as Revelation’ in the Theology of the Social Gospel,” in *Protestantism and Social Christianity*, ed. Martin Marty (Minich: K.G. Saur, 1992), 145–65; and “Liberal Protestantism,” in Charles Lippy, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements* (New York: Scribner, 1988).

everything else is read.”⁷⁷ He attributes the preoccupation to the continuing power of the modernist/ fundamentalist debates in the early twentieth century: “Marsden has been misled by his interest in modern twentieth-century Presbyterian conflicts to adopt something that I would call a theologically oriented ‘conservative/liberal’ paradigm in which ‘evangelicalism’ is primarily seen as ‘conservative’ or ‘traditional’ reaction against ‘liberalism.’”⁷⁸

There are, however, new paradigms being proposed. Robert Wuthnow compares what he calls “dwelling-oriented” spirituality, found in churches and denominations, with “seeker-oriented” spirituality, an individualised quest outside of orthodoxy.⁷⁹ Dayton, whose theological roots lie in Pentecostalism, has proposed a new “Pentecostal paradigm” that views evangelicalism as a radical response to orthodoxy: “It seems to me that Marsden tends to see these classical evangelical traditions in continuity with the Reformation traditions. I, on the other hand, see them as a *corrective*, (in their emphasis on sanctification -- both personally and socially) to the Reformation over-emphasis on ‘justification’ as the organizing principle of Christian life and theology. . . .” Dayton emphasises the very elements ignored in Bebbington’s quadrilateral: the evangelical move *away* from the forensic interpretations of the cross and the literal Bible:

Theologically this has generally involved a movement away from “forensic” categories of justification to more organic and realistic soteriological categories that bring sanctification to the fore, a shift away from the “penal substitutionary”

⁷⁷Dayton, “The Search for Historical Evangelicalism,” 17.

⁷⁸Dayton, “The Search for Historical Evangelicalism,” 18.

⁷⁹Wuthnow is concerned with developments since 1950, but as Philip Jenkins has noted in a review, the contrast is a long-standing one in American religious history. Robert Wuthnow, *After Heaven, Spirituality in America after the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Reviewed by Philip Jenkins for H-AmRel (November, 1998). Available from <http://www.hnet.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=18092912705972>.

doctrine of the atonement toward “moral government,” and other alternative articulations, a greater openness to doctrines of freewill and “human ability,” less commitment to “inerrantist” views of Scripture, and so forth. . . .⁸⁰

Whereas the evangelicalism described by Gauvreau and Marsden was defined by its adherence to eighteenth-century theology, Dayton’s evangelicalism is “anti-orthodox” and based upon a liberal theology emphasising free will and human ability. Dayton’s evangelicalism is part of a continuing sectarian impulse within Christianity, found in seventeenth-century Pietism and Puritanism, and in the Methodist reaction to Anglicanism. It is rooted in conversionist piety and characterised by social activism. There are some limitations to Dayton’s perspective, for the theological movement he described spawned modern liberal experiential faith as well as the Pentecostal churches, and the sectarian impulse also led to conservative movements like the Plymouth Brethren, but his reading of evangelicalism opens many new avenues for exploration.

Sociologist Stephen Warner makes a similar case for a new American sociological “paradigm.” “The new paradigm,” he explains, “stems not from the old one, which was developed to account for the European experience, but from an entirely independent vision inspired by American history.”⁸¹ The new model highlights sectarian movements like Dayton’s Pentecostal Church and emphasises the very features that led sociologists to discount these movements: their sectarianism, voluntarism, and unorthodoxy. This school

⁸⁰Dayton, “The Search for Historical Evangelicalism,” 15.

⁸¹Warner, “New Paradigm for the Sociological Study of Religion in the United States,” 1045. Warner identifies the self-conscious proponents of this paradigm as Theodore Caplow, Roger Finke, Andrew Greeley, Nathan Hatch, Laurence Iannaccone, Mary Jo Neitz, Daniel Olsen, and Rodney Stark (p.1080).

frequently explains the religious world in economic terms as a market place, where religious groups compete as spiritual “entrepreneurs” in a “divine economy.”⁸²

These paradigms exhibit a new respect for the religious choices and commitments made by individuals. Whereas the individual in Chadwick’s work existed only to be corralled into the church, and the commitment of Gauvreau’s evangelical was measured by his allegiance to eighteenth-century theology, the measure of the modern believer is seen to lie in the persistence of his or her search for religious meaning. The religious vocation (literally, a calling) is interpreted as a quest, rather than a settled theological situation, and value is placed upon the energy of the questions, rather than the stability of the answers. The new respect for the individual is reflected in the attitude to religious pluralism. Proponents of the secularisation thesis had rejected religious pluralism as a shallow consumerism.⁸³ The new sociologists, in contrast, argue that pluralism is a positive development and results in rapid expansion and a heightened commitment.⁸⁴ Under the secularisation thesis, freedom was seen to lead the Christian directly into a bleak secularism: Chadwick had dated secularisation from the publication of Mill’s *On Liberty*. But in the new models, religious liberty is a precondition for the individual search for religious meaning.

⁸²Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 67, 101.

⁸³“For [American sociologist Peter] Berger the *modern* American market situation is a degenerate one of ‘loss’ ‘rupture’ ‘deprivation’ ‘fragility’ ‘tenuousness’ and ‘crisis’ whereas the paradigmatic durable, tenable *traditional* situation is one where religions are ‘authoritatively imposed’ as ‘monopolies’ by the ‘coercive support’ of the state.” Warner, “New Paradigm,” 1053, citing Peter Berger, *Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1969), Chapter Six, 138, 135, 131.

⁸⁴As Warner points out, “there is considerable evidence that religious switchers are morally serious” Warner, “Toward a New Paradigm,” 1076.

2.4 Feminising the Thesis

Women's history might have filled the historiographical gap left by the intellectual and evangelical historians. The history of religion in North America *is* the history of women, Ann Braude has suggested, and as women were excluded from the institutional authority of the church, their historians might have cast new light upon the experiential world of the pews.⁸⁵ A feminist perspective might have been expected to shed light on the liberal theology associated with improvements in women's education and political opportunities. Religion, however, has been left out of most mainstream Canadian women's history.⁸⁶

⁸⁵"In America women go to church. Women have made the existence of religious institutions possible by providing audiences for preaching, participants for rituals, and the material and financial support for physical structures, as well as (and perhaps most important) by inculcating faith in their children to provide the next generation of participants." Ann Braude in Rosemary Skinner Kelly, Ann Braude, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Forum: Female Experience in American Religion," *Religion and American Culture* 5, 1 (Winter, 1995): 7. As an historian of the Anglican Church observed, "The Women's Auxiliary was already [1893] the strongest organization in our Canadian church." Philip Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada: A History* (Toronto: Collins, 1963), 209. Women made up the majority of every congregation; a British study showed that twice as many women attended the Anglican Church as men at the turn of the twentieth century, and their proportion increased with the First World War. Richard Mudie-Smith, ed. *The Religious Life of London* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904). Cited in Brian Heeney, *The Woman's Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1988), 5. In a close study of religious culture in small Ontario towns between 1886 and 1892, Lynn Marks has recently documented a similar imbalance. Marks found that women made up about two-thirds of church members in Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican churches. She makes the interesting observation that "Women predominated in the churches not because all men stayed away, but because single men were not there, or at least would not become church members." Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 31.

⁸⁶Ruth Brouwer, "Transcending the 'Unacknowledged Quarantine': Putting Religion into English-Canadian Women's History," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, 3 (Fall, 1992): 47-61. For the hostility to religion in feminist studies in general in the United States, see Judith Plaskow, "We Are Also Your Sisters: The Development of Women's Studies in Religion," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 1-2 (1993): 9, and Michelle M. LeWica, "From Superstition to Enlightenment to the Race for Pure Consciousness: Antireligious Currents in Popular and Academic Feminist Discourse," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 14, 2 (1998): 108-123.

A few women's historians, operating within the supportive community of evangelical scholarship, have recovered the experience of conservative evangelical women in a sympathetic fashion. Nancy Hardesty, *Your Daughters Shall Prophesy: Revivalism and Feminism in the Age of Finney*

The main source of the difficulty has been the power of the prevailing consensus that experiential religion is weak and passive -- effeminate rather than feminist. To describe the piety of nineteenth-century women would be to diminish them in modern eyes, so the embarrassing intimacies of an emotive piety have been quietly excised from the past. Veronica Strong-Boag removed Elizabeth Smith's religiosity from her diaries; Flora MacDonald Denison is remembered for her suffrage activities rather than her theosophy, and we know Vida Scudder as a reformer and academic, rather than as an Anglo-Catholic. Those historians who describe nineteenth-century religious women focus on the active women, the missionaries and doctors, rather than contemplative women. This may have been strategically wise -- it has been difficult enough to write women into the history books without exposing them to the kind of jibes Ramsay Cook directed at Denison -- but it has left a vacuum at the heart of the history of social reform, and resulted in the construction of a feminist theology with little sense of its own past.⁸⁷

Women's fiction published in the second half of the nineteenth-century often preached a feminised liberal theology. Novels written by Catherine Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sarah Hale, Lydia Sigourney, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, in the United

(Brooklyn: Carlsen Publishing, 1991); Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); "A Gallant Little Band": Bertha Wright and the Late Nineteenth Century Evangelical Woman," *Journal of Canadian Church Historical Society* 37,1 (April, 1995): 3-21; "Beyond the Congregation: Women and Evangelicalism Reconsidered," in *Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 403-416; Marguerite Van Die, "A March of Victory and Triumph in Praise of the Beauty of Holiness": Laity and the Evangelical Impulse in Canadian Methodism," in *Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 73-89; Virginia Lieson Brereton, *From Sin to Salvation: Stories of Women's Conversions, 1800 to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Virginia Lieson Brereton and Christina R. Klein, "US Women in the Ministry," and Nancy Hardesty, Lucille Sider Dayton, and Donald W. Dayton, "Women in the Holiness Movement: Feminism in the Evangelical Tradition," in *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 226-254.

⁸⁷See Cook, *The Regenerators*, Chapter 5, for a critical discussion of *Mary Melville*.

States, and Agnes Maule Machar, Flora MacDonald Denison, Margaret Marshall Saunders and Joanna Wood in Canada, rejected a punitive Calvinist theology in favour of the liberal experiential faith associated with Thomas Upham and Horace Bushnell.⁸⁸ They reached a wide audience -- a 1909 article in *Canadian Magazine* contrasted the advantages of the popular novel, whose circulation might reach 1,000,000 copies, with the limitations of the pulpit -- and the women who contributed to this literature were highly aware of its role.⁸⁹ Margaret Marshall Saunders wrote, in *The House of Armour*: "Good novels have a mission. Many a one preaches a sermon to people that never listen to a minister."⁹⁰ Nellie McClung concurred in *The Stream Runs Fast*, with her usual fighting spirit: "If some of my stories are sermons in disguise, my earnest hope is that the disguise did not obscure the sermon."⁹¹

⁸⁸"The daughters of New England Divines expressed their rejection of their fathers' harsh theology in sentimental novels which became the bestselling books of the nineteenth century." Ann D. Braude, "Spirits Defend the Rights of Women," in *Women, Religion and Social Change*, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Ellison Banks Findly (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1985), 426.

⁸⁹Reverend John Paterson Smyth (rector of St. George's, Montreal), cited in Gordon Roper, Rupert Shieder, and S. Ross Beharriell, "The Kinds of Fiction, 1880-1920," *Literary History of Canada, Canadian Literature in English*, ed. Carl F. Klinck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 303. This preoccupation with religion has led literary critics to dismiss many women writers. See Frances G. Halpenny, "Problems and Solutions in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1800-1900," in *Re(dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers*, ed. Lorraine McMullen (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1990), 37-48. Book consumption was considered to be higher in Canada than any other country except Australia. Every town with more than one thousand inhabitants had a book store, books were available by mail order and travelling book agents, and good quality fiction was available in monthly magazines. Gordon Roper, "New Forces: New Fiction," in *Literary History of Canada*, 264.

⁹⁰Margaret Marshall Saunders, *The House of Armour* (Philadelphia: A.J. Rowland, 1897), 151.

⁹¹Nellie McClung, *The Stream Runs Fast* (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1946), 69. See Randi R. Warne, "Literature as Pulpit: The Christian Social Activism of Nellie L. McClung (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993).

Early historians of women, like Barbara Welter and Elaine Showalter, had observed the power of nineteenth-century sentimental literature as a vehicle for women's religious expression. Welter described women novelists as lay theologians and Showalter observed, "the religious novel was the essential instrument of female participation in the male monopoly on theological debate."⁹² The tone of the historians changed, however, with the publication of *The Feminization of American Culture* (1977) by American historian, Ann Douglas.⁹³ Her "feminisation thesis" represented a new twist on the secularisation thesis: women were now responsible for the collapse of the healthy and masculine church. They had dragged effeminate clerics into a sentimentalised dead end.⁹⁴ Like many women of her generation of feminist scholarship, Douglas had little patience for Victorian middle-class women; she argued they were deformed by their oppression and created an ultimately crippling sentimentalised creed. She describes them as anti-

⁹²Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of their Own: British Women Authors from Brontë to Lessing* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 144.

⁹³She described "a series of consciousness-raising and existential, as well as experiential factors which resulted in a new awareness of changed conditions and new roles to fit these conditions." "No course in American thought, no text in American religion, mentions Augusta Wilson, Elizabeth Ward and Margaret Deland. Yet they were read by many more Americans than were Emerson, Rauschenbusch, and William James." Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1860," in *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976), 84, 129. Welter, however, sees these writers as promulgating an established theological position rather than charting new territory: she describes them as "lay theologians' popularising and making palatable religious controversy which had already taken place."

See "The Cult of True Womanhood," and "Defenders of the Faith, Women Novelists and Religious Controversy in the Nineteenth Century," in the same volume. See also Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Knopf, 1985); Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979); and Showalter, *A Literature of their Own*.

⁹⁴Other feminist scholars have elaborated upon Douglas' ideas. Ann Taves has argued, drawing on object relations psychology, that a feminised religion was the product of the family dynamics of the feminised private sphere. Ann Taves, "Mothers and Children and the Legacy of Mid-Nineteenth Century American Christianity," *Journal of Religion* 67, 2 (1987): 203-219.

intellectuals, a claim she substantiates by failing to investigate their intellectual roots in the work of American philosophers like Thomas Upham.⁹⁵ As a result of their failure, “America lost its male-dominated theological tradition without gaining a comprehensive feminism or an adequately modernized religious sensibility.”⁹⁶

It has rarely been noted that Douglas’ understanding of liberalised Protestantism was a very partial one. She focused upon the Unitarians and non-evangelical Congregationalists who were left in the effete backwaters while Protestantism moved into an experiential stage and she selectively ignored the energy of the revivalists and the Social Gospellers.⁹⁷ For evidence, she relied upon the self-serving reports from these older mainstream denominations. (Census data show, in contrast, that a pluralistic religious market began to grow after the disestablishment of the churches, and over the past two centuries has resulted in remarkable religious mobilisation.⁹⁸) Her use of the James family is particularly revealing. She cited the elder Henry James --- “religion in the old virile sense has disappeared and been replaced by a feeble Unitarian sentimentality.”⁹⁹ She adopted the dismissive and misogynist tone of the younger Henry James:

⁹⁵For the description of these women as “logical heirs to the anti-intellectual tradition in American culture” who had “conspired willy nilly with changing historical circumstance to make anti-intellectualism the tradition in American culture,” see Douglas, *Feminization*, 398. For Upham’s influence on Stowe, see Chapter One.

⁹⁶Douglas, *Feminization*, 14.

⁹⁷Nathan Hatch has observed Douglas’ dismissal of the Methodist tradition. Nathan O. Hatch, “The Puzzle of American Methodism,” *Church History* 63, 2 (1994): 175-89, 184. Rabinovitz also selects the Congregationalists for his history of religious declension. Richard Rabinovitz, *The Spiritual Self in Everyday Life: The Transformation of Personal Religious Experience in Nineteenth Century New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989).

⁹⁸Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

The whole generation is womanised; the masculine tone is passing out of the world; it's a feminine, a nervous hysterical, chattering, canting age, an age of hollow phrases, and false delicacy and exaggerated solitudes and coddled sensibilities, which if we don't look out, will usher in the reign of mediocrity, of the feeblest, and flattest, and the most pretentious that has ever been seen.¹⁰⁰

But Douglas simply ignored the developments represented by their son and brother. It is William James who represents, better than the dying world of Unitarian literary culture, the shifting nature of religious expression. He represents the direction in which much liberal and experiential faith was moving; not toward a weak sentimentality, but toward a resurgent evangelical sectarianism and a mystical and even non-Christian spirituality.

The lasting power of Douglas' analysis lay in the intersection of two prevailing historical paradigms. She combined the American historian's infatuation with the New England Puritan tradition -- best seen in the work of her mentor, Perry Miller -- with the liberal feminist search for a usable (rational and individualistic) past.¹⁰¹ Her toughness itself constituted a nostalgic (and even sentimental) yearning for the sureties of Calvinist theology: "[u]nder 'Calvinism' we can place much of what rigorous theology Americans have accepted."¹⁰² Douglas has admitted that she abandoned her nineteenth-century sisters for her neo-orthodox and Calvinist brothers. She explained: "I am tempted to account my response socialisation, if not treachery. Siding with the enemy. But I think that is

⁹⁹Henry James, Sr. Cited in F.W. Dupee, *Henry James: His Life and Writings* (New York, 1956), 11. Cited in Douglas, *Feminization*, 7.

¹⁰⁰Henry James, *The Bostonians* (London: Macmillan, 1886).

¹⁰¹See Douglas, *Feminization*, 17-20 and 421, n. 4, for Douglas' reliance upon historians, like Perry Miller, who drew upon a neo-orthodox perspective, and her admiration of Karl Barth's work.

¹⁰²Douglas, *Feminization*, 398, 6.

wrong.”¹⁰³ She argued that she embraced the higher good, theological “toughness” and “virility.”

Douglas’ analysis also aligned neatly with the anti-religious tone of most social history. E.P. Thompson had set this tone with his passionate rejection of Methodism in *The Making of the English Working Class*. Religion was not simply the opiate of the masses, but “psychic masturbation,” the redirection of the revolutionary impulses of the working people and a tool of oppression by their employers.¹⁰⁴ Joan Scott has observed the gendering of this rejection of the religious impulse: she notes that Thompson excluded “the domestic, the spiritual, the expressive, the religious, the undisciplined, the irrational -- all of which are coded feminine,” in favour of the politicised working-class culture.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Douglas, *Feminization*, 11. She was aware of the contradictions: “As I researched and wrote this book, I experienced a confusion which perhaps other women scholars have felt in recent years.” Douglas was writing specifically about United States, but the literature was a common one, and many of her observations have been applied to Canadian history. Canadian fiction was overshadowed, even in Canada, by American and British works. Mary Vipond has observed that “the overall figures show that Canadians read more American fiction than anything else in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Of the approximately two hundred novels on the best seller lists, about 44% were by American authors, 36% by British and 21% by Canadian.” Vipond goes on to note, “Not only was the numerical preponderance American, but American books tended to place disproportionately often in the top half of the annual lists, especially in first place.” Mary Vipond, “Best Sellers in English Canada, 1899-1918: An Overview,” *Journal of Canadian Fiction* 24: 96-119.

For an early critique, see David S. Reynolds, “The Feminization Controversy: Sexual Stereotypes and the Paradoxes of Piety in Nineteenth Century America,” *New England Quarterly* 53 (1980): 96-106. More recently, see Ann Taves, “Women and Gender in American Religion(s),” *Religious Studies Review* 18, no.4 (October, 1992): 263, and David G. Hackett, “Gender and Religion in American Culture, 1870-1930,” *Religion and American Culture* 5, 2 (1995): 127-158.

¹⁰⁴E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963; London: Penguin, 1980).

¹⁰⁵Joan Scott, “Gender and the Politics of History,” *American Historical Review* 91, 5 (December, 1986): 1067, reprinted in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 79. In contrast, Thompson was attracted to the masculinised emotionality of William Blake and William Morrison. See also, Deborah Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters. Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) and “Cottage Religion and the Politics of Survival,” in *Equal or Different: Women’s Politics 1800-1914*, ed. Jane Rendall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 31-56.

Douglas' feminisation thesis has gained the status of a truism.¹⁰⁶ Although belief has been given some credence when it operated outside the confines of the church, the vast middle ground of women's religious faith has, until recently, been ignored by Canadian women's historians.¹⁰⁷ T. Jackson Lears adopted Douglas' tone in *No Place of*

¹⁰⁶For an example of the amplification of Douglas' argument, see Richard Rabinovitz, *The Spiritual Self in Everyday Life: The Transformation of Personal Religious Experience in Nineteenth Century New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 177. Rabinovitz avoids theological terms of reference for sociological "ideal types" in *The Spiritual Self* and charts the abandonment of orthodoxy, (for which we can read Calvinism), and the ensuing rivalry between moralism (social reform) and devotionism (holiness), a rivalry which he traces to the present day. "The nineteenth century evangelical thus shaped a world for himself, which all of us inhabit today, in which one flies back and forth between moralist commitments to external improvement and devotionist adventures in private feeling." Rabinovitz, *The Spiritual Self*, 177. The book is in many ways a perceptive treatment of the liberal experiential but it bears the marks of Douglas' feminization thesis in its implicit gendering of devotion as female, and its final dismissal of devotionism as the empty search for self. "There was enough drama for commercial men in the boom-and-bust cycle of American business, without needing the inward intensities of mood that their wives sought in devotionism. . . . In turning to the inner self as the only safe refuge from the disappointments and frustrations of social life, the alarming discovery was made that no self was there. From that spiritual life we have not yet found an escape" (p. 216). See also the reference to "moralist husbands" and "sentimentalist wives," on p.187.

¹⁰⁷Women who rejected orthodoxy, like Agnes Wintemute Coates, Francis Marion Beynon, Alice Chown and Maria Grant, have received sympathetic consideration by Canadian historians. Katherine Ridout, "'A Woman of Mission': The Religious and Cultural Odyssey of Agnes Wintemute Coates," *Canadian Historical Review* 71, 2 (1990): 208-244; Ramsay Cook, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," in *The West and the Nation, Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton*, ed. Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 187-208; Alice A. Chown, *The Stairway*, intro. by Diana Chown (1921; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Gloria Whelen, "Maria Grant, 1854-1937: The Life and Times of an Early Twentieth Century Christian," in *In Her Own Right. Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.*, ed. Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess (Victoria, B.C.: Camosun College, 1980), 125-146.

Historical work on the unorthodox movements of theosophy, new thought, and spiritualism, in Canada and United States, continues this tradition of distanced, and often bemused, fascination with the radical wing of women's religious experience. The frequent parallels between religious radicalism and early feminism further legitimated this interest. See especially Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

The public role played by women in many marginal religious groups, and in alternate hierarchies of power in the transdenominational evangelical organizations like the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and in denominational women's organisations have also attracted the attention of women historians. For marginal groups, see Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women. Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth Century England* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992); Elizabeth Gillan Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit, The Story of Early Nineteenth Century Methodist Women Preachers in Upper Canada* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1991); Helen Hobbs, "What She Could: Women in the Gospel Workers Church, 1902-1955" in *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*, ed. Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Färdig Whitely (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). Donald M. Lewis, "'Lights in Dark Places': Women Evangelists in Early Victorian Britain, 1838-1857," in *Studies in Church History*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Basil

*Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920.*¹⁰⁸ He

traced the spiritual odysseys of six men, born between 1827 and 1886, who vacillated

Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1990), 415-427; Cecelia Morgan, "Gender, Religion and Rural Society: Quaker Women in Norwich, Ontario, 1820-1880," *Ontario History* LXII, 4 (1990): 273-287, and Valenze, *Female Preaching*.

For alternate hierarchies, see Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); and Diana Pedersen, "The Young Woman's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920: 'A Movement to Meet a Spiritual, Civic and National Need,'" PhD Thesis, Carleton University, 1987.

The control wielded by women in denominational women's organisations has also attracted interest. Marilyn Fardig Whitely has shown that in the Ladies' Aides, groups whose marginality is explicit in their name, the language of subordination masked what was often a contested relationship. Women's organisations sometimes wielded considerable financial and social power, as Joan Gunderson shown for Methodists and Episcopalians in United States. Ruth Compton Brouwer noted a similar gendered tension between Presbyterian women missionaries and the men that oversaw their work. Although the Women's Foreign Missionary Society was intended to act as an auxiliary to the Foreign Missions Committee (FMC) of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, and to provide financial support for women missionaries whose activities would be directed by the FMC, this subordinate relationship was unbalanced by the success of the women in raising funds and promoting missions, and by their resulting confidence and independence. Brouwer describes a similar conflict over the autonomy of women missionaries in the extended debate over the role of women in the mission council in Central India. J.W. Grant has also described the "quiet insistence" of Presbyterian women who raised two-thirds of the revenue for missions among Canadian natives, and were not above wielding "the power of the purse." Rosemary Gagan has described a remarkably similar battle, the "Japan Affair" in a different mission field, Japan, and a different denomination, Methodist. Barbara Roberts has observed a similar struggle over work with women immigrants. Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, "'Doing Just About What They Please': Ladies' Aides in Ontario Methodism," *Ontario History* 4, 82 (December, 1990): 289-304. See also Joan R. Gunderson, "The Local Parish as a Female Institution: The Experience of All Saints Episcopal Church in Frontier Minnesota," *Church History* 55, 3 (1986): 307-322; and "Women and the Parallel Church: A View from Congregations," in *Episcopal Women, Gender, Spirituality, Commitment in an American Mainline Congregation*, ed. Catherine M. Prelinger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 363; Brouwer, *New Women for God* (especially Chapter Five); John Webster Grant, "Two-Thirds of the Revenue: Presbyterian Women and Indian Missions," in *Changing Roles of Women*; Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Mary S. Donovan, *A Different Call: Women's Ministries in the Episcopal Church, 1850-1920* (Wilton, Conn., 1986); *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930*; Barbara Roberts, "Sex, Politics and Religion: Controversies in female immigration reform work in Montreal, 1881-1919," *Atlantis* 6 (1980): 25-38.

The move away from Christianity has also intrigued women historians: Lynn Marks' nuanced gender history of leisure and religion in three Ontario towns suggests the importance of female religiosity as it charts the shift toward secular culture. Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*.

¹⁰⁸T. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). A more recent study of advertising, *Fables of Abundance*, presents a corrective of this view. Lears now embraces the power of an "animism" that counters the sterile dualism of modern capitalism. This animism, characterised as a subversive carnivalesque force, is still figured feminine in some passages ("There will be no attempt here to suggest a straightforward shift from a "feminine" to a "masculine" discourse of abundance, or from an animistic to a dualistic attitude to the material world") but it possesses a drive and energy quite distinct from the

between a contemplative existence, which Lears described as feminine, and the active role demanded by capitalist culture, which he understood as masculine. He described, under the rubric “antimodernism,” forms of twentieth-century mysticism, and presented this mysticism as a weak and feminine response to the modern world:

Eager for liberation from Victorian constraints but lacking firm moral commitments outside of self many Americans transformed mysticism and aestheticism into therapeutic cults of personal fulfilment. Far from being the nostalgic representatives of the “dying elite” these antimodernists were harbingers of important cultural change. The twentieth century’s “revolution in manners and morals” was prepared unintentionally by religious seekers unable to transcend their immediate experience; and it proved less a revolution than a means of adjusting to a new and secular capitalist culture.¹⁰⁹

Lears argued that in order to escape the “weightlessness” of late nineteenth-century culture, the anti-modernists sought an ultimately empty oceanic feeling. Without transcendence, he argued, this search for inner meaning was another expression of a capitalist “therapeutic culture.” He argued that this search for meaning became meaningless with the loss of belief in the supernatural, with the loss of darker dimensions of faith. “Lacking firm religious or ethical commitments, the anti-modern dissenters became immersed in endless self absorption.” The rejection of the supernatural leads inevitably to the self-centredness of vitalism and the mind-cure movements. “To submit to the oceanic feeling was finally to drown.”¹¹⁰

Lears’ analysis is compelling; his argument that twentieth-century mysticism was a product of modernity is one that this study will develop. Yet he confronts the reader with

feminine mysticism that he counterposed against modernity in his early work. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 20.

¹⁰⁹Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 223.

¹¹⁰Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 224.

the familiar dilemma. The believer must either accept the “darker dimensions” of a transcendent faith -- and Lears never defines these, though the neo-orthodox echoes are clear -- or drown in the emptiness of narcissism. There is, in his view, no resolution possible, except in the acceptance of a sense of conflict, as in the case of Vida Scudder. Lears observed: “Rejecting the evasive banality of modern culture, [Scudder] accepted inner conflict as the essential condition of religious life in the modern world. This was her most lasting achievement.”¹¹¹ Lears, then, although his work extends into the twentieth century, poses us with the familiar polarities, orthodox religious faith, transcendent and necessarily dark, or a vacuous modernity. As with Douglas, orthodoxy is in some unexplored way gendered male and experiential faith female.

The gendering of liberal theology has become widely accepted. It has deep theological roots, as we saw in the last chapter. As a paradigm, it fits comfortably with assumptions about the shallowness of liberal theology and confirms parallel assumptions about the depth and rigour of women’s intellectual abilities. A secularised academy has

¹¹¹Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 215. More sympathetic historians have observed the profound interdependence of her religious and reformist views. Susan Lindley, “Neglected Voices and *Praxis* in the Social Gospel,” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 18.1 (Spring, 1990): 75-102. Lindley argues: “A common criticism of the Social Gospel, especially popular with but not confined to those who would discredit it, is that it “reduces” religion to a “mere” social concern, or loses its “spiritual” dimension. Walter Rauschenbusch, whose evangelical roots were impeccable, and whose own piety was as evident as his social passion, tends to be seen as an exception. At the very least, Scudder was another exception, though the form of Christianity she embraced was very different from Rauschenbusch’s evangelical piety. There is no doubt that she found her Catholic spirituality and her radical social views not only complementary but profoundly interdependent, if a bit unusual in her early years.” Lindley, “Neglected Voices”, 82. For Scudder’s difficulties in reconciling the two viewpoints, see Vida Scudder, *Socialism and Character* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1912), 1-6. Scudder is well known now for her Social Gospel work, but not for her work on Saint Catherine of Siena and Saint Francis. See *Saint Catherine of Siena, as seen in her Letters*, translated and edited with an introduction by Vida Scudder (London: J.M. Dent, 1905); Vida Scudder, *Brother John, A Tale of the First Franciscans* (Boston: Little Brown and Co; London: J.M. Dent and Co., 1927); *The Disciple of a Saint: being the imaginary biography of Raniero de Landoccio dei Pagliaresi*, (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1907); *The Franciscan Adventure. A study in the first hundred years of the Order of St. Francis of Assisi* (London & Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1931). Dougall included a review of *Saint Catherine* in *World Wide* 5, 44 (October 21, 1905).

not contested the interpretation of women's religious faith as weak sentimentality. A few women historians have intervened, however, on behalf of their "sisters." Ann Braude has launched the most forthright attack upon these interpretive frameworks. She argues that the feminisation thesis, like the declension and secularisation theses, is a fiction, a "romantic notion of a patriarchal past," that reflects male anxiety rather than demographic data. "All assert that there was a time (immediately before whatever period is being studied) when Protestant ministers enjoyed a degree of authority that has since been undermined, and that this constitutes a stage in the decline of religion in the modern world."¹¹² Braude argues that women have always been numerically dominant in American religion and she presents an alternative model of rising female influence, culminating in feminist theology.

If the assumption of women's powerlessness is rejected (or at least bracketed), and women's participation is viewed as a neutral or conceivably even as a positive contribution to a religious institution, then the story of American religion might have a very different shape. The cultural transitions referred to as declension, feminisation, and secularisation, might be seen as positive developments in American Protestantism: the colonial period saw an increase in the spiritual status and role of women; the nineteenth century saw a vast increase in the activities and influence of the female laity, and the twentieth century, in a process that is still ongoing, has witnessed the rise of female clergy and a reorientation of liturgy and theology based on women's experience.¹¹³

Braude's argument is, as she admits, "suggestive, not exhaustive; provocative not conclusive."¹¹⁴

¹¹²Ann Braude, "Women's History *Is* American Religious History," in *ReTelling U.S. Religious History*, Thomas A. Tweed, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 93.

¹¹³Braude, "Women's History," 97.

¹¹⁴Braude, "Women's History," 107.

Jane Tompkins' widely cited book, *Sensational Designs*, is a respectful rebuttal of Ann Douglas' views:

... it is to her formulation of the anti-sentimentalist position ... that my remarks are principally addressed. Although her attitude towards the vast quantity of literature written by women between 1820 and 1870 is the one that the male-dominated tradition has always expressed — contempt — Douglas' book is nevertheless extremely important because of its powerful and sustained consideration of this long-neglected body of work.¹¹⁵

Tompkins is a literary critic concerned with the exclusion of domestic fiction from the literary canon. Turning conventional literary wisdom on its head, she argues that these books are important because they were popular, that their value lies in the way they spoke to large masses of readers. Books like Stowes' *Uncle Tom's Cabin* function as Foucauldian "nodes within a network," and use stereotyped characters and sensational plots to play upon their readers' assumptions and speak to their religious and political sensibilities. She aims to "see the sentimental novel as not as an artifice of eternity answerable to certain formal criteria and to certain psychological and philosophical concerns, but as a political enterprise, halfway between a sermon and social theory, that both codifies and attempts to mold the values of its time."¹¹⁶

The novels are based on a providential point of view that modern critics find unrealistic, she says, because they can no longer accept the beliefs that informed both the readers and writer of the period. The death of little Eva in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is dismissed, by Douglas and others, because like the domestic novel in general, it is not seen to challenge oppressive social conditions. Tompkins says this dismissal misses the point

¹¹⁵Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs, The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 217, n.3.

¹¹⁶Tompkins, *Sensational Designs*, 126.

that, for evangelicals, death was victory, and that Eva's death wrought the only truly significant change, the change in the hearts of those around her. Tompkins argues that sentimental literature did not serve patriarchal ends by romanticising domesticity, but rather "represents a monumental effort to reorganize culture from a woman's point of view . . . (and) in certain cases, it offers a critique of American society far more devastating than any delivered by better known critics such as Hawthorne or Melville."¹¹⁷

Colleen McDannell has also suggested that women altered the religious climate, going so far as to claim that they initiated the liberalisation of religion. Looking, like Tompkins, at the fiction of Catherine Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sarah Hale, Lydia Sigourney, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, she argues:

Nineteenth century women writers, however, not only challenged traditional notions of sin and salvation, but they presented an alternative to paternal domestic religion. They accomplished this not through male controlled seminaries and churches, but through the informal network of fiction and advice literature. Horace Bushnell . . . only lent theological legitimation to creeds which women writers established earlier.¹¹⁸

Charlene Spretnak has pointed out that "[t]hese novels . . . have sometimes been dismissed as 'sentimental' by contemporary feminist scholars, but they are ignoring the strong connection, often voiced by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other activists of the period, between women's spiritual convictions and their political networking and

¹¹⁷Tompkins, *Sensational Designs*, 124.

¹¹⁸Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 128.

actions.”¹¹⁹ Elizabeth Genovese has also suggested that women reorganised Christianity into a transformative tradition.

These volumes [she is reviewing *Women and Religion in America*] move beyond the instrumentalist concern with what “patriarchal religion” did to women by addressing the ways in which some women adopted religion as a language and a practice appropriate to their own distinctive values. There remains the possibility that this development corresponded to momentous changes in our society’s view of the nature of and proper sanctions for morality as well as the nature and place of spirituality in our collective life.¹²⁰

These claims need to be better substantiated; they are significant however, for the complete reversal in viewpoint they suggest.

There are difficulties with this new approach. It tends to an uncritical endorsement of the feminine, and sets women’s literary “theology” apart from, rather than integrated within, other developments in liberal theology. It also presents female religious culture as a homogeneous unit. Women, especially as the nineteenth century drew to a close, did not represent one monolithic point of view.¹²¹ Finally, it is rash to consider this literature to be an alternate theology-- it certainly had none of the rigour of a scholarly debate. But

¹¹⁹Charlene Spretnak, *The Politics of Women’s Spirituality, Essays on the Rise of Spiritual Power within the Feminist Movement* (New York: Anchor Books, 1982), 342. She refers to Nina Baym, *Woman’s Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820-1870* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

¹²⁰Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, “Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: New Questions and Old Models in the Religious History of American Women,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* LIII, 3 (1985): 465-471.

¹²¹The theological differences between liberal and conservative evangelical women threatened national women’s groups in both the United States and Canada. The debate could be acrimonious. Two national women’s groups, the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Council of Women of Canada, almost foundered in the 1890s over religious questions, the issue of silent prayer in Canada and the controversy over Cady Stanton’s *Women’s Bible* in the United States. Both debates pitted the evangelical theology of the WCTU against the more liberal theology of other women activists. The American debate took place in January of 1896, and the conservatives won a narrow victory. In Canada the debate less sharply divided, and by carefully marshalling the liberal voices, Lady Aberdeen kept the fledgling council on a liberal tack, but even she temporarily lost some evangelical members.

it acted as an alternative forum for the exploration of theological ideas, and provided a location for the construction and interpretation of a religious sensibility.

2.5 Finding the Context

When history took a sociological turn, experiential religion did not entirely disappear from the academy, but persisted in the departments of religious studies in the phenomenological study of mysticism. William James drew upon Schleiermacher to describe mysticism as a subjective psychological state characterised by ineffability, noetic quality, transiency, and passivity.¹²² Students of mysticism like Ninian Smart, W. T. Stace, and R.C. Zaehner adopted his definition and applied it to mystics across cultures and centuries. They stripped the religious experience -- whether Hindu, Buddhist, or Christian, medieval or modern -- of its cultural and historical context, and identified the irreducible elements as the “common core” or “perennial philosophy” of religion. In Canada, Wilfred Cantwell Smith drew a similar distinction between faith, “a direct encounter with God” that was common to all religions, and belief, “the holding of certain ideas.”¹²³ Although their work functioned within the historical context of comparative religion, it was inherently ahistorical:

¹²²See Grace M. Jantzen, 311-321 for Schleiermacher’s influence upon the modern understanding of mysticism. “In summary we have in Schleiermacher’s account, and in the Romantics more generally, the major ingredients of modern conceptions of mysticism, including the annihilation or absorption of the self, the merging into complete unity of subject and object, the intensity of feeling, and the inadequacy of rationality or language” (p. 320).

¹²³See Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Faith and Belief: The Difference Between Them* (1979; Oxford: Oneworld, 1998), 12. Faith, he says, is “mediated no doubt by the sacraments and the doctrines, or the moral obligations involved, but significant precisely because it transcends these and enables the person to transcend them.”

the appeal of the common core lay in its claim to reach outside of the flawed historical moment to a higher universal truth. As Eric J. Sharpe noted in a review of Mircea Eliade's *Encyclopedia of Religion*, these scholars "generally have a passionate aversion to the history of ideas approach to anything connected to spirituality."¹²⁴

History re-entered the philosophy of religion on the heels of Wittgenstein's linguistic epistemology. Steven Katz adopted Wittgenstein's argument that experience derived its meaning from language and culture. He argued that the idea of a common core of mystical experience is a form of essentialist reductionism, "reducing all reports of x to one claimed essence y."¹²⁵ Katz proposed a constructivist (or, as he prefers, contextualist) analysis. The mystic's encounter is shaped by his or her expectations of the divine and there is no pure (unmediated) experience: "the experience itself as well as the form in which it is reported is shaped by concepts which the mystic brings to, and shapes, his experience."¹²⁶ Katz argued for the contextuality of the mystical experience, for, as his colleague, Robert M. Gimello, said, "the deep and formative connection between it and the systems of concept, practice, discourse, and institution which produce and contain

¹²⁴Eric J. Sharpe, "The Study of Religion in *Encyclopedia of Religion*," *Journal of Religion* 70, 3 (July, 1990): 347.

¹²⁵It is not open, he notes, to any clear hermeneutical, methodological or metaphysical procedure as any distinguishing characteristics are dismissed as products of the culturally bound interpretive framework. Steven T. Katz, "Language, Epistemology and Mysticism," in *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*, ed. Steven T. Katz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 24. See also Steven T. Katz, ed., *Mysticism and Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), and *Mysticism and Religious Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983). Wayne Proudfoot has also argued that purportedly direct or unmediated experiences are, in fact, permeated, shaped, and constituted by the concepts, beliefs, and values of a particular culture in his *Religious Experience* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

¹²⁶Katz, "Language, Epistemology and Mysticism," 29.

it.”¹²⁷ In place of a “perennial philosophy,” Katz posited the study of a wide variety of mystical experiences, each imbedded in the religious practices and theology of their particular tradition.

Contextualism has gained wide acceptance, although the idea of a mystical core still has popular parlance, in books like Karen Armstrong’s recent *A History of God*, and is still hotly debated among students of mysticism.¹²⁸ The sweeping surveys of mysticism as a “perennial philosophy” have been replaced by the close particularity of historical studies, and text, as the site of the mediation between the experience and the context, has become central. There are numerous biographies of mystics, like Teresa of Avila, personal in focus, textual in analysis and attentive to the historical and cultural context.¹²⁹ Bernard McGinn, author of the highly respected four-volume work, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, advocates a “historico-contextual” approach. His work is thickly historical, and he defines mysticism not as the fleeting experience but much more broadly as the

¹²⁷Robert M. Gimello, “Mysticism and Meditation,” in *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*, Steven Katz, ed. (London: Sheldon Press, 1978), 185.

¹²⁸Critical responses to Katz’ work include Robert Foreman, ed., *The Problem of Pure Consciousness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Donald Evans, “Can Philosophers Limit What Mystics Can Do? A Critique of Steven Katz,” *Religious Studies* 25 (1989): 53-60; William Wainwright, *Mysticism: A Study of its Nature, Cognitive Value, and Moral Implications* (Brighton, England: Harvester Press, 1981), 19-22. See also Nelson Pike, *Mystic Union: An Essay on the Phenomenology of Mysticism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992). The ongoing debate appears to be largely a rearguard action that reflects the strength of Katz’ argument: one reviewer of Foreman’s book described Foreman’s as a “largely abandoned position.” Michael Bagger, “Critical Notice: Ecumenicalism and Perennialism Revisited,” *Religious Studies* 27 (1991): 399-412. However, the perennialist position is being modified and defended, and is widely accepted. Karen Armstrong posits, without discussion, the “universality of religious experience” in *Visions of God, Four Medieval Mystics and Their Writings* (New York: Bantam Books, 1994), and draws uncritically upon William James’ defining characteristics of mysticism. The idea of a common essence of religious faith informs Armstrong’s best-seller, *A History of God, The 4000-Year Quest of Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (New York: Knopf, 1994).

¹²⁹Gillian T. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of St. Teresa* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); Alison Woeber, *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

“practice of the presence of God.”¹³⁰ Similarly, Grace Jantzen argues that we need “[a] theological and social probing of what has been taken to count as the presence of God . . . to develop a history of the theology of the presence of God, rather than to outline a sequence of intense subjective experiences.”¹³¹ Andrew Weeks’ *German Mysticism* traces, in ways we will draw upon in this study, the close connections between German mysticism and the cultural and literary climate in Germany.¹³² The emphasis in Weeks’ work is not on the universal aspects of mysticism but upon the culturally specific nature of German mysticism. It is the community of thought -- the arena of discourse -- that is important.

As Michel de Certeau explained in *The Mystic Fable*:

[F]rom this angle the problem is not to find out if an exegetic treatise by Gregory of Nyssa is based upon the same experience as a discourse later called “mystic” [adjective *mystique*] but to determine what occurs in a field delimited by a *name* (“*mystics*”) [noun *mystique*] and within which work is being done in obedience to a relevant set of rules.¹³³

Contextualism has not denied that the religious experience is based on the individual subjective experience, but it has placed this experience in historical context, and turned the scholarly focus onto the play of context.

¹³⁰Bernard McGinn, “The Letter and the Spirit: Spirituality as a Academic Discipline,” *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 1, 2 (1993): 4. See Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, Vol. 1, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1991; London: SCM Press, 1992); Vol. 2, *The Growth of Mysticism: From Gregory the Great to the Twelfth Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1994; London: SCM Press, 1995); Vol. 3, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism (1200-1350)* (New York: Crossroad, 1994. London: SCM Press, 1995).

¹³¹Grace Jantzen, “Could There Be a Mystical Core of Religion?” *Religious Studies* 29 (1993): 401-411.

¹³²Andrew Weeks, *German Mysticism, From Hildegard of Bingen to Ludwig Wittgenstein, A Literary and Intellectual History* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993).

¹³³De Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 16.

Contextualism has contributed to the emergence of the academic field of spirituality. The study of spirituality tends to be more grounded in the cultural context than the study of mysticism; it spans the garden varieties as well as the heights of religious experience, and tends in practice to hew more closely to the tradition (which is generally Christian).¹³⁴ “This field” said one of the key exponents, Sandra Schneiders, “is not concerned with isolated experiences, whether religious or mystical, or with episodes, or epiphenomena or temporary experiments or idiosyncratic dabblings.”¹³⁵ The emphasis is, as Bernard McGinn explains, on “spirituality as an experience rooted in a particular community’s history rather than as a dimension of human existence as such.”¹³⁶ Walter Principe, whose early work defined the field, has described the need for context as a “corrective lens.”¹³⁷ Philip Sheldrake’s study of *Spirituality and History* sets out to

¹³⁴This nascent school found institutional embodiment with the publication of the international journal, *Studies in Spirituality*, and the creation of the Society for the Study of Christian Spirituality under the auspices of the American Academy of Religion in 1992 and the resulting publication of *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* in 1993. By then, it was possible to take a doctoral degree in spirituality at four American universities. See Sandra M. Schneider, “Spirituality in the Academy,” *Theological Studies* 50, 4 (1989): 684-687, and Bernard McGinn, “The Letter and the Spirit: Spirituality as a Academic Discipline,” *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 1, 2 (1993): 1-9.

For surveys of the history of spirituality, see Walter Principe, “Toward Defining Spirituality,” *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 12, 2 (1983): 127-141. Spirituality was, like mysticism, initially understood to be a transcultural phenomenon that transcended historical traditions. “The use of ‘spirituality’ was closely tied to the debate concerning the nature of the spiritual life itself.... Its increased use was also associated with attempts to distinguish between dogma and the study of spiritual life as well as with an increasing emphasis on religious consciousness and the experiential.” See Philip Sheldrake, *Spirituality and History: Questions of Interpretation and Method* (London: SPCK, 1991; rev ed. 1995; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998), 98, 44. One of the first theorists, P. Pourrat, writing after the Great War, explained all Christian spirituality as essentially a unity. P. Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality [La Spiritualité Chrétienne]*, 4 Vols., trans. W.R. Mitchell and S.P. Jacques (Paris, 1918; Westminster: Neuman, 1953-55), and Louis Bouyer et al., *A History of Christian Spirituality*, 3 Vols. (London: Burns and Oats, 1968).

¹³⁵Schneiders, “A Hermeneutical Approach,” 10.

¹³⁶Bernard McGinn, “The Letter and the Spirit: Spirituality as a Academic Discipline,” *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 1, 2 (1993): 6.

¹³⁷Walter H. Principe, “Broadening the Focus: Context as a Corrective Lens in Reading Historical Works in Spirituality,” *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 2.1 (1994): 1-5. See Principe, “Toward Defining

emphasise the importance of understanding spiritualities in “their full historical settings”:

“In short, part of the contemporary problem with defining ‘spirituality’ is associated with the fact that it is not a single, transcultural phenomenon, but is rooted within the lived experience of God’s presence in history -- and a history which is always specific.”¹³⁸

Elizabeth Dreyer calls for a more historical interpretation of the activity of the Holy Spirit, and argues for an “examination of prayers, sermons, liturgical resources, catechetical material and accounts of mystical experience in order to arrive at a ‘thicker description’ of how earlier communities experienced the Spirit’s presence.”¹³⁹ The close particularity of the surveys of spirituality can be measured by sheer volume: the more than ninety volumes of *Classics of Western Spirituality* and the twenty-five volumes of *World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest* (1985-).¹⁴⁰

Although McGinn, Principe, and Sheldrake define the field of spirituality as historical/contextual, their position is a contested one. Sandra Schneiders gives history only a supporting role, as “field work” for the main anthropological project. Her arguments are similar to those employed by Owen Chadwick. Spirituality, she argued, “involves an interiority which can only be partially examined by historical methods.” She elaborates:

But strictly speaking, history, if I understand it properly, deals with publicly available data within the time-space continuum and is subject to laws of cause and effect. While

Spirituality,” and Elizabeth A. Dreyer, “The Spirit Blows in the Academy: The Theological Spirituality of Walter H. Principe, CSB (1922-1996),” *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 4, 2 (1997): 7-8.

¹³⁸Philip Sheldrake, *Spirituality and History: Questions of Interpretation and Method* (London: SPCK, 1991; rev. ed. 1995; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998).

¹³⁹Elizabeth A. Dreyer, “Spirituality as a Resource for Theology: The Holy Spirit in Augustine,” *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 4, 2 (Fall, 1996): 1-12.

¹⁴⁰*Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1978-) and *World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest*, 25 vols. (New York: Crossroad, 1985-).

this covers an enormous scope of reality there are many realities in the sphere of spirituality which, although they have historical aspects, are essentially transhistorical or outside the proper sphere of the discipline of history. . . . One can study the conditions leading up to the conversion experience, the observable conditions of the experience itself, and its publicly available results including first or third person accounts of the experience. But can one study, historically, the conversion experience itself? Or the mystical experience as such? Or transformation as religious or spiritual experience? Of course, one can raise the question of whether, in fact, one can by any means, historical or otherwise, study religious or spiritual experience as such and if so how. But whatever the answer to that question, it seems to me that historical study, while indispensable as a participant in the study of spiritual life, is not the defining method.¹⁴¹

In her defense of new-found academic turf, Schneiders has cast history in a very static light. She assumes that historians are limited to the role of gathering data, and their disciplinary walls are too high to permit interdisciplinary wandering. The discipline can easily accommodate the hermeneutic tasks of critical analysis and constructive interpretation that Schneiders advocates.¹⁴² Philip Sheldrake concedes that religious experience is ineffable, but argues that the problems posed by this ineffability are not unique to historians:

As Sandra Schneiders rightly notes, there cannot be *direct* access to “experience” for historians. But as she also rightly hints, it is difficult to conceive how any of us, by any means may study spiritual experience *as such*. If there is not direct contact with experience, but only with what is remembered and/or recorded, this is necessarily interpreted theologically and conditioned historically. Spirituality may be concerned with “Christian spiritual life as experience” but my very sense of “Christian,” “spiritual,” “life,” and “experience,” are, theologically speaking, not value free.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹Sandra M. Schneiders, “A Hermeneutical Approach to the Study of Christian Spirituality,” *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 3, 1 (1994): 10,12. Sandra Schneiders, one of the leading advocates of an independent scholarly discipline of spirituality, described history as the source of “field work” for a dominant anthropological approach in “Spirituality as an Academic Discipline: Reflections from Experience,” *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 1, 2 (1993): 13. In response to McGinn’s article, “The Letter and the Spirit,” Schneider revised her argument, calling for a hermeneutical rather than anthropological approach. See Schneiders, “A Hermeneutical Approach.” Schneiders’ definition of religion is a liberal one: “[T]he project of self-integration through self-transcendence within and toward the horizon of ultimacy, which, in the case of the Christian, is God revealed in Jesus Christ who is present as Spirit in and through the community of faith called the Church.” (p.10.)

¹⁴²McGinn’s use of the formulation “historical-contextual” suggests a broader approach than the purely historical one.

¹⁴³Philip F. Sheldrake, “Some Continuing Questions: The Relationship Between Spirituality and Theology,” *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 2,1 (1994): 16.

He argues that the interiority of the religious experience does not preclude the historical investigation of the manifestations of the experience, that history as a contextual field brings particular values to bear upon the experience.

Schneider's larger argument, however, is an important one that returns us to the points made in the introduction to this chapter about the incompatibility of history (which, as she puts it, operates in the time-space continuum) and spirituality (which reaches beyond). Schneider assumes that religion is "essentially transhistorical." There seems still to lie, at the back of contextualist arguments, the assumption that there is a universal experience, an essence that transcends all the busy contextualising and constructivising. The very existence of the term "mysticism" or "spiritualism" implies a common phenomena. In his widely respected survey of mysticism, Bernard McGinn incorporated the contextualist position and also resisted it, in order to define mysticism as "the preparation for, the consciousness of, and the reaction to what can be described as the immediate or direct presence of God."¹⁴⁴ The acknowledgement of the importance of the preparation for, and the reaction to, the mystical experience reflects the contextualist arguments, but the common core remains in the emphasis on the consciousness of the immediate presence of God. Bruce Janz has suggested that "there is a way to understand mysticism that moves past [Katz and

¹⁴⁴McGinn, *The Presence of God*, xvii. This definition, as we shall see, still owes a great deal to the world of modernists and personal idealists, and reflects a deliberate departure from the understanding of mysticism as "union" with the divine, particularly a union in which the personality is lost, and a substitution with the broader concept of the "presence" of God. In a later article, McGinn suggests the universal nature of spiritualism: "Every religious tradition needs to understand its past, and there is something that answers to the broad description of spirituality in all religions, at least in the sense that beliefs have always been practiced and were always intended to be appropriated on a deep personal level." Bernard McGinn, "The Letter and the Spirit: Spirituality as a Academic Discipline," *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 1, 2 (1993): 9.

Forman's positions]: mysticism always comes in cultural context, as an answer to some problem or issue, and cannot be understood apart from that; on the other hand, it is not reducible to that, or constructable from it."¹⁴⁵ For all the talk about context, this irreducible element continues to define the field.

Feminist theology is built upon the same experiential base as "common core" study of mysticism, and has followed a similar trajectory. As Sheila Davaney has noted, "feminist theology, while a departure from male constructed theology, can be seen as part of the post Enlightenment turn to experience that has characterised liberal theology from Schleiermacher onward."¹⁴⁶ In their struggle to retain a Christian faith in the face of an undeniably patriarchal and misogynist Bible and a masculine institution, feminist theologians have focused on the redemptive experience of faith. The result has been a strongly experiential feminist theology. Ursula King has suggested that feminist theology is primarily about "the life of the spirit," and argues feminist theologians may be characterised in Karl Rahner's terms as "affective existentialist thinkers." Rosemary Radforth Reuther argues that feminist theology must be built upon a "primal re-encounter with divine reality"; like Schüssler Fiorenza, Reuther locates this in the community of women who are struggling for liberation. Nelle Morton calls for a new imaging drawn

¹⁴⁵See Bruce Janz's September 19, 1997, contribution to Mystic-I, The Academic Discussion of Mysticism, at MYSTIC-L@uconnvm.uconn.edu. "Mysticism and Understanding: Steven Katz and his Critics." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 24, 1 (1995): 77-94; and "Response to Robert K.C. Forman." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 25, 2 (1996): 209-213; and "Who's Who in the History of Mysticism." Available from <http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/gthursby/mys/whoswho/htm#bib>.

¹⁴⁶Sheila Greeve Davaney, "The Limits of the Appeal to Women's Experience," in *Shaping New Vision Gender and Values in American Culture*, The Harvard Women's Studies in Religion Series, ed. Clarissa W. Atkinson et al. (Ann Arbor and London: UMI Research Press, 1987), 48.

from “deep in the experience itself.”¹⁴⁷ Feminist theologians have -- like the “common core” philosophers of religion -- been reluctant to historicise their theology; they have largely ignored their roots in the nineteenth century, and prefer to investigate the distant world of early Christianity or the ahistorical mythology of goddess religions.¹⁴⁸

Long before Katz, however, feminists interpreted religious experience contextually.¹⁴⁹ In what has become the landmark article of feminist theology, Valerie Saiving (Goldstein) argued in 1960 that theology has been organised around a male experience and that women, because of a different experience, need a different understanding of faith. She wrote (in marked contrast to Ann Douglas’s respect for “virile” neo-orthodox theology) that “the prevalent [neo-orthodox] theologies today were created by men who lived among the tensions of a hypermasculine culture.”¹⁵⁰ The

¹⁴⁷Morton, Nelle, *The Journey Is Home* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 127. “But the private self . . . is only source of authentic experience and this experience can only be stated and understood only by public image . . . *Deep in the experience itself is the source of new imaging.*” (Emphasis in the original.)

¹⁴⁸Cynthia Eller, “Relativizing the Patriarchy: The Sacred History of the Feminist Spirituality Movement,” *History of Religions* 30, 3 (1991): 279-295.

¹⁴⁹Katz’ argument has since been incorporated by some scholars. Melissa Raphael, for example, argues that constructivism “justifies post-Christian and post-Jewish feminist reappropriation of female sacral power. Melissa Raphael, “Feminism, Constructivism, and Numinous Experience,” *Religious Studies* 30 (1994): 525. Wayne Proudfoot has acknowledged the feminist implications of his argument in *Religious Experience* in “Roundtable Discussion: The Influence of Feminist Theory on My Theological Work,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 7, 1 (1991): 115-117.

Constructivism also has potential for conservative reading. Because constructivism acknowledges the power of the context in mediating religious experience, its implications depend upon our understanding of that context. If we understand context as the religious tradition - the corpus of theology, creed, and doctrine that religious modernism rejected - constructivism has the potential to confirm the necessity of this tradition, and to deny that any valid spirituality exists outside of it. See Steven T. Katz, “The Conservative Character of Mystical Experience,” in *Mysticism and Religious Traditions*. Grace Jantzen has criticised Katz for failing to apply post-modern and gender theory in a review of his most recent book, *Mysticism and Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) in *Religious Studies* 31 (1995): 131-133.

¹⁵⁰Valerie Saiving, “The Human Situation: A Feminine View,” in *Womanspirit Rising, A Feminist Reader in Religion*, eds. Carol P. Christ and Judith Plaskow (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1992). Originally published in *The Journal of Religion* (April, 1960). Saiving was encouraged to publish a graduate paper by Daniel Day Williams, the author of the *Andover Liberals: A Study in American Theology* (1941; New

emphasis on sin as pride and redemption as negation of self is, Saiving argued, a response to modern *man*'s existence. Women need a different theology that speaks to a specifically feminine form of sin, underdevelopment or negation of self.¹⁵¹ Saiving's article is still reprinted in the 1990s. Her argument bears the marks of its era, particularly in its near-essentialist position, but its continuing power has been in the suggestion that theology is affected by the experience of the theologian as a man or woman. Feminist theologians Carol P. Christ and Judith Plaskow explain: "Saiving set forth what was to become the basic premise of all feminist theology: that the vision of the theologian is affected by the particularities of his or her experience as male or female."¹⁵² Plaskow developed Saiving's short article and argued in a study of Reinhold Niebuhr that neo-orthodox theology is "most relevant to the nature and problems of men in our society, and especially the nature and problems of powerful men."¹⁵³ British theologian Daphne Hampson also rejected neo-orthodoxy, noting that "there is a theme of death through sacrifice and rebirth" in religions dominated by men. She asks whether a very different kind of religion arises from the experiences of women, and concludes: "The question then is that of

York: Octagon, 1970). See "A Conversation with Valerie Saiving," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 4, 2 (Fall, 1988), 99-115.

¹⁵¹She describes the masculinised theology: "its identification of sin with pride, will-to-power, exploitation, self-assertiveness, and the treatment of others as objects; its conception of redemption as restoring to man what he fundamentally lacks (namely sacrificial love, the I-Thou relationship, the primacy of the personal and ultimately peace)" and contrasts it to the female sins: "triviality, distractibility, and diffuseness; lack of an organizing centre or focus; dependence upon others for one's self definition; tolerance at the expense of standards of excellence; inability to respect the boundaries of privacy; sentimentality, gossipy sociability and mistrust of reason -- in short underdevelopment or negation of self." Saiving, "The Human Situation," 37.

¹⁵²Christ and Plaskow, eds., *Womanspirit Rising*, 20.

¹⁵³Judith Plaskow, *Sex, Sin and Grace, Women's Experience and the Theologies of Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich* (Washington: University Press of America, 1980), 92.

whether it may not be the case that the religion which we have known in the west has reflected male sensibilities rather than female.”¹⁵⁴

The position is not, it is important to note, necessarily an essentialist one. Most of these theologians argue that women are not essentially different in their spirituality, but that women, living in a gendered society, will produce, and respond to, a different theology from men in the same society. As Sheila Davaney noted : “The appeal is made to a historically derived normativity rather than any ontological uniqueness of women.”¹⁵⁵ Feminist theology has come under criticism by womanist and mujerista theologians who call attention to the diversity of women’s experience. In 1987, Saiving conceded that her description of female experience was a particular one, specific to a white middle-class woman in the 1950s, but said her argument still stood. “[The article’s] main central point is that where you are when you do your theology makes a difference, and that theology

¹⁵⁴Daphne Hampson, *Theology and Feminism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 140-141. See her later work: *After Christianity* (Valley Forge, P.A.: Trinity Press, 1997).

¹⁵⁵Ursula King, *Women and Spirituality: Voices of Protest and Promise* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 197-198. See also, Ursula King, “Voices of Protest and Promise: Women’s Studies in Religion, the Impact of the Feminist Critique on the Study of Religion,” *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 23, 3 (1994): 315-329. Rosemary Radford Ruether, “The Future of Feminist Theology in the Academy,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 53 (1985): 709. Sheila Greeve Davaney, “The Limits of the Appeal to Women’s Experience,” in *Shaping New Vision Gender and Values in American Culture*, The Harvard Women’s Studies in Religion Series, ed. Clarissa W. Atkinson et al. (Ann Arbor and London: UMI Research Press, 1987), 48. Davaney concludes with a call for a recognition of religious symbols as historically grounded and value-laden human constructions rather than as referential symbols of an assumed ontological reality.

Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza also based her influential work upon the social experience of women. “The spiritual authority of the women-church rests on the experience of God’s sustaining grace and liberating presence in the midst of our struggles for justice, freedom and wholeness for all. It rests not simply upon the “experience of women,” but on the experience of women struggling for liberation from patriarchal oppression.” Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Bread Not Stone* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), xvi. See also Susan A. Ross, Mary Catherine Hilkert, O.P., and Elizabeth A. Johnson, C.S.J., “Feminist Theology: A Review of the Literature,” *Theological Studies*, 56 (1995): 327-352, and *Freeing Theology: The Essentials of Theology in Feminist Perspective*, ed. Catherine LaCugna (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1993). Pamela Dickey Young departs from this by explicitly claiming two sources of authority, women’s experience and the “Christian tradition.” See *Feminist Theology/Christian Theology: In Search of Method* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 20.

has not been written from the perspective of female experience, whatever female experience may be.”¹⁵⁶ Feminist theologians continue to appeal to experience, with a new sensitivity to the particularities of that experience. Carol P. Christ argues in her article “Embodied Thinking,”

We seek to speak a truth rooted in our experience, our time and place, our bodies. We can affirm the relativity of all universal truth claims, because we know that all truth claims are rooted in time and space, in experience and body. And there is no experience or body that is not perspectival.¹⁵⁷

Without abandoning the appeal to experience, feminist theology has, like feminist scholarship in general, acknowledged the nuances of particular experience.

The trajectory of feminist theology, then, leads us to the same contradiction that we found at the heart of the study of spirituality and mysticism: the unacknowledged reliance upon an essential core, the irreducible element at the heart of the field. Even those who stress the particularity of the religious experience, like Carol Christ, still seem to assume a universality at a further level. They, like the contextualists, stand upon an edifice built by modernists -- the common core understanding of religious faith -- as they build their individual perspectival wings.

The arguments of the contextualists support the project engaged in here; that of placing the experiential religion of one woman into the theological, the social and political,

¹⁵⁶“A Conversation with Valerie Saiving,” 100. In adopting some of her interpretation, particularly as it applies to the nineteenth century, I am not suggesting that religion is necessarily gendered, but that the construction of religious experience, the interpretation and mapping of that experience, is inevitably shaped by gender in a gendered society.

¹⁵⁷Carol P. Christ, “Embodied Thinking: Reflections on Feminist Theological Method,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 5, 1 (1989): 14. Francis Fiorenza explains, “the appeal to experience should not be taken as an appeal to a foundational experience, but rather as an appeal to particular experiences, that are overloaded with particular interpretations.” “Roundtable Discussion: The Influence of Feminist Theory on My Theological Work,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 7, 1 (1991): 95-105.

and the gendered context of nineteenth-century transatlantic culture. But the project, as we shall see, threatens to undermine the very arguments on which it is based. The study brings attention to the unacknowledged contradiction that lies at the heart of contextual analysis. When we study a modernist like Lily Dougall, what we are studying is the construction of the common core understanding of religious experience. We are placing the common core into context, and suggesting that it is temporal and historical. We are, in effect denying its universality, and by extension its only real claim to transcendence.

Grace Jantzen has examined the origins of Christian mysticism and argued that the common core understanding of mysticism is a product of the coercive structuring of power and knowledge in society.¹⁵⁸ This account of mysticism, she argues, supports the modern state by keeping God (and women) out of politics:

Far from being a neutral objective account the Jamesian account of mysticism accepted by modern philosophers of religion is an account inextricably intertwined with issues of power and gender in ways which feminists need to deconstruct. The privatised subjectivised ineffable mysticism of William James and his followers is open to women as well as men; but it plays directly into the hands of modern bourgeois political and gender assumptions. It keeps God (and women) safely out of politics and the public realm; it allows mysticism to flourish as a secret inner life, while those who nurture such an inner life can be generally counted on to prop up rather than challenge the status quo of their workplaces, their gender roles, and the political systems by which they are governed, since their anxieties and angers will be allayed in the privacy of their own hearts' search for peace and tranquillity.¹⁵⁹

Jantzen's argument has its weaknesses: her survey is broad, and she condemns the modern liberal experiential without seriously examining its recent history or considering its close connections to both nineteenth and twentieth-century feminism. As a Kantian, she too readily equates experiential faith with passivity. But her work raises some difficult

¹⁵⁸Jantzen, *Power, Gender, and Christian Mysticism*, xv.

¹⁵⁹Jantzen, *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism* 346.

questions for those who see the experience of faith as a pure wellspring. Although she situates herself with the feminist camp, she turns the feminist hermeneutic of suspicion upon the experiential base of much feminist theology.

We noted at the outset of this chapter that history is the enemy of faith. “Writing speaks of the past only in order to inter it,” de Certeau has argued: “Writing is a tomb in the double sense of the word in that, in the very same text, it both honors and eliminates.” We study history in order to set distance between ourselves and the past, and demarcate the past as Other -- in effect to kill it. “Thus it can be said, writing makes the dead so that the living can exist elsewhere.”¹⁶⁰ Perhaps the truce we observed between historians and practitioners of an experiential faith was a form of benign neglect, that provided a living space, an admittedly marginal one, for the existence of the experiential. By placing the experiential faith of a modernist like Lily Dougall into the context of her period, we both honour her as a significant and fascinating woman, and, perhaps, undermine the claims on which she based her religious faith.

¹⁶⁰Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 101.

Chapter Three

An Evangelical Childhood

“Always writhing on the edge of anxiety and despair.”
James Dougall¹

Lily Dougall was born on April 16, 1858, the youngest of seven surviving children of John Dougall and Elizabeth (Redpath) Dougall.² She should by birth have had a protected and comfortable childhood. Her parents were well connected in Montreal through her mother's family and her father, a Scottish immigrant, had been successful as an importer and businessman.³ John Dougall's interests, however, increasingly moved from business to temperance evangelicalism and he and Elizabeth Dougall sacrificed the family's prosperity and health for the evangelical cause.⁴ What was the religious background that prompted such

¹ J.D. Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, July, 1876, Montreal, NAC, DFP, 1.5.

²The children included John Redpath Dougall, James D. Dougall (married Laura “Laure” Matille), Janet E. Dougall, “Jessie,” Margaret Jane Dougall (“Maggie,” married Anthony Cochrane), Mary Helen Dougall “Polly,” Susan Dougall “Susie,” and Lily Dougall. Arthur Dougall died at the age of four in 1858, a baby died at four months in 1861, and Mary Helen died in 1872.

³Dougall's grandfather was John Redpath, who made a fortune with Canada's first sugar refinery. He was a prominent citizen in Montreal, a devout Free Church Presbyterian, active in philanthropies and civic organisations. He and his first wife, Janet McPhee, had five children: Elizabeth (married John Dougall), Peter (married Grace Wood), Mary (married Thomas Taylor), Helen (married George Drummond), and John James (married Ada Mills.) On her death he married Jane Drummond, the sister of his son-in-law, George Drummond, who bore seven children: George Drummond (married Alice Mills, and Anne Savage), Francis (Frank, married Caroline Plimsoll), Augusta Eleanor (married Charles Fleet), Emily Bonar (married Henry Bovey), William Wood (Willie).

The Dougall family papers include a number of letters from John Redpath's eldest son, Lily's uncle, Peter Redpath, who moved with his wife, Grace, to England in 1876 when tariffs on sugar importation were dropped and the refineries temporarily closed. John Redpath's son-in-law, George Alexander Drummond, who with Peter Redpath operated the refineries, was also prominent in Montreal affairs and was later made a Senator. Family letters refer to the early death of George's wife, Helen (Redpath) Drummond. George Drummond subsequently married Grace Julia Parker, who was prominent as one of Lady Aberdeen's closest collaborators on the National Council of Women.

⁴He had immigrated in 1826, been converted in 1827 by an American Presbyterian, Joseph Stiff Christmas, and his piety was renewed in 1838 in a Montreal revival by Dr. Kirk of Boston. He became a member of the

sacrifice? An examination of the family's faith will suggest two themes: the liberal approach to doctrine and the primacy of the experiential dimension. This liberal piety was shaded by the lingering power of a Presbyterian Calvinism.

3.1 "Writhing on the Edge of Anxiety and Despair"

In 1846, twelve years before Lily's birth, her father, John Dougall, started the *Montreal Witness*. The newspaper became his pulpit, from which he preached a non-sectarian, temperance evangelicalism. A draft advertising sheet described the *Witness* as a "missing link between the Church and the world It has nailed its colours to the mast as a catholic evangelical newspaper opposing firmly but courageously Romanism, Ritualism, and rationalism and supporting to its utmost all good causes such as those represented by the great catholic religious societies and YMCA."⁵ The evangelicalism was initially a fiery Calvinism; as J. I. Cooper noted in a study of the early years of the *Witness*, "the attitudes of the Godhead which appear to have appealed most strongly were those of judgement and vengeance. . . . moral

Montreal Temperance Society in 1832, editing and subsidising the *Canadian Temperance Advocate* from 1835, and preaching temperance at meetings and on the docks. On his marriage in 1840, rather than continue with a church that "worshipped rum-sellers," he left the Presbyterian Church for the Congregational Church. An obituary credits Dougall with starting a temperance society with a "Mr. James Court and another gentleman." *Northern Messenger and Sunday School Companion*, September 24, 1886, clipping in BL, LDC, 6.

⁵NAC, DFP, 1, 2, p.4. The good causes are identified as abstinence from all intoxicating drinks and tobacco, and promotion of human freedom, (interestingly, tobacco was identified and subsequently crossed out) and the great religious societies included such non-sectarian organisations as the Evangelical Alliance, the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Sunday School Union, and the Temperance Society. A more measured description of his intentions was given by Dougall at the 25th anniversary of the paper, and quoted in his obituary: "The *Witness* was religious without being sectarian, and political irrespective of party. It advocated from the first, the claims of evangelical religion, the temperance reformation, the Sabbath, human freedom and every other good cause to the best of its ability and with no uncertain sound." *Northern Messenger and Sunday School Companion*, September 24, 1886, clipping in BL, LDC, 6.

fervour and gloom were present in about equal quantities.”⁶ It was virulently anti-Catholic; John Dougall, like his father-in-law, John Redpath, was a supporter of the French Canadian Missionary Society and fought an ongoing battle with the Roman Catholic Church, “that system of Godless superstition.”⁷ Over the years the evangelicalism became less urgent and the commercial and political news gained in importance in the paper. The paper’s stated purpose in 1868 was more muted: to “promote evangelical religion, sound morality and useful knowledge.”⁸ The newspaper became a commercial success, spawning a publishing empire that included a semi-weekly, a weekly as well as a daily edition; a literary monthly, *The New Dominion Monthly*; a Sunday School paper, the *Sabbath Reader*; an inexpensive semi-monthly temperance review, *The Canadian Messenger* or *The Northern Messenger* (from 1865); the French Protestant *L'Aurore*; and from 1901 (under Lily Dougall’s editorial control) the international review, *World Wide*.

In 1870, when his Montreal paper was the second among dailies in Canada, John Dougall moved to New York to start another paper, the *New York Witness*.⁹ Although he had an anonymous financial backer – a Mr. Remington of Ilion, New York – the paper never succeeded and moved from crisis to crisis.¹⁰ This venture dominated Lily’s youth and put

⁶J.I. Cooper, “The Early Editorial Policy of the *Montreal Witness*,” *Canadian Historical Association Report* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), 53-62.

⁷“Report of the French Canadian Mission Society,” *The Montreal Witness*, February 9, 1846.

⁸*The Montreal Daily Witness*, July 8, 1868.

⁹See Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 40-50. Rutherford gives the circulation numbers of the *Montreal Witness* at 1872: 23,100; 1880:42,542; 1891:46,140 and 1900:39,250.

¹⁰In 1871, Remington offered a \$3,000.00 loan to start the New York paper, with the promise of further advances if necessary. “I doubt not many valuable articles may be obtained from eminent ministers in NY and Brooklyn who will feel personally interested in promoting the success of the paper. Above all I expect God’s

tremendous emotional and financial strain on the family. The paper finally failed; as a grandson put it, the *New York Witness* “died of galloping consumption of family money.”¹¹ The *Montreal Witness*, placed under a ban by the Roman Catholic Church in 1875, also suffered flagging circulation and declining revenue.¹² Years later, after the death of her mother, Lily Dougall wrote repeatedly to her grieving father to reassure him: “I wish you would not grieve over our New York troubles which are past, or be anxious about our money for the future. If we lost health and money in the conflict, we gained what is of far more value than either.”¹³

The family losses in money and health were significant, however, and were to colour her feelings about evangelicalism. The financial strain was chiefly borne by the oldest children who remained in Montreal to run the original family businesses, John Redpath Dougall (1841-1934), James Duncan Dougall (1843-1914), and Janet Dougall (1845-1904). Both brothers complain continually about the poor business climate in Montreal in the 1880s: James’ letters in particular are a litany of associates’ bankruptcies and ensuing losses to his firm. James, who had a wife and young children to support, was most alarmed at his father’s gambling with family money. In 1878, he wrote:

good hand will guide and sustain you in this work so intimately connected with the advancement of His cause among men and to which in His providence you have evidently been called.” E. Remington to John Dougall, June 19, 1871, NAC, DFP, 1, 4. Subsequent letters reveal Remington’s early enthusiasm and later his growing impatience with the paper’s losses.

¹¹ FED (Frederick Dougall), pencilled notation in 1875 diary by John Dougall, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

¹² Rutherford attributes their failure to lack of revenue; their subscription prices were modest, and they had no lucrative liquor ads or political patronage. “Most of all, however, the *Daily Witness* stagnated because the stubbornness of the Dougall family prevented a significant shift to meet changing tastes and times.” Rutherford, *Victorian Authority*, 50. Beyond this oblique reference he does not note the impact of their religious convictions.

¹³ M.S. Earp, “Selected Letters of Lily Dougall with biographical notes,” typescript, NAC, DFP, 5, 9, p.71.

How many months of anxiety have I had for want of that money [he had invested \$11,000] lest my whole life should be ruined at the outset? How much hard work have I had to go through to keep the businesses here floating without it? I say nothing of the money sent from the *Witness* here as that was your own yet but for me in all probability the lack of it would have caused the failure of the paper here.¹⁴

He and his wife, Laure, were forced to make economies: they moved to a smaller house, and she bought a sewing machine. They were not poor by any means, but they were hard pressed to keep up with their extended family and Montreal acquaintances. Letters from John Redpath suggest a significant drop in social standing over these years. "Our social sphere grows smaller all the time. We cannot now be said to have any. Mrs. Alfred Savage had [a party?] and asked all our circle and not us. I don't know if it is worth worrying about anymore, we have made backwards progress since Jessie and I kept house together."¹⁵

If finances preoccupied James, emotional strain seems to have most affected those family members who moved with their parents to Brooklyn. Lily and two sisters, Mary Helen (Polly) and Susie, seem to have inherited their mother's predisposition to a debilitating asthma, a chronic disease that had significant psychosomatic components. "The whole family save James and Jessie [Janet] seem weak and with little promise of Life in this world," John wrote in his diary in 1870.¹⁶ On February 27, 1872, after months of illness, Polly died at the age of

¹⁴John Redpath Dougall to John Dougall, May 31, 1878, NAC, DFP, 1.7, p.5.

¹⁵(Punctuation added.) John Redpath Dougall to unknown [from the context the letter was probably written to his mother, Elizabeth Dougall], n.d., NAC, DFP, 1, 2. Janet's few letters describe a very hectic schedule of work, philanthropy, and social commitments, but she seems to have played little role in the financial management and because of this, or because she shared her father's commitment to the evangelical cause, there is little complaint in her tone. Jessie is probably a nickname for Janet. (There is also reference made to Jessie M. Clapperton, a woman who appears to have been either a servant or a relative who stayed with the family. It is not likely that she is the Jessie referred to in this letter, as other letters refer to her as Miss Clapperton, however, and in one letter to Jessie refers to Miss Clapperton.) Unknown to Jessie, August 16, 1886, NAC, DFP, 2, 2.

¹⁶October 1, 1870, diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3. Janet also missed school because of illness. See E. Dickinson to Janet Dougall, Cote House, January 3, 1869, NAC, DFP, 1, 3.

24 when Lily was 13 years old.¹⁷ Polly's death made the family solicitous for Lily and Susan's health.¹⁸ Lily suffered two nervous collapses in 1877 and 1878 and returned temporarily to Montreal. In 1878, Susie also broke down and was forced to enter a hospital in Dansville, New York, where over ten months she slowly regained her strength.¹⁹ The breakdowns in Polly, Susan, Lily, and Elizabeth's health were clearly associated with the stress of the New York venture. Commenting on Susie's slow improvement, Janet said she had been running down in health for ten years — a period of time that roughly coincides with their father's New York venture.²⁰ Letters suggest the difficulty lay in the physical nature of the elder Dougall's housing in Brooklyn and their relative poverty; as John put it, "the change in

¹⁷John wrote in his diary in September, 1870 that Janet had taken on Polly's work as editor of the *New Dominion Monthly* to allow her to recuperate: "The latter [Polly] seeking much needed health, I wish her riding tour could have been indefinitely prolonged. I think if she could go with somebody and ride all over Europe she might get well and strong again." Elizabeth and Polly Dougall stayed in Montreal for health after their Christmas visit in 1870. September 16, 1870; December 24, 1870; December 31, 1870, diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3. See, "My Daughter, A Brief Memoir of Mary Helen Dougall," *New Dominion Monthly*, May, 1872, clipping in NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

¹⁸As Lily wrote in an autobiographical novel: "No one pressed her to study for they thought she was not strong enough for regular school work. They saw her idle and were satisfied that she was having the consideration which her health required, while all the time there went on within her a mental travail to which the enforced work of lessons would have been rest and play." "Lovereen. A Canadian Novel," p. 95, Bodleian Library (BL), Lily Dougall Papers, (LDP), 4. A letter in 1876 notes the state of Lily's health as if it were a matter of ongoing concern. Janet Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, Montreal, February 14, 1876. NAC, DFP, 1, 5. If her health and family finances had permitted, Lily might have followed Janet Dougall to Vassar. Janet's autograph book among the Dougall family papers is identified "Vassar, June 21, 1866." NAC, DFP, 4, 2.

¹⁹See Susan Dougall's letters from Dansville, in 1879, in NAC, DFP, 1, 8. The most detailed descriptions of Susan's illness suggests a similarity to modern anorexia. Her mother had asked why she had not been gaining faster and Susan replied, "I am not gaining fast in any way, but I am not dying as I was last summer but making just almost imperceptible progress up hill and that only by great care and quiet." She describes the attendants efforts to entice her to eat various luxuries. Susan Dougall to Elizabeth and John Dougall, [nd] NAC, DFP, 1, 8. In another letter she describes her digestion at some length; noting that she has to lie still all morning in order to digest white bread, gruel, egg, and milk, but says she does not measure her health by digestion but by the state of her nerves. Susan Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, Dansville, August 7, 1879. NAC, DFP, 1, 8. See also her reference to the plumpness of her own and other patients' arms. Susan Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall and Maggie Cochrane, December 12, 1878, NAC, DFP, 1, 7.

²⁰[Probably Janet Dougall] to Elizabeth Dougall, Friday, September 26, 1878, NAC, DFP, 1, 7, p. 6.

climate and circumstance.”²¹ The young girls’ difficulties were also the result of the emotional demands of their invalid mother.²²

These financial and health problems led the Dougalls to see themselves as willing martyrs to the cause of evangelicalism. As James wrote, in a more optimistic moment:

It is marvellous to me how both Father and me get on from day to day and from week to week always writhing [?] on the edge of anxiety and despair . . . I am sure that if any of the ancient worthies had to come back to earth again and be subject as before to temptation and weakness he would prefer to be placed in some position where he would *have* to feel day by day and hour by hour his dependence upon God and that is just the position which our Father in his infinite love has chosen for us.²³

Feeling, as James put it, their dependence on God day by day and hour by hour, and being an articulate family of writers and editors, the Dougalls argued about the nature of this dependence. They discussed the limits of their commitment — did God expect them to overstep business ethics, did the Sabbath end after the last train out of town, how important were the final words of a dying woman, what if financial contributions to the paper meant they could no

²¹See, for example, James Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, April 15, [1882?], NAC, DFP, 2, 1. James encouraged his mother to come to Montreal for the summer, saying “the change in home feeling and the open air are a great benefit.”

²²It was the younger women who had the least control over their lives. The relationship between nervous illness and women’s confined position in Victorian culture has been extensively debated by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in Nineteenth Century America,” in her *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady, Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), and Wendy Mitchinson *The Nature of Their Bodies, Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), especially Chapter Two. “The Frailty of Women.” Dougall commented on the gendering of invalidism in an autobiographical novel: a doctor commented: “the commonest product of the bustle and [brain?] and religion, of the nineteenth century — a woman all ideas and fine feelings not diseased but forever ailing.” Dougall, “Lovereen,” p. 400, BL, LDP, 4.

Elizabeth Dougall also had chronic health problems that finally resulted in her moving to a rest home, the “Healds Hygeia Home” at Wilmington. Susan makes reference to nursing her mother in 1872. Susan Dougall to John Dougall, August 17, 1872, NAC, DFP, 1, 4. Lily later lived with her mother at a rest home on her return from Edinburgh in 1882. See the family letters in NAC, DFP, 1, 1 and 2, particularly Elizabeth Dougall to John Dougall, Wilmington, April, 1882. The reference to “Healds Hygeia Home” is in a letter from Elizabeth Dougall to family members dated April 20, 1882. Lily’s description of the death of the mother in this autobiographical novel strongly suggests that she blamed her father’s evangelicalism for her mother’s health problems. John Dougall’s remorse on his wife’s death would seem to confirm this.

²³ Emphasis in the original. J.D. Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, July, 1876, Montreal, NAC, DFP, 1, 5.

longer share a pew with friends in church? The women's letters revolved around family, death, and illness, the men's around the equally unhealthy business situation. More private documents, like John Redpath Dougall's anguished diaries, provide a glimpse of the internal battles waged by an active evangelist. Lily wrote a revealing autobiographical novel, "Lovereen," exploring the psychological tensions between generations in a highly religious family. After Lily's death, her partner, Sophie Earp, also transcribed many of the family letters into an unfinished biography.²⁴ The various records provide a intimate glimpse into the social and spiritual dynamics at work in a prominent evangelical family.

3.2 "Creeping into God's Secret Place"

Historians have linked evangelicalism to the social reform and progressive movements of the early twentieth century.²⁵ The link is strong. Lily's siblings, especially her older brother and

²⁴These records may be found in the Dougall Family Papers (DFP) at the National Archives of Canada (NAC), or the Lily Dougall Papers (LDP) at the Bodleian Library (BL) in Oxford. Sophie Earp's biography was apparently modeled upon the memorial volumes published in Britain following the deaths of leading clerics, such as the memoir of Dougall's advisor, *The Life and Work of John Richardson Illingworth, As Portrayed By His Letters and Illustrated By Photographs* (London: John Murray, 1917). The manuscript was never published, but a copy has been preserved. M.S. Earp. "Selected Letters of Lily Dougall with biographical notes," typescript, NAC. DFP, 5, 9.

²⁵The connections between evangelical faith and social reform were first drawn by Timothy L. Smith in *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957). In Canada, see Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914 -1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988). Fraser describes the urban revivalism of Henry Drummond and D.L. Moody as one of three contributing forces (with Biblical Criticism and British Idealism) to the Presbyterian progressive movement. See also Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie, *A Full-Orbed Christianity The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

sister, expressed the family's convictions in precisely the way that the historiography of the Social Gospel has led us to expect. They were widely known and respected for their temperance work. John Redpath Dougall was active in the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the French Canadian Missionary Society, and the Congregational Church. Janet, who remained single, worked on the family newspapers, was a founder and long-standing vice-president of the Montreal Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the president of the Hochelaga County WCTU, and president of the Calvary Congregational Church Women's Missionary Society.²⁶ At her death in 1904 she was eulogised for her good works, and a row of WCTU workers sat together in her funeral as a tribute. Lily's sister, Maggie, and her husband Anthony Cochrane, and her brother, James, and his wife, Laure (Matille), were also active in temperance and good works.²⁷

The historical literature often fails, however, to fully acknowledge the continuing primacy of religious experience. A private and experiential faith lay behind the great popular causes such as temperance and the YMCA. For the Dougall siblings the social causes were important, but only as the outward signs of the inward presence of God. Janet reminded members of the National American WCTU of the centrality of the Spirit in 1886: "Miss

For the contributions of evangelicalism to women's reform work, see Diana Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920: 'Movement to Meet a Spiritual, Civic and National Need,'" Ph.D. Thesis, Carleton University, 1987. Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

²⁶Obituaries, BL, LDP, 1. She was also a member of the Women's Boards of the Dominion and Provincial Congregational Missionary Unions.

²⁷They seem from their letters to have been preoccupied with raising families. Anthony is described as "having one of his great temperance meetings tonight with a famous speaker from the West." James Dougall to Laure Dougall, Monday, 10:40 PM. n.d., NAC, DFP, 1, 2. Incidental references in letters reveal that Laure was active in temperance causes, had to be dissuaded from setting up a milk shop for the poor, set up a coffee shop and was president of the Home Missionary Society and Ladies Working Society in 1900. These probably reflect only a small part of her philanthropic activities.

Dougall, asked to tell by what means they had been so successful in enlisting the churches on their side in Montreal said she never liked to hear temperance people talk as if their work was outside the churches; how much Christ loved his Church which he had purchased with His precious blood.”²⁸ Laure wrote that a fund-raising drive for a coffee-house was held back because, “A good many ladies will become contributors but not members they object to those who are not Christians for Christ’s sake [sic].”²⁹ John’s diary reveals the spiritual angst that underlay his commitment to these causes. In describing his work with the YMCA he made it clear that his work in this cause is secondary to his belief: “Such meetings are encouraging, but only a means to an end, a weak means to a mighty end.”³⁰ And Lily, as we shall see, had little time for good works; she wrote to a friend in 1892, “I am sure that all the doing in the world is not good, unless it proceeds from, results spontaneously from, a growing aliveness to God.”³¹ At the core of the Dougalls’ lives was this “growing aliveness to God,” a strong sense of a personal relationship with God.³²

²⁸Undated newspaper clipping, with no masthead. Most likely published in the *Montreal Witness*, probably at the time of John Dougall’s death. BL, LDC, 6. See Rabinovitz, *The Spiritual Self in Everyday Life: The Transformation of Personal Religious Experience in Nineteenth Century New England*, for a discussion of the devotionalist critique of the moralist good works. Rabinovitz describes the continuing tension between what he describes as moralist and devotional ideal types. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989).

²⁹[Probably Laure Dougall] to Jessie Dougall, May 23, 1883. NAC, DFP, 2, 1.

³⁰Small black notebook, page dated November 23, 1869. NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

³¹Earp, “Selected Letters,” 112.

³² As one historian has said: “Evangelicalism was never really a theological system so much as a way of life. It did not present itself to its adherents as a logical set of beliefs but rather as a series of vivid and compelling personal experiences.” Ian C. Bradley, *Called to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 22.

This piety gave a heightened experiential dimension to daily life – a sense of living in “conscious communion with God.”³³ The round of family prayers, Bible readings, office prayers, and personal devotions produced a sense of the immediacy of God that was further heightened by revivals and special meetings. This pursuit of a heightened sense of the Holy Spirit may be traced in part back to the holiness movement and the experiential theology of Thomas Upham. Upham’s emphasis on spirituality had been diffused into popular religious culture through Harriet Stowe’s novels and Horace Bushnell’s popular theology. Bushnell had read Upham’s *Interior Life* and biography of Madame Guyon before experiencing a kind of heightened spirituality that he taught as the living presence of the Holy Spirit.³⁴ Second generation holiness teachers like Hannah Whitall Smith adapted his message (and even his titles – Smith published her own *Interior Life*).³⁵ Holiness teaching attracted evangelicals from Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches, as well as Quakers, who retained their denominational affiliation while identifying with the larger cause.³⁶ Converts to holiness

³³The fictional father in “Lovereen” explained: “There is only one thing that mars our lives, and that is that we do not live, as we ought every day in conscious communion with God. And the reason that we cannot find this communion sometimes, even when we seek it, is that we are not willing to give up everything to Him and obey the voice of His perfect wisdom which is striving to guide us.” “Lovereen,” Vol. III, p. 45. BL. LDP, 4.

³⁴Timothy Smith argues that Upham was a central influence on Horace Bushnell. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform*, 106. Dieter describes Upham’s influence on Stowe. Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1980), 53-57.

³⁵Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Interior Life* (London: Longley, 1886).

³⁶The Methodist doctrine of Christian perfection had been popularised by American Phoebe Palmer in the 1840s, and earnest evangelicals began to aspire to the second blessing, an experience of faith after conversion. Whereas for Wesley entire sanctification might not be realised until the end of a believer’s life, Palmer made the “second blessing” an urgent necessity. Palmer’s altar theology also emphasised the role of the believer, and, according to critics, diminished the role of God in the process, so that the faithful need “only believe you have it and you have it.” In the early years, higher life and holiness were interchangeable; later with the birth of the Calvinist holiness movement, higher Christian life became associated with the Calvinists and holiness with the Methodist camp. Palmer brought holiness to Canada in 1857, and then spent the Civil War preaching in Wesleyan churches in England and Scotland. Her experience in Canadian camp meetings led to a Layman’s

stressed their release from anxiety; it was not so much that they were free from sin, as that they were free from a critical God and church. God was understood to be an ever-present support and inspiration, to be an indwelling spirit. The emphasis in Hannah Whitall Smith's bestselling *Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* and in subsequent higher life teaching was upon complete surrender.³⁷ The result of this trust, of a complete surrender to God's will, was perfect joy. A woman friend of Lily's anxious older brother John, observing his "dissatisfied look," described her "recent happy religious experience in being able to lay her head on His shoulder like a baby and rest perfectly."³⁸

Family members expressed this piety in different ways. John Dougall deliberately cultivated this experience. He wrote Lily's mother from a religious meeting: "I have not got what I came for yet -- some assurance of the divine favour and support and a fresh baptism of the Spirit. There is little doubt that the Holy Spirit is here but I am not conscious of any special blessing received from the brethren's addresses or prayers, though these have been able and earnest."³⁹ He seems at times to have been almost oblivious to the dire straits of his New York paper, in his secure belief that the Lord would care for his own. His faith in God constantly came into conflict with business imperatives. He wrote to Elizabeth: "I trust the Lord will

Revival in both England and the United States and a new interest in rural camp meetings. Dieter, *Holiness Revival*, 3, 203, 116.

³⁷Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (1875; Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1889).

³⁸Diary with brown cover, entry dated April 12, 1875, NAC, DFP, 4, 3. See Chapter IV of Douglas W. Frank, *Less than Conquerors: How Evangelicalism entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986). Frank describes holiness teaching as a reaction to the insecurities of late nineteenth century industrialisation. His analysis emphasises the impact upon men, and like most students of holiness, he tends to read backwards from the early twentieth century movement into the nineteenth century origins, equating, for example, the Victorious Life movement of the 1920s with the Smith's early teaching.

³⁹ John Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, n.d., DFP, NAC 1,1.

smile upon us and our offering -- he did so on Abel but allowed him to be slain. Whatever he does is best.”⁴⁰ Lily’s fictional father, Mr. Walford, reassures his daughter:

“Whatever happens,” he said with a light in his eyes, “We have nothing to fear. We have tried to seek first the things of the Kingdom and the promise is sure that all else shall be added to us. In this trial we experience the tribulations that is the appointed lot of men, but we live by faith. Take no thought for the morrow my sweet one: you shall be clothed like the flowers and fed with the birds. Your dear mother and I have committed you to the Eternal care which cannot fail.”⁴¹

John Dougall drove his sons to distraction as they watched the family money and reputation disappear.

James, whose family and business had been hurt by the demands of his father’s evangelicalism, was less willing to leave business in the hands of the Lord. As the economic climate soured, and his father’s business in New York suffered crisis after crisis, James became more openly critical of his father’s business methods. He was embarrassed by his father’s continued crises, and his repeated petitions to his subscribers for yet more donations. “Can it be His will that his servants should go into debt for the requirements of this work while their Master is able to provide everything?”⁴² As John Dougall’s backer gradually withdrew from the *New York Witness*, and the situation became more desperate, he began to contemplate more extreme measures to keep the paper afloat. James wrote insisting that debts be cleared, even at the cost of an opportunity to evangelise.⁴³ In a rambling and emotional letter, James warned his father that his evangelical purpose was in conflict with business ethics.

⁴⁰John Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, n.d., NAC, DFP, 1, 2.

⁴¹Dougall, “Loveleen,” p. 387, BL, LDP, 4.

⁴²[James Dougall] to my very dear Father [John Dougall] June 26, 1876, NAC, DFP, 1, 5.

⁴³James Dougall to John Dougall, November 1, 1877, NAC, DFP, 1, 6.

Your argument that the New York Witness is the Lord's business and must be left to his management is inanswerable I think if it can be shown that any other kind of guidance is promised than the dealing of the Holy Spirit but if that is the guidance we are taught to expect then we come back to where we were before that. You must judge for yourself how to act seeking the divine guidance and in view of all the circumstances in which we are placed. The question then comes up Is it lawful to do anything in the Lord's name which would be wrong if done in your own? [sic] ⁴⁴

He was rebuked by his mother for speaking out and in later years he resorted to short aphorisms, "Trust in providence *and* keep your powder dry."⁴⁵

Lily's older sister, Janet, seemed to have had the greatest confidence of the Dougall children in her access to the Spirit. Lily considered Janet to have had almost perfect faith, to have been "a truly consecrated soul."⁴⁶ She led the devotional exercises of the National (American) WCTU in 1886 and her father reported her address for the family paper, "She had been so wonderfully led and supported all through her work by her Heavenly Father that it seemed to her as if she had done nothing but let Him carry her . . . She felt that the one thing she had to do was to creep into God's secret place and stay there. 'I think,' said she, 'that we temperance workers should make it a rule never to leave the place of prayer till we feel the glow of the conscious presence of the Lord.'"⁴⁷ Religious faith was a feeling of God's presence, access to "God's secret place."

The faith of Lily's oldest brother, John Redpath Dougall, was, in contrast, a continual and anguished struggle to attain a heightened religious experience. He meditated and prayed

⁴⁴James Dougall to my very dear father [John Dougall] November 8, 1877, NAC, DFP, 1, 6.

⁴⁵James Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, November 26, 1877, NAC, DFP, 1, 6; James Dougall to John Dougall, April 26, 1882, postscript, NAC, DFP, 2, 1.

⁴⁶ Transcribed letter, described as a letter written later to a friend bereaved. Earp, "Selected Letters." 194.

⁴⁷Newspaper clipping, [likely the *Montreal Witness*] n.d., BL, LDP, 6.

daily in an apparently unsuccessful attempt to achieve “whole consecration” and “higher life.”⁴⁸

The various women in his life counselled and prayed for him: “Surely God will hear [Miss Barnjum’s] prayer and my dear mother’s prayers and I will be made holy some time.”⁴⁹ They lent him copies of the Smiths’ magazine, *Christian’s Pathway to Power*.⁵⁰ He wrote in his diary in 1873, “I pray constantly for holiness and the Holy Spirit, but no answer seems to come.”⁵¹ Two years later he still struggled:

No amount of perfunctory service brings one near to God. Oh God what will? I have never in all these years found the key of thy secret place except when burning with the blush of sin. Hast thou no other cleaner doorway? What shall I do what shall I accept or believe that I may get out of this vile region into the upper air of thy love and joy? Am I not like those who could plead – not o God that I would plead it – that I have eaten and drunk in thy presence and have in thy name done many prominent works and yet whom thou hast never known.⁵²

⁴⁸The first reference to “whole consecration” was made on November 19, 1870, further reference was made on a Sunday in April, 1873, and then John refers to “whole consecration” and “higher life” in a diary entry on April 19, 1875. Diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4,3. See Julius H. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience in America* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1994) for a discussion of the religious melancholy produced by evangelical religion, and the critical review by Charles Hambrick-Stowe in *Christian Spirituality Bulletin* 3: 2 (Fall, 1995): 29-30.

⁴⁹July 11, 1875. Women played a significant role in John’s spiritual life, both, it appears, as temptations and as spiritual guides. A Miss Barnjum (who with her mother and brother operated the St. George’s Home for Inebriates) was particularly active. She chastised him for inconsistent conduct. (September 17, 1870); made special prayers for him (July 11, 1875); advised him to stay away from a married woman (July 23, 1875); and allowed him (or not) to walk her home (April 21, 30, 1875). He did not always take her advice: “Miss Barnjum had plenty to say about rest in God, but nothing new to me” (April 18, 1875). Fred Barnjum also played a role: “I had a very pleasant talk with Barnjum at Alexanders about the higher life . . . that is complete consecration. Lord whatever thou wilt!” (April 19, 1875). An unnamed woman tells him of her “recent happy religious experience in being able to lay her head on His shoulder like a baby and rest perfectly. She said she had long observed my dissatisfied look and thought I might have all this if I would just take it. How often have I said all that. I came home and kneeled down and told Jesus that He knew how often I had tried to do that, how often I thought I had until startled out of it by sin, by a fall permitted to let me see that I was asleep. . .” (April 12, 1875).

⁵⁰Miss McPherson lent him *Pathway of Power*, probably *Christian’s Pathway of Power*. (April 12, 1875). Diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3. Hannah Whitall Smith was publishing the articles in this journal, later published in *A Christian Secret of a Happy Life*.

⁵¹Sunday, April [nd] 1873, diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

⁵²Sunday, June 27, 1875, diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

John Dougall's anguish was in part a matter of personality; he also despaired at the decline in the family's social standing. His letters reveal, however, the extent to which he understood faith to be a relationship with God and experience of the Spirit, an entry into God's "secret place."

The Dougalls' faith included many elements understood today to be mystical, a sense of divine union, the experience of ecstasy and personal transformation. In the Dougall letters there are suggestions of an altered state of consciousness, a mystical joy, found -- or in the case of John Redpath, desperately sought -- in prayer. The "Spirit" was a constant presence in family life, imbuing the most trivial events with meaning and power. Holiness teaching had strong links, as we saw in Chapter One, to the Quietist mystics. Hannah Whitall Smith, encouraged by her Quaker mystic father to read among the Quietists, possibly in Upham's editions, further spread their ideas.⁵³ John's repeated attempts to attain whole consecration by a disciplined program of Bible reading, prayer, and meditation, were similar to mystical routes to a knowledge of God.⁵⁴ Janet's description of the "glow of the conscious presence of the Lord" was similar to mystical experience. On joining the church, Janet Dougall was sent a hymn which celebrates a marital relationship with God: "O happy hand that seals my vows... I am my Lord's and he is mine."⁵⁵ The imagery echoes Schleiermacher's bridal kiss and marital

⁵³These translations were published when Smith was eleven and fifteen years of age. She described her girlhood conversion in mystical terms, as "an aching void within [her] heart . . . a want of something [she] knew not what." Debra Campbell, "Hannah Whitall Smith (1832-1911): Theology of the Mother-Hearted God." *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 15 (Autumn, 1989): 83.

⁵⁴"This morning had good class and kept awake pretty well during service but did not come home strengthened. O lord how can I get nearer to Thee? Love conquers all things. Let thy love shine in me and conquer my heart and my whole being. O that I could get upon the plains of victory Lord Thou knowest how to lead me. may I submit to thy leadings." Notebook, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

⁵⁵E. Dickinson to Janet Dougall. NAC, DFP, 1, 3.

embrace in *Speeches on Religion* and, beyond Schleiermacher, the evocation of the erotic in the mystical tradition.⁵⁶

Holiness workers were deeply ambivalent about their use of mystic literature. There was some alarm at the importation of Roman Catholic ideas: Pearsall Smith was accused of introducing “the whole of [Roman Catholic polemicist, F.W. Faber’s] idolatrous volumes into Protestant families . . . they lie side by side with Perfectionist works in London drawing rooms.”⁵⁷ The heated Quebec politics would have exacerbated the Dougalls’ ambivalence. Lily’s brother and father worked to convert the Roman Catholic Quebecois to Protestantism through the French Canadian Missionary Society, and the anti-Catholicism of the *Montreal Daily Witness* was unrelenting. One 1863 issue, for example, included four articles on Catholicism: “Crisis in the Catholic Church,” “Thoughts on

“O happy day that fixed my choice/On thee my Saviour and my God/Well may this glowing heart rejoice/ And tell its raptures all abroad
O happy hand that seals my vows/ To him who merits all my love!/Let cheerful anthems fill the house/ While to the sacred shrine I move
Tis done- the great transaction’s done/ I am my Lords and he is mine/ He drew me and I followed on/ Charmed to confess the power divine.”

⁵⁶ See Bernard McGinn, “The Language of Love in Christian and Jewish Mysticism,” in *Mysticism and Language*, ed. Steven T. Katz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 202-227. McGinn argues, “What is a suspect ‘sublimation’ or an ambiguous ‘idealization’ from the nonmystical perspective is judged to be a higher ‘transformation’ from that of the mystic or of the believer convinced of the reality of mystical claims . . . For these religious interpreters, the most sublime function of the human eros and the language that represents it is to serve as a privileged symbol, a way of revealing this hidden higher reality” (p.211).

⁵⁷David Bebbington observed: “Pearsall Smith wrote favourably of Roman Catholic mysticism and published a selection of hymns by F.W. Faber, the Catholic convert and polemicist. Pearsall Smith’s eulogy of Faber, remarked Horatius Bonar, ‘had introduced the whole of his idolatrous volumes into Protestant families, and . . . they lie side by side with Perfectionist works in London drawing rooms. There must be some affinity between these hymns and Mr. Smith’s teaching.’” Bebbington minimised the affinity, arguing it was simply a matter of “sweet breathings,” a shared romanticism, but the parallels with Upham’s adoption of Roman Catholic Quietism suggests a stronger connection. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 171.

Popery,” “The Priests and the Protestant Poor in Italy,” and “The Wiles of Rome.” The tone is hostile, and contrasts with a positive article on Buddhism in the same paper.⁵⁸

The young Lily Dougall reflected the ambivalence of this heritage. She cited Faber and she read the works of the mystics: “When quite young I once collected as many of the writings of the mystics as I could get, and read and read.”⁵⁹ But she distanced herself from their “fantastic” imagery:

[I] was put off by the “half metaphysical half imaginative” descriptions by mystics like Eckhart. I remember being worried by the effort to see my soul like an alp, its peak lost in heaven. The “Spark” at the apex of the soul, one with the uncreated God, vexed me by the picture it raised.

Her conclusion, she recalled with perhaps some modernist hindsight, was to write the mystics off as unhealthy and extreme examples of the normal phenomena of religious experience: “I remember feeling that the notable mystics were perhaps more different from the common devout man in the gift of a fantastical imagination and in love of expression than in having clearer perceptions of things unseen.”⁶⁰

She was still ambivalent about “Romanism” in 1881 when she saw the Anglican “monk-evangelist,” Father Ignatius. At the time she was unsure whether he was Roman Catholic, and wrote her brother John:

He seems like the personified spirit of medieval religion returned suddenly to spy out the barrenness of our age . . . Here was a man, narrow in the extreme, if not foolish in most of his thoughts, who had deliberately left the light to go back some hundreds of years; and from this man, who is an ascetic, aesthetic fanatic, we

⁵⁸ *Montreal Daily Witness*, Vol. XI, No. 63, Thursday, March 14, 1872.

⁵⁹ “Dear Lord, Thy hospitable greatness lies/ Around us like a boundless sea./ We cannot lose ourselves. where all is home./ Or drift away from Thee.” From Lily Dougall to K.D. [Katie Drummond], Old Orchard Maine, June 28, 1884. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 63. (Dougall identifies this only as a “verse of Faber’s.” It is likely F.W. Faber, the Roman Catholic whose work was popularised by Pearsall Smith. Lily Dougall, *Absente Reo* (London: Macmillan. 1910), 266.

⁶⁰ [Lily Dougall], *Absente Reo* (London: Macmillan. 1910), 266.

heard the most powerful Gospel sermon I have ever heard, and the most clear and spiritual exposition of the Bible He touched on no points of theological difference, but certainly his grasp of the doctrines of salvation, sanctification, and the ground of present joy for the saints, was for me surprisingly realistic and forcible. Was this not strange? At least it taught me to have a greater respect for the “poor, benighted, priest-ridden Romanists” than I ever had before. Father Ignatius went through all the ultra forms of High Churchism, yet he was not so much a *ritualist* as the ordinary “Plym” [presumably Plymouth Brethren] for when occasion demanded he could compose his own prayers⁶¹

Dougall’s letter shows her struggling with the contradictions between her evangelical affinity for Catholic interiority and her distaste for “priest-ridden Romanists.” The “ascetic, aesthetic fanatic” (epithets commonly applied to mystics) preached a “powerful Gospel sermon.”

The pursuit of the higher life had, in the Dougall family, overshadowed the traditional evangelical emphasis upon conversion. The conversion of the younger Dougall children does not seem to have been a matter of great concern. Lily’s eldest sister, Janet, had been converted at an early age, but Lily did not recall her own conversion, “I for instance, as a child, was converted — at least I suppose I was, not at any definite time and place, but still the course of my childhood, so to speak, ran to that end.”⁶² Like many children, she was led through prayers at her mother’s knee and Sunday School to a gradual knowledge of God.⁶³

⁶¹Lily Dougall to John Redpath Dougall, Edinburgh, April 28, 1881. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 42. Father Ignatius (J.L. Lyne, 1837-1908) campaigned for the revival of monastic orders in the Church of England, and started a monastery in South Wales, constituting himself the Abbot, while raising money as a travelling friar. He made a missionary tour of Canada and the United States in 1890-91, and subsequently called for coercive measures against higher criticism.

⁶²For Janet’s conversion, see E. Dickinson to Janet Dougall, [n.d.] NAC, DFP, 1, 3. For Lily’s, see Earp, “Selected Letters,” 128. Dougall’s flippancy may also reflect a revisionist approach to her childhood. In her autobiographical novel, Dougall describes Lovereen and Paul as children nervously and uncomfortably acknowledging their commitment to Christ in a revival. They view this experience differently as adults: Lovereen says, “It does not seem to me that conversion is anything real. Prayer is something; the persistent effort to obey God is something; but I can’t think it rational to attach miraculous importance to the first moment that effort is begun in conscious earnest. . . . If conversion is an act, then I was converted dozens of times. . . .” Paul, on the other hand, argues that they gained as childish converts a new “power of spiritual perception.” “You cannot look back to our conversion and think that it had no reality. On our

Conversion was necessary but not sufficient; notes taken from Bible classes by Lily's brother, John Redpath Dougall, put it succinctly, "Without conversion nothing is done, after conversion a great deal is needed." It was significant only in its absence: an unconverted uncle constituted an anxious family project. In 1881, John Dougall wrote to a friend, "My wife and I cry for the conversion of her brother John James Redpath."⁶⁴ In April of 1883 Janet wrote Susie, "Laure goes to see JJ as often as she can, he seems to be in a very softened mood, Says he cannot believe, thinks he would need to go through what Saul of Tarsus did to be converted."⁶⁵ Two weeks later, Aunt Jane wrote to Lily's mother, mourning the death of their sister Helen. "I know as soon as you are able you will write to poor John Oh may this solemn warning be blessed to him poor fellow how long has he been an object of solicitude to us how wondrously God has preserved his life which by his own efforts he has sought to destroy surely *he* [?] before the end comes[sic]."⁶⁶

For most family members the emphasis was upon the heightened religious experience after conversion. Prayer was naturally central to this close relationship with God. In addition to formal church and family prayers, the Dougalls moved from one informal prayer to another

part it was a childish resolution to serve Jesus Christ, but many Christian teachers hold that He stands pledged to meet such honest resolution by giving new life in return." "Loveleen," Vol. III, p. 431. 430, BL, LDP, 4.

⁶³This was the Christian education described in Horace Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* (1847). For a discussion of Christian nurture in Canada, see Sharon Anne Cook, "Beyond the Congregation: Women and Canadian Evangelicalism Reconsidered," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 403-416. See also Marguerite Van Die's account of Nathanael Burwash's childhood, under the strict and nurturing eye of his mother, Anne Taylor, in *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

⁶⁴ John Dougall to Mr. Court, September 28, 1881, NAC, DFP, 1, 10.

⁶⁵ Janet Dougall to Susan Dougall, April 18, 1883, NAC, DFP, 2, 2.

⁶⁶ Jane Redpath to Elizabeth Dougall, April 30, 1883, NAC, DFP 2, 2.

through the day. As an employee at the *New York Daily Witness* testified at John Dougall's funeral service in 1886:

He taught me one thing, and that was how to pray. We were in trouble one time and I went to see him before he went to Philadelphia. He said, "Let us pray about it." I did not know before what prayer was; he simply told God who we were and what we wanted, and asked Him to grant it if it was His will, for Christ's sake and that was the end of the worry.⁶⁷

In addition to these impromptu prayers, there were also numerous small prayer meetings held in one forum or another. John Dougall organised a fifteen minute prayer meeting at lunch time at the *Witness* offices.⁶⁸ John Redpath Dougall described going to prayer meetings as well as YMCA meetings held for the purpose of converting young men. On a voyage in 1870, he wrote in a journal, "A week at sea has passed I have been at two sermons in cabin, four open meetings in steerage, 2 meetings in the forecastle and have spoken on prayer at five of these meetings."⁶⁹ Janet Dougall is described in her obituary as holding "[l]ittle praying groups in church in mission hall, and private homes. . . having more faith in little bands of consecrated workers than in large crowds of less consecrated individuals."⁷⁰

The most important prayers, however, were private devotions. In his diary, John Redpath Dougall described the necessity of personal prayer. "A week of pleasure has past but am I any nearer God? How strange that the hours for devotion are so scarce I was on whole hour on the ice but not one at devotion and my soul must be starving. I find family worship a

⁶⁷ "'At Rest' Calvary Church," *The Montreal Daily Witness*, Monday, August 23, 1886. BL, LDP, 6.

⁶⁸ John Dougall to Lily Dougall, New York May 28, 1884. BL, LDP, 1.

⁶⁹ Small black notebook, entry marked Monday, August 15, 1870, NAC, DFP, 4, 3. Although this notebook is not signed, it is probably written by John Redpath Dougall. The handwriting looks like that of John Redpath Dougall and it is unlikely that the senior John Dougall would have been as reluctant to proselytise.

⁷⁰ *Montreal Daily Witness*, n.d., p.1. BL, LDP, 1.

great help since I had it myself but it cannot long be good for me or anyone else unless the mind be fed in private [sic].”⁷¹ He continually castigated himself for failing to find an hour each day for private devotions: “Going to get an hour for seeking the Lord every afternoon, and as much as possible of the noon hour for prayer, will see how it succeeds Mother says in prayer every word should be distinctly enunciated. This is a good rule.”⁷² He carefully programmed the hour, which consisted of invocation, record, means, prayer, reading scripture, reading other devotional material, and finally more prayer, although if the diary is to be believed the plan was honoured more in the breach than in the observance. The prayers were petitional as well as devotional; John’s petition includes personal holiness in a list of religious causes and individuals: “*I have much to pray for today* Holiness, Purity, McGibbon, Short, Moore, my SS Class especially Annie Graham, Coleman, Witness, NY Witness, Davis, Zion Church, Shaftesbury Hall.”⁷³

These daily devotions were not an end in themselves but a way to continually live in a sense of the presence of God. John, continually struggling to find the time for his hour of devotion, reflected in an uncharacteristically confident moment that such formal prayer was unnecessary, and indeed indicated an emphasis on works, an emphasis that was coded Roman Catholic.

Yesterday the thought struck me at prayer meeting that any stipulated daily work for the sake of communions augurs not only of bondage but also of works That Christ may not want us to read and pray just the same every day as indeed I don’t see how I can What he wants is an ear always open to hear His guiding voice. Today the need of constant study of the Word of God with a view to Holiness was much insisted on.⁷⁴

⁷¹December 17, 1870, diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

⁷²Monday April 5, 1875, diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

⁷³Sunday, April [nd] 1873, diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

⁷⁴Thursday, May 6, 1875, diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

The formalities of prayer were unnecessary except as a route to a heightened sense of God, a sense that was continual and ever present.

3.3 “A Mess of Metaphysical and Ethical Crumbs”

This constant personal access to God, “an ear always open to his guiding voice,” reduced the reliance of evangelicals like the Dougalls on the church and “the mess of metaphysical and ethical crumbs” that Schleiermacher claimed made up orthodox theology.⁷⁵ Theology was perceived by many evangelicals to be irrelevant. As one of the founding members of the Canadian Evangelical Alliance said in 1846: “Dogmatic theology has been a source of great weakness. He lamented to think what talents and time have been wasted in dogmatical theology when the world was perishing. . . .”⁷⁶ Forty-five years later, at the First International Congregational Council meeting, D.W. Simon described the common attitude:

The first thing that calls for notice is the pronounced and widespread distaste, not to say aversion or hostility to the theological or scientific treatment of Christian truth What used, however, to be lack of interest has largely deepened into positive dislike, not to say contempt. When prominent ministers refer in tones of mock humility to their ignorance of Systematic Theology, or earn cheap applause by denouncing dogma and contrasting it with life, when ministerial associations gaze wonderingly at a man who takes deep personal interest in its study and thinks a knowledge of it necessary to true ministerial efficiency; when journalists rarely let pass an opportunity of flouting doctrine and dogma . . . what else can one say.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 31.

⁷⁶ *The Montreal Witness*, February 9, 1846, p. 42.

⁷⁷ John Webster Grant, *Free Churchmanship in England (1870-1940), with special reference to Congregationalism* (London: Independent Press, n.d.), 116-117.

Holiness writer Hannah Whitall Smith built upon this distaste: she made a virtue of her innocence of theology, basing her beliefs instead on experience and the Bible. "This is not a theological book," she writes in the introduction to *The Christian's Secret*. "I frankly confess I have never studied Theology and do not understand its methods or its terms. But the Lord has taught me experimentally and practically, certain lessons out of his Word, which have greatly helped me in my Christian life, and have made it a very happy one. . ."⁷⁸

The theological wranglings were not essential to faith, and could be neglected or criticised without threat to the evangelical cause. James Dougall wrote to his mother:

. . . as I cannot understand the theology of the present day I have begun to doubt whether there are any two well read men who mean the same thing by the same words. I cannot take much interest in statements which may mean this, that or something else and therefore find it necessary to allow those who think they know all about it to fight it out among themselves and go on my own way independently.⁷⁹

Theology was the arena of theologians, abstract, and increasingly trivial beside the real concerns of the active Christian.⁸⁰

Authority was placed in the hands of the individual believer. John Dougall was an active member of the Evangelical Alliance, a transatlantic organisation committed to the pursuit of religious liberty. They argued that religious truth was the product of the individual conscience and a private matter between the individual and God.⁸¹ There were clear limits to

⁷⁸ Smith, *Christian's Secret*, iii-iv.

⁷⁹ James Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, Montreal, November 26, 1877, NAC, DFP, 1, 6.

⁸⁰ Michael Bliss has observed a similar emphasis on a personal God and a disinterest in theology in his biography of the devoutly Methodist millionaire, Sir Joseph Flavelle, whose life (1858-1939) was contemporaneous with that of Lily Dougall. Michael Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978).

⁸¹ Cooper describes the Evangelical Alliance as one of the movements supported by the *Montreal Witness*. Cooper, "The Montreal Witness," 62. John Redpath Dougall was the vice-president of the Montreal branch of the Evangelical Alliance. See Philip D. Jordan, *The Evangelical Alliance for the United States*

this liberty: Religious freedom was not understood as freedom to do without religion, but as freedom to express their faith without impediment. As Evangelical Alliance leader, Philip Schaff, put it, “It is freedom *in* religion not freedom *from* religion.”⁸²

The church seemed to play a secondary role. The community of believers was both wider than the church — encompassing all evangelical Protestants — and narrower — including only those who were saved.⁸³ The *Montreal Witness* proudly “acknowledged no sect but Christianity,” and when John Dougall left Montreal to start the New York paper he carried a letter of support from Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Anglican, and Congregationalist ministers and the leaders of the Protestant School Board, the French Missionary Society, and the YMCA.⁸⁴ Denominational affiliations were not binding. As we have seen, John Dougall left the Presbyterian Church over temperance issues. The Dougall aunts were Presbyterian, an uncle joined the Plymouth Brethren, the parents were Congregational and Lily was confirmed an Episcopalian. Although family members were active within their church, their greater loyalty

of America, 1847-1900: Ecumenism, Identity and The Religion of the Republic (New York and Toronto: Edwyn Mellen Press, 1982), 102-113. Lily Dougall attributed her love of liberty to her father. “Anxiety with regard to my health is as innate in me as the faith in God I imbibed from my mother and the love of freedom I derived from my father.” Lily Dougall to Susan Dougall, October 23, 1887, Cheltenham, England. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 77.

⁸²Jordan, *The Evangelical Alliance*, 112.

⁸³ Lily described her parents in “Lovereen”: “He and his wife had always been nominally Presbyterians, but in their new impulse for religious work they found themselves in sympathy with all who appear to be in earnest in religion and Protestantism.” “Castoffs of Lovreen,” p. 27, BL, LDP, 4.

⁸⁴Cooper, “Montreal Witness,” 53. The letter, dated 29 June, 1871, is signed by John Jenkins, DD, Chairman of Prot Board of Schools Commissioner; Henry Wilkes, Principal of Congregational College and Pastor of Zion Church; W. Taylor, Senior pastor of Erskine Church of the Canadian Presbyterian Church; George Douglass, Wesleyan Minister; R.F. Burns, Pastor of Cote St. Canadian Presbyterian Church; [?] Secretary, French Canadian Missionary Society; Chad Bancroft, Incumbent of the Trinity Church and Hon. Canon of Christ Church Cathedral; Charles Alexander, Alderman; T. James Claxton, Presbyterian, Montreal YMCA.

was to a broader cause; Sunday School parades, urban revivals by preachers like Moody and Sankey, and YMCA meetings transcended denominational barriers in a common purpose.⁸⁵

The Dougall's Congregational Church was a liberal denomination.⁸⁶ As their name indicates, Congregationalists placed authority at the level of the congregation, which had traditionally been beholden to no other authority but that of Scripture. Congregations chose their own minister, and accepted their own members. They shunned any form of creed as a test of membership. Because services consisted of a sermon and extempore prayer, the churches were not dependent on ecclesiastical authority for their liturgy. After 1870, British Congregationalists moved further in the direction of freedom from authority and hierarchy, toward a more individualistic faith. In order to distance themselves from Anglican sacerdotalism, leading Congregationalist preachers deliberately divested themselves of clerical garb and forms of address.⁸⁷ They appeared and acted more like the laity. Where previously the sermon had been considered the word of God, increasingly the minister was viewed as a

⁸⁵John Dougall appears to have travelled in the same religious circles as D.L. Moody. He was enthusiastically received at a YMCA meeting chaired by Moody. See "YMCA Meeting in Detroit," *Montreal Daily Witness* Vol IX, No. 155, Thursday, July 2, 1868. He gives Northfield as an address in an early letter. His son-in-law Anthony Cochrane planned to attend a revival by Moody and Sankey. A.M. Cochrane to John Dougall, New York, May 7, 1883, NAC, DFP, 2, 2.

⁸⁶Frank Hugh Foster, *The Modern Movement in American Theology, Sketches in the History of American Protestant Thought from the Civil War to the World War* (1939; Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969). Foster described the leadership of the Congregationalists in formulating a liberal theology, explaining: "It has been their great good fortune to be free churches, free from ecclesiastical control and free in the association of like-minded men zealous for truth and determined to know it ever more perfectly" (p.14). Foster was a liberal. J.W. Grant was less enthusiastic about similar developments in the British Congregational Churches in *Free Churchmanship in England*. He noted that many British evangelicals joined Congregationalism, often for what he felt were the wrong reasons (p. 97). Grant found the vigour brought into the church through revivalism a mixed blessing. He notes that few of the converts had any concept of churchmanship, and were essentially undenominational. Much of the ensuing discussion of Congregationalism is drawn from his work.

⁸⁷Grant, *Free Churchmanship*, 78.

man, and the sermon as his subjective interpretation.⁸⁸ James' letters regarding sermons are evidence of this changing attitude. He was very interested in sermons and compared and reported back to his mother about the quality of preaching in the church. Yet his approach was critical; he enjoyed discovering contradictions in the uses of texts. In one letter, he had little to report and said, "let's imitate the ministers and see if we can spin out the nothing long enough to make it look like something."⁸⁹

Increasingly, laity were thought to be able to fulfil the functions of the clergy. Individuals in their private lives were able to provide spiritual guidance to each other. A former teacher wrote to Janet on her decision to enter the church: "... I need not tell you how much I desire your spiritual happiness or how much dearer you are to me now that we can sympathise in love with love to the Saviour."⁹⁰ Lay preaching, long established in Congregationalism, was practised more widely, and some advocated lay administration of the sacraments.⁹¹ John Dougall's newspapers were examples of lay leadership: "The [*New York*] *Witness* is your pulpit from which as a 'lay preacher' you speak to a much larger congregation than any minister."⁹² Lily's brother, John, referred in his diary to officiating at communion in

⁸⁸Grant, *Free Churchmanship*, 34, 160.

⁸⁹ John Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, Montreal, January 16, 1877, NAC, DFP, 1, 6.

⁹⁰E. Dickinson to Janet Dougall, NAC, DFP, 1, 3. The letter seems to have been treasured. It was one of very few letters in the family collection from people outside the family, and was kept with another from the same teacher on the same subject.

⁹¹Grant, *Free Churchmanship*, 160.

⁹²E. Remington to John Dougall, December 25, 1876, Ilion, NY, NAC, DFP, 1, 5. That John Dougall understood himself to be preaching was clear in an address he made to the YMCA Annual Meeting in Detroit of 1868, chaired by D.L. Moody. Dougall was one of a number of individuals speaking on the subject of lay preaching and the YMCA. He gave some hints on preaching on the docks, and advised members to choose lay preachers carefully. When his speaking time was extended by an enthusiastic audience, he spoke on the use of a religious paper. "He contended that a religious daily paper could be made a success in every city, because all the religious and moral people carried it. The Gospel could thus

the absence of the minister (he commented, typically, “I wonder if they would have asked me if they had known me through”) and later to preaching to various audiences.⁹³

An experiential faith was inherently democratic. The Dougalls understood that each believer had personal access to God. A personal experience of God, even when expressed in terms of submission to God, provided an irrefutable defense for a personal choice. This could, as B.B. Warfield had noted in his criticisms of Christian perfection, be very disruptive of religious authority. Although the holiness workers stressed rest, surrender, and peace, the outcome of this sense of assurance was frequently an assertive one. Warfield pointed out that Hannah Whitall Smith’s theology, like all perfectionist teaching, extols the power of the human will: “It is anything but a passive will that Mrs. Smith has in mind; . . . behind that passivity we are intensely active, instituting and maintaining it.”⁹⁴ Like the Quietists described by Thomas Upham, Quaker teaching allowed men and women to assert themselves through surrender to a higher power.

Smith herself explained, writing in 1878, “A Quaker concern [God’s inward directive] was to my mind clothed with even more authority than the Bible, for the Bible was God’s voice of long ago while the ‘concern’ was His voice at the present moment and as such was of far greater present voice.” This had gendered connotations: “Not even the most tyrannical ‘man-friend’ even if he wanted to, would ever dare to curtail the liberty of his womankind, if they

be carried into every house in an attractive form.” Special correspondent, “YMCA Meeting in Detroit.” *Montreal Daily Witness*, Vol. IX, No. 155 (Thursday, July 2, 1868).

⁹³ June 6, 1875, June 15, 1875, brown diary, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

⁹⁴ Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 540, 554. Warfield argues that perfectionists reduce God to an instrument of human will. In spite of Warfield’s criticism, Smith’s first book has continued to be influential among fundamentalists. See Campbell, “Hannah Whitall Smith.”

could only say they ‘felt a concern’ for any course of action.”⁹⁵ Smith attributed her theological innocence, as well as her insights, to being a woman.⁹⁶ “Say if you choose,” she wrote, “ ‘Well she is only a woman, and cannot be expected, therefore, to understand Theology,’ but remember that God sometimes reveals, even to Babes, secrets that He has hidden from the wise and prudent.”⁹⁷ Perhaps because of the emancipatory potential of holiness faith, gender dynamics within Lily Dougall’s family were remarkably egalitarian. Elizabeth Dougall held a great deal of financial power, as a result of her father’s wealth, but she also wielded a great deal of moral and spiritual authority. Lily’s sisters were expected to earn their own living; Janet and Polly worked on the family newspapers and Susan eventually went to medical school. Religious men had to earn their respect; Lily in particular was dismissive of the pretensions of young evangelical preachers, and enjoyed poking fun at their pieties.

The minimisation of theology meant that changes came to pass in a gradual fashion. The remote and arbitrary Calvinist God was being replaced by a more Arminian God, a friend and ally, who was available on a daily basis for solace, reassurance, and direction.⁹⁸ The older

⁹⁵Hannah Whitall Smith to Mrs. Anna Shipley, The Cedars, June 15, 1878. Cited in Smith, *Religious Rebel*, 41. For an insightful discussion of feminism, fundamentalism, and H.W. Smith, see Campbell, “Hannah Whitall Smith,” 85. Campbell accepts the fundamentalist claim to Smith’s early work. Although Campbell quotes Nancy Cott’s observation that in the religious realm, “submission of self could be form of self-assertion,” she does not consider the possibility that Smith’s early theology offered feminist as well as fundamentalist possibilities. Campbell explains her subsequent liberalism as a dramatic shift. See Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman’s Sphere in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), 78, 140-141.

⁹⁶Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 175. Bebbington notes that Keswick was known for the expanded role given women, and describes the impact that women were having on devotional practice through the holiness movement.

⁹⁷Smith, *Christian’s Secret*, pp. iv.

⁹⁸Calvinists had emphasised human depravity, and understood God to exercise complete control over the individual’s salvation. The chosen elect were saved through God’s irresistible grace; the rest were condemned to eternal damnation. Arminians emphasised individual freedom of choice. They argued

idea of God had not been challenged and overturned, it had been outmoded, and so echoes of it still remained in the Dougalls' language and behaviour. Among the very few childhood mementoes in Lily Dougall's personal papers was a copy of the sermon preached at her Presbyterian maternal grandfather's death in 1869 when she was an impressionable eleven year old. The words remind us of the continuing power of the Calvinist image of a wrathful God:

As children of God you were once children of wrath even as others; that you were without God and without hope; that you were dead in trespasses and sins. But Jesus, by his quickening, regenerating Spirit, breathed into your souls a new life. . . . Coeval with these experiences you were delivered from a deep oppressive sense of guilt and condemnation which had reigned in your soul. It had pressed upon your spirits a crushing burden Those of you who are God's people know what it was to have been bound with fetters laid upon your souls, enslaved of lust, misled, deceived, benighted, and befouled of sin. Your souls remember the wormswood and the gall, the gloom, the misery, and the horrors of the prison house and the grave in which you lay. But oh!, the joy, the thrill of unutterable happiness which you experienced when by the Lord's hand the fetters were shattered, and your sins and iniquities were cast into the sea . . . at one time you looked upon the Almighty with dark suspicion and dread. His holiness, justice, and power inspired you with terror⁹⁹

The sermon goes on at length about the corresponding joys of salvation, and concludes by enumerating John Redpath's numerous philanthropic and community services -- proof, to the extent there could be any proof, of his place among the elect. Her grandfather's terrifying righteous God and the corresponding powers of Satan were kept alive in Dougall's childhood by her mother. Elizabeth Dougall still saw the world through Calvinist eyes. She was inclined to speak of the Devil as if he was locked in a struggle for a person's soul, "The Evil one has to be ordered off we cry to the Lord to undertake for us to keep him off seeking earnestly that the

that the individual could, through the work of the Holy Spirit, choose salvation. (God can foresee their choice but does not will or predestine this choice.)

⁹⁹ "In Memorium A Sermon preached in the Canada Presbyterian Church, Cote St., Mtl on Sabbath March 14, 1869 on the occasion of the death of John Redpath Esq., Terrace Bank by Rev. Prof. D.H. MacVicar," BL, LDP, 2. Undated clipping.

Holy Spirit be with us and Jesus with us Satan departs and the Spirit prays.”¹⁰⁰ Lily’s brother, John, also understood the Devil to be an active presence.¹⁰¹ And behind the concern of the Redpath sisters for the conversion of their brother lay a fear of the consequences of his disbelief. He was not simply to be excluded from communion with God, in this world and the next; their urgency would suggest that the idea of hellfire was still powerful. In an autobiographical novel, Dougall described “the living religious conception of good and evil that at home always seemed to be fighting like giant Titaens in some unseen dreamland of her brain.”¹⁰² These elements of Calvinist Presbyterian teaching – the doctrine of eternal damnation, particularly infant damnation, the image of a punitive God, and the doctrine of original sin or the total depravity of mankind – haunted Dougall throughout her life.

The evangelical Congregationalism of Lily Dougall’s childhood was a potent experiential faith, girded by the harsh echoes of a Calvinist Presbyterianism. Two themes stand out: the primacy of the experience of faith and a liberal attitude to doctrine and creed. Members of the Dougall family lived their faith and felt they should be in a constant state of communion with God. The very depth of the religious experience made creed and theology less essential as markers of the faithful. Denominational differences blurred in a shared experience of God. Similarly hierarchies, ecclesiastical as well as gendered hierarchies, were levelled as each person felt themselves to stand individually before God. The extent of the Dougalls’ commitment is unusual. In the early years, it appears that evangelical and business

¹⁰⁰[Elizabeth Dougall] to [John Dougall], n.d. NAC, DFP, 1,1. (Letter addressed to “my dear old friend” from “your loving wife.”)

¹⁰¹See September 24, 1870, April 13, 1875, brown diary, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

¹⁰²“Lovereen,” Vol. I, p. 9, BL, LDP, 4.

concerns were mutually reinforcing, and the *Montreal Daily Witness* was lucrative as well as Godly. But during Lily's youth, John Dougall and Elizabeth Dougall sacrificed their family's financial, physical, and emotional health for their evangelical beliefs. It was a legacy that framed Lily Dougall's life, even as she tore herself away from it.

Chapter Four

An Episcopalian Alternative

“Evangelicalism had the power to transform into gruesome spectres
all the beautiful things of God’s creation.”

Lily Dougall¹

Lily Dougall had a strong and ambivalent reaction to her family’s faith. She publicly acknowledged her debt to them, stressing the spirituality of their “life” rather than the doctrines they held. She dedicated her first book of fiction to her sister and a book of theology to her brothers, “who live the life of which I speak.”² At the height of her career, when she was widely respected for her religious writing, she again acknowledged her family’s example:

I should never dare to write these books out of my own experience. It is because my people have lived *the life* in the midst of all the turmoil and discouragement of journalism and their other manifold activities, because I have so long observed the inner joy and beauty of the spiritual life they lead, that I dare give it such literary expression as I can.³

This tribute was, however, a mature response, the product of her youthful fight to distance herself from her family’s piety. From her teens until almost the age of thirty she struggled between the demands of her parents’ faith and the lure of the wider world, swinging from fervent piety to a liberal doubt, moving physically from New York to Edinburgh, from her evangelical home to the academic world, and finally suffering two breakdowns.

In this and the following chapter I will examine Dougall’s painful and protracted departure from her family’s evangelical faith. The crisis of faith has been described by novelists

¹Dougall, “Lovereen,” p. 102, BL, LDP, 4.

²[Lily Dougall], *Voluntas Dei* (London: Macmillan, 1912).

as a lonely and existential rite of passage. The individual tears himself from the familiar faith of his childhood to step out on an uncharted path, “alone in the world with his new ideas,” as Dougall was to put it in her contribution to the genre.⁴ The fictional representation of the crisis has gained, as Elizabeth Jay has noted, the status of historical evidence.⁵ I will be suggesting in these chapters, however, that the crisis of faith was a cultural construction that guided religious maturation. This chapter, which takes Dougall to her confirmation in the Episcopal Church, will examine the ways in which literature shaped her rejection of evangelicalism. Her four main areas of disaffection -- the lack of refinement in evangelical preaching and doctrine, the denial of culture, the fear of critical thought, and the ethics of Calvinist doctrines of eternal damnation -- were the staples of popular fiction. Further, I will point out that Dougall was not “alone in the world with [her] new ideas,” but rather found a more congenial liberal tradition in the Anglican Broad Church movement. Dougall herself, because of her long-standing distaste for theology and because of the conventions of the crisis-of-faith literature, probably did not recognise the extent to which the faith she made her own was the product of the liberal theology of F.D. Maurice, and behind him, S.T. Coleridge.

³M.S. Earp, “Selected Letters of Lily Dougall with biographical notes.” 15. NAC, DFP. 5. 9.

⁴Lily Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist* (London: Hutchinson and Co.. 1895), 228.

⁵ “Butler [author of the archetypal crisis-of-faith novel, *The Way of All Flesh*] had drawn upon all the various tools of the anti-Evangelical Victorian novelists and fashioned a myth which gained not only literary transmission but the status of historical evidence.” Elizabeth Jay, *The Religion of the Heart: Anglican Evangelicalism and the Nineteenth Century Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 282.

4.1 “Men Who are not Otherwise Vulgar”

These chapters will draw upon Dougall’s unpublished novel, “Lovereen: A Canadian Story,” written after she had left the family home. The novel is autobiographical: Dougall described the conflict between a young girl and her evangelical father, Mr. Walford, a wool manufacturer who sacrifices his family’s financial and physical health to his evangelical mission. Walford was clearly modelled upon John Dougall. He is blind to his family’s difficulties, irrational in his beliefs, and crass in his evangelising. His daughter, Lovereen, is a sensitive and artistic girl who is embarrassed by his religious fervour and chafes at the restrictions of an evangelical life. Through the course of the lengthy three-volume novel — each volume is made up of almost 500 manuscript pages — Lovereen and her childhood friend, Paul, gradually reject Mr. Walford’s evangelicalism for a more liberal faith. This high theme is interwoven with a melodramatic romance involving shrieking ghosts, mysterious disappearances, and imbecilic aristocrats.⁶

Lily Dougall seems to have initially been unconscious of the feelings expressed in her novel. When her friend, Presbyterian theologian T.B. Kilpatrick, wrote disparagingly about the character of Walford presented in an early draft, Dougall defended Walford. Confused,

⁶ The manuscript is in BL, LDP, 4. Two versions exist: the original manuscript and the early pages of a revised manuscript, presumably the attempts made at revision after the publication of *Beggars All*. The labels are confusing: the revised manuscript is in sheafs marked “Castoffs of Lovreen”; this includes some original pages, renumbered, as well as rewritten sections. The castoff parts of the original have been labelled, “Lovereen, Vol. I,” etc. One has to piece the parts together to get a sense of the first volume of the original manuscript. Dougall did not get very far with her revisions, however, and the rest of the manuscript is fairly easy to follow. It consists of three volumes, with consecutive chapter numbers which run through the entire book, and an independent set of page numbers for each volume. References here are to the volume number and page number. In the case of the revised copy, references are to “Castoffs of Lovereen,” and the new page number.

Dougall altered the spelling of Lovereen; in the revised manuscript it is altered to Lovreen. The earlier spelling is used here for consistency.

Kilpatrick responded, "When I wrote as I did I had no idea but that I was reproducing your own view, and I am considerably surprised at the admiration you and Miss Earp feel for him . . . I am a little perplexed. There are still two vols to come, and he may yet display a nobility which you know him to possess" ⁷ One volume later Kilpatrick was still confused but more wary. He wrote, "I don't lie and will not speak of Mr. W." ⁸ Six months later, perhaps encouraged by Dougall to be open, he wrote, "As to Mr. Walford — it is almost pathetic to see you trying to make him out a fine character . . . I don't quarrel with the representation you give. It is probably true to life." ⁹ Dougall never published the novel, possibly because she realised how transparent her feelings were. ¹⁰ Fiction in this case reveals more than correspondence or a carefully crafted autobiography would; in writing "Lovereen" Dougall tapped anger that had been buried beneath her love for her father.

The young Lovereen shrank from her father's emotional displays of religiosity, and what she felt was a crass handling of private and sensitive subjects:

[Lovereen felt] a nervous objection to talking seriously with her father upon any subject akin to religion, for she knew any heart to heart expression of interest in his work was sure to lead him to speak about her own religious responsibility . . . Her heart was too sensitive to bear the touch of his handling. . . ¹¹

⁷T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen, April 11, 1889. BL, LDP. 1.

⁸T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen, March 20, 1889. BL, LDP. 1.

⁹T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen, November 19, 1889. BL, LDP. 1.

¹⁰Kilpatrick's honesty may have led Dougall to hold the book back. The book was initially rejected by Longman's because of its length. After the success of *Beggars All*, Dougall tried to revise it, by removing, for example, Mr. Walford's involvement with Mrs. Myers, but she gave up the task and turned to a new book. She said she had misgivings about "Lovereen," "I have not felt very sure of a lot of things in it . . . I have my doubts about the righteousness of some things which cannot be easily altered" Earp, "Selected Letters," 125. Her criticism of evangelical preachers continues in later books, but is never so clearly directed at a father figure.

¹¹"Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 163. BL, LDP, 4.

She was embarrassed by his public declamations:

Who but her father, who, at least, of men who were not otherwise vulgar would have conversed on the subject of another man's spiritual state through a railway carriage window in a crowded station? Was there then something in this constant verbal reiteration of Gospel truths in his life as a preacher which blunted the mind to the reverence due sacred things?¹²

She compared her father to the more reverential Anglican minister:

. . . The apparently superstitious reverence for the words of the scripture which churchmen evinced might it not be better than that the sacred books should become dog-eared and thumbed, metaphorically speaking, by everyday use? . . . And for ideas more holy still, was it not well, that the veil of the visible sign should hang perpetually before them, rather than that they should be tossed through common air by the medium of facile words?¹³

She condemned public *ex tempore* prayer as a "gross intrusion."¹⁴

This reaction to a confessional style of evangelicalism was in part class-based. Walford preaches to the working class and he associates with, as his sister put it, "all those horrid country ministers . . . Baptists and what-not."¹⁵ Lovereen is scathing about the evangelical girls with whom she was expected to keep company:

I do argue for the distinction between person and person which recognises the fact that some are on our own level of thought and some are not. . . Father is constantly urging

¹²"Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 441, BL, LDP. 4.

¹³ "Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 441, BL, LDP. 4.

¹⁴Lovereen comments on the public prayer of a Methodist: "He meant well but, all the same, that sort of thing is gross intrusion. At the time of parting every thought is prayer: what right had he to take on himself to voice our thoughts for us." "Lovereen," Vol. III, p. 373-374, BL, LDP. 4. Later in the novel she writes about Mr. Walford: "Since then his preaching had forced upon her ears a constant reiteration of the material figures of religious speech which a strong imagination could ill endure. The images thus raised in her mind had, she was aware, no eternal truth behind them -- they were grotesque idols, unfit to be worshipped -- she began to doubt if truth lay in any image of fact or poetry." "Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 386, BL, LDP. 4. Public prayer was seen as a duty by the Dougall family. Her brother John, for example, chastised himself for failing to speak directly to others about religion. October 10, 1870, black diary, NAC. DFP, 4, 3.

¹⁵"Lovereen," Vol. I, p. 258, BL, LDP. 4. Lily left Walford's denominational affiliations vague. She identified the chapel in which he preaches as a Dissenting one, then, crossing this out, as Congregational, and finally left it simply as "chapel." "Castoffs of Lovereen," p. 106, BL, LDP. 4. At other times she suggests he is still, nominally, an Anglican.

me to make friends with this one or that one because they are morally worthy – their moral worth is not the question, they must be able to understand me and I them. What have I in common with the daughters of the country parson? In this country such girls have no ideas beyond the multitudinous babies of their mother's nursery and their father's shirts and dinners. It is not their fault that their ideas are cramped but on what common ground can I meet them? Their wildest dream of excitement is their possession of a new gown or the reading of one of Scott's novels or perhaps if maturer thoughts have entered the gentle breast, the addresses of some unctuous member of the "Young Men's Christian Association."¹⁶

Nor had she patience for the young Andover theology students who gather at her father's house. "I like all these men in a class, as I like sheep, but it would be difficult to have any strong preference for one sheep over another."¹⁷

The novel reproduces the Dougalls' loss of social standing in Montreal; the fictional Lovereen finds that she is cut from dinner lists by her closest friends. John Dougall's newspaper was aimed at converting the ordinary man; an employee noted, "the best feature of the *Witness* is that the *common* man can read it and understand it, and the *common people* take it."¹⁸ Lily's older sister, Janet, was praised for remaining with her small Congregational Church when she might have joined a "more fashionable church."¹⁹ But Lily was more elitist. Like Lovereen, she poked fun at the earnest young preachers and aspired to higher things.²⁰

¹⁶"Lovereen" Vol. I, p. 213, BL, LDP, 4. Her reference to Scott is not accidental; Cunningham noted that Scott's work was often an exception to the ban on fiction. Valentine Cunningham, *Everywhere Spoken Against: Dissent in the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 48.

¹⁷"Lovereen." Vol. II, p. 137, BL, LDP, 4.

¹⁸George R. Scott to John Dougall, New York Witness Offices, New York, July 2, 1882. NAC, DFP, 2.1. Among his letters are preserved several from emotive evangelicals who seem by their employment and literacy to have been of a lower social standing.

¹⁹Janet suggests in a letter that a visiting minister will have to stay with them, as there was no one else in the church able to entertain a minister. Janet Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, Montreal June 21, 1876. NAC, DFP, 1, 5.

²⁰Dougall's letters show little respect for the young men she was forced to entertain: "Mr Cushing came to dinner too. He talked most of the time about himself." Lily Dougall to John Dougall, Drummond St. Montreal, Monday Evening, nd, BL, LDP, 1.

Dougall was able to draw upon a rich literary tradition in her dismissal of evangelical vulgarity. As John Webster Grant wrote, “most writers agreed with Matthew Arnold that dissenters were vulgar.”²¹ Valentine Cunningham and Elizabeth Jay have confirmed this observation in their studies of nineteenth-century novels, where evangelicals were depicted as opportunistic social climbers or naive purveyors of religious cant.²² Evangelicals were commonly caricatured, often anachronistically, for their self-congratulatory tone and presumptions of special providence, and their habit of *ex tempore* preaching. Elizabeth Jay notes that these caricatures reached their apotheosis ten years after Dougall wrote “Lovereen,” in Samuel Butler’s *The Way of All Flesh* (1903). Ernest Pontifex, Butler’s protagonist, was the son of a clergyman who rebels against the narrow piety of his evangelical parents.²³ As Jay notes, “Butler had drawn upon all the various tools of the anti-Evangelical Victorian novelists and fashioned a myth which gained not only literary transmission but the status of historical evidence.”²⁴ She contrasts Butler’s bitterness with the more affectionate, if still critical, treatment of evangelical parents by Edmund Gosse (1849-1928) in *Father and Son, A Study of*

²¹ John Webster Grant, *Free Churchmanship in England (1870-1940) with special reference to Congregationalism* (London: Independent Press, nd), 86. He noted: “Among the major Victorian literary figures George Eliot was almost alone in her complimentary references to Nonconformist Churches. . . .”

²² Both Valentine Cunningham, in *Everywhere Spoken Against*, and Elizabeth Jay, in *The Religion of the Heart*, defend the study of the novel for insight into social, as opposed to doctrinal distinctions. Jay suggests that novels reveal “the felt quality of life” and points out that doctrinal and social conflicts were often distinct. “Many of the novelists with whom I am concerned were ill at ease in realms of doctrinal conflict, but were perfectly capable of distinguishing between Evangelicalism and Dissent in social terms.” *Religion of the Heart*, 26.

²³ Butler’s novel was published more than a decade after Dougall wrote “Lovereen,” but, as this publication was posthumous, and as Butler was twenty years older than Dougall, it reflected many of the same stereotypes.

²⁴ Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, 282.

Two Temperaments (1907).²⁵ Gosse first published his book anonymously and Butler, who was twenty years older than Dougall, published his novel posthumously, probably for the same reasons Dougall found it impossible to publish her first novel. She still loved her family and it would have been cruel to expose them to her criticisms, even if they were widely shared in the broader literary world.

4.2 “Weaned from the World”

Dougall was also critical of the asceticism of an evangelical life. When friends plan a ball for Lovereen, her father refuses her permission to attend, and she watches through the window as her friends dance. Her “evil angel” tells her “to be good means to be miserable.”²⁶ Lovereen complains to her friend Paul:

That is just exactly what is the whole trouble with everything. I ought not to take any satisfaction in my new frock, but I do; I never had a stylish frock before and it gives me much pleasure to think how grand I look. I ought, of course, to be willing to lie here like mother, in the cheapest shabbiest way, and devote all my strength to taking care of father, in order that he may preach at meetings. Instead of that I want to go to a boarding school, and then marry a rich man, and wear satin gowns and drive in a carriage. That’s what makes me want to die. All that is good I detest; all that is wicked I like. I ought to be good, and love good things, like mother, but now she is dead, there is no use....I am wicked, and I can’t help it, and that is all there is to say.²⁷

²⁵Edmund Gosse, *Father and Son, A Study of Two Temperaments* (London: Heineman, 1907). Gosse wrote in reaction to Butler, and commented: “[Butler] disliked the atmosphere of middle-class evangelicalism in which he had been brought up, and we must dislike it too, but we need not dislike the persons involved so bitterly as Butler did. It was narrow, sterile and cruel . . .” Gosse, *Aspects and Impressions* (1922), 63. Cited in Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, 282

²⁶“Lovereen a Canadian Novel,” Vol. 11, p. 114, 292, BL, LDP, 4.

²⁷“Castoffs of Lovereen.” p.38, BL, LDP, 4.

Paul reassures her: "Perhaps it is not wrong, after all, for you to like fine frocks and such things."²⁸

Lily Dougall had also chafed at the petty restrictions of evangelical morality. Family members fondly describe her high spirits and good humour, which sometimes caused trouble with more serious-minded evangelicals. In an apologetic letter to a shocked young member of the Plymouth Brethren, she explained: "The remark I made about dancing was rather in dislike of what seemed to me the impropriety of the games than in favour of dancing, because I never dance, and also for a sort of mischievous delight I took in shocking you and my good cousins."²⁹ In her letters to her parents she is frequently having to explain herself: "We do not really have more company than most people have. Aunt Maggie, Aunt Ada, or Barrie [?] from what I hear have quite as much. It is because you are so very quiet on Felix St. that it seems a great deal."³⁰ She justified her purchases of clothing: "I have spent one hundred dollars which seems dreadful but you know that I was pretty badly off for garments when I came. I have accounted for every penny of it"³¹ She is defensive in these letters, and rarely critical of her parents' ethics. Only once does her frustration at her restricted life spill out, in a letter to her mother, when she says, "Not that it makes much difference being of age in a world where one must do just what seems right and nothing else."³²

²⁸"Castoffs of Lovereen," p.40, BL, LDP, 4. Another character says of the mother: "Affection and religion are all very well in their way, but in a case like this an egg beaten up in cream with a little nutmeg on it every morning at about eleven o'clock would have been more to the point." (p.46.)

²⁹ Earp, "Selected Letters," 22.

³⁰ Lily Dougall to John Dougall, Nov 11, [no year], BL, LDP, 1.

³¹ Lily Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, Ivy Green, Montreal Feb 29, [no year], NAC, DFP, 1, 2.

³²Lily Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, 1878. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 20.

More damaging than the Dougalls' deliberate neglect of considerations of class and style was their denial of art and culture: "[Lovereen's] father watched over her most carefully and, in accordance with the spirit which distinguishes Puritanism and all its modern modifications, she was not permitted even moderate indulgence in those pleasures which in their abuse might prove harmful. Dancing, the theatre and novels were proscribed."³³ The evangelical community operated with a Manichean view of the world. Society was divided between the saved and the damned, creating an insular community that excluded those people and experiences considered worldly. Believers were expected to turn their backs on the world and its amusements. As John Dougall wrote in his diary, "I have not been living to Him of late; may I now be weaned from the world."³⁴ Dougall was probably addressing her father in her novel, when, in a moment of truth, Lovereen tells Mr. Walford:

You want to cut the world — like Cinderella's sisters cut their feet to get them into a little shoe. You think it would be so very hard to be good if all these things with their temptations were to be part of the Christian life; but if we are to know Christ and His Cross, must we not learn His mind through the world that He made? . . . Will you not try to think it possible that the greatest possible injury may be done to Christ's Kingdom by setting aside certain principles, certain actions, and things and calling that "the World"?³⁵

In the novel, dancing, taken up secretly by Lovereen, signifies all the pleasures and beauties of God's world that were denied by evangelical Christians.³⁶ It was the stifling of the imagination

³³"Lovereen" Vol. I, p. 96, BL, LDP, 4.

³⁴June 13, 1875, black diary, NAC, DFP, 4, 3. For the separatism of the holiness community, see Smith, *The Christian's Secret*, Chapter 15, which demands the believer turn her back on the world and its amusements.

³⁵She concludes: "May not Christ have meant by the World that life that is lived for pleasure instead of being lived to do God's will whether the will bring us pleasure or pain. And the tendency to that life is marked by no badge." "Lovereen," Vol. III, p.75, BL, LDP, 4.

³⁶Anna Kilpatrick suggests that the scene of the girl dancing was drawn from an experience she shared with Lily. Anna Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, March 27, 1888, BL, LDP, 1.

that most limited Lily's life. She wrote to Janie Couper at a low point at the age of 27: "I have fought for years with my imagination, and now I see that for me the narrow path is one of wise sober thought. Oh think how narrow this way is. To lay down all one's day dreams and self indulgent fantasies at His feet: to walk on in life's sometimes dull path without them."³⁷ Again Lily Dougall is conforming to literary convention here. Elizabeth Jay describes "the numerous accounts of an Evangelical childhood where the imagination was starved or forced to find strange or pathetic outlets," and cites George Eliot's letters: "My imagination is an enemy that must be cast down. . . ." ³⁸

The Dougalls published fiction in their newspapers and put out a literary paper, *The New Dominion Monthly*, after 1867, but there were limits to the acceptability of fiction, especially when written by one's own sister. Both of her brothers understood fiction to be a weakness: James said in a letter, "the reading of ordinary novels or the skimming over of any book does not cultivate the imagination but rather depresses and weakens."³⁹ In his diary, John described his reading of fiction on par with flirting with young women.⁴⁰ The Dougalls

³⁷Lily Dougall to Janie Couper, September 24, 1883. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 20.

³⁸George Eliot, *Letters* i, 65-66. Cited in Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, 205, 216.

³⁹ James Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, January 16, 1877, NAC, DFP, 1, 6. Cunningham describes the gradual acceptance of fiction by evangelicals in Britain, noting that the acceptance of fiction generally paralleled the rising education and professionalisation of members of a particular sect. The Plymouth Brethren continued to be suspicious of the novel late in the nineteenth century, whereas the Congregationalists had by then come to accept fiction. As Congregationalist John Stoughton said in 1881: "Fiction, once even condemned, then only suspected and looked at askance, is now devoured." Cunningham, *Everywhere Spoken Against*, 50.

⁴⁰Several times in his diary he describes the time lost in reading a book. His attitude was clearest on one occasion when he wrote that he had been tempted to play croquet with Drummond girls, and then spent time in evening with young ladies: "the temptation to which I yielded today was like that of reading books a wretched one, but it sufficed to step between me and God for I ought today with a clear hour to have made a step higher than I have attained this week, instead of which I opened the front door to the way of sin." Thursday, June 10, 1875, diary with brown cover, NAC, DFP, 4, 3.

repeatedly published articles condemning fiction. An 1868 article in the *Montreal Daily Witness* argued that some literature could be uplifting, but “where, however, incident and plot form the staple of the narrative, the effect is evil, only evil and that continually. . . . What class of writers, taken as a whole, were so immoral as novelists?”⁴¹ An editorial written in 1871, when Lily was 13, compared fiction to alcohol, a highly charged metaphor for a temperance paper. Fiction had its uses, the writer (possibly John Dougall) wrote, but these must be placed within narrow limits:

The rage for novels in our day is something astonishing. It is the distinctive feature in the literature of our age. It appears very much like an infatuation. It is a flood that bids fair to sweep everything before it. We might almost despair, were there not some signs of a reaction. We trust that it has reached the high water mark and that there will soon be an ebb in the tide. *It is in literature what ardent spirits are among drinks; and seems to affect the mind much as alcohol does the body.* We have almost ceased to wonder at our father’s eschewing fiction altogether . . . the mania has almost become a dropsy [with young people]. The disease grows by what it feeds upon. They have gradually come to lose all other mental faculty but that of gossiping on such garbage.⁴²

The writer goes on to describe “dissipating and pernicious” sensationalist Sunday School literature: “Like ‘light wines’ such religious fiction often creates the appetite for something stronger.”

The young Lily, whose taste as a writer ran to the fantastic, the imaginative, and the humorous, would have been severely curbed by these strictures. Dougall hid her imaginative writing from her family. When she showed her first manuscript to friends she said, “I have not said anything to Auntie about it. It would distress her greatly to hear of such goings on.”⁴³ She

⁴¹Rev. George H. Bridgman, *Montreal Daily Witness*, Friday, July 3, 1868, p. 3.

⁴² (Emphasis added.) “Fiction,” *The Montreal Witness, Commercial Review and Family Newspaper* December 27, 1871, p. 4.

⁴³Earp, “Selected Letters,” 67.

hesitated to publish her first stories, and initially published under a male pseudonym.⁴⁴ Her caution was warranted; her aunt sent a “very severe” letter to her protesting against the language in her first published story. When Dougall defended herself — she had put the expressions “Mon Dieu” and “Holy Mary” in the mouth of a French man — her aunt said that she should give up writing if it involved breaking the second commandment.⁴⁵

4.3 Computing the Theology

The greatest deprivation was an intellectual one: Lovereen was denied the opportunity to go abroad with friends for further education. Her father refuses to allow her to learn “false creeds,” and insists she stays home to act as his housekeeper. When her friends return from two years of study in England, the young Lovereen is more envious of their education than their new dresses: “Their minds, well-furnished with instruction on many subjects and enlivened by the variety of scene were sweet and fresh as a running stream, while hers, turned constantly in and on itself, for lack of objects to arrest her attention, felt like a stagnant pool. . . She now abruptly asked what gain, either of her own or of others, had corresponded with her loss?”⁴⁶

⁴⁴Earp, “Selected Letters,” 67. Her first story was published under the masculine pseudonym: Earnest Duns [Lily Dougall] “Hath Not a Jew Eyes?” *Longman’s Magazine* XIII, 75 (1889).

⁴⁵See Earp, “Selected Letters,” 97-98. Dougall was safely in Switzerland, writing “Lovereen,” when her aunt wrote to her.

⁴⁶“Lovereen,” Vol. II, p.7, BL, LDP, 4. Lovereen’s lack of education is a departure from Lily Dougall’s life that will be explored in Chapter Five. Dougall did not receive much formal education as a young girl, because of her poor health, but she did eventually attend university. Her sister, Susan, went to medical school.

Her childhood friend, Paul, goes to university but his studies only justify Walford's concerns: they lead him to critically analyse the Bible. "He began at the beginning and worked on verse by verse, toilsomely looking up all the references, making notes of compared authorities and computing the theology."⁴⁷ This critical reading of the Bible was threatening to the evangelicals like Mr. Walford who had distilled religion to a deeply felt personal faith girded by a literal Bible.⁴⁸ When Paul raises questions, Lovereen's father disowns him:

[Walford] had no curiosity to know what turn Paul's ideas had taken; it was enough that so young a man had the self-confidence to reconsider and decide upon questions which, in Walford's opinion, had been finally settled for all right minded people in apostolic times. He had come to look upon Paul as not only in danger but dangerous as a companion to others.⁴⁹

Lovereen also shocked a friend with her doubts. She defended herself: "I did not say that I did not *believe* Flora, I only said that I *sometimes* felt I did not know." Flora replied, "It is just the same, for, of course, we *do* know, it is in the Bible. Now you need not tell me that you think the Bible is not true, for it is true, whether you think it is or not."⁵⁰

The critical questions posed by Paul and Lovereen reflect a momentous sea change in the attitude to the Bible. Evangelicals understood the Bible to be the divine word of God revealed to mankind through inspiration. As an early *Witness* article put it: "Human literature is like the clouds that sometimes gild but much more frequently darken the

⁴⁷"Castoffs of Lovereen," p. 86. BL, LDP, 4. See the discussion below of Paul's advocacy of higher criticism. For a description of Lily Dougall's rereading the Bible, see Earp, "Selected Letters," 16. For her fictionalised account, see manuscript "Castoffs of Lovereen," p. 86, BL, LDP, 4.

⁴⁸John Dougall's newspaper poised itself *against* rationalism, which was associated with ritualism and Romanism. This was a legacy of the Enlightenment: by rationalism they meant the deism of the eighteenth century which had reduced God to an intellectual construct. Even theology was an irrelevant intellectual abstraction. Intellectual arguments for God had been replaced by the authority of the Bible and rational critical thought could only threaten the bedrock of their faith.

⁴⁹"Castoffs of Lovereen," 149, 167. BL, LDP, 4.

⁵⁰"Lovereen" Vol. II, p. 44, BL, LDP, 4.

mountain summit whilst the Word of God is like the sublime and changeless mountain.”⁵¹ But the higher critics, following Coleridge, and behind him the German critics, treated the Bible as another, perhaps higher, form of human literature. Coleridge wrote: “I take up this work [the Bible] with the purpose to read it for the first time as I should read any other work, -- as least as far as I can or dare . . .”⁵² But this critical reading did not necessarily strip the Bible of any sacred meaning. Coleridge’s conclusion at least had been reassuring: “I have found words for my inmost thoughts, songs for my joy, utterances for my hidden griefs and pleadings for my shame and my feebleness? In short whatever *finis* me, bears witness for itself that it has proceeded from a Holy Spirit. . .”⁵³ Coleridge collected his works of biblical criticism into a volume, *Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*, which was published in 1840, six years after his death.⁵⁴ John Dougall’s Bible had been a “sublime and changeless mountain,” but Coleridge’s Bible was a mountain spring, that had “proceeded from the Holy Spirit.” It had a divine source, but might have acquired errors as it found its way down to the modern reader.

Dougall’s fictional representation of Biblical criticism in “Lovereen” will be examined closely in the next chapter. My focus here is upon the ways in which Dougall obscured, even as she drew upon, literary precedents. Dougall presents the demand for

⁵¹ “One Thing Remains Unchanged,” *Montreal Witness*, January 4, 1847, p.4. Cited in Nathan H. Muir, *John Dougall and His Montreal Witness* (Ottawa: The Archives Committee of the Montreal and Ottawa Conference of the United Church of Canada, 1985), 10.

⁵² S.T.Coleridge, *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. intro. by Joseph Henry Green and note by Sara Coleridge, ed. by H.St.J. Hart (1853; Reprint. London: A.& C. Black, 1956), 41.

⁵³ Coleridge, *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. 42.

⁵⁴See John Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (1885; New York: Humanities Press, 1971), 24.

intellectual freedom as the natural product of an enquiring mind in “Lovereen.” She does not refer to the controversies that were raging in most denominations over the extent of Biblical criticism of the Bible. By the time she came to write “Lovereen,” Dougall had attended the epochal heresy trial of Robertson Smith, and read widely in the literature. But none of this context appears in her novel. Paul studies but his study takes place off stage, in Montreal, and there is no mention of Coleridge, of the work of Dean Stanley, the trial of Robertson Smith, or even the local Canadian debates. The reader is led to believe that the young people came to their sceptical position independently, “alone” like a later fictional character, “in the world with [their] new ideas.”

4.4 “That Monstrous Doctrine of Eternal Damnation”

Dougall also had a strong ethical revulsion to the lingering Calvinist elements in her parents’ evangelicalism: the doctrines of original sin, predestination, and eternal torment seemed, quite simply, unfair. As a girl she wrote to her brother, John: “Human life must be a very light thing, a *very* light thing, if we believe that thousands of human souls are created yearly merely to die.”⁵⁵ Historians H.R. Murphy and J.L. Altholz have argued that this ethical dimension was

⁵⁵Lily Dougall to John Dougall, March 12, 1877. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters.” 18. On February 23, 1877 she had raised a similar issue: “But if this is true [that an omnipotent God made a plan which failed] it would be also impossible to believe that any soul should through sin die eternally. unless perhaps the one unpardonable sin is that of rejecting an understood, and believed in, Saviour. And if there is still probation after death where may we affix a limit to it?” Earp, “Selected Letters. 17. In this she was similar to many members of her generation. See Geoffrey Rowell, *Hell and the Victorians: Study of the Nineteenth Century Theological Controversies Concerning Eternal Punishment and Future Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1974).

more important than the intellectual “war” between science and faith.⁵⁶ “For [American] Congregational liberals in the 1880s,” argued W.R. Hutchison, “. . . the real issue, underlying more technical questions about God’s nature, was that of God’s morality and ultimately his credibility.”⁵⁷

Dougall’s contemporaries were particularly concerned about the doctrines of eternal punishment and substitutionary atonement.⁵⁸ They found it difficult to accept that a child was born with original sin, and was doomed to eternal punishment unless certain Christian doctrines were accepted.⁵⁹ The question of infant damnation became more pressing with the

⁵⁶H.R. Murphy, “The Ethical Revolt Against Christian Orthodoxy in Early Victorian England,” *American Historical Review* 60, 4 (1955): 817. See also J.L. Altholz, “The Warfare of Conscience with Theology,” in *The Mind and Art of Victorian England*, ed. Altholz (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 58-77, and James C. Livingston, *The Ethics of Belief, An Essay on The Victorian Religious Conscience* (Tallahassee, Florida: American Academy of Religion, 1974). Murphy argued: “Contemporary developments in geology, biology, and Biblical scholarship provided indispensable ammunition once the attack on orthodoxy was under way, but they did not generate the attack. The attack was generated by a sensed incongruity between a vigorous and hopeful meliorism, and the doctrinal legacy of the Christian tradition.” And further: “. . . it was not until the mid-forties that a sufficient number of people had arrived at precisely that stage of dissatisfaction with the received orthodoxy that they needed to emancipate themselves from it intellectually. In the twenties and thirties, both the evolutionist principle and the higher criticism, had been available, but, not meeting a widely felt need, had been largely ignored; in the forties and fifties, they were avidly seized upon precisely because they did meet a widely felt need” (p. 817). He defined orthodoxy as “meaning, not a specific theological position, but the policy of refusing to come to terms with the increasingly secular and meliorist spirit of the age. In the Church of England it includes Evangelicalism and Tractarianism alike, but excludes the Broad Church; in Dissent it embraces virtually everything except Unitarianism” (p.800). This is a somewhat circular definition, and it is a wide net to cast: the distaste among Dougall’s contemporaries appears to have been strongest for teachings that were particularly Calvinist.

⁵⁷ Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse*, 86. See also 79, 97.

⁵⁸It is interesting to note Schleiermacher’s prescience in this matter. As an eighteen-year-old he had written to his father: “I cannot believe that he who named himself only the Son of Man was the eternal and true God: I cannot believe that his death was a substitutionary atonement, because he never said so himself and because I cannot believe it was necessary. God, who has evidently created humankind not for perfection but only for striving after perfection, cannot possibly wish to punish persons eternally because they have not become perfect.” A.L. Blackwell, *Schleiermacher’s Early Philosophy of Life: Determinism, Freedom and Fantasy* (Chico, California: 1982), 7. Cited in Robert F. Streetman, “Romanticism and the *Sensus Numinis* in Schleiermacher,” in *The Interpretation of Belief, Coleridge, Schleiermacher and Romanticism* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 107.

⁵⁹See Neil Semple, “The ‘Nurture and Admonition of the Lord’: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Methodism’s Response to ‘Childhood’,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 14, 27 (1981): 157-176.

sentimentalisation of childhood, and the question of the damnation of the untaught but virtuous savage became more urgent with the new interest in missions. There was also a distaste for the teaching of a forensic or substitutionary atonement; the idea that God had accepted Christ's death as a substitute for a fallen humanity seemed contrary to a sense of justice.

Dougall was once again drawing upon a strong literary tradition. H.R. Murphy has described the ethical concerns of three influential freethinkers: Francis William Newman (1805-1907), James Anthony Froude (1818-94), and Mary Ann Evans, "George Eliot," (1819-80).⁶⁰ All three rejected on ethical grounds the doctrines of Original Sin, Election, Reprobation, Baptismal Regeneration, Vicarious Atonement, and Eternal Punishment.⁶¹ Froude's protagonist in *Nemesis of Faith* (1849) wrote, for example, "I must have no hell terrors, none of these fear doctrines" His character's main difficulty lies with the doctrine of the substitutionary atonement and he writes his Bishop, "I will be candid, I believe that God is a just God, rewarding and punishing us exactly as we act well or ill That the consequence of [man's] guilt should be transferred from him to one who is innocent . . . whatever else it may be, is not *justice*." ⁶²

Murphy argued that these doctrines reflected a medieval notion of salvationism, which was at odds with the popular meliorism. He said that the shift in opinion came in the mid-1840s. While this may be true among British intellectuals, the changes came more slowly in

⁶⁰Their influential works include: Francis William Newman, *Phases of Faith: or, Passages from the History of My Creed* (3d ed.; London: 1853); J.A.Froude, *The Nemesis of Faith* (London: 1849); and George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans), "Evangelical Teaching: Dr. Cumming" *Westminster Review*, October, 1855; and *Scenes from a Clerical Life* (1857).

⁶¹Murphy, "The Ethical Revolt," 816.

⁶²Froude, *The Nemesis of Faith*, 18-19.

clerical circles, among the wider public and across the Atlantic. It was in 1853 that F.D. Maurice lost his chair in theology for his unorthodox views on eternity, and as late as 1862 two contributors to *Essays and Reviews* were convicted of heresy for questioning eternal punishment.⁶³ In Canada, a Presbyterian minister, D.J. MacDonnell, was charged with heresy in 1876 for expressing doubts from the pulpit about everlasting punishment.⁶⁴ And in the United States, a similar controversy arose in 1877 over the installation of Rev. James F. Merriam.⁶⁵ A study of aspiring missionaries confirms that the shift in ideas about hell took place for them in the second half of the century, and Hutchison's study of American liberals focuses on the 1880s.⁶⁶ Calvinist imagery was slow to disappear. In her study of British Anglican evangelicalism, Elizabeth Jay describes the quiet abandonment of the doctrine of eternal damnation in M.F.L. Mortimer's popular *Peep of the Day* (1833).⁶⁷ Between 1849 and 1873, editors altered only one metaphor in the description of Hell, but in 1891 half the torment

⁶³They appealed the decision to the judicial council of the Privy Council, and won, with the support of the four lay members and only one of the three episcopal members.

⁶⁴See Joseph C. McLelland, "The Macdonnell Heresy Trial," *Canadian Journal of Theology* IV, 4 (1958): 273-284. See the younger John Dougall's explanations of the cautious handling of this case in the *Witness*. John R. Dougall to John Dougall, Montreal, May 29, 1876, NAC, DFP, 1.5. He argues that individuals should remain in the church: "It was time enough to leave it when for their faithfulness they were turned out. As to the particular question of Doctrine most people find eternal torment in the bible... We have I think wisely, declined to dogmatise or even to discuss it, while giving all scope to the utterances of orthodox teachers on the subject."

⁶⁵Frank Hugh Foster, *The Modern Movement in American Theology, Sketches in the History of American Protestant Thought from the Civil War to the World War* (1939; repr. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969). In his defense, Washington Gladden argued: "To say that God may punish man for the sins of his ancestors, that God does blame us for what happened long before we were born, is to blaspheme God, if there be any such thing as blasphemy. To say that such a thing is clearly taught in the Bible is to say that the Bible clearly teaches a monstrous lie."

⁶⁶Between the periods 1845-58 and 1876-88 a declining number of would-be missionaries expressed a belief that the heathen would go to hell. See Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 78-84.

⁶⁷Jay, *The Religion of the Heart*, 87-88.

was removed, and by 1909 the entire passage was gone. The doctrine lingered in the popular imagination; Mary Rubio has demonstrated its persistence in L.M. Montgomery's life.⁶⁸

The literary evidence for the ethical revulsion to Calvinist teaching is abundant, especially among women authors.⁶⁹ Canadian novelist Agnes Maule Machar had defended MacDonnell when he was charged with heresy. Her ideal minister, Mr. Alden, was specifically not a representative of forensic schemes of salvation: "Nobody ever heard Mr. Alden dealing with any abstract 'plans' or 'systems,' or with purely commercial considerations of future 'rewards and punishments'; or with a so-called 'salvation' uncomprehended as to its real nature, to be procured by certain vague assent to an equally uncomprehended formula."⁷⁰

⁶⁸Mary Rubio, "Lucy Maud Montgomery and the Destructive Effects of the Doctrine of Predestination," Conference on the Contribution of Presbyterianism to Atlantic Canada, Mount Alison University, Sackville, N.B., 18-10 November, 1994.

Nor can we assume the issue died in the twentieth century. Barry Mack has noted that "The issue that had apparently been settled in 1877 with the Macdonnell heresy trial re-emerged as the key question in 1925 [in the battle over Church Union.]" See Barry Mack, "From Preaching to Propaganda to Marginalization: The Lost Centre of Twentieth Century Presbyterianism," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 149.

⁶⁹It may be that women, with their ties to children and family, were more alarmed than men at the implications of the doctrine of eternal punishment. Feminist theologians frequently compare a masculine religion preoccupied with death and sin to a woman-centred theology based upon life and creation. See Daphne Hampson, *Theology and Feminism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), and Judith Plaskow, *Sex, Sin and Grace, Women's Experience and the Theologies of Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich* (Washington: University Press of America, 1980). As Hannah Whitall Smith argued: "poor and imperfect as my love must be, I could never have enjoyed myself in Heaven while one of my children, no matter how naughty, was shut out." Smith, *Unselfishness*, 210. Cited in Debra Campbell, "Hannah Whitall Smith (1832-1911): Theology of the Mother-Hearted God," *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 15 (1989): 85. In Canada, Flora MacDonald Denison was scathing about "that monstrous doctrine of Eternal Damnation": "A few more decades, a century at most, and in Christendom a queer story will be told, of how the Christian in former times used to teach his small child of a lake of fire and brimstone, where the poor little naked soul would burn to all eternity . . ." Flora MacDonald, *Mary Melville: The Psychic* (Toronto: The Austin Publishing Co. Ltd., 1900), 38, 78.

⁷⁰Agnes Maule Machar, *Roland Graeme: Knight. A Novel of our Times* (Montreal: Drysdale, 1892) 234, 110. The passage continues: "He gave his people, not scholastic theology, but religion as he found it in the Bible, warm concrete, throbbing with the human heart. He showed them the Infinite, as he saw Him in every page of his Bible, but especially in the Man of Nazareth; not as the cold, stern, Law-giver, ready to make His creatures suffer . . ." Machar's protagonist, Roland Graeme, says: "So I have felt as if I should rather trust to a vague, indefinite love, of which my own heart tells me, than to any such narrow gospel as that."

L.M. Montgomery argued acerbically, "I cannot understand this attitude on the part of so many. Nothing seems to enrage some people so much as any attempt to take away or mitigate their dearly beloved hell."⁷¹

Margaret Deland's novel, *John Ward, Preacher* (1888), was one of the few to present the logic of a Calvinist creed and even this novel presents it as an archaic doctrine. John Ward, the Calvinist husband, is noble and loving: "If a man believes his wife will be damned for all eternity unless she accepts certain doctrines, I would think he would move Heaven and Earth to make her accept them." His creed is seen to be logical: "I do believe that salvation, eternal life, Helen, depends upon holding the doctrine of reprobation in its truth and entirety. For see beloved, deny the eternity of punishment and the scheme of salvation is futile. Christ need not have died, a man need not repent, and the whole motive of the Gospel is false; revelation is denied and we are without God and without hope. . . ." Helen is also consistent: "I should be ashamed to be saved, if there were so many lost." Her creedless faith is seen to be more advanced: "the belief of Ward's if it is crude is the husk which has kept safe the germ of truth." But Helen's faith offers no security. On Ward's death, Helen says of eternal life, "I cannot hope, I dare not."⁷² As John Ward had predicted, having given up the belief in eternal punishment, she has lost confidence in salvation and the promise of eternal life. In Mary Ward's classic crisis of faith novel, Robert

⁷¹This was not simply a female preoccupation: in his masculine novel of frontier faith, *Preacher of Cedar Mountain*. Ernest Thompson Seton similarly lampooned the revivalist's "lurid thoughts of burning lakes, of endless torment," and described the "puzzles" discussed by frontiersmen. "Where was the justice in punishing one being for another's sins? Even if the sinner was willing, it was still injustice." Ernest Thompson Seton. *The Preacher of Cedar Mountain* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1917), 60, 164.

⁷² Margaret Deland. *John Ward, Preacher* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1888; repr. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1967), 335, 308, 252, 457. (The metaphor of the kernel and the husk is a familiar one in religious modernism.)

Elsmere's anguished wife draws the same conclusion as Helen Ward and asks Elsmere whether her dying father was deluded about his salvation: "'Perhaps even,' and she trembled, 'you think it ends here --our life -- our love?'"⁷³

Dougall built the idea of eternal damnation into the rather unwieldy melodramatic plot line of "Lovereen." The story is built around a ghost that is heard screaming at night along the road, once when Lovereen was two weeks old, and a second time at the opening of the novel. According to local folklore, the screams are the protests of a man being driven by the devil on the road to hell; her nurse says, "it is my belief that the cries were the cries of a lost soul and him that drove it was the Devil."⁷⁴ The nurse's story took on the power of a myth "a kind of Pilgrim's Progress," in Lovereen's life: "The gnawing desires she felt for the gaieties of life were the strength of the power of sin, which was dragging her, in spite of her prayers, to a life apart from God."⁷⁵ It is revealed, after numerous twists of the plot, that the screaming in both cases is that of an earthly man, suffering not from damnation but from disease. The novel's clear message is that the Devil is a myth, born of ignorance and fear.

In other passages of the novel, Dougall wrote sarcastically about the Calvinist understanding of God's judgement:

That the great God only draws people near to Himself, only gives their souls' life, in any true sense of the word, when they come to Him asking mercy and believe certain clearly defined doctrines as to the Atonement of Christ, the conditions on which mercy comes to them. And they cannot know these doctrines unless they are taught, they will not believe unless they are persuaded . . .⁷⁶

⁷³Ward, *Robert Elsmere*.

⁷⁴"Lovereen," Vol. I, p. 24/111[page is numbered twice], BL, LDP, 4.

⁷⁵"Lovereen," Vol. I, p. 112, BL, LDP, 4.

⁷⁶"Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 144, BL, LDP, 4.

Her dismissal came easily, supported by the consensus of much transatlantic literature. But, as the author of *John Ward* was aware, the dismissal of the doctrines of substitutionary atonement and eternal damnation left a vacuum in their wake. Questions about the origin and purpose of evil were left hanging in the air. As John Ward had told Helen, the Christian who gave up Hell was at risk of also losing Heaven. As an adolescent Lily asked her brother, “Why do you suppose the Lord gave [the Hebrews] a law that He knew they could not keep, but that was really ‘too hard’ for them? Of course, a perfect God could not give an imperfect law, so my question in reality is the old one; why is man imperfect? Why did a loving God suffer evil?”⁷⁷ If God was good, just, and all powerful, then why did evil exist?

4.5 An Episcopalian Alternative

The first outward sign of Lily Dougall’s disaffection with her family’s faith was her surprising decision at the age of seventeen to be confirmed in the Episcopal Church in Bay Ridge near New York City. The move from Congregationalism to Episcopalianism was not an unusual one. Of thirty writers described by Ann Douglas in *The Feminization of American Culture*, ten had converted from Congregationalism to the Episcopal Church.⁷⁸ But the decision is difficult to reconcile with John Dougall’s public disparagement of Canadian Anglicans; none of the

⁷⁷ Lily Dougall to John Dougall, March 12, 1877. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters.” 18.

⁷⁸ Phillips Brooks’ mother had turned from Congregationalism to the Episcopalian Church, as had ten of the thirty women writers described by Ann Douglas, including Catherine Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Douglas, *Feminization*, 400–405.

other Dougall children appear to have left the Congregational fold.⁷⁹ Family members attended her confirmation, and her brother commented drily that the service was “interesting.” She remained a member of the Anglican communion, if an argumentative member, for the rest of her life.

A confirmation is a serious declaration of purpose, but Dougall never discusses her reasons for this momentous decision. Dougall’s choice appears to have been in part a matter of class, in part a matter of aesthetics, but in the main the appeal of a broad theology. The Episcopalian Church was, as Dougall put it in “Lovereen,” the most “fashionable” church in New England.⁸⁰ Among the New York Episcopalians, Dougall would have found an upper-middle-class community which was similar to that of her Montreal grandparents and cousins. She would have been more comfortable with the Episcopalians than among her father’s evangelical friends.

Lily Dougall did not have to give up the pleasures and beauties of the world in order to be a good Anglican. As she explains in “Lovereen,” “with [Anglo-Catholics] the love of art,

⁷⁹In 1869, only six years before Lily Dougall’s confirmation, her father had gleefully reported the conversion of Dr. Pusey to Rome. “Dr. Pusey has at last, according to report, gone to his proper place — the Church of Rome — and it can only be a question of time when his followers and the High Church ritualists generally, follow him. Nor is such secession to be dreaded. It is far easier and safer for Protestant Christianity to contend with these antagonistic forces outside of its camp than inside.” The following day, on receipt of a letter signed, “A Churchman” he was forced to admit that the report was an error. “Editorial Items,” *Montreal Daily Witness*, Vol. IX, No. 188, August 11, 1868, p. 2. See also J.I. Cooper, “The Early Editorial Policy of the *Montreal Witness*,” *Canadian Historical Association Report* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), 53-62, for a discussion of the anti-Catholicism of the early *Witness*.

⁸⁰“[The Anglican] congregation was the most fashionable, for there is a certain prestige about the Anglican service in all English speaking communities which is lacking in other forms of worship.” “Lovereen,” Vol. 1, p. 270, BL, LDP, 4. For a historian’s similar assessment of denominational status for one American city, see Elizabeth Hayes Turner, “Episcopal Women as Community Leaders: Galveston, 1900-1989,” *Episcopal Women, Gender, Spirituality, Commitment in an American Mainline Congregation*, ed. Catherine M. Prelinger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 363.

as well as the love of a stern morality, becomes a part of the love of God.”⁸¹ The liturgy itself was aesthetically pleasing; as she explained in a letter in 1880: “The more I see of the English church, in contrast to other church services, the more I feel in sympathy to it It is ‘all the people saying, Amen’; the grandeur of the building, the bells, everything was more as we would desire our Lord to be worshipped. It is like the palm branches and the Hosannas that the children sing.”⁸² Once again her feelings had literary echoes: Helen Ward contrasted a crude prayer meeting with the grace of the Anglican liturgy and the “reverence of the starlit silence outside.”⁸³ And Emily Carr, thirteen years younger than Dougall, later drew a sharp contrast between the probity of her father’s Presbyterian church and the gentle beauty of her mother’s Episcopalian church, in a revealingly gendered passage:

Father’s religion was grim and stern, our mother’s gentle . . . Our little Presbyterian legs ached from the long walk to church on Sunday morning. Our hearts got heavy and our eyes tired before the Presbyterian prayers and the long Presbyterian sermon were over. Even so, we felt a strong “Rightness” about Father’s church which made it endurable. . . Mother’s [low Reformed Episcopalian] church was a Sunday evening privilege. . . music stole whispering from the organ and crept up among the chandeliers and the polished rafters to make echoes. . . the church was full of stillness. The Bishop curved his palms out over us - they looked pink against his white sleeves. He gave the blessing just as if he was taking it straight from God and giving it to us. . . .⁸⁴

⁸¹Paul says this when he tells the Anglo-Catholic missionary, Myers, that he might join the Anglo-Catholics. “Lovereen,” Vol. 1, p. 315, BL, LDP, 4.

⁸²Lily Dougall to John Redpath Dougall, Edinburgh, October 1880. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 29-31. In comparison, she described the Scotch churches as “apparently lifeless.” It was not simply a matter of beauty; Dougall felt that the Anglican services were more accessible to the average person: “The service was not only more beautiful, but more really within reach of the people.”

⁸³Deland, *John Ward*, 95.

⁸⁴Emily Carr, *The Book of Small* (Toronto: The Oxford University Press, 1942), 37-40. Like Dougall, Carr rejected her older sisters’ evangelicalism. “I was rebellious about religion. In our home it was forced on you in large, furious helps. The miserableness of continually sprawling across doubled-over ladies, with their noses on the seats of our chairs, and their praying knees down on our carpets, annoyed me.” Emily Carr, *Growing Pains: The Autobiography of Emily Carr*, with a foreword by Ira Dilworth (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), 100. After toying with theosophy she turned to a Christian mysticism influenced by the work of Dougall’s friend B.H.Streeter.

Like Carr and Deland, Dougall was drawn by the beauty of the Anglican service. The metaphorical symbolism of the sacraments, the dignity of the service, and the language of the liturgy appealed to her artistic sensibility.⁸⁵

But the beauty of the service was not the central reason for her turn to the Episcopalian Church. "I love the church service," she explained once, "but it is not that"⁸⁶ Sophie Earp suggested that the attraction lay in the freedom and toleration of the liberal Broad Church movement.⁸⁷ The liberal Anglican movement was particularly influential in the United States during Dougall's adolescence in the 1870s.⁸⁸ She later described F.D. Maurice as one of the mountain peaks of her youth, and historian Colin Brown observed that, "the principles [Maurice] enunciated and insights which flashed forth from his writings provided one of the most important influences on religious and social thought in the

⁸⁵See her comparison of evangelical and Anglican uses of the Scripture in Chapter Four.

⁸⁶Lily Dougall to unknown, November 1, 1879. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 23. As Dougall explained to a young member of the Plymouth Brethren two years after her confirmation, it was the breadth of the doctrine that attracted her: "I love the church service, but it is not that; . . . [Your views] may be right, as right as our belief, but we do not say we are right and everyone else is wrong. May not both these ideas [pre and post millennialism] be alike true and the whole truth when we know it be something more glorious than either, which we cannot now understand . . . would God be infinite and we finite if we could know His whole truth? Just as the sun is high above us and to one man it appears ten inches in diameter and to another much less, and they both see with eyes that God has given them."

⁸⁷"I think she was probably influenced in making her choice by the more inclusive character of the Episcopal Communion, for she must always, I think, have depreciated a narrow creed while she sympathised whole-heartedly with the faith which fed on it. In any case her action did not indicate any fundamental religious difference between her and her family. The family faith was of the earnest but somewhat narrow Evangelical type which, at the same time, sat somewhat loosely as differences of sect: they were members in one generation of the Presbyterian, in another of the Congregational Church." Earp, "Selected Letters," 13.

⁸⁸The historian of the Episcopal Church noted: "Generally speaking, movements of religious thought in the Church of England have been, after an interval, followed in the American Church. It was so with the Broad Church theology." E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the Episcopal Church* (New York: Scribner's, 1946), 297.

United States during the years after Maurice's death in 1872."⁸⁹ It is likely that Dougall was first exposed to Mauricean Anglicanism through the work of the popular Episcopalian preacher, Phillips Brooks (1835-1893). Dougall made no reference to his sermons, but the year before her confirmation, 1874, Brooks helped organise the first Church Congress in New York City, where he was joined by such New York clergy as Edward A. Washburn (1819-1881) and John Cotton Smith (1826-1882).⁹⁰ Dougall's family, as editors of the *New York Witness*, would have followed the controversy around the Congress with interest. A letter written by Brooks while preparing for the Congress gives a sense of the excitement generated by this liberal movement.

Next week we go to New Haven, all of us broad Churchmen, to see what can be done to keep or make the Church liberal and free. There is a curious sort of sensitiveness and expectancy everywhere in the Church, a sort of fear and feeling that things cannot

⁸⁹Dougall's reference is in a letter to her brother, Lily Dougall to J.R.D. [John Dougall], Cutts End, Cumnor, November 12, 1915. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 248. Maurice's son came for tea, with Mrs. Caird, and discussed his father and Tennyson. "It was like seeing the mountain peaks of my childhood to hear him talk of the days of his youth."

Maurice was particularly influential for progressive Episcopalians like Phillips Brooks, Vida Scudder, and W.D.P. Bliss. Colin G. Brown "Frederick Denison Maurice in the United States, 1860-1900," *Journal of Religious History* 10 (June, 1978): 68. Scudder, who was Dougall's age, was raised in an atmosphere "saturated" with Maurice's work. Bliss's move from Congregationalism to the Episcopalian Church (which paralleled Dougall's move) was informed by Maurice. See also Chorley, *The Episcopal Church*, 289-291. Hutchison says that Maurice was particularly influential upon American liberals. "For most liberals of the eighties. . . the most powerful influences from abroad were the writings and sermons of two Englishmen: Frederick Denison Maurice and Frederick Robertson." Hutchison, *Modernist Impulse*, 80. The Christian Social Union was particularly Mauricean. Peter d' A. Jones wrote, "When they made an open avowal of debt to the men of the 1850's, the later Christian socialists paid greatest respects not to the economic ideas of the founder of the earlier movement, J.M. Ludlow, but to the religious thinking of Maurice." *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914, Religion, Class, and Social Conscience in Late-Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 10. It appears, however, that Maurice's influence declined with the CSU. Hastings Rashdall, the theologian of the Modernist movement, commented in 1911 that "Tennyson's favourite theologian, Maurice, is now seldom read and seldom denounced." Hastings Rashdall, "Is Liberal Theology a Failure?" *The Modern Churchman* 1, 1 (April, 1911): 26. Alec Vidler has noted that even among Anglican theologians Maurice had largely been forgotten by the 1920s. "But no one else of my acquaintance then [1923] had any interest in Maurice as a theologian. In so far as he was remembered at all, he seemed to have been remembered for his part in the Christian Socialist movement." Alex R. Vidler, *F.D. Maurice and Company* (London: SCM Press, 1966), 8. In contrast Chorley, writing in 1946 in United States, said, "his memory is still very much alive." Chorley, *Episcopal Church*, 289.

⁹⁰Dougall later included a number of Brooks' sermons in her review, *World Wide*.

remain forever just as they are now and a general looking to the General Convention of next fall as the critical time. . . . one wonders what is coming out of it all. Certainly some sort of broad church. A meeting such as this I speak of could not have been possible ten years ago. Then the men could not have been found to go; now men are asking to be invited.⁹¹

The movement's popularity grew in the ensuing decades. Maurice's ideas gained new currency with the publication of his *Life and Letters* in 1884.⁹²

We can imagine the attraction of this kind of church for a young girl who had been bored by the earnest young preachers and confined by her father's Puritanism. Chafing at the restrictions of her evangelical family, she would have been quickly drawn to a movement that took her father's emphasis on religious liberty to a new level, with intellectual grounding and a cultural cachet. Liberal Anglicanism gave Dougall the freedom to move beyond the restrictions of her evangelical childhood. It is important to stress, however, that liberal Anglicanism offered more than simply freedom. Liberals have been charged with substituting a vacuous freedom for the constraints of an orthodox faith tradition, and they bear some of the responsibility for this impression. Maurice was a background figure (as Dougall's metaphor of the mountain peak suggests) and his powerful influence was frequently taken for granted. As her contemporary, W.E. Collins, observed: "Many elements of [Maurice's] teaching have been so assimilated amongst us that this very fact stands in the way of our realizing our debt to him; we neither know whence we derived them nor who it was who brought them forth, but we assume that our fathers were as familiar with them as we are."⁹³ Maurice contributed to this confusion by refusing to

⁹¹ Allen, *Phillips Brooks*, 207-208.

⁹² Torben Christensen, *The Divine Order: A Study in F.D. Maurice's Theology* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1973), 18-20.

identify with any party or sect. He opposed early attempts in 1853 to define the Broad Church movement.

Rather than a vacuous freedom, Broad Church theology offered Lily Dougall a new incarnational experiential. The American Broad Churchman, Philips Brooks, was, like Dougall, a Congregationalist by origin; his maternal family had started the Andover Academy. His parents became evangelical Episcopalians, and when later, under the influence of Dean Stanley and other Broad Churchmen in Britain, he adopted a more liberal theology, he retained the emotional centre of his evangelical childhood.⁹⁴ This was, however, an expansive experiential. Rather than praying with Lily's brother to be weaned from the world, Brooks embraced the whole of the universe. The incarnation – God's presence in the world – lay at the centre of his theology. "The truth of the Incarnation was the central truth of his life, thought and preaching. For him it solved the pressing problems of life, nature, and knit the universe, God and his creation into living unity."⁹⁵

Dougall argued in "Loveleen" that the separation from the world required by evangelicals was a mistake. God made all, Dougall wrote, and was in all, so believers should expose themselves to all. A narrow life was not a sign of superior morality or a closer tie with God; Dougall argued that life's pleasures were of God, and meant to be

⁹⁴ Philips Brooks' biographer noted that Brooks had also railed against the proscriptions of an "evangelical school [which] . . . called for a renunciation of much which he knew or believed to be good." The points on which Brooks diverged from his evangelical Episcopalian childhood coincide neatly with the difficulties that Dougall experienced with her evangelical Congregationalist childhood. He too opposed the separation of secular and sacred worlds, the indifference to intellectual culture, and the tendency to limit the church to the elect. Allen, *Phillips Brooks*, 121, 668n.

⁹⁵ Bishop Lawrence. Cited in Chorley, *Episcopal Church*, 299. This incarnational emphasis was echoed outside the Anglican Church in liberal Protestantism. Hutchison, in his definitive study of modernism, describes the central theme of New Theology as God's presence in the world and in human culture.

enjoyed, and evangelicals were shutting themselves off from much of God in denying his earthly creation, and were distorted as a result. "Evangelicalism," she wrote, "had the power to transform into gruesome spectres all the beautiful things of God's creation."⁹⁶ "They see the panorama of the universe painted in monochrome only, in the light and shadow of right and wrong. But to those who are not thus colour blind this code of the monochrome is a torturing and deforming thing."⁹⁷ Dancing represented the harmless pleasures of the world that were banned by evangelicals. Lovereen dances secretly in her room; the dance symbolises the natural expression of her God-given creativity and in a dramatic moment, Lovereen's dancing is endorsed by a direct sign from God.⁹⁸

At one point in the novel Lovereen realises the gulf that lies between her and her father: "to her there was nothing on earth that to understand better did not teach her the better to understand and love her God; to him so much that can make up life was Godless." She has slipped home from a ball, and hears him singing: "Oh let no earthborn cloud arise/ To hide Thee from thy Servant's eyes." She prays "No No teach us to see *Thee* in all things."⁹⁹ As Lovreen put it to her father: "It is your temperament to want to contract all life within

⁹⁶ "Lovereen," p. 102. BL, LDP, 4.

⁹⁷ "Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 106-117, BL, LDP, 4. "[Evangelicals] will, every one of them, cry you down as a heretic if you say that culture and refinement and pleasure are the larger part of God's gospel for man." "Castoffs of Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 146, BL, LDP, 4. See also p. 152-153.

⁹⁸ Dougall's later novels toy with sexual tension, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that Dougall was also protesting against the suppressed sexuality of an evangelical life when she describes Lovereen's joy in the physicality of the dance. Lovereen dances for both of her suitors, and promises to dance again for her future husband. The first suitor compares her to a dryad (p.181). As she practices her dance "all the motion of the natural world – the swirl and rush of the water, the swoop of the birds, and the wind in the forest trees– became as threaded for the web of her dance.....she hid the thing as a maiden hides a guilty love. [The word guilty has been crossed out and replaced with "secret]." "Castoffs of Lovereen," p.141, BL, LDP, 4.

⁹⁹ "Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 326. BL, LDP, 4.

religion and it is mine to want to spread religion over all life. You think that whatever is not godly is wrong; I think that whatever is not wrong is godly.”¹⁰⁰ Life’s pleasures, she argued, were of God.

The question remains why Dougall would have turned to an Episcopalian liberalism rather than the Congregational liberalism of American “New Theology.” Horace Bushnell, “the American Schleiermacher,” had introduced a liberal and experiential theology which drew upon the same liberal sources as Anglican Broad Church, and would have provided Dougall with an incarnational and Christocentric theology.¹⁰¹ The Anglican Church offered, however, an impressive intellectual grounding, in the work of the British higher critics, and the security of a historic church. The two elements, as we shall see, balanced each other, the freedom of the higher critics testing and expanding the base of the historic church, and the comprehensive security of that historic body grounding and securing the flights of criticism. The tension and balance is a Mauricean one. Theologians have commented on the contradictory nature of Maurice’s theology; the radicalism of his conception of the Kingdom of Christ, and his conservative Anglicanism. The apparent contradictions in Maurice’s theology responded to Dougall’s own contradictory needs: the desire for community and history and the desire for the freedom in which to explore a deeply felt spirituality. The Anglican Church, for all that she criticized it, provided both.

¹⁰⁰ Earp, “Selected Letters,” 81.

¹⁰¹ Bushnell’s ideas were developed in Newman Smythe’s *Old Faiths in a New Light* (1879) and T.T. Munger’s *The Freedom of Faith* (1883). See Hutchison, *Modernism*, for a discussion of modernist Congregationalism.

Chapter Five

Scripting the Crisis of Faith

“What we chiefly need is ambition.”
Lily Dougall, 1893¹

Sophie Earp later reflected that Dougall’s defection to the Episcopalian Church did not represent a fundamental religious difference between Dougall and her family. She noted that the Dougall parents were liberal and non-sectarian, and had themselves made a denominational move from Presbyterianism.² But Earp was being somewhat disingenuous. She made no mention of Dougall’s subsequent nervous illnesses and repeated holidays from the parental home, she edited the apologetic portions from John Dougall’s letters, and she attributed the family difficulties to outside pressures. Dougall’s growing liberalism *did* cause a rift in the family. And the Episcopalian Church contributed to the rift by providing Dougall a suitably respectable harbour from which to venture in a liberal faith. From the age of seventeen, Dougall struggled with the contradictions between her liberal outlook and her parents’ evangelicalism, suffering repeated nervous breakdowns until she finally broke away from the family faith and the family home at the age of twenty-five. She wrote a friend three years later:

I think, you know, that people’s lives go through “rapids” like rivers, when all the passionate difficulty of mere living from day to day is heaped together in one place like rocks in the riverbed, and the life has to toil and struggle over it; but I do think that when that is once passed, it never needs be passed again; the fight is, as it were, won, and afterwards the life flows on in peace.³

¹L. Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, (London: Longmans, 1893), 281.

²Earp, “Selected Letters,” 13.

³Lily Dougall to K.D.[Katie Drummond], July 24, 1886. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 74.

Dougall's optimism was a little premature, and a number of difficulties still lay ahead, but the battles she fought in her early adult years set the course for the rest of her life.

This chapter will examine the way that Dougall fictionalised this period of her life in "Lovereen." Dougall had read *Sartor Resartus* (1833-34), *In Memoriam* (1850), *John Ward, Preacher* (1888), *Robert Elsmere* (1888), and many other accounts of religious doubt before sitting down to write about her life.⁴ The crisis-of-faith novels describe a lonely and existential crisis. The novels, however, eased the loneliness; they made doubt normative and provided a route for the resolution of that doubt.⁵ Dougall structured her autobiographical novel to conform to this genre, leading Lovereen and Paul through the lonely stages of religious doubt, the loss of faith, and the recovery of a liberal belief. In order to make sense of her narrative, the reader must be alert to the structuring provided by these conventions. In this chapter, I will be asking how the genre scripted Dougall's transition to an altered religious climate.

The implications of this structuring are doubly complicated for women. Those who have studied women's autobiography have identified the difficulties of women trying to write themselves into the "privileged cultural fictions of male selfhood,"⁶ what Helen Buss

⁴Heather Henderson has argued, analysing the autobiographical work of Newman, Gosse, and Ruskin, that the crisis-of-faith narrative builds on the typology of the earlier conversion narrative, by reversing that narrative. Heather Henderson, *The Victorian Self, Autobiography and Biblical Narrative* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). See also Valerie Sanders, *The Private Lives of Victorian Women: Autobiography in Nineteenth Century England* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989).

⁵As one Canadian man explained, "I too have been led to my views on Christ's divinity or non divinity simply on my own hook. All my upbringing was orthodox. But a man can't help his belief." L.M. Montgomery's correspondent, Ephraim Weber. L.M. Montgomery, *The Green Gables Letters, from L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, 1905-1909*, ed. Wilfred Eggleston (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1981), 36.

⁶Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginalities and the Fictions of Representation* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987). Cited by Helen M. Buss, *Mapping Ourselves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 17.

describes as “the problem of reckoning with telling a female story out of a male generic tradition.”⁷ In a study of a woman like Dougall, we need to examine the ways in which a female life is altered to meet the demands of masculine genre. “Resisting the shape of male autobiography is only the beginning,” argues Gail Twersky Reimer. “The female autobiographer must also resist cultural pressure to remain silent.”⁸ How did Dougall resist the shape of male autobiography, and to what extent did she remain silent? Why did she never publish this first novel?

5.1 The Slough of Despond

Lily Dougall’s faith was inextricably linked to powerful feelings for her mother.⁹ She spent most of her youth caring for Elizabeth Dougall, and, as she told a friend shortly after her

⁷Buss, *Mapping Ourselves*, 150.

⁸ Gail Twersky Reimer, “Revisions of Labour in Margaret Oliphant’s Autobiography,” in *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women’s Autobiography*, ed. Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schencke (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 203-220.

⁹ “When I was a little child, I repeated the twenty-third psalm every morning to my mother, standing before her and hiding my head in her lap.” Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 2. “Anxiety with regard to my health is as innate in me as is the faith in God I have imbibed from my mother, or the love of freedom I derived from my father.” Lily Dougall to Susan Dougall, Weltham House, Suffolk Road, Cheltenham, October 23, 1887. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 76-78. See also Dougall’s letter to her mother at the age of 22: “Dearest Mother, I have always had the notion all my life whenever any great pleasure happened to me that my mother was praying for me. This much at least is true, that I know you always do pray for me. I have been very happy lately in having found a firmer footing in the Christian life than I ever had before. I have been very blind all my life to truths, that as your daughter, I should have known when I was a child. I thank God every day for giving me such a Father and Mother. No wealth or position that you could possible [sic] have given us could have been as much to us as the lessons your life and patience have taught us.” Lily Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, Christmas, 1880. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 20.

mother's death, "my love for my mother was the one passionate love of my whole life."¹⁰

Devout mothers are the stuff of evangelical iconography: in 1846 Lily's father ran an inspirational article on mothers in the *Montreal Witness*: "On a mother's love. It conquers all. It is identified in the mind with its first knowledge of God. She is contemplated as with God. Next to the divine efficiency, her influence is all pervading and most powerful."¹¹ Some forty years later, Lily repeated this elision of God and mother in her letters and her fiction. She wrote, on her mother's death: "God supplies *all* our need --yes, *all*, all my need of my mother: (loving and tender and sympathetic as she was, the Lord is infinitely more loving and sympathetic.)"¹² And she speaks in her fiction through Lovereen who recalls: "Yet her mother had told her with her last breath that . . . [in] the all pervading presence of Divine Love she would find a love as intimate and as tender."¹³ A poem Lily wrote shortly after her mother's death develops the parallels between a mother's love and that of God:

I will not mar the Christmas joy, dear love,
By one false tear, a traitor to thy bliss.
My lips have scarcely lost thy parting kiss,
Or snows bestowed themselves thy grave above:
It cannot be, my reason fain would prove,
It cannot be that I have aught to miss

¹⁰Lily Dougall to K.D. [Katie Drummond], Ivy Green, Montreal, December 30, 1883. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 61.

¹¹An excerpt, "Selections," was published in *The Montreal Witness*, February 2, 1846, p. 39. See Ann Taves, "Mothers and Children and the Legacy of Mid-Nineteenth Century American Christianity," *Journal of Religion* 67, 2 (1987): 203-19. Taves describes the development of a maternal God in the work of Horace Bushnell and Henry Ward Beecher, and argues that in Roman Catholicism there was a parallel (if implicit rather than explicit) development. She attributes both to shifts in parenting, as men worked outside the home, and women took on the parenting and religious socialisation of children. This resulted in a strong, and conflicted relationship between mothers and children, especially sons who had to establish their autonomy by breaking free of relationships. Taves argues that this resulted in an ambivalent reaction by men to a maternalised God.

¹² Lily Dougall to K.D. [Katie Drummond], December 6, 1883. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 56.

¹³ "Lovereen," Vol. I, p. 206. The portion edited from this passage reads: "that there was no human pain which was not perfectly met by Divine sympathy; that in losing her human guide she would in reality lose nothing, for in the all pervading . . ."

If I may hold Eternal strength in this,
 My puny grasp repeating God is love.
 What hast thou been with every breath and thought?
 Smiles for my joy and tears for my distress;
 Less was my self-love than thy tenderness;
 Thou teachest still the lesson thou has taught —
 To know what thing is love, and in me wrought
 The question, Can the Infinite be less?¹⁴

The question is a revealing one. Can the Infinite be less than a mother's love? Can the Infinite be understood apart from a mother's love and power?

Dougall is unwaveringly positive about Lovereen's mother in her novel, observing that "the greatness of the mother's love triumphed over all smallness of theory and yielded to her daughter's desires when such yielding had involved no wrong."¹⁵ She argues through her characters that Mrs. Walford, by living a holy life, reached more people than Mr. Walford did with his preaching. But she suggests that an evangelical mother could cast a shadow over her children's lives: "chilling the gaiety of their waking hours and sleeping dreams."¹⁶ Most tellingly, she eliminates this paragon of a mother early in the novel, so that all

¹⁴ Earp, "Selected Letters," 54.

¹⁵ "... [H]ow often in the years that were passed had the greatness of the mother's love triumphed over all smallness of theory and yielded to her daughter's desires when such yielding had involved no wrong. All the sternness of her mother's creed had been for herself; toward her child her love had been intense and perfect. But this dear mother was gone. . ." "Castoffs of Lovereen," p. 128. "Mary Walford. . . was a lovely and selfless character. She was of Puritan descent and held deep religious convictions. She could take great pleasure in the pleasures of the others but her own pleasure consisted chiefly in prayer and praise to God and self sacrifice to the beings given to her love." "Castoffs of Lovereen," p.4. "[Paul] was thinking of the sixteen years in which Walford's wife and daughter had lived together in passionate reciprocal love and oneness of feeling, even when the girl had differed from her mother in thought." "Lovereen," Vol. III, p.43, BL, LDP, 4.

¹⁶ "Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 310. The passage continues, "The triumphant faith in God's goodness which alone can bear the weight of such a burden is often long in coming to these weary [wight's?] for the reason that their trouble holds them back from participation in the full excitement of natural joy which is the convincing evidence of the love of God."

of the young girl's difficulties are focused on her father.¹⁷ Removing the mother allows her to avoid dealing with the complex feelings about her mother, and enabled her to develop the novel in conformity with the classic masculine autobiographical narrative away from family (and faith) into an individual rationality.¹⁸

Family correspondence suggests that Elizabeth Dougall was a demanding mother, who used her invalidism and her financial power to control her children.¹⁹ Lily expressed a great deal of guilt and anxiety each time she left her mother's side to pursue her own interests. It is telling that, when things became too difficult in Brooklyn, the older siblings, John, Janet, and James, engineered recuperative retreats for the younger girls, Lily and Susie, removing them

¹⁷This insight I owe to Sandra Campbell.

¹⁸Buss, *Mapping Ourselves*.

¹⁹Elizabeth Dougall's power in the family was in part derived from the moral authority granted an evangelical mother, but was also more materially related to her judicious use of the money she had inherited from her father. The Dougall family home on Mont Royal was a gift from Elizabeth Dougall's father. *Northern Messenger and Sunday School Companion*, September 24, 1886. Clipping in BL. LDP, 6. Elizabeth Dougall partially financed the expansion of the *Witness* by guaranteeing John Dougall's loans from his children. James wrote to his father: "As I wrote last time it is only with the distinct understanding that these amounts paid out by us now will be made good by mother if the business here should require them that we *can* accept at all and we could not under any circumstances endorse one of your bonds for the simple reason that it would be dishonest to our own creditors" June 26, 1876, NAC, DFP, 1, 5.

She also gave money directly to the children. James sent a statement of her accounts in November 23, 1881, writing: "Maggie and Susie have each had all theirs and Lily about half of hers but I may be wrong Jessie has not had any, Laure has had all hers but has only spent the \$35 for a sewing machine so far. She wanted to spend the whole on a gold watch for me but I would not hear of it in the present state of things. I do not need a gold watch anyway" NAC, DFP, 1, 5. James used her money to finance the building of a larger house. J.D. Dougall to John Dougall, September 2, 1878, NAC, DFP, 1, 7.

In 1877, she chastised James for his criticism of his father's business ethics. James Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, November 26, 1877, NAC, DFP, 1, 6. In 1882, John and James proposed moving to Winnipeg; their mother's response provoked an apologetic letter from her son John. See J.R. Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, May 1, 1882, NAC, DFP, 2, 1.

The demands placed by Elizabeth Dougall upon her daughters stand in some contrast to the supportive roles played by the mothers of most college-educated women described in Linda W. Rosenzweig, *The Anchor of My Life: Middle-Class American Mothers and Daughters, 1880-1920* (New York: NYUP, 1993), Chapter 5. " . . . [F]or many "new" women in the four decades before 1920, the mother-daughter relationship provided crucial reassurance and encouragement in the pursuit of untraditional educational and career goals" (p. 110).

for weeks at a time from their mother's control. They placated Elizabeth Dougall, and offered themselves and a reluctant young niece as substitute companions.²⁰

The difficulties seemed to begin after Lily's confirmation in the Episcopalian Church, when she started to read the Bible critically. "I have been reading the Bible," Lily wrote to her older brother John in late February, 1877, "beginning in the beginning and trying to disabuse my mind of all its former ideas concerning it, to find out what it really says."²¹ This led inevitably to difficult questions, and by March she was asking: "What do you think about the Garden of Eden? It certainly is, taking it either as fact, allegory or fiction, what we would call now a queer story."²² Lily hid her questions from her mother, "It would be simply wrong to disturb Mother's peace of mind by suggesting my doubts to her." Two girlhood friends, Agnes Drummond and Janie Couper, were ready and accepting audiences for Lily Dougall's questions but neither they nor the preachers in her father's household provided any guidance. She was more likely to challenge these earnest young men than request their help.²³

²⁰James Dougall to "my very dear mother," September 20, 1878, NAC, DFP, 1.7.

²¹Lily Dougall to John Redpath Dougall, February 23, 1877. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters." 16-18. This critical reading represents a fairly radical departure from the rest of her family. One of her siblings had written to her mother only a few months earlier, describing a sermon: "[Mr. Stephenson] is particularly strong on the Divinity of Christ, on the authority of the Scriptures and the necessity for salvation by faith. Whether these doctrines have come to him lately with fresh power of whether he has been led to devote special attention to them because the Unitarians here are making great efforts to secure converts by publishing a paper and by other means I don't know but for some time past he has been on some such subject more especially the Deity of Christ in almost every sermon I am very glad of it for there never was a time I think when such preaching was more needed Only I wish he had four or five times as large an audience." [Probably James Dougall] to my very dear mother, Ivy Green, December 25, 1876, NAC, DFP, 1.5.

²²Lily Dougall to John Redpath Dougall, March 12, 1877. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters." 18-19.

²³Dougall considered herself superior to most young men. T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen, November 19, 1889, BL, LDP, 1. She took the role of provocateur, and challenged one young man to read the Bible for himself. "Surely when we trust Him for everything else we can take His hand and trust Him to teach us His own word, without any man, or class of man, to explain it for us." Lily Dougall to unknown, November 1, 1879. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters." 22-23.

She turned to John, apologising for her preoccupation with metaphysics: "I put these questions to you, because there is no one else I can speak to on the subject."²⁴ John did not have the confidence in either his faith or intellectual abilities to provide much guidance. He was a graduate of McGill University (B.A. 1860, M.A. 1867) who served the university as a senior representative Fellow in Arts and was instrumental in the organisation of the Congregational College. He took little pleasure in his studies, however, and his diaries show that his concern was in finding holiness, rather than sorting out the truth.²⁵ When Lily plied him with questions, he appears to have responded with holiness maxims. In one letter, she remarked to him, "I am afraid I have not made my argument plain, and you will not at all see the connection to your rules for happy living." Lily, in contrast, had little interest in "happy living" and insisted on the pursuit of truth. She pointed out that the good life must be an examined life: "for if everything that we are and have and do is entirely for the higher education of our souls, it is of much more importance that we should not only do right but do it in the right way."²⁶

John did, however, help to protect his sister from their mother's demands when Lily suffered her first breakdown in May, 1877. James' wife, Laure, wrote to Elizabeth:

John was thinking it would be perhaps better for Lily to come [to Montreal] now while Jessie is away, I am sure I should like to have her come now if she could. John was thinking it would do her good to come soon. The house is so clean now that she would not have to fear anything.²⁷

²⁴ "I enjoy your metaphysical letters better than those containing news. This is wrong at the root of things. I know, but because it is so, and because I have always struggled against it, is the reason. I suppose, of my intense dislike of letter writing." Lily Dougall to John Dougall, March 12, 1877. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 18.

²⁵ Eternally insecure, he said, "I am by a good way the least educated and worst read man in the [Athenicum] club." John Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, Nov 14, 1876, NAC, DFP, 1, 5. He read Kant for meetings at the club, and wrote his mother, "I would have done better to have been writing to you." John R. Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, December 11, 1876, NAC, DFP, 1, 5.

²⁶ Lily Dougall to John Dougall, February 23, 1877. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 18.

²⁷ Laure Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, May 22, 1877, NAC, DFP, 1, 6.

When Lily suffered a second nervous collapse in the fall of 1878 –“Dr. Katz said it was a very uncommon case of nerves and she did not know what to recommend except outdoor life and good nourishment” – Janet tried to keep her in Montreal. She explained diplomatically to her mother:

[Lily] has been pretty anxious about you thinking I suppose every day that the east wind blew and that she did not have a letter that her proper place was in Brooklyn. I have thought that perhaps she might stay here until I went down to Brooklyn in October and that as she would not be needed while I was there she might remain here until my five or six weeks visit was nearly over. Of course this plan depends upon your health remaining good until say the middle of October which experience hardly leads us to expect and we would need to feel quite sure that we would hear if you were ill or we could not feel easy.

Janet's letter suggests it was the psychological pressures rather than the physical conditions under which the family was living that were the real problem.

John fears that the association of Brooklyn would bring back the nervous depressed condition under which [Lily] laboured last winter [1877-78] which she can hardly speak of without horror. I think very likely however that Susie's absence will make a great difference in this respect and that she will be better and stronger when she does go back to resist depression as she is, I think, growing wise in taking care of herself.²⁸

Another time John wrote to his father suggesting Lily return to Montreal, even if it left Elizabeth “bereft of all her girls.”

Nothing would please us more than to get Lily back. She was the life of the house and accomplished easily what is a burden to Janet who has to husband her strength. Janet would I think be much the better of having Lily here while I think mother was if anything better when they were all away but mother longs to have them with her and it does seem cruel to her that she should be bereft of all her girls. Jessie could not go down for a month now. She always comes back the worse for her trip and she has not at present any strength to spare although I hope gradually gaining ground. It is very strange to me that you and mother should find yourselves better able to stand the change of climate and circumstances than any of us younger ones but so it seems. Lily

²⁸[Janet Dougall] to “Dear dear Mother” [Elizabeth Dougall], Friday, September 6, 1878, NAC, DFP. 1. 7. The letter is unsigned but the context and handwriting suggest it is written by Janet.

might come as soon as the spring give signs of coming say in Feb. and stay till it is fairly in so as to avoid the worst of the weather.²⁹

It was John who finally engineered a complete escape from the family home. At his initiative Lily travelled to Edinburgh in the summer of 1880, and stayed with her doting aunt, Jane Redpath, until September 1881, studying and travelling.³⁰

This was period of intellectual awakening. Dougall immersed herself in cultural activities and religious controversies, comparing religious services, grilling clerics, and making friends.³¹ She went to Shakespeare readings and studied art and geometry at the School of Design.³² Women were not admitted to the University of Edinburgh at this time, but the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association offered a form of extra-mural arts department for women, drawing upon the faculty of the University of Edinburgh, with lectures leading to a

²⁹John Redpath Dougall to John Dougall, [nd, probably early 1878], NAC, DFP, 1.7.

³⁰[John Dougall] to Elizabeth Dougall, Montreal, June 1, 1880, NAC, DFP, 1. 9. John wrote that Lily was not yet well from a cold. He said he had 24 Sunday School teachers over the previous night, and a "brother" orchestrated a request that he attend a Sunday School centennial in England. Although he had little interest in the centennial he said he would like to see someone who has gone over there and to take Lily over: "I think it would do her much good. In fact I don't think it would be at all worth while going without Lily." He may have been writing for his mother's financial support, as the last page lists the costs, and later letters discuss the expense of the trip. The dates of Dougall's trip are a little unclear. Earp says she left in the summer of 1880, which would be confirmed by the date of John's letter. But she says Dougall stayed two years, and returned in September, 1881. Earp, "Selected Letters," 25.

³¹She reported back to her family about the 1881 heresy trial of Robertson Smith in the Free Church Assembly in Edinburgh and the sermons of the Anglican "monk-evangelist" Father Ignatius. Lily Dougall to John Dougall, Edinburgh, May 27, 1881, BL, LDP, 1. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 31-38; Lily Dougall to John Redpath Dougall, Edinburgh, April 28, 1881. Cited in Earp "Selected Letters," 42.

³²Jane Redpath had lived with the Dougall family when Lily was a child. Her letter to Elizabeth Dougall suggests the intimacy of their relationship and nature of Lily's studies: "Lily has been pretty well since I wrote. She did not go out last Sabbath to church, nor to the School of Design on Monday morning, but since then she has been pretty fully occupied and has joined Masson's class of English literature as well as Calderwood's Moral Philosophy class, so what with attending lectures, studying for them and writing them out she has not a little on hand but appears to enjoy them all thoroughly Lily is a great joy to me. How nice and fat her cheeks keep, just as when she was a baby. I feel inclined to kiss them all the time. It is very good of you to do without her I do hope that the climate here will strengthen her." Jane Redpath to Elizabeth Dougall, Saturday, November 13, 1880, 130 Gilmore Place, NAC, DFP, 1. 9. See also Earp, "Selected Letters," 31.

“higher certificate” for women.³³ Dougall attended David Masson’s lectures in English literature and Henry Calderwood’s class in Moral Philosophy.³⁴ She received First Class certificates in both subjects. She also wrote the examinations for the Lady Licentiate in Arts, LLA, at St. Andrews, a diploma open to women who had pursued private study.³⁵

Dougall also pursued an education outside of the classroom. The questions she had posed to her older brother she now directed at a range of academics and ministers. As she wrote her father,

I remember that you told me once that it was always best to make a man talk on the subject he knows most about. I have found this to be a most invaluable plan, for it pleases the man, and I pick up a great deal of information that I never would be bothered reading in books. There was a clergyman on the ship coming over who told me all about the ranks and offices of the Church, and I have met with few people since who were so well informed as I am. So I ask the students to explain Scotch theology when they disturb us when we are sketching, and I really have got quite good notion of Geology from the said Mr. Smith. I tell you about them because I have really nothing else to write about. They are quite harmless young men.³⁶

I am learning the Shorter Catechism. Old Mr. Taylor sent it to me with his compliments the day after he had heard that I was ignorant of its content. This

³³For a discussion of higher education for women in Scotland, see Lindy Moore, “The Scottish Universities and Women Students,” in *Scottish Universities, Distinctiveness and Diversity*, ed. Jennifer J. Carter and Donald J. Withrington (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1992).

³⁴David Masson (1822-1907) was, from 1867, particularly supportive of women’s higher and medical education and gave a special course of lectures on English literature to women students under the auspices of the Association for the University Education of Women. G.G.Smith, “Masson, David,” *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement 1901-1911 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912). In Henry Calderwood’s (1830-1897) class she would have been introduced to idealism. Calderwood was subsequently influential in the translation of Schleiermacher’s *On Religion*, and it was possible that she was introduced to Schleiermacher’s theology at this time. Significantly, Calderwood and Masson had been inspirational for the liberal evangelical Henry Drummond during his own studies at the University of Edinburgh, twelve years earlier. See Cuthbert Lennox, *Henry Drummond, A Biographical Sketch with Bibliography* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1901). Lily Dougall later became very active in the Student Christian Movement, an organisation inspired by Drummond’s work with students.

³⁵ Earp, “Selected Letters,” 41.

³⁶ Lily Dougall to John Dougall, Holy Island, Lindisfarne, October 9, 1880. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 28.

was much to the amusement of his sons and daughter, but Mrs. Taylor could not see the fun at all. Dear old people!³⁷

Dougall's light tone—her presentation of herself as a flirtatious young woman—disguises her serious interests. The information she gleaned from these men met her central concerns of church and faith: Presbyterian catechism, Anglican hierarchy, and Scotch theology. Geology, of course, was the subject that toppled the faith of many believers in a literal Bible.

Letters reveal that Dougall was still pursuing the implications of biblical criticism. Her visit to Scotland coincided with the heresy trial of Robertson Smith, “the turning point in the mind of Victorian Scotland.”³⁸ Smith held the Hebrew chair in the Free Church College in Aberdeen. When he denied the historicity of Deuteronomy in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, a protracted dispute ensued and Smith was finally deposed from his chair.³⁹ Dougall's description of the hearings in a letter to her father is fascinating. Her tone is light and she predicates her comments with a feminine disclaimer: “I have not been able to *study* [Smith's] views. Of course, I am not capable of forming an opinion as to their truth, and I have none.” But she delivers a cutting assessment of Smith's critics. Of the Principal of Free College, she wrote, “Dr. Rainy's argument was this: Prof. Smith has bothered the church for five years; he has been impertinent to me and to others; away with this turbulent fellow and we will carefully

³⁷Lily Dougall to John Dougall, Androssen, September 1, 1880. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 26.

³⁸Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch. *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900* (Edinburgh: The St. Andrew Press, 1978), 52.

³⁹For Dougall's account, see Lily Dougall to John Dougall, Edinburgh, May 27, 1881, BL, LDP, 1. Cited in M.S. Earp, “Selected Letters,” 31-38. For a more detailed (and less lively) account see Chapter Two, “The Trial of Robertson Smith,” in Drummond and Bulloch. *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland*. Smith also entertained the idea that portions of the New Testament were forgeries; but this was forgotten in the emphasis on the Old Testament. Drummond and Bulloch argue that the trial came at a time when the Victorian

consider afterwards whether his views are correct or not.” Of another party she wrote: “Mr. Wilson briefly expressed the argument thus: ‘If my neighbour digs in his own cellar, he may say he is not shaking my foundations, but when my walls are beginning to crack I have a right to stop him.’ . . . I do not wonder that Mr. Wilson is panic stricken if he rests on no firmer foundation than that.” Dougall’s own foundations, evidently, stood firm, and the experience, combined with her university lectures, reinforced her growing liberalism. (In 1890 she attended Marcus Dodd’s and A.B.Bruce’s cases at the Assembly.⁴⁰)

The freedom and luxury in Edinburgh was exhilarating. “Auntie keeps the most royal castle of indolence that can be imagined. She has cupboards full of nice books, a fire in August and a drawing room full of lounges and easy chairs.”⁴¹ On New Year’s Eve, 1880, Dougall observed the drunken revelry with a sense of fun that seems at odds with her temperance youth. She wrote her father: “It is very sad, you know, to see one person drunk, but to see a whole town drunk is simply funny.”⁴²

5.2 The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life

On Dougall’s return to Canada in fall of 1881, however, she again took on the role of the dutiful daughter. She devoted herself to nursing her mother. They lived in claustrophobically

Church was beginning to view the Old Testament as no longer a Christian text; something to be seen in contrast, rather than in connection, to the teaching of the New Testament (p.61).

⁴⁰ Notes marked, “B’s letters,” May 13-29, 1890, BL, LDP.1.

⁴¹ Lily Dougall to John Redpath Dougall, August 12, 1885. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 68.

⁴² Lily Dougall to John Dougall, New Year’s Day, 1881. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 39.

close quarters, sharing a bed at one rest home and spending most of each day together.⁴³

Literature continued to provide some relief. Dougall was given a copy of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (1850) for Christmas in 1881 and she read it closely, marking key passages.⁴⁴

The poem served as a key text for the liberal Anglican movement. It was an elegy for a dead friend, as well as an elegy for a lost faith, which found resolution in a vague sense of spiritual contact.

Her mother's influence was overwhelming, however, and Dougall experienced a religious awakening in 1882 and 1883.⁴⁵ Letters suggest she turned to the teaching of the higher life movement led by Hannah Whitall Smith. "I studied that book early last spring [1883], and at the time I did enter into the life it speaks of, and experienced not only the peace,

⁴³Lily lived with her mother at a rest home on her return from Edinburgh in 1882. See the family letters in NAC, DFP, 1, 1 and 2, particularly Elizabeth Dougall to John Dougall, Wilmington, April 1882. Lily and her mother shared two rooms; they shared a bed in order to convert Lily's room to a parlour. Elizabeth Dougall to John Dougall, Wilmington, April 1882, NAC, DFP, 2, 2. "Lily sleeps with me but we find the two rooms a great advantage." My dear goodman [John Dougall] from your own Lizz [Elizabeth Dougall] Wilmington, April 1882, NAC, DFP, 1, 10. Elizabeth Dougall's complaints about Lily's habit of sketching each morning suggest that the close quarters were often confining. See [Elizabeth to John Dougall] Wilmington, April 24 [no year, probably also 1882], NAC, DFP, 2, 1.

⁴⁴BL, LDP, 8. The book is inscribed Xmas 1881. The marginalia suggests that the book was used as a text in a course of study. When Dougall sent her brother a Valentine inscribed with a quotation from Tennyson, he compared the poet to a Hebrew prophet: "I don't speak of Tennyson as an individual man but of that in which he represents the men who think - the zeit geist, the time spirit. But it was given to him largely to give it melodious voice 'to ring out the old and ring in the new'" John R. Dougall to My Dearest Mother, Montreal, February 16, 1877, NAC, DFP, 6. As Charles W. Stubbs noted in the liberal *Hibbert Journal* in 1903, poetry served as the theology of an experiential generation: "So many of us in the present generation have learnt to regard the poets of Christendom as among the truest prophets of God, and to see that it is to their writings rather than to the writings of the theologians that we must go if we would know what real spiritual insight is, if we would feel the true warm religious emotion of men's hearts rather than the cold conventional thoughts of their minds." Charles W. Stubbs. "The Poetry of Robert Browning." *The Hibbert Journal* 1, 2 (1903-4): 371.

⁴⁵See letters in Earp, "Selected Letters," 56-58. Her letter of September 24, 1883 described living with God; in November 1883 she wrote, "How good God was to teach me something about Himself 'before this trouble came,'" and on December 16, 1883: "When I last wrote you (from Brooklyn) I was seeking God with my whole heart. . . . When I sought God with my whole heart, I found Him since I found the Lord in this new sense, my life has been transformed"

but the evident growth in spiritual life which I had so long been longing for.”⁴⁶ This teaching was not new to Lily (John had been struggling to attain holiness since the 1870s) but it may have met a need in her confined life with her mother. Smith’s book, *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life*, was addressed to women burdened by family responsibilities.⁴⁷

Smith’s holiness teaching has been linked to twentieth-century fundamentalism and Pentecostalism, but in the 1880s it was not incongruent with Dougall’s liberal leanings. Hannah Whitall Smith and her husband, Pearsall Smith, appealed to an upper-class and liberal audience when they sparked a British holiness revival, the Higher Life movement, in 1873: Georgina Cowper-Temple, for example, who hosted an elite holiness meeting in the summer of 1874, was the wife of prominent Broad Churchman, William Cowper-Temple.⁴⁸ Women

⁴⁶Earp, “Selected Letters,” 61. A subsequent reference to “Mrs. Smith” suggests that “the life [the book] speaks of” was a reference to the “higher life” holiness movement. The influential book may have been Hannah Whitall Smith’s best seller, *Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life* (1875). Dougall’s brother had been reading about holiness in the 1870s in Smith’s journal, *Pathway to Power*. Lily Dougall to J.C. (Janie Couper), Brooklyn, New York, February 1, 1884. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters.” 62. Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life*, with an introduction by John Potts, DD and H.M. Parsons, DD (Toronto: Toronto Willard Tract Depository, Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1889). The book was made up of a series of articles from *Pathway to Power*. Other influential works by Smith include: *Bible Readings on the Progressive Development of Truth and Experience in the O.T. Scriptures* (London: Elliot Stock, 1878); *Bible Studies on the Higher Life* (London: Longley, 1886); *The Veil Uplifted; or The Bible its Own Interpreter* (London: Longley, 1886); *Living in the Sunshine* (N.Y.: Revell, 1906), published as *The God of All Comfort* (London: Nisbet, 1906); *The Interior Life* (London: Longley, 1886), and *Everyday Religion; or, The Common-Sense Teaching of the Bible* (New York: Revell, 1893).

Smith’s work was very influential among evangelical women. Alice Chown, eight years younger than Dougall, wrote of her mother: “She knew very few books except her Bible: her only reading was her church paper and a few religious works. *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life*, and Miss [Frances Ridly] Havergal’s books always lay near her Bible on the window-sill near her chair.” Alice A. Chown, *The Stairway*, intro. Diana Chown (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 7.

⁴⁷ Smith, *Christian Secret*, 16. Dougall describes an American revivalist, Soames, in “Lovereen” who preaches about the eradication of sin and the higher life. The sermon comes at an odd point in the novel, after Lovereen has already broken with her father, and her reaction is a jaded one. “Lovereen,” Vol. II, p.114-130, BL, LDP, 4.

⁴⁸William Cowper-Temple (later Lord Mount Temple) had been the Chairman of the Council of the early Broad Church organisation, the “Church Reform Association,” in 1870. Alan M.G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism, The Hulsean Lectures 1979-80* (London: SPCK, 1984), 25. See David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London; Boston:

played a prominent role.⁴⁹ The liberal nature of this early movement has been obscured by subsequent developments. The Smiths' leadership collapsed with a scandal surrounding Pearsall Smith's personal conduct at the Brighton Convention, and Keswick meetings took a Calvinist direction after their departure, appealing to a more middle-class audience and stressing the authority of the Scripture and the centrality of the Cross. Studies of holiness that emphasise these developments cast a conservative light on early holiness.⁵⁰ Hannah Whitall Smith moved in a very different direction. She eventually returned to England, where she was not associated with the higher life movements but with liberal evangelicalism, the British Women's Temperance Association and woman's suffrage, describing herself as "broad, broader, broadest."⁵¹ Smith's development is generally seen to be an anomalous about-face,

Unwin Hyman, 1989; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1992), 171, for a discussion of the liberal nature of the early Broadlands Conferences.

⁴⁹Hannah Smith led Bible study and Pearsall led conversation meetings. The role of women in the holiness movement is fascinating. The first Keswick meeting, held in the Alps in September of 1873, was attended by Pearsall Smith and a group of four men and four women. Another woman, Frances Havergal, was famous for her hymns. (See note 45 for Alice Chown's recollections of her influence.) For an account of the origins of Keswick, see J.C. Pollock, *The Keswick Story, The Authorised History of the Keswick Convention* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964) and Steven Barabas, *So Great Salvation, The History and Message of the Keswick Movement* (Westwood, N.J.: Revell, 1952).

⁵⁰"Higher life" teaching became popular among Calvinists in the United States where it merged with John Nelson Darby's dispensationalist premillennialism to form the basis of the fundamentalist movement. At the same time Methodist holiness groups split away from Methodism to form independent denominations, some of which developed into Pentecostalism. Historians of these movements tended to overlook the liberal elements of the early movement. Marvin Dieter has observed that the later Calvinist revivalists, Moody, Chapman, and Sunday, have been emphasised and the contributions of the earlier Methodists, Caughey, Palmer, and Inskip, minimized. Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1980), 8. The author of the authorised history of Keswick subsequently disavowed Pearsall Smith's influence. Pollock, *Keswick Convention*. For American developments see Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness, The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), and Douglas W. Frank, *Less than Conquerors: How Evangelicalism entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986).

⁵¹Frances Willard was her model of a religious woman, "She realises more than anyone I ever knew one's idea of being 'seated in Heavenly places,' without however, the slightest trait of a morbid religiousness or of dogmatic assertion." Smith, *Religious Rebel*, 122. In subsequent books, her 1893 book, *Everyday Religion* and, to a greater degree in her 1903 book, *The Unselfishness of God*, Smith described a maternal God, one who responds with uncritical love to the foibles and errors of his children. "There have been moments when my arms have

but David Bebbington has argued that many of the liberals in the early Keswick movement moved into liberal evangelicalism after the Great War.⁵²

Dougall's venture into higher life was, however, brief. In *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*, Smith taught joy through surrender of self and trust in God, as Dougall later described it: "entire self-renunciation."⁵³ Historians have argued that this met the needs of an anxious generation coming to terms with rapid industrialisation.⁵⁴ The emphasis was on joy -- "a happy life" -- and the movement provided an experiential release from the continual striving and fears of a Calvinist eschatology. It was, as Smith wrote, "a life of abiding rest and continual victory."⁵⁵ But the self-abnegation was unsuited for someone with Dougall's lively temperament.⁵⁶ When Dougall moved to Montreal for the summer of 1883 "full of a new

been around my children, that have seemed more like what the bliss of heaven must be than any other thing I can conceive of; and I think this feeling has taught me more of what bliss must be than any other thing I can conceive of; and I think this feeling has taught me more of what are God's feelings towards His children than anything else in the universe. If I, a human being with limited capacity, can find such joy in my children, what must God, with His infinite heart of love, feel towards His!" Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Unselfishness of God, A Spiritual Autobiography* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903). Cited in Debra Campbell. "Hannah Whitall Smith (1832-1911): Theology of the Mother-Hearted God," *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 15 (1989): 88. Her children, including writer Logan Pearsall Smith and Alys, the first wife of Bertrand Russell, espoused an agnostic intellectual liberalism. Smith consoled herself that they were simply reaching God by a different gate and seemed to regret only their loss of the experience of a personal God.

⁵²Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 171.

⁵³ Referring to the Christian Alliance, she said "all that is essential in these people's faith [is]—The absolute and conscious union of man with God and from that the results - (1st) entire self renunciation = holiness (2nd) the outflow of the whole energy for other men = missionary zeal" Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, August 14, 1894, Old Orchard, Maine. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 131.

⁵⁴Earp, "Selected Letters," 131.

⁵⁵Smith, *Christian's Secret*, Chapter Three.

⁵⁶For a description of the psychological impact of higher life teaching, see Chapter IV of Frank, *Less than Conquerors*, Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, and Dieter, *Holiness Revivalism*, 8.

peace and determined to show by my life that there was a present and eternal calm to be found in Christ,”⁵⁷ the turn to quietist holiness led to depression and despair.

According to my theory I should be *willing* to give up all earthly joy and desire only that God should be glorified in me, and I found that I loved earthly things and longed for them just as much as before, and the result was a despondency which ended in the return of all my old doubts. I passed a most miserable summer, and by the time you came in the autumn I had only got as far out of the slough of despond as to endeavour to do right and forget my doubts in hard work.⁵⁸

The attempt to give up “earthly joy and desire” was a failure.

Elizabeth Dougall died on November 9, 1883. Her death might have brought Lily a release. As she wrote to a friend, “It has always been my dream that when mother did not need me any more then I could study and educate myself for something. This has consoled me in all the years I have been obliged to spend without study.” Obviously the family expectations were different. “Now I am tied with all the bondage of housekeeping in a most difficult household with nothing before me but a daily round of market and servants and the necessary sociabilities. This has been a great heartbreak to me.”⁵⁹ Lily’s letters reveal that she turned inward again to “the life hid with Christ in God.”⁶⁰ She wrote in the letter quoted above:

Dear J— you will expect me in this letter to say something to you about the loss of my mother, and I have nothing to say about it to you or anyone else. I have no thoughts about her death that are not all bound up and hidden away with that part of my life which is hid with Christ in God. When I am sure that *all* my life is hidden with Him then that will be *perfect* rest. Many times a day the tears come, and I do not know why. I have no regret, no desire: God has supplied all my need, even my need of my mother.

⁵⁷ Lily Dougall to J.C. [Janie Couper?], Brooklyn, New York, February 1, 1884. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 62.

⁵⁸ Lily Dougall to J.C. [Janie Couper?] Brooklyn, New York, February 1, 1884. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 62.

⁵⁹ Lily Dougall to J.A.C. [Janie Couper?], Ivy Green, Montreal, December 16, 1883. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 59.

⁶⁰ Smith, *Christian Secret*, Chapter Three.

There was a growing strain of despair and martyrdom in her letters. Dougall's language echoed the cadences of the holiness movement, and instead of the actively critical tone of her earlier letters, she adopted an earnest passivity.

How good God was to teach me something about Himself before this trouble came. My daily life is just full of the work that I naturally dislike most; all the servants to manage; all this house to put in order. I know it is good for me I am sure that I needed just this, and I am learning each day, more and more that God supplies *all* our need — yes, *all*, all my need of my mother (loving and tender and sympathetic as she was the Lord is infinitely more loving and more sympathetic) — all my need of courage in speaking to the servants I think he makes the servants conscientious and gentle. Indeed there is nothing in the world that I want; He has given me and will give me, all that I want. Perhaps you think this letter is a contradiction.⁶¹

Hannah Whitall Smith had advised women with burdens to give them to Christ to carry: "She abandoned her whole self to the Lord, with all that she was and all that she had, and believing that He took that which she had committed to Him, she ceased to fret and worry, and her life became all sunshine in the gladness of belonging to Him."⁶² Dougall's life, however, did not become "all sunshine." Ten days later she told Janie that she hoped to die.⁶³ Two weeks later she collapsed under the strain,

. . . I am sorry to say that I have been obliged to ask Miss E. to take the housekeeping for a week or two and give up the attempt to do anything. I am

⁶¹ Lily Dougall, December 6, 1883. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 56.

⁶² Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Christian's Secret*, 34-35.

⁶³ "What a wonderful thing it must be to die and enter into the beginning of the knowledge of these mysteries. Oh J— I pray again and again that Christ may take me unto Himself . . . This [the fact she is tied to housekeeping instead of studying] has been a great heartbreak to me, but God knows far, far better how to make me really happy than I know myself, and He will guide the housekeeping. Oh, yes, dear, He will guide and He will keep, and He will make rich in all happiness; otherwise my heart would break utterly. I am only living by faith, but I know that it is only the lack of faith that makes life seem *in any way* hard to me. The longer I live the more I am quite convinced that *perfect faith is perfect happiness*, under whatever the circumstances." Emphasis in the original. Lily Dougall to J.A.C. [Janie Couper?], Ivy Green, Montreal, December 16, 1883. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 57.

so sorry for this. O I cannot help believing that if I had more faith, I should not have broken down.⁶⁴

Lily Dougall's father was initially unsympathetic. She went away to Andover, Massachusetts (the home of Congregational liberalism), to study at the Abbott Academy, and then, unable to work, was told by a doctor to take six months to recover. After the doctor's diagnosis her father wrote contritely: "My own dear wee pet, Please forgive and forget your father's ungracious letters written in ignorance of the weak state of your health . . . I now realise that you were overtaxed, mind and body, just as you were several years in Brooklyn."⁶⁵ He allowed her to take time to recover, and she returned to her sympathetic aunt in Edinburgh.

Lily Dougall never returned to her father's home on a permanent basis after 1883, nor did she try again to submit herself entirely to an evangelical faith. She established a productive life in Britain, ostensibly acting as companion to her aunt in Edinburgh, who "made a special pet of Lily," but in fact taking frequent advantage of her asthma to study in warmer climes.⁶⁶ Supporting herself with an inheritance from her mother, supplemented reluctantly by her father, she engaged in a self-directed course of work, studying Greek, Mathematics, and Latin at St. Boniface in Ventnor on the Isle of Wight.

⁶⁴Lily Dougall to K.D. [Katie Drummond], Ivy Green, Montreal, December 30, 1883. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 60.

⁶⁵Significantly, Sophie Earp has edited this letter in her "Selected Letters" (p. 55) and removed John Dougall's apologies. The original is in the Bodleian Library: John Dougall to Lily Dougall, New York, May 28, 1884, BL. LDP. 1.

⁶⁶M.S. Earp, "Selected Letters," 25. Dougall describes her difficulties finding time to write in her aunt's household in a letter to John Dougall. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 109. Health problems often allowed Lily to retreat from social and family obligations to study. In 1880 Dougall travelled to Edinburgh with the excuse that the bracing climate was good for her health; now she felt it necessary to leave Edinburgh for a more congenial climate.

and then studying Greek in Cheltenham with a tutor.⁶⁷ She had asked her father to fund her studies in order to make her self-sufficient as a teacher.⁶⁸ It was a sensible goal -- the vast majority of women with higher education at this time went on to a career in teaching.⁶⁹ But Dougall saw teaching mainly as a career to fall back upon; her real goal was to become a writer. Her focus on Greek reveals her sustained interest in Biblical criticism. The knowledge of Greek was the first step in an attempt to understand the Christian religion at its source. It was an ambitious education for a woman. (As an

⁶⁷Sophie Earp has transcribed Dougall's letters to her father requesting support for her studies, and his grudging acquiescence. Earp, "Selected Letters," 70-72. John Dougall was supportive of women's independence as an earlier letter (Earp, "Selected Letters," 44) and a passage in his obituary indicates. ("Mr. Dougall always felt that women should have the same opportunities of usefulness as men, while at the same time he taught by example and precept the duty of paying an almost chivalric attention to their comfort and happiness." *Northern Messenger and Sunday School Companion*, Montreal and New York, September 24, 1886, clipping in BL, LDP, 6). The financial situation was difficult at this time, however, and he, no doubt, regretted the loss of a favourite daughter as companion and housekeeper. Dougall first stayed in Ventnor with her sister, Janet, in May 20 of 1885 (Diary, BL, LDP, 1), and then moved there for the 1885-86, and, it appears, the 1886-87 school terms. Earp described Dougall "taking lessons in Greek, Latin and Mathematics," (Earp, "Selected Letters," 69) but Dougall described her course of study in Ventnor as including one lesson a week in Greek and unspecified classes in Geometry and Algebra (Diary, BL, LDP, 1). There is no longer a St. Boniface School in Ventnor, but a building on Mitchell Road near the St. Boniface Downs, built in 1846, operated as a "ladies college" until it was turned into a block of flats. Private correspondence, Mrs. Hart, Hillside Hotel, Ventnor, October 17, 1997. Dougall returned to Ventnor frequently, often in the winter, over the ensuing years. She probably chose Cheltenham because of its reputation as a health spa, and for the resources, including, possibly, her tutor, from the Cheltenham Ladies College.

⁶⁸Earp, "Selected Letters," 72. Dougall's comments upon expectations that Lovereen could teach without any education herself probably reflect her own battle for funds for furthering her education: "the old fashioned notion that a woman who could do nothing else could always teach had prevailed among Lovereen's friends and advisors because of their entire inexperience of the changed conditions in the educational world." "Lovereen," Vol. III, p. 400, BL, LDP, 4.

⁶⁹Describing students at St. Hugh's College Oxford, Betty Kemp wrote: "Very few students -- none in 1886 -- do not go on to a career, ended by marriage and quite often broken or ended by a period of looking after parents. Teaching of some kind is dominant, including university and training college teaching, and a high proportion of heads of schools and colleges. There is a small but decreasing amount of teaching in private families. There is also a small steady entry into Anglican communities, often teaching or missionary orders. . . . It is true, but peculiarly distorting, to say that teaching was almost the only career open to women students before 1914. Secondary or high school teaching was a new and exciting career. Most of the schools were young -- even by 1914, few were as much as thirty or forty years old." See Betty Kemp, "The Early History of St. Hugh's College," in *St. Hugh's: One Hundred Years of Women's Education at Oxford*, ed. Penny Griffin (London: Macmillan Press, 1986), 28-29.

interesting point of comparison, Elizabeth Cady Stanton had to limit her famous work of feminist Biblical criticism, *The Woman's Bible* (1895), to social/political commentary because none of the contributors had expertise in Greek or Hebrew.⁷⁰) A friend, B.H. Streeter, noted: "Towards the end of the period [Dougall] acquired a sufficient knowledge of Greek to be able to read the New Testament in the original language -- an ability which at that time few women possessed."⁷¹

5.3 Scripting the Crisis

Five years after leaving home, Dougall tried, in her first novel, "Loveleen," to make sense of this difficult and prolonged maturation. The manuscript was, as T.B. Kilpatrick observed, a contribution to the growing genre of crisis-of-faith novels. The model for the genre had originally been set by Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1833-34). Dougall had probably read it as a girl; if not, she was definitely introduced to the book when she took classes in Edinburgh from Carlyle's disciple, David Masson.⁷² Carlyle's impact was

⁷⁰ Stanton commented defensively in the introduction: "Whatever the Bible may be made to do in Greek or Hebrew, in plain English it does not exalt and dignify women." *The Woman's Bible* (1895; reprint, Coalition Task Force on Women and Religion, 1974), 12. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza has commented on this limitation in the introduction to her own edited book of feminist biblical criticism: *Searching the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, *A Feminist Commentary* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 3.

⁷¹ B.H. Streeter, "Biographical Note," in Lily Dougall, *God's Way with Man: An Exploration of the Method of the Divine Working Suggested by the Facts of History and Science* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1924), 7. One young contemporary was forced to switch from Greek to French, because her mother feared that no one would marry a girl who read Greek. Margaret W. Nevinston, *Life's Fitful Fever: A Volume of Memories* (London: 1905), 17-18. Cited in Rosenzweig, *The Anchor of My Life*, 143.

⁷² "Masson's long association with Carlyle and his admiration of his friend's genius have to some extent obscured the individuality of his own work; and an alleged physical likeness, more imagined than true, have encouraged the popular notion of discipleship." G.G. Smith, "Masson, David," *Dictionary of*

significant: she prefaced a personal journal of poetry and her first published novel with quotations from his works.⁷³ Carlyle's playful and complex book describes the crisis of faith of a German writer, Professor Teufelsdröckh, through the eyes of an empirically minded Briton, the Editor. Teufelsdröckh's period of doubt, "the everlasting No," and ambiguous assurance, "the everlasting Yes" are drawn from Carlyle's own life. The structure and metaphors were drawn from German idealism:

It is a common theory among Germans, that every Creed, every Form of worship, is a form merely; the mortal and everchanging *body*, in which the immortal and unchanging *spirit* of Religion is, with more or less completeness, expressed to the material eye, and made manifest and influential amongst the doings of man.⁷⁴

National Biography, Supplement 1901-1911 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912). Two telling Canadian examples may be cited: Agnes Maule Machar includes *Sartor Resartus*, with the Bible and works by Thoreau, Emerson, Browning, Whittier, and Henry George, among the books on the table of Roland Graeme, the agnostic social reformer, and the Montreal writer, Mary Morgan, wrote a sonnet "On the Death of Carlyle" which compares Carlyle to Christ: "to thee [Carlyle] — as once upon a Mount — a law/ Of Truth was given from yon celestial dome." Agnes Maule Machar, *Roland Graeme Knight: A Novel of Our Time* (Montreal: Drysdale and Co., 1892; Toronto: William Briggs, 1906), 45. Mary Morgan, *Poems and Translations* (Montreal: J. Theo. Robinson, 1887), 66. George Eliot noted Carlyle's influence in 1855: "For there is hardly a superior or active mind of this generation that has not been modified by Carlyle's writings . . . The character of his influence is best seen in the fact that many of the men who have the least agreement with his opinions are those to whom the reading of *Sartor Resartus* was an epoch in the history of their minds." Cited by Peter Sabor and Kerry McSweeney in Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, edited with an introduction by P. Sabor and K. McSweeney (1833-34; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), viii.

⁷³On the first page of a handwritten book of poetry (BL, LDP. 1), with poems dated as early as 1881. Dougall has written: "Some doctrine he held about the human nature of the divine man; that Christ's human nature was liable to sin like our own and continually tempted thereto which by his divine nobleness he kept continually perfect and pure from sin. Carlyle assented to this—"I would say or think to myself they considered it more honourable to their Supreme of the World to have his work done for him than to have done it himself" Thrown out of the Established Kirk on this and some other grounds." *Beggars All* (1891) is prefaced with a famous passage from *Sartor Resartus*: "Yes here in this poor hampered Actual where in thou even now standest, here or nowhere, is thy Ideal."

⁷⁴Cited in Ruth Roberts, *Thomas Carlyle and Comparative Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 6. *Sartor Resartus* was the culmination of years of study of German literature, including a review essay on Novalis. For the influence of Novalis on Carlyle, see Chapter II, "The Voice of Germany, 1824-1832," in G.B. Tennyson, *Sartor Called Resartus, The Genesis, Structure and Style of Thomas Carlyle's First Major Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); and more briefly, Stephen Prickett, *Romanticism and Religion, The Tradition of Coleridge and Wordsworth in the Victorian Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 258. Carlyle refers to Novalis in *Sartor Resartus*, see p.162, 181. See also Elizabeth M. Vida, *Romantic Affinities: German Authors and Carlyle, A Study in the History of Ideas* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 66. For Freidrich Schleiermacher's

The book functions as an extended metaphorical play on clothing: Teufelsdröckh is writing his “Philosophy of Clothes” in which he rejects the externals of religion, the clothing, for the central core of faith.

Church clothes are, in our vocabulary, the Forms, the *Vestures*, under which men have at various times embodied and represented for themselves the Religious Principle . . . in our era of the World, those same Church clothes have gone sorrowfully out at elbows: nay, for worse, many of them have become mere hollow Shapes, or Masks, under which no living Figure or Spirit any longer dwells; but only spiders and unclean beetles, in horrid accumulation, drive their trade; the Mask still glares on you with its glass eyes, in ghastly affectation of Life —some generation and half after Religion has quite withdrawn from it, and in unnoticed nooks is weaving for herself new Vestures, wherewith to reappear, and bless, or our sons and grandsons.⁷⁵

Creed and liturgy are the decaying forms, clothing the eternal spirit of religion.

Dougall’s debt to Carlyle is made clear in metaphors used in “Lovereen.” Like Teufelsdröckh, Paul would strip away the faulty “dress” of religion, to expose the “spiritual truth” of religion that rested on “religious experience.”

I am not in the least concerned to prove the spiritual truth that underlies our religion [Dougall inserts the phrase ‘that rests on religious experience’] but the way in which that must be received and propagated — its dress of words and facts — comes within the province of scientific study and the sciences have only just come into working order.⁷⁶

He says he does not question, “the spiritual truth that God reveals Himself to man and guides man’s thought by His. What needs investigation is the form in which this spiritual truth comes *clothed* to us.” Lovereen agrees, “The facts men dispute about are only the garment He wore

explication of this same idea, see *On Religion, Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*, trans. John Oman, new ed. with an introduction by Rudolf Otto (1799; 1893; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958), 33.

⁷⁵Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, 164.

⁷⁶“Lovereen,” Vol. III, p. 384, BL, LDP, 4.

for the time; but everything is just as much this garment — the sunlight on the snow, the wind in the trees, the beautiful thoughts that come to our minds.”⁷⁷

Carlyle is never definitive; the shifting narrative and self-consciously reflexive tone of *Sartor Resartus* allowed the seriousness of the subject matter to be revealed and at the same time undercut by the Rabelaisian irreverence with which it is presented. He described the battle of faith taking place in “grim Solitudes,” and the resolution as incommunicable: “How paint to the sensual eye, what passes in the Holy of Holies of a Man’s Soul; in what words, known to these profane times, speak even afar off of the Unspeakable?”⁷⁸ The experience of faith, the book suggests by its style, is beyond words, “in that higher region whither logic and argument cannot reach” and can only be found by the individual experience. He cannot provide a bridge but only a “zig-zag series of rafts.”⁷⁹

Carlyle’s legacy was ambiguous: he claimed to be a Christian, “not a pantheist or potthiest,” but this claim was debatable. Philosopher Edward Caird commented, “What is Carlyle’s religion, anyway? Or does he have one?”⁸⁰ His ultimate conviction that there was an essential core to faith beneath the outworn clothing of Christianity provided reassurance, albeit a limited and unorthodox reassurance, in an age of doubt.⁸¹ The precarious nature of Carlyle’s resolution is demonstrated by the bleak conclusion of a later

⁷⁷(Emphasis added.) “Lovereen.” Vol. III, p. 158, BL, LDP, 4.

⁷⁸Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, 140, 148.

⁷⁹Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, 204.

⁸⁰Caird’s remarks were somewhat facetious, as is evident in his positive remarks on Carlyle in *Essays on Literature and Philosophy* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1892) I, 230-267. See Tennyson, *Sartor Called Resartus*, 18.

⁸¹“For many a Victorian the book became a bible showing, above all, the way from doubt to faith.” Tennyson, *Sartor Called Resartus*, 3.

crisis-of-faith book written by Carlyle's biographer, J.A. Froude (1818-1894). Froude concluded his autobiographical novel, *The Nemesis of Faith* (1849), with a sense of despair.⁸² His protagonist loses his faith, indulges in an adulterous relationship, tries to commit suicide, and, finally, after a priest offers him the refuge of the Roman Catholic Church, dies. J.H. Newman (1801-1890) – the model for Froude's priest – rejected a Carlylean resolution to his difficulties and eventually turned to the doctrinal structure of the Roman Catholic Church for support for an experiential faith. Newman wrote two religious novels, *Loss and Gain* (1848) and *Callista* (1856), before he described his spiritual history in the classic *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1864). Poets also explored doubt. Lily De Laet had read Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, but Tennyson's assurance was not much firmer than Carlyle's. Robert Browning also described a reconfirmed if nebulous humanist faith. Matthew Arnold's poetry and prose circled around the questions of doubt; again his most lasting achievement was the eloquent statement of a doubting age: "caught between two worlds, one dead, one waiting to be born."⁸³

It was Arnold's niece, Mary Augusta Ward (Mrs. Humphry Ward), who wrote the definitive crisis-of-faith novel, *Robert Elsmere* (1888), described by Phillips Brooks as "Matthew Arnold in prose."⁸⁴ *Robert Elsmere* was a long and a sophisticated study of religious doubt, a "medicated novel" that was modelled in part upon Froude's *Nemesis of Faith* and

⁸² *The Nemesis of Faith* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke and Co., 1849). Froude wrote *Reminiscences of Carlyle* (1881) and *Life of Thomas Carlyle* (1884).

⁸³ As David L. Edwards noted, Arnold avoided any final resolution, even in his prose, by referring to God as "the Eternal": "All that Arnold said very clearly was that men have experienced something more than themselves." *Leaders of the Church of England, 1828-1944* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 41.

⁸⁴ See Alexander V.G. Allen, *The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1901), 277.

Newman's *Loss and Gain*.⁸⁵ It describes the loss of faith of a young Anglican minister, Robert Elsmere, and the difficulties of his evangelical wife, Catherine, when he resigns his ministry and starts a social movement for the working poor, the New Brotherhood. In the same year, an American novelist, Margaret Deland, published *John Ward, Preacher* (1888), a simpler exploration of the workings of doubt. The novel, as we saw in Chapter Four, describes the difficulties of a liberal woman, Helen, who refuses to conform to the Calvinist creed of her husband, John Ward.⁸⁶ The conflict between his unflinching belief in eternal punishment and her refusal to believe in an unjust God allows Deland to work through the popular arguments against a Calvinist creed: the questions of damnation of the heathen, infant damnation, and the inspiration of the Bible. The Calvinist and liberal viewpoints are seen as irrevocably opposed, each internally consistent and true to itself.

These late-nineteenth-century novels marked reconciliation with religious doubt. As Rosemary Ashton has pointed out, the link between doubt and immorality had been broken. Whereas Froude's character had moved immediately from doubt to adultery and suicide, Elsmere's doubt makes him a better and more ethical character.⁸⁷ Helen Ward is similarly seen

⁸⁵The phrase is Oliver Wendell Holmes'; he meant it kindly. See Ward's memoirs, *A Writer's Recollections*, excerpted in *British Women Writers, An Anthology from the Fourteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Dale Spender and Janet Todd (New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1989), 652. Ward pointed to Froude's *Nemesis of Faith*, Newman's *Loss and Gain*, and Kingsley's *Alton Locke* as precedents for the "medication" of her fiction.

⁸⁶There are some interesting parallels between Margaret Deland and Lily Dougall. Deland was born a year before Dougall, in 1857, and was an Episcopalian influenced by Phillips Brooks, until she left the church, saying: "I had outgrown it, as a child outgrows Santa Claus." She turned to New Thought and spiritualism in old age. See Barbara Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976).

⁸⁷Rosemary Ashton, "Doubting Clerics: From James Anthony Froude to Robert Elsmere via George Eliot," in *The Critical Spirit and the Will to Believe: Essays in Nineteenth Century Literature and Religion* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989). Ashton emphasises the role of George Eliot in the

to be a more compassionate person than her Calvinist husband. The novels were very influential. Liberal theologian, Harry Emerson Fosdick, recalled in his autobiography:

When I entered divinity school in 1900, the development of a “new theology” was well under way. The earliest discussions about it which I recall in our family were aroused by two novels, Margaret Deland’s *John Ward, Preacher* and Mrs. Humphrey Ward’s *Robert Elsmere*, both published when I was ten years old. They demanded by implication, a revolt against the current thinking in the churches, and the latter especially stirred up a hornet’s nest. In England Gladstone exploded in wrath against it, while Oliver Wendell Holmes in Boston, said: “It is, I think, beyond question the most effective and popular novel we have had since *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.” Such a novel – selling half a million copies in the United States within a year – plainly indicated that the theological revolt was not simply theological, but came from the bottom up out of popular unrest, as well as from the professional top down.⁸⁸

Canadians were also fascinated. Goldwin Smith wrote to Mary Ward from Toronto: “You may be amused by seeing what a stir you are making even in this sequestered nook of the theological world.”⁸⁹ L.M. Montgomery read Margaret Deland’s novel as a young woman; rereading it years later, she commented on the waning power of the old “theological bogies.”⁹⁰

The novels spawned a host of imitations. The “crisis-of-faith” novels explored the intricacies of doubt, examined the conflicts with an earlier evangelical outlook, and,

transition. Ward’s other novels, which Ashton does not mention, would suggest that Ward’s commitment to theism, (and the Anglican Church) was much stronger than that of Eliot.

⁸⁸Harry Emerson Fosdick, *The Living of these Days: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956; London: SCM Press, 1957), 63. See Bernard Lightman, “*Robert Elsmere* and the Agnostic Crisis of Faith,” in *Victorian Faith in Crisis, Essays on Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Belief*, ed. Richard J. Helmstadter and Bernard Lightman (London: Macmillan, 1990), 283-311. Mary Augusta Ward, *Robert Elsmere* (London: Smith and Elder, 1888); Margaret Deland, *John Ward, Preacher* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1888; reprinted Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1967).

⁸⁹See Ward’s memoirs, *A Writer’s Recollections*, excerpted in *British Women Writers*, 652. Ward describes Goldwin Smith’s offer, twenty years after the original publication of *Robert Elsmere*, to publish a French translation in his *Revue*. He felt that Roman Catholic modernism had prepared the way for her views, but the length of the book precluded these plans.

⁹⁰L.M. Montgomery, *The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery*, vol. III, 1921-29, edited by Mary Runio and Elizabeth Waterston (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), 210. (Entry dated Saturday, December 6, 1924.) She was writing two of her more mystically inclined novels at this time, *Blue Castle* and the third volume of *Emily* series.

usually, laid out a liberal resolution. The Canadian examples of the genre are described briefly in the *Literary History of Canada*:

The emphasis falls on one central character, around whose spiritual biography the plot is built. The novel traces his doubts, loss of faith, and his search for a new religious position, unorthodox and undogmatic, or for some substitute "religion." The chief problems are the inspiration of the Bible, the presence of pain and evil in the universe, and the divinity of Christ; solutions are found in Pantheism, Universalism, and a belief in "Brotherhood," "true Christianity," the "living Jesus of the Gospels."⁹¹

Canadian examples included A.E. Greenwood's *The Light and the Lure* (1897), James Algie's *Houses of Glass: A Philosophical Romance* (1898) and *Bergen Worth* (1901), A.R. Carman's *The Preparation of Ryerson Embury: A Purpose* (1900), and Agnes Maule Machar's *Roland Graeme, Knight: A Novel of Our Times* (1906). Lily Dougall's work falls in the middle of this literary development. *The Literary History of Canada* includes two of her novels, *What Necessity Knows* (1893) and *The Zeit-Geist* (1895) in the genre, noting that they are "strenuously intellectual."⁹² Two British novels, Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh* (1903) and Edmund Gosse's *Father and Son, A Study of Two Temperaments* (1907), represented the culmination of the genre.

5.4 Fictional Cross-Dressing

The crisis-of-faith novels are overwhelmingly masculine. They describe, as the *Literary History of Canada* notes, "his doubts, loss of faith and his search" It was not simply that

⁹¹Gordon Roper, et. al.. "The Kinds of Fiction, 1880-1920," in *The Literary History of Canada, Canadian Literature in English*, ed. Carl F. Klinck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965), 306.

⁹²Gordon Roper, et. al.. "The Kinds of Fiction, 1880-1920," 306.

the models were masculine, or that the narratives drew upon the male -- and upper-class -- trajectory of university education and clerical careers, but that the very nature of the crisis was conceived of in ways that conformed to a masculine sense of religious identity. Women authors frequently dealt with the problem (and perpetuated it) by exploring the crisis of faith through male characters like Agnes Maule Machar's Roland Graeme and Mary Ward's Robert Elsmere.⁹³ Lily Dougall's 1895 novels, *What Necessity Knows*, *The Zeit-Geist*, and *The Mermaid*, examine the crises faced by young men. The leading female characters in these novels are spiritually mature; their role is simply to lead the men to a higher liberal faith.

In "Lovereen," however, Dougall did something much more interesting: she wrote out her crisis of faith in doubled voice through two characters. Friends like T.B. Kilpatrick were quick to identify Lovereen as Lily:

I don't think you are as tall as Lovereen, but you are quite as capable of talking metaphysics behind a row of peas Lovereen is so completely yourself I daren't criticise her. Dreamy, speculative, slightly inactive; decidedly odd; profoundly religious, after an Oriental rather than an Western type; constitutionally unable to appreciate an historic religion; instinctively preferring a formless, luminous and beautiful mist to any basis of fact. . . .⁹⁴

But they missed half the story. Lovereen was stereotypically female: inactive, dreamy, preferring a formless "Oriental" mist to any historic religion. Lovereen has none of Lily Dougall's drive or ambition and, most important, none of her interest in academic pursuits. Lovereen could not read Greek.

⁹³Elizabeth Jay observes that women have frequently had to "incarnate the sceptical experience in male form," in "Doubt and the Victorian Woman," in *The Critical Spirit and the Will to Believe: Essays in Nineteenth Century Literature and Religion*, ed. David Jasper (London: St. Martins Press, 1989), 88.

⁹⁴T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 20 March 1889, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen. BL, LDP, 1. Kilpatrick's wife, Anna, confirms this in an earlier letter to Lily, "Lovereen is to me most interesting partly because there is so much of you in her." A. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 27 March 1888, BL, LDP, 1. Earp also

These “masculine” aspects of Dougall’s personality were transposed onto Lovereen’s childhood friend, Paul. This brother figure engaged in the kind of scholarly endeavour and intellectual debate that Dougall herself enjoyed but was considered inappropriate for a woman. Paul is a convenient device; he appears in the manuscript irregularly, usually when Dougall needs to discuss problems that appeared incongruous to a young girl. At the age of nineteen, Lily re-read the entire Bible, trying to read critically to get past evangelical formulations. In the novel it is not Lovereen, but Paul, who does this.

The one thing which in his whole life he had learned to do thoroughly was to study a book, and he began with a will to study this one, sitting at it early in the morning and late at night, the English dictionary on his knees and his Greek lexicon and great commentaries from Mr. Walford’s library spread out before him on the table. He began at the beginning and worked on verse by verse, toilsomely looking up all the references, making notes of compared authorities and computing the theology.⁹⁵

Through Paul, Dougall defends the critical historical study of the Bible in typically Broad Church terms.⁹⁶ (Lovereen, on the other hand, no longer read the Bible; she dryly told an

says, “because it is essentially [Dougall’s] own life and her own problems which are depicted, it affords real insight into her girlish character and standpoint.” Earp, “Selected Letters,” 79.

⁹⁵“Castoffs of Lovereen,” p. 86. BL, LDP, 4. See the discussion below of Paul’s advocacy of higher criticism. For a description of Dougall’s rereading the Bible, see Earp, “Selected Letters,” 16. For her fictionalised account, see, “Castoffs of Lovereen,” p. 86. BL, LDP, 4.

⁹⁶“It is nonsense, this cry that so many good men get up nowadays that because a man is not prepared to assent, either the infallibility of church tradition on one hand, or of the Bible on the other, that he is decrying the testimony of all the generations of Christians. I believe in that testimony and in Christianity. But all that we know about natural law makes it harder for us to believe in a breach in the law than it was for our fathers, and all that we know about the history of ancient documents makes it harder for us to accept the interpretation of such documents.” “Lovereen,” Vol. II, p. 400. He makes the same point again. The priest said to Paul: “You said, if I remember rightly that all over the world, learned men were inquiring into the historical sources of Christian religion by the new light of those sciences which can be made tributary to theology, and so until they should have had full time, till some universal consent should be arrived at by their fluctuating conclusions it behoved other men to hold their judgement in suspense and yet watch earnestly.” Paul replied “Yes, as to the dogma in which religion ought to be taught and propagated, not as to its truth – that lies beyond the reach of science.” “Lovereen,” Vol.III, p. 377-378.

enthusiastic friend, “I know what is in it.”⁹⁷) It was Paul who went away to study theology, who debated higher criticism of the Bible and flirted with Catholicism.

Paul undergoes the classic crisis of faith: a sudden disillusionment based upon higher criticism, the open rejection of childhood teachings, the public and dramatic departure from evangelicalism and the turn to social reform. He had set out upon an evangelical career, under the tutelage of Lovereen’s preacher father, in which he was paid to study at night and evangelise by day. He was sceptical about this mission from the start, saying “I don’t see any use in sending a fellow who isn’t good to tell other people to be good, but if you want me to do it, I’ll do the best I can.”⁹⁸ But he perseveres until he runs into the classic stumbling block of Biblical literalists, the story of Jonah and the whale. He tries social reform but finally breaks with Walford, and plans to become a teacher or scholar.

This is the crisis of faith described by historians. The historiography almost exclusively refers to a male crisis, typically that of an upper-middle-class, highly educated clergyman or academic. Marguerite Van Die’s account of Nathanael Burwash’s crisis serves as a useful Canadian example: the young clergyman, confronted with the evidence of higher criticism and the lure of transcendentalism, felt his faith failing.⁹⁹ Burwash described his crisis of faith in some detail; the crisis served as a coming of age in much the way that the conversion had

⁹⁷Dougall is not entirely consistent in her presentation of Lovereen’s character. Although Lovereen says she does not read the Bible, Dougall has the young girl argue, “I do not see that there is any difficulty in thinking about the Christ if people would only take the New Testament and think for themselves. instead of being bewildered, with what men have invented.” “Lovereen,” Vol. III, p.157.

⁹⁸“Castoffs of Lovereen,” p. 85, BL, LDP, 4. In another passage he says that mission work, “usually means a person paid to teach one set of people what another set of people believe.” “Lovereen,” Vol. II, p. 269.

⁹⁹Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989).

earlier done. He recovered his faith when he sought and received an inner assurance. Others, like J.S. Woodsworth, lost their faith and were forced to leave the church. The religious crisis was often, like Paul's, a vocational crisis; the young man faced the loss of a career as well as a set of beliefs.¹⁰⁰

Lovereen's story was different. She could not so simply slip the loving bonds of a family faith. Lovereen experiences a more protracted crisis, like Dougall, caught in the nexus of family obligations and with no clear alternative path. She swings from a bold liberalism to a submissive faith. When she was feeling confident, Lovereen would try to rework her religion to meet the demands of her reason:

Her mind was wearied by trying to reduce her father's philosophy of life to practical rules for the guidance of her own thought. Time and again she had flung aside the attempt and dared to make theories of religion for herself setting up reason alone as the judge of duty, and judging her conduct by its unaided light;¹⁰¹

Criticised by sceptics and believers, alike, Lovereen was frequently unable to continue alone in the "path of reason" and retreated to her parents' faith:

... whenever the shadows of trouble fell on her she was afraid to walk in the path of her own theories and ran back to the track which her father and mother had beaten for her. They had walked there with weary feet and many of the saints beside; was it not safer to walk in their steps. Now when all the vague fears of her life seemed about to take form in actual misfortune she tried with morbid conscientiousness to bring every thought into obedience with her parents' belief as if by that means she might avert the calamity. She too would pray for Heaven's guidance . . .¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰See Jeffrey von Arx, "The Victorian Crisis of Faith as a Crisis of Vocation," in *Victorian Faith in Crisis, Essays on Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Belief*, ed. Richard J. Helmstadter and Bernard Lightman (London: Macmillan, 1990), 262-282.

¹⁰¹"Lovereen," Vol I, p. 388, BL, LDP, 4.

¹⁰²"Lovereen," Vol. I, p. 388, BL, LDP, 4.

The internal battle was expressed in physical illness and “long periods of listless indifference and almost of despair.”¹⁰³ Lovereen becomes ill at the end of the novel; her illness, Dougall noted, was “the final struggle of her spirit to free itself from the control of the conscience, which her education had created.” Isolated from her friends and alienated from her father, she gradually found her own faith: “her spirit was forced to view its own unbelief face to face and grapple with it. Little by little she found the rest of a certain and unchangeable faith, which is to feel the hand of God.”¹⁰⁴ She has Lovereen explain to her uncomprehending father:

I cannot go [to be a missionary] because I cannot think as you do. I have tried till I have worn myself out with trying. I know now, looking back, that it was that that made me ill. I was so accustomed to see all religion in your way of seeing it that when I could not see it that way I was afraid it was all untrue; but now I know that was foolish. Then too I thought that perhaps your way was true and that because I thought differently I had deserted God and He me. Now I know better—that God is helping me as he is you.

It did not occur to him to ask how she came by the knowledge. He supposed that belief in a helping God went without saying, and was the possession of all sober minds. Such a belief seemed to him no resting place, but only the foundation upon which religion was built. He was like a mariner who, being accustomed only to elaborately constructed steam-engines, could not brook the thought of being in the ocean with only sail and helm; he had never known what it was to be afloat without either.¹⁰⁵

Lovereen’s crisis was closely tied to the career of a single daughter: the tyranny of household responsibilities and the imposition of a restrictive role upon a woman. Lovereen was burdened with domestic responsibilities before her collapse and Dougall was running her father’s household prior to her final breakdown. Dougall later wrote to a close friend with similar difficulties: “Dear Katie, I often think the hardest position on earth is the position of a girl at home with all the cares of a family and household upon her shoulders, and yet no power

¹⁰³“Lovereen,” Vol. II, p. 97, BL, LDP, 4.

¹⁰⁴“Lovereen,” Vol. II, pp. 369, 388, BL, LDP, 4.

¹⁰⁵“Lovreen,” Vol II, p. 66-67, BL, LDP, 4.

to guide the ship, or to arrange matters as she would have them. It does not seem to me that any fight which men have with the world can be as hard to bear as the numberless petty trials that surround a girl in that position.”¹⁰⁶ Later she argues in a novel that a girl with special abilities should not be required to be a “maid-of-all-work”: “There is no greater risk for an energetic clever girl as to place her where the rust of unexercised faculties will eat into her soul.”¹⁰⁷ Dougall simplified her struggle for fiction: Lovereen’s difficulties climb directly toward a crisis and are resolved neatly in the conclusion, whereas Dougall struggled in and out of illness and despair over a number of years.

More significantly, she truncates Lovereen’s intellectual development and denies her the education that Dougall herself found in Edinburgh and later in England. Dougall makes Lovereen stereotypically feminine; Paul defines her as love incarnated: “The whole meaning of your life is in that word; the whole strength of your nature, is in the power of loving.”¹⁰⁸ Lovereen represents the feminine voice of the artist. “That which really ailed the child was a longing for something in life which would give her rest by answering to her instinctive sense of harmony and beauty, but there was little in her mother’s didactic teaching or in the pleasures her father provided to fulfill the desire.”¹⁰⁹ She emerges from her religious crisis by realising a larger faith in which “culture and refinement and pleasure are the larger part of God’s Gospel for men.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶Lily Dougall to K.D.[Katie Drummond?], July 24, 1886. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 74.

¹⁰⁷Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 200.

¹⁰⁸“Lovreen,” Vol. III, p. 422, BL, LDP, 4.

¹⁰⁹“Castoffs of Lovreen,” p.8, BL, LDP, 4.

¹¹⁰“Lovreen,” Vol. II, p. 146, BL, LDP, 4.

But Dougall's critical, argumentative streak emerges disconcertingly in this dreamy girl. Lovereen argues with Paul, with another suitor, Gilbert, and (most alarmingly) with older sceptical doctors at dinner parties. The character Lovereen merges with the youthful Dougall; a self which had "loved chiefly to reason and theorize, and which had held its 'I think' always militant against all impressions but those of beauty, and thus constrained its other faculties to hold a lower place."¹¹¹ Her growing doubt, in classic crisis-of-faith terms, is attributed to the workings of reason: "[Lovereen] was conscious of an abiding quarrel between her reason and the God in whom she had learned to believe."¹¹² Older women describe her as "headstrong," "peculiar," and "too opinionated," and tell Lovereen to rein in her metaphysical interests.¹¹³

Dougall refuses, however, to develop this appeal to reason. She reduces it to the ability to think for herself and a recognition of human dignity and worth: the opposite of the surrender and self-abasement required by a holiness faith, but hardly the stuff of a new theology. Lovereen not only refused to read the Bible, she eschewed serious study; she says proudly: "I know little of other schools of religious thought," and "Oh I know nothing about theology, I care nothing for the revision of creeds."¹¹⁴ Her reaction to her parents' faith is presented largely as an emotional rebellion against a narrow outlook on life.

¹¹¹"Lovereen," Vol. III, pp. 401-402.

¹¹²"Castoffs of Lovereen," p. 205. BL, LDP, 4.

¹¹³Her reason is expressed mainly in an argumentative manner; as the older women observed she was "headstrong and foolish," "born serious" with "a slight shade of peculiarity" over all she does. An aunt observed: "the girl was too silent, and when she did speak, too opinionated; she was too old in her thoughts and manners, and, at the same time she was childishly unsophisticated when caprice made her playful. In short she was not the least like Mrs. Maxwell herself, or any other girl that lady had known." "Lovereen," Vol. I, pp. 155, 263, 256, Vol. II, p. 107, BL, LDP, 4.

¹¹⁴"Lovereen," Vol. II, pp. 140, 150, BL, LDP, 4.

Evidence from letters suggests that the narrative follows Dougall's life (leaving out her trip to Edinburgh and her interest in Biblical criticism) to the point in 1884 when she retreats from "her own theories." Dougall wrote to Janie Couper about her intention to abandon "theories" for a personal faith: "Long before [the spring of 1883] I had given up in despair trying to form any satisfying theory of theology. I had left, as you have, all the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Atonement as something that I could neither accept on one theory or another, and simply laid hold upon the power and presence of a personal Christ." She came to see even holiness theology as yet another "theory."

But when I heard about this holy life I began to try to reduce it to a theory which would embrace all the possible variations of Christian experience. According to my theory I should be *willing* to give up all earthly joy and desire only that God should be glorified in me . . . J—[Janie Couper] believe me, we cannot reduce the things of God to a human theory. I am perfectly certain that there is this holiness and happiness and peace for every child of God, but we can only take it as we find it day by day, it will not stretch over future possibilities. I say this because I see that you are on the brink of the very trouble that I fell into. This life of God is something deeper and wider and fuller than Mrs. [Hannah Whitall] Smith's definition of it, or than our grasp of it, and we must not limit it by our theories.¹¹⁵

Dougall herself moved on from this position to reclaim reason; she returned to Britain, learned Greek, studied idealism, and debated with British clerics. But she leaves Lovereen stuck in the irrational, a believing vaguely in "holiness, happiness and peace for every child of God."

Kilpatrick identified Lovereen as a representative of the Higher Life movement.¹¹⁶ It is not clear that Dougall meant to be so definitive. Lovereen's faith is a vague and pantheistic one that can be distilled into a simple phrase: "that God is, that he blesses all who seek Him,

¹¹⁵Lily Dougall to J.C. [Janie Couper?], Brooklyn, New York, February 1, 1884. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 62.

¹¹⁶T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen, March 20, 1889. BL, LDP, 1.

through whatever form or creed or parable they seek.” Toward the end of the novel, Lovereen tells Paul:

... I think that perhaps we are not meant to know anything about God but just that his light is always behind our clouds; the more to our feeble sight is actually less. The more religion tries to explain God, the more our thought of Him becomes small, comes to be merely a force by which we regulate our conduct rightly, we can live more effectively It seems to me that life becomes so much holier if we realise that God is in all things, that his life flows through us as through all nature.¹¹⁷

Kilpatrick, a liberal Presbyterian who later joined Toronto Knox College,¹¹⁸ was alarmed by Lovereen’s “formless mist.” He noted, on reading a draft of the first volumes, “the net result is the despair of Christianity; for Lovereen is not a Christian, though she owes to Christianity all that is noble and true in her.”¹¹⁹

Paul, on the other hand, received Kilpatrick’s strongest endorsement, as the “Christianity of Christ.”¹²⁰ Paul evinces the rationality and historic character of a masculinised

¹¹⁷“Lovereen,” Vol. III, p.155, BL, LDP, 4.

¹¹⁸Kilpatrick was the minister of Ferry Hill Free Church in Aberdeen from 1888 until he came to Winnipeg to the faculty of Manitoba College in 1899. In 1905, he moved to the chair of systematic theology at Knox College. For a description of Kilpatrick’s role as a liberal in the Canadian Presbyterian Church, see Brian Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), and “Christianizing the Social Order: T.B. Kilpatrick’s Theological Vision of the United Church of Canada,” *Toronto Journal of Theology* 12/2 (1996): 189-200.

For a more critical description of his generation of liberals see Barry Mack, “From Preaching to Propaganda to Marginalization: The Lost Centre of Twentieth Century Presbyterianism,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 137-153. Mack focuses on Charles Gordon, and to a lesser extent, Robert Falconer, and describes the “theological vacuum at the heart of their ministry.”

¹¹⁹The quotation reads in full: “[Lovereen] is no child’s play but a serious meditation on the gravest moral and spiritual problems. . . I cannot judge as to its commercial success It is indeed unfortunate, that Elsmere and John Ward and the African Farm are so recent. But I am persuaded that this is unique enough to claim a place of its own As yet we have Walford = Evangelicalism, Myers = Anglicanism, Lovereen = The Higher Life. I for one don’t admit any of these identifications [but she will be taken to mean this and will be charged with misrepresentation] I hope we shall have other types further on; for as yet the net result is the despair of Christendom” T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen. March 20, 1889. BL, LDP, 1.

¹²⁰“There are great possibilities in Paul. I think you have a splendid chance here of studying the Christianity of Christ.” T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen, April 11, 1889. BL, LDP, 1.

faith. He dismisses Lovereen's pantheism: "You have wandered into the realm of beautiful poetry." He argues that this would be a dangerous reversion to primitive faith, and argues that the doubter should remain within the safe confines of an historic church:

There is a very great difference between making our own what we can find to live by in the common creed, acquiescing in the rest and if we must wait for more light looking for it to come through the growth of the Church — there is all the difference in the world between this, and setting up a creed of our own, looking for it to grow like a little particular ladder between our souls and heaven.¹²¹

In contrast to Lovereen, who blithely argues, "It doesn't matter what other people think — this is the way of thinking that is true for me," Paul plans to work toward a corporate rethinking.¹²²

Paul is an apologist for the Broad Church. Theologically he takes a classically Broad Church position: sceptical about dogma and creed, but still believing in God and the Christ of the New Testament, and still a participating member of the church. Paul flirts with Catholicism; he becomes close to the principal of a Roman Catholic college, presented as the wisest, most cultured, and most tolerant religious leader in the community, who is able to tell Paul the secret of his paternity, and, in a neatly parallel development, offer him the security of a historic church. Paul's interest is so strong that the High Church Anglican, Mr Myers, worries that he will convert to Rome.¹²³ High Church Anglicanism offers a compromise, a "dogma free from superstition of Rome, in which our minds may rest and by which we feel ourselves an

¹²¹"Lovereen," Vol. III, pp. 155-160, BL, LDP, 4. He elaborates as to the dangers of her position: "If you go back to the first step of the ladder of knowledge of God, your next neighbour might step off it altogether, and if you do not accept the testimony of the Saints as to *how* they have found God, your position is not so logical as his if he says he does not know if there is any God or not."

¹²²"Lovereen," Vol. III, pp. 157-158.

¹²³"Cast-offs of Lovereen," Vol. III, pp. 377-178, 88-95, BL, LDP, 4. She describes the priest as the tolerant one who teaches Paul: "you pray God that you may do some good . . . then take the advice of an old man and ask Him also that you will do as little harm as need be."

integral part of the great historic Church of all ages.”¹²⁴ Through Paul, Dougall describes the appeal of a historic church: “the good news of a visible Church, a holy, organic unity alone entrusted with the continuous mission of the gospels.”¹²⁵ He attends a talk on Church Doctrine by Myers:

Paul, who went to the first lecture under the impression that there was little to be said in favour of the High Church movement which a sensible mind could accept, found that in comparison to this slighting [?] estimate the arguments were weighty and the foundations strong [Dougall crossed out the last three words]. His strong young mind was given a new ideal to feed upon – that of a religion not purely spiritual, but which claimed to meet man perfectly in his two fold nature as a being who was not, and could not be, purely spiritual. . . . And this religion was of a form not antagonistic to Paul’s reason as the precepts of Rome which he had set aside.¹²⁶

Despite the attraction, Paul does not join Myers’ High Church. He dislikes Myers’ intolerance, and his decision is vindicated when Myers lectures a Nonconformist audience on the exclusive authority of the Anglican Church.¹²⁷ His attraction to Catholicism and final rejection are classically Broad Church; they follow F.D. Maurice’s Tractarian Leanings and his departure over Pusey’s teaching on baptism.

¹²⁴“Lovereen,” Vol. I, p. 314, BL, LDP, 4.

¹²⁵“Lovereen,” Vol. I, p. 165. And further: “dogma free from the superstition of Rome, in which our minds may rest and by which we feel ourselves an integral part of the great historic Church of all ages.” “Lovereen,” Vol. I, p. 314.

¹²⁶“Lovereen,” Vol. I, pp. 243-246, BL, LDP, 4.

¹²⁷Paul explained his decision: “Mind you ... I do not say that my reason is convinced of the truth of your doctrines. There is a point where reason would have to be set aside faith be given by an act of the will. I could and would submit my faith absolutely to the authority of the Church, as other men have been done, if the daily outcome and result of such submission seemed to me purely good; but it seems to me largely evil, and so I withhold my faith.” “Lovereen,” Vol. I, p. 317, BL, LDP, 4.

Myers takes advantage of an invitation from the Nonconformists to lecture about the “apostolic succession and the gifts that come to us in an unbroken stream of soul healing thus proceeding from the Lord in whom we all adore.” He tells them that those outside the church, who had not received the sacraments could not receive the fullness of Divine grace. His speech has the effect of “an explosive war shell,” and he is chased through town by a mob throwing eggs. “Lovereen,” Vol. II, pp. 169-172.

The contrast with the anti-Papism of the Dougall family is dramatic. Lily repeatedly pokes fun at the evangelical distrust of Roman Catholics; she makes the principal of the Roman Catholic seminary the most cultivated person in the book. The shift was probably due to the influence of friends with High Church leanings.¹²⁸ Sophie Earp was particularly important. Dougall dictated "Lovereen" to Earp, when they spent a winter together in Switzerland, and a mutual friend suggested that the Catholic elements of the novel owed a great deal to Earp: "Do I not spot the paw of the D [Earp] in some of the answers of the priest to Paul and later in the speech of Paul to Mr. Myers about the claims of the Catholic church?"¹²⁹

If Lovereen represents art, Paul represents knowledge. "Paul had become a great student. . . study, always a delight for its own sake, had stored his mind with the best part of a student's harvest -- patient insight into the meaning of things, and an ardent desire to go on and learn more of all that might be learned."¹³⁰ He plans to become a school teacher. His adult voice is the masculine voice of reason: the measured and pedantic tone of his argument is a contrast to Lovereen's emotive outbursts.¹³¹ It was through Paul that Lily Dougall described the need for higher criticism.¹³² He explains to the High Church missionary:

¹²⁸ In a story, she described the new religious milieu: "Helen was a modern girl, she had friends who were spiritualists; friends who were theosophists; friends who were 'high church' and believed in visions of angels." "The Syndicate Baby," *A Dozen Ways of Love*, (London: A. & C. Black, 1897), 184. The story was originally published earlier.

¹²⁹ The letter which is undated and unsigned, is addressed to "Dear B" [Beaver, a nickname for Dougall] and starts "These are the thoughts of the Lamb, written in her own hand and for your own most private perusal and you can do as like about showing it to the D. . . ." BL, LDP, 1. Dorothy Emmet, the daughter of Lily Dougall's collaborator, C.W. Emmet, said that Sophie Earp was Roman Catholic. Private correspondence, Dorothy Emmet to Joanna Dean, April 25, 1993.

¹³⁰ "Castoffs of Lovereen," pp. 166-167, BL, LDP, 4.

¹³¹ "The [ultra-Protestant] belief in the Bible as the sole and infallible guide to truth is illogical in two ways, for while it dogmatically asserts this supremacy of the Bible, it . . . at the same time, rejects the authority of the Church tradition, without which the Bible would not have gained its authority, and furthermore, in maintaining this great doctrine, it fails to perceive that if a dogmatic religion is necessary then the language of the Bible is capable

For instance, by scientific methods of studying history, the *history* of the doctrine of the Atonement can be traced. But to know the history of an idea — how it came to be — does not in the least explain it away, as so many suppose. After the history, and all that bears on the history, is fully known and widely considered, there is still a decision for pure theology, which science cannot touch. But I would have the history first studied, without prejudice in favour of ecclesiastical authority, or rather, studied without and with that prejudice, studied by a dozen different men from different points of view, and sifted by their bickerings.¹³³

The Roman Catholic Principal offers Paul a place in a French college, so he can devote his life to higher criticism.¹³⁴ Paul is tempted — his ideal is “to help in the knowledge of the world”¹³⁵ — but he finally decides to take over his uncle’s grocery store. He needs the money to support Lovereen (who has refused to follow her father to the mission fields) and pay the medical bills of the young daughter of the impoverished High Church missionary. This unlikely conclusion is echoed in later books (Dougall’s protagonists marry grocers, butchers and thieves) but here

of so many interpretations that one universal dogma can only be arrived at as the Bible is interpreted by some further authority. To put, as Protestants do, I suppose, the enlightened individual conscience in the place of the Church, in this respect, does not, it seems to me, meet the demand but rather confesses it cannot be met.” “Lovereen,” Vol. I, p. 314, BL, LDP, 4.

¹³² The Roman Catholic Director sums up Paul’s position: “You said, if I remember rightly, that all over the world, learned men were inquiring into the historical sources of the Christian religion by the new light of those sciences which can be made tributary to theology and so, until they should have full time, till some universal consent should be arrived at by their fluctuating conclusions, it behoved other men to hold their judgements in suspense and yet watch earnestly.” Paul replies, “Yes — as to the dogma in which religion ought to be taught and propagated — not as to its truth — that lies beyond the reach of science.” The Director continues: “Ah. You would not feel convinced then, that the theology of the Church must be in some sense false, *must* be superseded by something new?”

“By no means. But those who are speaking the truth with open eyes cannot be assured the old theology is the true until it has stood every possible test of knowledge; by that it must fall, or be modified or stand more firmly.” “Lovereen,” Vol. III, p. 378.

¹³³ “Lovereen,” Vol. III, p. 383.

¹³⁴ As the Director explains, Paul would undertake “the study of history, or ancient letters, as may bear upon the questions you have so much at heart.” Paul would not be required to “subscribe to a creed, or take any vows. . . Knowledge alone would be your pursuit — thorough knowledge one small point which you may choose — for the sake of other men who are baffled by half-knowledge.” “Lovereen,” Vol. III, p. 379.

¹³⁵ “Lovereen,” Vol. III, p. 436, BL, LDP, 4.

it serves to show that the free-thinking Paul, unlike the two missionaries, puts people ahead of religious doctrine.

Lovereen and Paul, then, represent two sides of Dougall's religious thought.

Lovereen, in accordance with gendered notions of religious experience, represents the mystical side, the "formless mist," and Paul the more intellectual and critical side of Dougall's character. The dialectical play of the two identities is introduced in romantic scenes. Lovereen teases the serious Paul by saying that she finds sceptics more interesting, that a man is better for going through unbelief. "He looked at her in some amusement, 'How many points of doctrine would be necessary to doubt to that end.' [She replies,] 'Oh, everything, in order to reconstruct all one's creed for oneself.'" He says that he then has no chance of being a better man.¹³⁶ The novel concludes with the reconciliation of these views – the Romantic coincidence of opposites – when Lovereen and Paul decide to marry.¹³⁷

5.5 "*Men for Instance Always Dislike that Sort of Thing*"

Dougall's adoption of a masculine character to present her intellectual interests was not unusual. Presbyterian theologian T.B. Kilpatrick had compared her manuscript to *Robert*

¹³⁶"Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 270. BL, LDP, 4.

¹³⁷Dougall presented Lovereen and Paul as equals, and after a momentary lapse into a romantic surrender, Dougall seems to be suggesting that their marriage would be one of equals: When she realises her feelings for her childhood friend, the lovestruck Lovereen pledges in language drawn from sentimental novels, "Oh Love, what thou thinkst I will try to think." Paul answers, "No Love No. The light shall lead and we shall walk hand in hand." "Lovereen," Vol. III, p. 480. BL, LDP, 4.

The marriage suggests an alternate – but not incompatible – reading of the novel. Paul may also be modelled upon her lifelong companion Sophie Earp, who was living with Dougall in Switzerland at the time of writing "Lovereen." See Chapters Five and Six.

Elsmere, *John Ward, Preacher*, and *The Story of an African Farm*. All three novels present intellectual arguments through male characters. The gendering of Olive Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm* bears a striking resemblance to "Loveleen."¹³⁸ The novel centres on the tragic life of the free-spirited Lyndall, but it is a male alter-ego, a brother figure, Waldo who pursues the implications of the loss of faith. Just as Dougall displaced her own intellectual difficulties onto Paul, Schreiner displaced her metaphysical interests onto Waldo. She later acknowledged that both Waldo and Lyndall were herself.¹³⁹ Schreiner's dual authorial identity merges in a long, lyrical, religious section of the novel, which is told in first person plural.¹⁴⁰ Why was a radical like Schreiner able to depict Lyndall losing her virginity and bearing a child out of wedlock, but not able to depict her losing her faith? Why did she, Mary Ward, and Lily Dougall have to speak through a masculine identity when they discussed the intellectual dimensions of the loss of faith?

The answer lies, at least in part, in the gendering of liberal faith, and in the assumption that women were essentially spiritual. It was almost unthinkable for a Victorian woman to be a religious sceptic. An 1880 article, "Agnosticism and Women," in the influential British monthly, *Nineteenth Century*, made this argument explicit: it was impossible, the author argued, for

¹³⁸Mary Ward wrote through a male protagonist in *Robert Elsmere*. Margaret Deland's protagonist is a woman, but she is not permitted to defend her own ideas. Helen Ward rarely debates theology and when she tries she is told to mend socks. It is her husband who defends orthodox theology, and a brother-in-law provides the philosophic defence of Helen's idealism. Helen's God is described by her like-minded brother-in-law Gifford in idealist terms as the power and desire for good in ourselves: "all our lives [are] a thought of the Eternal which would have as clear an expression as we would let it." Deland, *John Ward*, 413.

¹³⁹Carol Barash, "Virile Womanhood: Olive Schreiner's Narratives of a Master Race," in *Speaking of Gender*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New York: Routledge, 1989), 272.

¹⁴⁰Not only did Schreiner write through a male character, she published the novel under a male pseudonym. Lily Dougall wrote her early stories under a pseudonym, Ernest Duns, and her novels as the genderless L. Dougall. See Ernest Duns [Lily Dougall] "Hath Not a Jew Eyes?" *Longman's Magazine* XIII, 75 (January 1889); "Marriage Made in Heaven," *Chambers Journal* 8 (August 1891).

women to become agnostic without losing their femininity. Novels reinforced this message: Elizabeth Jay has observed that late-nineteenth-century novels assumed that the capacity for sustained intellectual scepticism was incompatible with femininity. Sidonie Smith argued that, “the [nineteenth-century] woman who would reason like universal man becomes unwomanly, a kind of monstrous creature or *lusus naturae*.” Women who abandoned faith lost their claim to moral womanhood. Dougall explored this idea in *Madonna for a Day* (1895). A brash “New Woman” finds she needs to adopt a pious demeanour to fend off the sexual advances of a rough gang of men. The message, as we shall see in Chapter Six, is a mixed one, but Dougall suggests that without piety women have no protection from predatory men.

Women internalised this and, as Valerie Saunders has observed, they rarely wrote intellectual, spiritual autobiographies or their secular counterparts. Harriet Martineau was one of very few women willing to describe herself in the late nineteenth century in the individualist and rational terms of the crisis-of-faith paradigm, as a “free rover on the broad bright breezy common of the universe.”¹⁴¹ Fictional free rovers inevitably had their wings clipped. *Story of an African Farm* is an extended feminist essay on the dangers for a free-thinking woman; Lyndall’s repudiation of social and sexual conventions ends tragically with her death. Flora McDonald’s Mary Melville dies. Even more tellingly, the heroine of one of Mary Ward’s later novels is torn between two competing male paradigms, her father’s

¹⁴¹ Bertha Lathbury, “Agnosticism and Women,” *Nineteenth Century* 7 (April, 1880): 619-27. Elizabeth Jay, “Doubt and the Victorian Woman,” in *The Critical Spirit and the Will to Believe*. Valerie Saunders, *The Private Lives of Victorian Women: Autobiography in Nineteenth Century England* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989). S.L.H. Peterson *Victorian Autobiography: The Tradition of Self-Interpretation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 81.

rationalism and her lover's historic Roman Catholicism. Unable to choose between barren intellectual freedom and an acquiescent faith she resolves the problem by committing suicide.¹⁴²

Dougall was highly aware of the proscriptions against educated, critical women. As a girl she had apologised to her brother for her interest in metaphysics, and her subsequent mentor, Kilpatrick, cited subtly disparaging remarks about lady novelists as he commented upon her manuscript.¹⁴³ Lovereen is repeatedly criticised for her critical spirit. A friend remarks,

[Lovereen] has been so much alone with older and serious people and she has read so much that positively she sometimes talks just like a book: of course it shows she has a very good mind and all that but it is not exactly what is admired in a young girl — *men* for instance always dislike that sort of thing.¹⁴⁴

In a heated dinner table conversation, Lovereen tells a sceptical doctor he is talking nonsense. She is reprimanded later by the other women for such unladylike behaviour.¹⁴⁵ Young women did not engage in debate with sceptics, talk “like a book” or reveal in any other way that they had a critical mind.

This very criticism led Dougall to effectively weaken Lovereen's rebellion. Just as she had prefaced her astute letters to her father with feminine disclaimers — “I am not capable of forming an opinion . . . and I have none” — she undercut Lovereen's crisis by presenting it as

¹⁴²Mary Ward, *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, 9th ed. (London: John Murray, 1911).

¹⁴³He wrote: “Macaulay said that lady writers should be criticized with allowances due their sex. I have not ventured to criticize you but just [?] out my mind as I would to any college friend.” T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen, November 19, 1889, BL, LDP, 1.

¹⁴⁴Emphasis in the original. “Lovereen,” Vol. I, p.257, BL, LDP, 4.

¹⁴⁵She says, “It may be that, at times, an illumination comes to us that is higher than our reason, but it would not be safe to depend upon it and set our reason aside. . . . God has given me my reason and would never bid me set it aside.” The doctor counters, “that is rationalism, not religion, Miss Walford, for the essence of all true religion is love and love obeys and adores, it does not reason.” Lovereen tells him that that is “great nonsense.” “Lovereen,” Vol. I, p. 237, BL, LDP, 4.

an immature one. The sustained intellectual challenge to orthodoxy is made by Paul (and even this takes place off stage when he studies in Montreal). Lovereen emerges from the crisis with an emotive and shallow spirituality, whereas Paul has a mature faith. He has taken the measure of the historical church, as Lily Dougall herself had done, and is willing to work within in it, withholding judgement, but pursuing a larger truth.

The fictional cross-dressing engaged in by writers like Dougall has resulted in a curiously gendered understanding of the crisis of faith. The crisis is described as a masculine one in the historical literature, closely tied to the religious maturation and vocational difficulties of young men in college. Women's crises are generally described in secular terms. Feminist analysis has often missed the theological component of the maturational crises of young nineteenth-century women. Florence Nightingale serves as a useful early example. Martha Vicinus observed that Florence Nightingale went through a crisis very similar to Lily Dougall's prolonged difficulties: a "pattern of initial freedom through study and travel, personal irresolution and family opposition, a mysterious protracted illness, and then a long life of incredible productivity and focus."¹⁴⁶ Vicinus perceptively concluded that women going through a difficult transition frequently retired into an illness that "permitted a retreat into the self in order to gain the courage and ego strength to break out permanently." Vicinus, however, did not discuss the religious component of this crisis; like Elaine Showalter and Mary Poovey, she described Nightingale's personal difficulties in secular and feminist terms as struggles against a gendered society and family structure.¹⁴⁷ She overlooked the fact that

¹⁴⁶Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 20. Surprisingly, considering Vicinus' sensitivity to religiosity, she does not mention a religious component to the crisis.

¹⁴⁷Elaine Showalter makes only passing reference to the religious elements of Nightingale's breakdown, and Mary Poovey distinguishes between these doctrinal concerns and the more important feminist battle for the

Nightingale channelled her despair into a three-volume theological critique, *Suggestions for Thought to Searchers after Religious Truth*. Nightingale sent it to Broad Churchman Benjamin Jowett, who encouraged her to publish it, which she did in a muted and much revised form as *Cassandra*.

The theological component of women's crises is worth exploring; religious faith was central to the identity of nineteenth-century women, and the permutations of this faith shed light upon the changing sense of self. The links between early feminism and liberal theology are important. The romantic tradition of the Broad Church provided an escape from the barren alternatives of masculine scepticism and a meek piety. It offered, as we shall see in the following chapter, a new understanding of the experiential that built upon respect for human reason and independent thought. The doctrinal positions held by Broad Churchmen, like Florence Nightingale's advisor, Jowett, were about the reconfiguration of power and authority; they were fighting for free thought against church orthodoxy, for the

reconfiguration of power. Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985). Showalter makes reference to the religious elements of Nightingale's breakdown -- "Nightingale herself had suffered from years of agonizing mental depression in which she experienced dreamlike trances, religious hallucinations and moments of suicidal despair" (p. 62) -- but entirely ignores the central theological concerns of her manuscript. Jowett is described simply as a censor who demanded she soften the antagonisms of her argument.

Mary Poovey, who edited the first publication of *Suggestions*, does include an introductory discussion of religious liberalism, but she contrasts rather than links this to the central theme, the reconfiguration of power. "While the *Suggestions for Thought* partakes of and contributes to these religious contests, it is as important for its reconfiguration of power as for its doctrinal positions." Florence Nightingale, *Cassandra and other Selections from Suggestions for Thought*, ed. Mary Poovey (New York: New York University Press, 1993), xvii.

Recent work on Nightingale has been alert to her spirituality, but this has been presented outside the mainstream of women's history. Alison A. Anderson refers in "Florence Nightingale: Constructing a Vocation," *Anglican Theological Review* LXXVIII, 1 (Winter, 1996): 404-419, to the following works: Michael D. Calabria "Spiritual Insights of Florence Nightingale," *Quest* 3, 2 (Summer, 1990); JoAnn G. Widerquist, "Dearest Rev'd Mother," in *Florence Nightingale and Her Era: A Collection of New Scholarship*, eds. Vern L. Bullough, et. al., (New York: Garland, 1990), 288-308; and "The Spirituality of Florence Nightingale," *Nursing Research* 41,1 (Jan/Feb., 1992):49-55.

voice of the rational individual against the traditional authority of the church. It was a struggle with multiple resonances for the early woman movement.

Once we look for it in women's lives, we find repeated examples of religious crises in the lives of progressive women; leaders in the woman movement like Catherine Beecher, Frances Willard, Frances Cobbe and Lady Aberdeen struggled with religious orthodoxy as they broke from the gendered expectations of their families.¹⁴⁸ Feminist classics -- Olive

¹⁴⁸Kathryn Kish Sklar has also observed the doubled nature of women's submission to patriarchal authority. She wrote of Roxana Beecher's marriage to Lyman Beecher: "Roxana learned that her marriage demanded not only that she submit to the will of the Calvinist God, but also to the will of her quick-tempered husband." Sklar noted that Roxana's daughter, Catherine Beecher, refused to submit when her father attempted to force a conversion, which he did, significantly, just before her marriage. Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 28, 5.

Frances Willard's broken engagement is described by Ray Strachey in a way that reveals the doubled patterns of resistance against masculine authority and a Calvinist God. Ray Strachey paired the personal subordination in Willard's diaries -- "The proud don't care feeling of all my life is gone, and I acknowledge myself conquered. It seems strange to give up . . . I doubt my own identity once in a while. I'm very different now. I hardly know myself and I guess that I don't like myself as I did once." -- with the oppressive impact of Fowler's faith: "Read Baptism of Fire. It impresses me strangely and I must add painfully....I have been taught that Religion is a happy thing. I thought God wanted us to enjoy life." Strachey speculates: "Fowler must always have been out of sympathy with all her cherished beliefs, though, of course, for a time they seemed perfectly agreed. She had show him all she had written in her journals and he put here and there pious little stilted comments that show how far he was from appreciating their true meaning and that show, too, how he valued what she disliked and disliked what she valued . . . when he took up the defence of her theories he no doubt put into them different and wholly foreign meanings, severities and limitations that she did not like, and an exclusiveness that she could not understand." Willard compared Fowler's authoritarian Calvinist creed to her own joyful and trusting faith. "Indeed his mind seems to me so well sorted out: like a store where the shelves are all in order and everything is labelled and arranged." Initially Willard submitted to Fowler's authority: But after eight months she broke the engagement. Strachey was writing out of the woman movement: her interpretation was shaped by the religion of the grandmother who raised her, Hannah Whitall Smith, and the feminist battles in which she herself was engaged. Ray Strachey, *Frances Willard, Her Life and Work*, with an introduction by Lady Henry Somerset (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), 98, 100, 103-4, 106. A more recent biographer, Ruth Bordin, however, ignores the religious component of Frances Willard's engagement. Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

Barbara Caine has observed the religious component in Frances Cobbe's battle with her father, although she reduces religion to another arena for a struggle about gender: "What is most interesting . . . is the way in which Cobbe's religious crisis became a field for the playing out of issues of sexual power. It became the battleground for her fight for personal autonomy as a woman against the patriarchal power exercised by her father . . . Their disagreement and struggle was not only personal but theological, for Cobbe rejected not only her father's religious observances, but his masculine and punitive God." Barbara Caine, "Feminist Biography and Feminist History," *Women's History Review* 3, 32 (1994): 247-261. See also the extended biographical account in Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University

Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm* (1883), Flora MacDonald's *Mary Melville* (1900), and Frances Beynon's *Aleta Day* (1919)-- pair the crisis of faith with the struggle against patriarchal control.¹⁴⁹ Later novels were explicit about their rejection of orthodoxy.

Frances Beynon opened her autobiographical novel: "I think I was born to be free, but my parents, with God as one of their chief instruments, frightened me into servility."¹⁵⁰ Emily Carr opened her autobiographical work, *House of Small*: "We knew Father's Sunday smell -- Wright's coal-tar soap and camphor. . . Family prayers were uppish with big words on Sunday -- reverend awe-ful words that only God and Father understood."¹⁵¹ Her father's patriarchal

Press, 1992) and Eileen James Yeo, "Social Motherhood and the Sexual Communion of Labour in British Social Science, 1850-1950," *Women's History Review* 1,1 (1992) 63-87.

For the extended domestic and religious crisis of Lady Aberdeen, the president of the International Council of Women, see the guarded accounts in Lady Aberdeen and Lord Aberdeen, *"We Twa."* *Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen*, Vol. I. (London: W. Collins and Sons Ltd., 1925) and Marjorie Pentland, *A Bonnie Fechter, The Life of Ishbel Marjoribanks, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, G.B.E., LL.D. J.P., 1857-1939* (London: B.T.Batsford Ltd., 1952.) Private papers, such as letters to liberal evangelist Henry Drummond, held at the family estate, Haddo House, in Aberdeen, reveal the religious elements of the crisis. See my "Speaking for God and Women, Lady Aberdeen and the National Council of Women of Canada," *Women, Religion and Rights: Woman's Bible Conference*, Seneca Falls, NY, November 4, 1995, and "Transatlantic Feminism: Lady Aberdeen and the National Council of Women," *The Twentieth Anniversary Conference, Imperial Canada, 1867-1917*, Centre of Canadian Studies, University of Edinburgh, 5-7 May, 1995.

¹⁴⁹Ralph Iron, pseud. [Olive Schreiner] *Story of an African Farm*, with an introduction by Dan Jacobsen (1883; London: Penguin, 1971); Flora MacDonald, *Mary Melville, The Psychic* (Toronto: The Austin Publishing Co., 1900). Francis Marion Beynon, *Aleta Day*, with an introduction by Anne Hicks, (1919; London: Virago, 1988), 13. See Ramsay Cook, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," in *The West and the Nation, Essays in Honour of W.L.Morton*, ed. Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 187-208.

¹⁵⁰ Beynon, *Aleta Day*, 13.

¹⁵¹ Emily Carr opened her autobiographical work, *Growing Pains*: "My baptism is an unpleasant memory. I was a little over four years of age. . . my big sister caught me, dragged me to the kitchen pump and scrubbed my face to smarting. I was then given to Dr. Reid who presented me kicking furiously to God. [Her father adds names to Bible.] The covers of the Bible banged, shutting us all in." Emily Carr, *Growing Pains: The Autobiography of Emily Carr*, with a foreword by Ira Dilworth (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), 3, and *The Book of Small* (Toronto: The Oxford University Press, 1942), 3-5.

authority is paired with the authority of the church, and her rebellion was a doubled one: “I began to question why Father should act as if he was God.”¹⁵²

This brings us back to the question of Lily Dougall’s mother. Dougall, like Frances Cobbe and Emily Carr, rejected her father’s faith, and like them she did it only after the death of her mother. What happened in the writing of “Lovereen” to the woman Lily had equated with the Infinite? In her analysis of Canadian autobiography, Helen Buss suggests that the masculine autobiographical narrative, constructed as a movement away from the mother to an individual separate rationality, is fundamentally unsuited to women, for whom the movement has been a cyclical one of ongoing relationship. Whereas masculine development is individualist, women’s development is communal and relational. Buss cites Bella Brodzki, “the daughter’s text, variously, seeks to reject, reconstruct and reclaim – to locate and recontextualise – the mother’s message.”¹⁵³

In the introductory chapter of “Lovereen,” and later in *The Zeit-Geist* (1895), Dougall suggests this kind of reading. She described the flowers dying in a November garden, and suggests lyrically that each generation’s faith grows anew from the death of the earlier faith.

There is no apparently unbroken progress in the way in which the generations rise nearer to God. The parents make the best of their life’s summer, and the fruit and flower of their lives, in deed and hope and thought, will often seem to fail and fall, and blossom of their children’s lives to spring up in fresh form from the decadence; yet it is from the life of the summer, not because of its death, that the new life of spring comes.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Carr, *Growing Pains*, 9.

¹⁵³ Brodzki, “Mothers, Displacement and Language in the Autobiographies of Nathalie Sarraute and Christa Wolfe,” in *Life/Lines Theorizing Women’s Autobiography*, ed. Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 245-246. Cited in Buss, *Mapping Our Selves*, 17.

¹⁵⁴ Lily Dougall, “Lovereen,” Vol. I, p. 5, BL, LDP, 4. In *The Zeit-Geist* she wrote: “Was life in the Spring and death in the autumn? Was the power and love of God not resting in the damp fallen things that lay rotting in the ground?” L. Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1895), 143-144.

The imagery, we shall see, is drawn from the liberal Anglican movement. The husk of the old faith dies, and the new springs from the germ of life within. Dougall suggests here that her adult quest was, as Brodzki suggests, to reject, then reconstruct and reclaim, the deep faith taught at her mother's knee. Unlike the straight masculine trajectory in independence (and even that trajectory is of course a fiction), Dougall's life would suggest a circling, a return and renewal springing from a deep and continuing web of relationships.

Independent women had to recast the spirituality that was assumed to lie at the core of a woman's identity, and find a faith that corresponded to their new found independence and strength. Liberal theology, as we shall see, allowed them to retain their identity as spiritual beings, but also to claim reason, independence, and freedom. The moral centre of Lily Dougall's second novel, *What Necessity Knows* (1893), is an intelligent single woman, Sophia. An Oxford-educated minister tells Sophia that her maid, Eliza, should "set aside her cleverness" to sacrifice herself in "humble, loving service." He says, "there is scope for all the highest faculties of a woman's nature in a household such as yours," and no risk to the young girl's virtue. Sophia retorts, "That is the way men always argue about women," and defends the girl's right to a wider career. She argues against any notion of religious duty: "I suppose it is admitted that the highest faculty of man is worship . . . but that is no reason why a young boy with a head for figures should be made a farmer or a young woman with special ability should remain a maid-of-all-work." Later she tells him:

I don't believe so much in all the sentiment that used to seem so noble to me about forgetting oneself. No thoughtful person *can* forget himself and no candid person says he has done it. What we need is to think *more* of ourselves – to think so

much of ourselves that all aims but the highest are beneath us – are impossible to our own dignity. What we chiefly need is ambition.¹⁵⁵

This, rather than self abnegation, is true Christianity, she says.

“Lovereen” was never published. The initial reason was that the manuscript was too long, and although Dougall tried after the success of *Beggars All* (1891) to revise it, she never finished the revisions and turned to other work. She may have realised in the course of the revisions how revealing and conflicted the work was. Dougall subsequently published several novels that borrowed from the crisis-of-faith narrative, but they all revolved around men.¹⁵⁶ These narrative structures allowed Dougall to explore her own experience, without transgressing gendered norms of religious experience. The manuscript of “Lovereen,” a confused and lengthy document of female doubt, remained buried among Dougall’s papers.

¹⁵⁵Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 281. Dougall, as we note in the next chapter, is not entirely consistent in her modernity. Sophia does forget herself in the novel, so far as to bury herself in the Canadian countryside to care for her step siblings. But she does this on her own terms, and she encourages another young woman to pursue a demanding career.

¹⁵⁶The women were strong figures (Dougall rarely portrayed a weak woman as a central character) but their role is that of spiritual mentors who lead the men to a resolution to their doubts. The two novels written around women, *The Madonna of a Day* and *A Question of Faith*, were not structured as crisis-of-faith novels. The women are agnostic characters from the outset, so the novels do not track the loss of faith but rather lead them from scepticism to a higher faith. The narrative movement was one toward faith, and away from scepticism.

Chapter Six

Romantic Idealism

“You are quite welcome to my lectures. . . .
I suppose you will not mind being the only lady present.”
Edward Caird¹

In a draft manuscript of “Lovereen,” Lily Dougall described the conversion of Lovereen’s father, Mr. Walford:

It is usually a new discovery to a man when he finds that religion is not anything he can do or believe, but the yielding to an inward power, other than himself, which transforms his deeds and beliefs . . . [he was] aware that there was a heavenly strength to be had in this life, a power for holy work in the personal presence of the Christ.²

Then she changed the passage, replacing the phrase “a power for holy work in the personal presence of the Christ,” with “which transforms conscious life into a conscious union with God.” In this simple shift of language the Christocentric evangelical experience became mystical: the “presence” became “union,” a union, significantly, with God rather than Christ.³ Religion was, as it had been for her parents, yielding to an inward power rather than a ritual or creed, but Dougall’s understanding of this experience – if not the experience itself – had changed radically from that of her evangelical family, and in this change lay the

¹Edward Caird to Lily Dougall, Balliol College, Oxford, May 4, 1896. MS 729, Rare Book Department, McGill University Libraries.

²“Lovereen,” 21/25, BL, LDP, 4.

³In an early story, “Witchcraft,” she describes the religious experience of a young and naive theology student: “When he was returning home in the darkness, he felt his soul open to the power of the unseen spirit, and to him the power of the spiritual unseen was the power of God.” The description is remarkable for its ambiguity. The suggestion is that the mystical experience, which the theology student understands as the power of God – “to him the power of the spiritual unseen was the power of God” – might be interpreted differently by another. Lily Dougall, “Witchcraft,” in *A Dozen Ways of Love* (London: A.C. Black, 1897), 217.

groundwork for her adult modernism. The shift was, like Dougall's religious crisis, a gradual one, but we might date it from the late 1880s to the early 1890s.

This chapter will trace Dougall's move to a more mystical spirituality through the depiction of religious experience in her early fiction. She was cautious in her first novels, and the descriptions of religious experience were overshadowed by the narrative elements. It was not until she had lived in Oxford, and become acquainted with Oxford idealists William Wallace and Edward Caird, that she was able to find a rational framework for religious experience in Oxford idealism. In 1895, she published three novels, *The Zeit-Geist*, *Madonna of a Day*, and *The Mermaid*, describing an immanentist liberal faith with new found confidence.⁴

6.1 Early Fiction

Dougall's novels have been praised for "intellectual strenuousness" and criticised for their intellectual pretensions.⁵ Metaphysical questions dominate: lovers philosophise, dinner guests become pedants, and "new women" engage in fierce theological debate. As one annoyed reviewer said: "the author . . . never hesitates to stop the action of his [sic] story for a full half hour while he buttonholes us and tells us his views on things in general."⁶ Although critics were often impressed at Dougall's learning, and several

⁴Dougall also published *A Question of Faith* in 1895 but this novel had been written earlier.

⁵Carl F. Klinck, ed., *The Literary History of Canada*, 2d ed., Vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 320: "her fiction often fails to be as impressive as it was obviously intended to be."

⁶*Daily Chronicle*, November 29, 1893. Clipping Book, BL, LDP, 7.

commented on her “masculine” command of theology, the popular success of her novels appears to have been inversely related to their preoccupation with theology.⁷

Lily Dougall’s first published novel, *Beggars All* (1891), was a best seller in Britain and the United States.⁸ The novel was a clever romance with a quirky moral twist. A well-born young woman, Starr, answers a matrimonial advertisement and marries a stranger in order to save her invalid sister and widowed mother from desperate poverty. She finds that the journalist she has married has taken morality into his own hands and regularly steals from the rich to help the poor. The book, as her agent said, was “a decided success.”⁹ The sexual audacity of the woman’s marriage to an unknown man -- her virtual prostitution on behalf of her family -- and Dougall’s criticism of narrow-minded church philanthropy skirted the limits of acceptable controversy. Dougall posed Starr, who by the end of the novel loves her husband but cannot condone his theft, with an intriguing moral dilemma. A friend recalled: “It was the kind of book that everyone talked about, and enjoyed that kind of vogue that causes certain folk to feel ‘out of it’ if obliged to confess that they have not yet read the book.”¹⁰

⁷One reviewer had earlier mistaken her gender and commented: “the mistake is natural for the lady is most powerful and quite masculine in her grasp and treatment of any subject.” *Binghampton Herald*, August 24, 1895. Another noted: “Though the author is a woman the books shows a masculine strength of grasp in the discussion of religious problems. . .” *New York Delineator*, September, 1895. Clipping Book, BL, LDP, 7.

⁸Dougall also published a number of short stories in leading journals. Although further research is needed to discover the full extent of Dougall’s early fiction, references among her papers indicate some early titles: Earnest Duns [Lily Dougall], “Hath Not a Jew Eyes?” *Longman’s Magazine* XIII, 75 (January, 1889); “Marriage Made in Heaven,” *Chambers Journal* 8 (August, 1891) “Rosemary for Remembrance,” and “The Soul of a Man,” *Temple Bar* (1892). *Atlantic Magazine* accepted “Witchcraft,” “Face of Death,” and “Thrift,” in April of 1895. (BL, LDP, 1.) A number of these early stories were later published in *A Dozen Ways of Love* (London: A.C. Black, 1897), subsequently reprinted as *Young Love [and other stories]* (A. & C. Black: London, 1904).

⁹A.P. Watt to Lily Dougall, September 28, 1891, 2 Paternoster Square London to 130 Gilmour Place Edinburgh, BL, LDP, 7.

¹⁰B.H. Streeter, “Biographical Note,” in Dougall, *God’s Way with Man*, 12. Her brother’s newspaper described *Beggars All* as “spoken of at the London libraries as the book of the year.” See Clippings binder,

Her second novel was less successful. *What Necessity Knows* (1893) is set in Canada and traces the fortunes of two young women. Dougall wrote with the same audacity that characterised *Beggars All*; both women challenge social conventions. The younger woman escapes the marital intentions of an older man by hiding in her father's coffin. She rises from the coffin, wrapped in a winding sheet, in a feminist resurrection to find a new life as a single woman. The second woman, a member of the British gentry, spurns a minister to marry his younger brother, a butcher. The novel did not meet expectations; the plot, spun out over three volumes, was unwieldy, and the escape in the coffin and the marriage to a butcher seemed to stretch the credibility of romance readers. Critics objected to moralising elements in the book.

Sophie Earp's friend, Henry Sidgwick, the Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge, had written a very complimentary letter about *Beggars All*, but noted: "Although a moralist by profession, I am *as a novel reader*, peculiarly averse to 'moral lessons.' I mean if I have the least suspicion that a narrative is intended to edify rather than depict human life as it is, my interest in it involuntarily and inevitably flags. And I must admit that this suspicion haunted me here and there in the latter part of your friend's book."¹¹ He became more critical with *What Necessity Knows*. Earp reported: "He is always afraid the ethical element will triumph over the story telling element. At

p. 18, BL, LDP, 7. More objectively, *Queen* reported in a biographical sketch of Dougall that. "Have you read 'BA' is the question that has lately flown from one to another with the rapidity of influenza . . ." *Queen* 13 II (1892). Clipping Book, BL, LDP, 7. The book was also popular in United States; Dougall describes being lionised in Boston some years later. See Earp, "Selected Letters," 146.

¹¹Henry Sidgwick to Sophie Earp, December 17, 1891 and Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, November 14, 1896. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 102. Dougall had sent copies of an early story, "The Soul of a Man," to Henry Sidgwick. See "S. Diary, 1887-1895" July and August. 1888, October. 1888, BL, LDP, 1. His support gave her the confidence to continue writing, and she sent him at least two of her novels in draft form. Sidgwick had supported women's education at Cambridge, and was clearly sympathetic to her religious interests. See Earp, "Selected Letters," 92, 102, 165.

present they have been balanced and he can stand it, but if the moral becomes any stronger, he is not quite sure.”¹² Dougall was aware of the tension between these elements, and had written to Earp, after completing *What Necessity Knows*: “I am afraid the book is too *serious* and too *frivolous*. It seems to me that theme is too high for the way it is treated.”¹³

She wrote numerous short stories and four shorter novels published in quick succession in 1895: *A Question of Faith*, *The Mermaid*, *The Madonna of a Day* and *The Zeit-Geist*.¹⁴ The first three were popular light romances with the theology largely subordinated to the plot, but *The Zeit-Geist* was a fictional tract for an idealist theology. Reviewers were baffled. One mused, “We are at a loss as to how to classify this little book. It is not a story exactly -- it is not a theological essay -- nor would it be quite true to call it a combination of the two.”¹⁵ A more perceptive reviewer noted: “But Toyner, throughout, is mainly a peg on which to hang doctrine, and we have a feeling that his experiences are mainly devised to provide the opportunity for his preachings which are long, eloquent and sometimes obscure.”¹⁶

¹²Sophie Earp to Lily Dougall, [some time after December, 1892]. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 109.

¹³Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, October 1892. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 108.

¹⁴*A Question of Faith* might have been published earlier, but Longmans, disappointed at sales of the weighty three-volume *What Necessity Knows*, did not accept it in early 1894. A.P. Watt to Sophie Earp, February 24, 1894, BL, LDP, 7. It was published serially in *Leisure Hour*, Dougall presumably having been reconciled or resigned to this audience, and in book form in 1895 by Hutchinson in London and Houghton Mifflin in Boston. *The Mermaid, A Love Story* (after nearly being published in serial form in *Temple Bar*) was published in book form by the *Temple Bar* publisher, Richard Bentley, and by Appleton in New York. *The Madonna for a Day* was published in England by Richard Bentley in both serial form in *Temple Bar* and book form; and by D. Appleton and Co. in New York. See correspondence with A.P. Watt, BL, LDP, 7. *The Zeit-Geist* was published by Hutchinson and Co. and positioned prominently as the first in a new library of pocket books, *The Zeit-Geist Library of Complete Novels*. It was published in New York by D. Appleton and Co.

¹⁵*Daily Chronicle*, April 28, 1895. Clipping Book, BL, LDP, 7.

¹⁶*Westminster Gazette*, April 24, 1895. Clipping Book, BL, LDP, 7.

Dougall started to publish purely religious work in 1900, and perhaps because of this new outlet the moral elements are more muted in her subsequent novels. Her 1904 novel, *The Earthly Purgatory*, was published in serial form in *Temple Bar* and then in one volume in Britain and in the United States, where it was called *The Summit House Mystery*.¹⁷ The book is a light and melodramatic mystery, with, as the first title indicates, the usual mix of serious moral intent. The plot revolves around a single woman who bears the scandal and shame of a murder committed by her dissolute father. A dramatic sequence of events, involving bludgeoned bodies, false identities, letters left in trees, and fortuitous accidents, result in her father being left under her care, completely paralysed, in an earthly purgatory that will presumably bring about his final redemption. The moral elements are largely implied rather than stated, and the mystery well constructed, so that the book was popular on both sides of the Atlantic. A second mystery story, *The Spanish Dowry* (1906), with a full panoply of ghosts, buried treasure, mysterious nuns, and the usual befuddled and elitist Anglican minister, eschewed serious theological issues.¹⁸

Her last fictional work, *The Paths of the Righteous* (1908), was, however, a thinly-disguised tract on behalf of religious tolerance. The book was sent back by her publisher for revision. George Macmillan suggested that particular care had to be taken with religious books, and said: "You have to a considerable extent sacrificed your story to your purpose which we take to be a plea for liberal thought and practice in religious

¹⁷Lily Dougall, *The Earthly Purgatory* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1904); *Summit House Mystery* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1905). A curious twelve-page manuscript among Dougall's papers, "Synopsis of Earthly Purgatory" slightly alters the story by marrying off the two couples at the end: "to give it a happier ending." BL, LDP, 2. The book was popular; one reviewer noted that five editions had been published in a few weeks. *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 14, 1905. Clippings Book, p.130, BL, LDP, 7.

¹⁸Lily Dougall, *Spanish Dowry* (London: Hutchinson, 1906; Toronto: Copp Clark, 1906).

matters.”¹⁹ He finally decided to publish regardless of profitability, but his initial assessment proved accurate and sales of the book were disappointing.²⁰

Dougall attempted one final fictional explication of her ideas. Her manuscript, *Corchestor of the Future*, was refused by Macmillan for a familiar reason, her importation of theology into fiction. Their reader had judged that the book would have the same fate as its predecessor, and be “praised by the papers but not eagerly read by the public.” George Macmillan wrote sympathetically, “To this definite criticism [the reader] adds this comment, with which I am inclined to agree, that in his opinion you would have a better chance as a writer of fiction if you would refrain from introducing current topics whether in theology or politics. This may seem a hard saying for I imagine that it is these questions which interest you most.”²¹ Macmillan was correct in his assessment of Dougall’s interests, and she subsequently focused on religious writing.

6.2 Pantheism

Behind Dougall’s light plots we can trace a growing confidence in a liberal immanentism, in Lovereen’s faith that “God is in all things, that his life flows through us as through all

¹⁹George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, February 18, 1908, BL, LDP, 6.

²⁰Three hundred and twenty copies had been sold in Canada by April of 1908. Dougall blamed poor promotion, but Macmillan said such sales figures were very fair. She took an active interest in the promotion and sales of all of her books, and frequently criticised her publishers. George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, April 7, 1908, File of letters from publishers, BL, LDP, 6.

²¹George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, July 29, 1909. BL, LDP, 3. His firm had sustained considerable losses in the publication of *Paths of the Righteous*. See George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, May 4, 1910. BL, LDP, 3. Dougall’s 497-page typescript manuscript, marked “Refused by Macmillan July 30, 1909,” is in BL, LDP, 3.

nature.”²² The characters experience moments of uplifting insight, usually in a natural setting. Bates, the Calvinist Scotsman in *What Necessity Knows*, has a visionary moment looking at the sunset. “It was only perhaps a moment — one of those moments for which time has no measurement — that the soul of this man had gone out of him, as it were, into the vastness of the sunset”²³ And the Anglican minister finds at the end of the novel that “the lovely autumn landscape . . . was all part of the peace that was within him and without, of the God he knew to be within him and without.”²⁴ Dougall adopts Romantic language: “a man, like a harp, is played upon and the music is not that which he devises.”²⁵

This vague romantic pantheism was common at this time among fiction writers. The central section of Schreiner’s *Story of an African Farm* is a lyrical pantheist essay. We have travelled, she wrote, from a pious Calvinism through an idealist Christianity to despair:

Now we have no God. We have had two: the old God that our fathers handed down to us, that we hated, and never liked; the new one that we made for ourselves that we loved; but now he has flitted away from us, and we see what he was made of - the shadow of our highest ideal, crowned and throned. Now we have no God.²⁶

This despair does not lead to secularism, but to a profound and mystical recognition of the unity of all.

²²“Lovereen,” Vol. III, p. 155, BL, LDP, 4.

²³Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 14.

²⁴Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 444. The quote continues: “for, out of his struggle for righteousness in small things he had come into that light which most men cannot see or believe. Just as far as a man comes into that light he ceases to know himself as separate, but knows that he is part of all men and all things, that his joy is the joy of all men, that their pain is his. . . .”

²⁵ Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 146.

²⁶ Ralph Iron [Olive Schreiner], *The Story of an African Farm* (1883; reprint London: Penguin, 1971), 149.

This thing we call existence; is it not a something which has its roots far down below in the dark, and its branches stretching out into the immensity above, which we among the branches cannot see? Not a chance jumble; a living thing, a *One* . . .

And so it comes to pass in time that the earth ceases for us to be a weltering chaos. We walk in the great hall of life, looking up and round reverentially. Nothing is despicable -- all is part of a whole, whose beginning and end we know not. The life that throbs in us is a pulsation from it; too mighty for our comprehension, not too small.²⁷

Kate Flint has argued that this wider hope made Schreiner's otherwise bleak book palatable, and even inspirational to women readers.²⁸

In Canada, Joanna Wood explored a pantheistic faith in two novels.²⁹ Her language might have been borrowed from Schreiner:

For there is some great open secret surely in the universe, that being deciphered will set all our jangling nerves in chime. It is about us, around us, above us; the tiniest leaf tells it, the stars of heaven proclaim it, the water manifests it, and the earth

²⁷Schreiner, *Story*, 154. The novel returns to this pantheistic vision in the conclusion, with Waldo's attempts to make sense of life after Lyndall's tragic death. Rejecting in turn the interpretations of the Calvinist who would consign Lyndall to Hell, the nineteenth-century Christian "who uses his Bible as the pearl-fishers use their shells, sorting out gems from refuse" (p. 288) and would see her risen with a loving God, and the Transcendentalist who would see her as a spiritual essence, Waldo finds consolation in the mystical image of a Universal Whole: "his soul passed down the steps of contemplation into that vast land where there is always peace; that land where the soul, gazing long, loses all consciousness of its little self, and almost feels its hand on the old mystery of Universal Unity that surrounds it" (p. 290). This vision, Schreiner says in the last paragraphs of the novel, while "new-tinted," has the same sweetness and peace as the old dream of heaven. She concludes, "So age succeeds age, and dream succeeds dream, and of the joy of the dreamer no man knoweth but he who dreameth. Our father's had their dreams; we have ours; the generation that follows will have its own. Without dreams and phantoms man cannot exist." Schreiner, *Story*, 291. Schreiner does not dismiss the ultimate reality of this dream. "Bodies, thoughts, and loves die; from where springs that whisper to the tiny soul of man. 'You shall not die'? Ah, is there no truth of which this dream is shadow?" (p. 290). L.M. Montgomery described reading this book, in the context of discussion of religious doubt. See L. M. Montgomery, *The Green Gables Letters, from L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, 1905-1909*, ed. Wilfred Eggleston (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1981), 62.

²⁸"It is not evasive, since it is bound in with so much specific protest against social cruelty during the course of the novel; rather, it conveys, a spiritual, non-doctrinal, optimism that there is, somewhere, a reachable ideal which lies outside both domestic and political structures, and, moreover, that one's struggle to attain this is tied in, at a more microcosmic level, with the feminist cause." Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 244.

²⁹Carrie MacMillan observes that during her lifetime Wood was ranked with Charles G.D. Roberts and Gilbert Parker as one of the three major writers of the day, citing "Judith Moore," *The Canadian Magazine* 10, 5: 460. Carrie MacMillan, "Research in Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers: An Exercise in Literary Detection," in *Re(dis)covering Our Foremothers, Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers*, ed. Lorraine McMullen (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1990), 49-54. See also the discussion of Wood in Barbara Godard, "A Portrait with Three Faces: The New Woman in Fiction by Canadian Women, 1880-1920," *The Literary Criterion* 19, 3-4 (1984): 72-92.

declares it, and yet we do not see it. When we do, it will be some simple vital principle that we have breathed with the breath of our lips, and handled with the familiar fingers of the flesh. We will be so unable to conceive of the world moving on in ignorance of it, that all the wisdom of the past will seem but as the howling of the wolves in waste places. . . .³⁰

Flora MacDonald Denison similarly evoked a nature pantheism in *Mary Melville* (1900):

And George, refined and sensitive, would on occasions wander away into the depths of the pines and under their soothing influences, with the wind sighing mournful anthems through their frozen needles, stand in awe, and wonder at the majesty of being and at the marvellous revelations that seemed to come to him, giving him reasons why things are as they are, and a consciousness of knowledge not written in books, a consciousness of the vast sea of information in nature's huge reservoir, a conscious relationship and sympathy with the giant pines, with the tender undergrowth, with the soft white snow, and even with the hard granite rock.³¹

As a minister's wife, L.M. Montgomery had to be guarded in her fiction. In the Emily series, her most autobiographical novels, Montgomery refers to Emily's brief moments of transcendence when she experiences "the flash." A journal entry suggests the origins of Emily's "flash": "Wave after wave of sinuous, glistening, wave shadows were going over [the hayfield] . . . The mystic curtain fluttered and I caught the glimpse of Eternal and Infinite Beauty which 'Emily' called her 'flash.'"³²

³⁰Joanna E. Wood, *Judith Moore: or, Fashioning a Pipe* (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co., 1898), 54. Wood became more cynical: two years later in *A Daughter of Witches*, she wrote a novel about a pantheist minister who was living in a "happy dream." "Within the sanctuary of Sidney's soul there was no benignant Christ — only the vague splendour of altruistic ideals." The unhappy minister is misled by a hypnotist wife and rejected by his congregation. Joanna E. Wood, *A Daughter of Witches* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co., 1900), 340-341.

³¹Flora MacDonald [Denison], *Mary Melville The Psychic* (Toronto: The Austin Publishing Co. Ltd., 1900), 99. The novel concludes: "Then Mary came and passed, and with her what a light. Through her he saw the evolution of the past ages. Through her he saw the progress of the future. Through her he saw the real world of cause. Through her he saw the Psychic [sic] meaning of it all, that knowledge is without, for all to drink of. Only get in touch, in tune with nature's finer waves, and you may catch some of the wisdom that is there for all. For 'whosoever will' may not only think, but know" (p. 266). See also p. 81.

³²Cited in Gavin White, "The Religious Thought of L.M. Montgomery" in *Harvesting Thistles: The Textual Garden of L.M. Montgomery, Essays on her Novels and Journals*, ed. Mary Henley Rubio, Guelph, Ont.: Canadian Children's Press, 1994), 86. As White notes, "Churches and forests were interchangeable." (p.86). White accepts Montgomery's assumptions that her ideas about religion were independently formed, and does not trace them to her extensive reading on the subject.

This mystical apprehension in nature can even be found in the conservative Presbyterianism of a novelist like Marian Keith. In a 1905 novel decrying the loss of a stern Calvinist faith, Keith describes the spiritual experience of a young and liberal minister, not in a church or at prayer, but at night, in the woods:

Next he entered the woods, so dark and still, with only the light of a few stars peeping through the branches. The young man forgot spinterin' Andra and Donald Neil and all his worries as he moved through the mysterious darkness. The strange, still whisper of the forest, that gave a sense of life, as if the whole dark surrounding were some great breathing creature touched him nearly. He felt awed; the trivial things in life seemed infinitesimal now, in the fact of this mysterious wonder. When he emerged into the grey light of the open fields again he was both saddened and uplifted.³³

Keith eschews words like God, or even Holy Spirit, for "this mysterious wonder." Agnes Maule Machar also described the conversion of her hero, Roland Graeme, in pantheistic terms in 1892. Machar, though, more aware perhaps of the theological subtleties than Keith, was careful to place the "divine Father and Saviour" behind the beauties of nature.

With the new, marvellous beauty of the summer landscape, that burst on his gladdened eyes like a revelation, there seemed interfused a higher more subtle influence. How, he knew not — such things pass our knowing — and doubtless many things led up to it; but there and then, it seemed to him that the chilling mists of doubt had almost passed away from his soul. He felt that once more the beliefs of his childhood were realities to him, although in an infinitely grander and more spiritual conception of them. He felt the divine Father and Saviour, the brooding spirit of love and strength, closer and more real than the lovely vision around him. And he felt that he should never lose them more.³⁴

Revelation, in these novels, comes from sunsets and forests, and divine truth is ascertained by a mystical apprehension in the natural order, rather than God breaking through that order with miracles.

³³Marian Keith [MacGregor, Mary Esther], *Duncan Polite: the Watchman of Glenoro* (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1905), 167.

³⁴Agnes Maule Machar, *Roland Graeme: Knight. A Novel of our Times* (Montreal: Drysdale, 1892), 272.

6.3 Platonic Idealism

Had Dougall limited herself to sunsets she might have escaped the notice of her critics. But her apprehension of the divine in nature was at once both quirkier and more profound than that of most of her Canadian contemporaries. Her subjects found the divine in the strangest places, in mermaids, madonnas, and burning coal gas. And then they debated theology and philosophy. Friends commented upon her seriousness and her mischievous sense of humour: “[Dougall] would turn from the study of Jevon’s *Logic* to repeat with glee verses from *Alice in Wonderland*.”³⁵ Her predilection for the bizarre make it difficult for us to take her work as seriously as, for example, we do the work of Agnes Maule Machar. With the exception of one of her last novels, *Spanish Dowry*, when Dougall’s love of the fantastic is reduced to a melodramatic tale of ghosts and buried treasure, there is serious intent behind Dougall’s fun.

Dougall’s philosophical grounding lay in the fruitful marriage of Platonism and Biblical thought that informed Romantic idealism. Dougall may have read Schleiermacher; shortly after Dougall attended his lectures, Henry Calderwood was instrumental in publishing the first English translation of Schleiermacher’s *On Religion*.³⁶ But it is more likely German idealism reached her through the British Romantics.

³⁵ M.R. Walker to [Earp?, probably written after Dougall’s death]. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters.” 65. Earp commented, “Lily Dougall, as I remember her then – nearly forty years ago – showed the same combination of high seriousness and irrepressible humour which has always struck her friends. In most people, who distinctly possess both qualities, one or the other seems to predominate; but in her one felt the one was as natural and fundamental as the other. She could turn from the whole-hearted enjoyment of a witty saying or a comical situation to the equally whole-hearted consideration of a problem of conduct or of theology or *vice versa* with the utmost ease, and with no sense of incongruity.” “Selected Letters.” 84.

³⁶See Rev. Ievan Ellis, “Schleiermacher in Britain,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 33, 4 :417-542.

“Coleridge led the way,” noted Broad Churchman, Dean Stanley, “A whole generation rose under his Germanising influence.”³⁷ Like Schleiermacher, Coleridge emphasised the experience of religion: His celebrated answer to the question of the proof of Christianity was, simply, “Try it.”³⁸ Lily Dougall made this appeal to religious experience in her first piece of short fiction, written in 1884:

I believe the Bible not because the church says that it is true, nor because it declares itself to be true, but because it teaches of God what I know to be true. There is not a human soul on the surface of the earth that cannot for itself prove its teaching by experiment. I do not say that one soul can prove to another, but that each soul can prove it to itself: God then becomes part of our experience, and no sane man doubts his experience. The God-life, thus born will have an outward form, but what form it takes is a matter of slight importance.³⁹

God is “part of our experience,” and though one may doubt the Bible, “no sane man doubts his experience.” Religion is a subjective experience, and the outward form it takes, in creed or institution, is “a matter of slight importance.” As Coleridge had

³⁷A.P. Stanley “Judgement on *Essays and Reviews*,” *Edinburgh Review*, 30 (1861): 480-81. A.M.G. Stephenson noted, however, that little reference was made to Coleridge by the English Modernists, who found more recent heroes, those like F.D. Maurice, Dean Stanley, Thomas Arnold, Fenton Anthony Hort, Robertson of Brighton, Benjamin Jowett, Frederick Temple, and Charles Kingsley, who had grown up under Coleridge’s influence. Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 39-47. See also Charles Richard Sanders, *Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement: Studies in S.T. Coleridge, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, J.C. Hare, Thomas Carlyle and F.D. Maurice* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1942). Modernist Percy Gardner wrote: “Neither [Coleridge or Carlyle] was a theologian, and neither was a systematic thinker; but they had great influence upon English mentality and paved the way for a liberal movement in theology. Both no doubt drank deeply from German wells: Kant, Schleiermacher, and Goethe were to them great masters; but they put things in a way quite different, and more adapted to the English mind.” *Modernism in the English Church* (London: Methuen, 1926), 28-29.

Coleridge’s influence in America, through Emerson and others, was even greater than in Britain. See Sanders, *Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement*, 267. James Marsh (1794-1847) published a widely influential first edition of Coleridge’s *Aids to Reflection* in 1829. The originator of New Theology, Theodore T. Munger, said “It may almost be said that it is to [*Aids to Reflection*] we are indebted for Bushnell.” Cited in John Wright Buckham, *Progressive Religious Thought in America: A Survey of the Enlarging Pilgrim Faith* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919), 48. Coleridge is described by Buckham as the philosopher of American liberal Protestantism.

³⁸In response to the questions “How can I comprehend Christian truth?” and “How is it to be proved?” Coleridge said, “to the first question I should answer: Christianity is not a theory, or a speculation; but a life; — not a philosophy of life, but a life and a living process. To the second: *Try it.*” From *The Friend* Bohn’s Library ed., p. 366. Cited in Bernard M. G. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore: a century of religious thought in Britain*. (London: Longman, 1971), 68. Also in *Aids to Reflection* (1825). 134, 195.

³⁹Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 66.

explained: "The authority of Christianity is to be seen not in logical demonstration, the procedures of which are inapplicable in this realm, but in its power to meet the needs of our humanity. And of this each must judge for himself."⁴⁰

This appeal to the experiential was rooted in the mystic tradition, but Coleridge, like many liberals, disdained the mystics even as he drew upon their work. He referred to the theosophic mystic behind the Pietists, Jacob Boehme, as a "delirious German cobbler,"⁴¹ but he paid tribute to him for keeping his faith alive: "For the writings of these mystics [Jacob Boehme, and the English mystics, George Fox and William Law] acted in no small degree to prevent my mind from being imprisoned within the outline of any single dogmatic system . . . and enabled me to skirt, without crossing, the sandy deserts of utter unbelief."⁴² Coleridge found a more rational mysticism in the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century, and he adopted their interpretation of reason as the "candle of the Lord," the vehicle or medium of spiritual experience.⁴³ Reason was the

⁴⁰Reardon, *Coleridge to Gore*, 66.

⁴¹ S.T. Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, 350. Cited in James D. Boulger, *Coleridge as a Religious Thinker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 49.

⁴²"For the writings of these mystics [George Fox, Jacob Boehme, William Law] acted in no small degree to prevent my mind from being imprisoned within the outline of any single dogmatic system. They contributed to keep alive the *heart* in the *head*: gave me an indistinct, yet stirring and working presentment, that all the products of the mere *reflective* faculty partook of DEATH, and were as yet to be propelled from some root to which I had not penetrated, if they were to afford my soul either food or shelter. If they were too often a moving cloud of smoke to me by day, yet they were always a pillar of fire throughout the night, during my wanderings through the wilderness of doubt, and enabled me to skirt, without crossing, the sandy deserts of utter unbelief." (Emphasis in the original.) S.T. Coleridge, *Biographia Lit.* I, 98. Cited in Boulger, *Coleridge as Religious Thinker*, 49.

⁴³Cambridge Platonists included Henry More (1614-1687), Benjamin Whichcote (1609-1683), John Smith (1618-1652), Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), Henry More (1614-1687), and Archbishop Leighton. There is some debate about the timing of the influence of the mystical Platonists. Reardon argues that Coleridge's understanding of Reason, while it may have been dressed in Kantian language, was drawn from the Cambridge Platonists and the German mystic, F.H. Jacobi. Orsini, on the other hand, argues that Coleridge was not exposed to either the ancient neoPlatonists or the seventeenth and eighteenth-century English mystical Platonists until after his study of Kant. G.N.G. Orsini, *Coleridge and German Idealism, A Study in the History of Philosophy with Unpublished Materials from Coleridge's Manuscripts* (Carbondale, ILL:

“eye of the Spirit.”⁴⁴ “Understanding,” on the other hand, was the faculty that deals with objects of sense.⁴⁵ Our capacity for reason is the result of the indwelling of Reason; Coleridge argued that the capability to perceive the divine *is* the indwelling of the divine. Thomas Carlyle also appealed to a higher “practical Reason, proceeding by large intuition over whole systematic groups and kingdoms,” rather than “common school logic, where the truths stand all in a row, each holding by the skirts of the other.”⁴⁶ The idea had echoes in the holiness movement: Thomas Upham emphasised reason, and argued that faith is reason, a higher and more universal reason.⁴⁷

F.D. Maurice placed a particular Anglican stamp upon this romanticism. In the dedication of *The Kingdom of Christ*, Maurice acknowledged his debt to Coleridge’s *Aids to Reflection*, the purpose of which, he noted, “is to draw us from the study of mere

Southern Illinois University Press, 1969); Chapter Two, Reardon. *From Coleridge to Gore*, especially pp. 49-50.

⁴⁴Coleridge argued: “I should have no objection to define reason with Jacobi . . . as an organ bearing the same relation to spiritual objects, the Universal, the Eternal, the Necessary, as the eye bears to material and contingent phenomena.” Coleridge, *The Friend*, I: 155-156. Cited in Clayton, “Coleridge and the Logos,” 215.

⁴⁵“The groundwork of all philosophy is the full apprehension of the difference between the contemplation of reason, namely that intuition of things which arises when we possess ourselves . . . and that which presents itself when . . . we think of ourselves as separated beings, and place nature in antithesis to mind, as object to subject, thing to thought, death to life.” From *The Friend*, Bohn’s Library ed., p. 366. Cited in Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore*, 68. See James W. Clayton, “Coleridge and the Logos: The Trinitarian Unity of Consciousness and Culture,” *Journal of Religion* 70, 2 (1990): 213-240, and Sanders, *Coleridge and the Broad Church*, 47, for a discussion of Coleridge and reason.

⁴⁶Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, 41. Carlyle explained this higher intuitive sense: “Not by logic or argument does it work, yet surely and clearly may it be taught to work; and its domain lies in that higher region whither logic and argument cannot reach; in that holier region where Poetry and Virtue and Divinity abide, in whose presence Understanding wavers and recoils, dazzled into utter darkness by that “sea of light,” at once the fountain and the termination of true knowledge.” Thomas Carlyle, *The State of German Literature, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, (Chapman & Hall, 1869), 96. Cited in Stephen Prickett, *Romanticism and Religion, The Tradition of Coleridge and Wordsworth in the Victorian Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 257.

⁴⁷Thomas Upham, *Life of Faith* (1845; New York: Garland, 1984), 90, 111, 341, 397, 467, and 475.

worldly and external morality, to that which concerns the heart and inner man.”⁴⁸

Maurice understood humanity to have a “divine faculty, meant for fellowship with the Divine” which he variously referred to as “the spirit,” “the inward eye,” or “reason,” and compared to the lower levels of the “understanding.”⁴⁹ He paid tribute to Coleridge for distinguishing between petty rationalisms of science, and the higher reason, between “that which is factitious and accidental, or belongs to our artificial habits of thought, and that which is fixed and eternal, which belongs to man as man, and which God wills the eyes of every humble man to perceive.”⁵⁰

Like Coleridge, Maurice was fascinated with the inner experience of faith, but reluctant to be seen as a “muddy mystic.”⁵¹ As we saw in Chapter One, a mystical sense of the Kingdom of God -- a kingdom that was an alternate reality as well as a future possibility -- underlay Maurice’s Christian socialism. However he deliberately avoided the term “mystical,” which was associated with an exclusive Roman Catholic asceticism. Instead, he identified the Quaker tradition of the inner light, which provided an egalitarian, and English, alternative. Maurice’s prose is ordinarily convoluted, and his difficulty with the term “mysticism” made his meaning almost incomprehensible, but he argued that the Quaker concept of the inner light was free of the inherent dangers of an individual mysticism.

⁴⁸F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ, or Hints to a Quaker, respecting the principles, constitution and ordinances of the Catholic Church*, 2d ed., (London: Rivington, 1842), xix.

⁴⁹ See Christenson, *Maurice*, 55.

⁵⁰Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, 7.

⁵¹See Brose, *Maurice*, 142. Maurice knew he was regarded as a “muddy mystic.” See Edwards, *Leaders of the Church of England*, 142.

... the tendency to invest certain feelings, consciousnesses, temperaments, of individual men with the sacredness which belongs only to such truths as are of universal character, and may be brought to a universal test, is often designated by the name Mysticism But the question is whether, if this be the definition of mysticism -- and I know of no definition which distinctly condemns it except this -- the doctrine we are considering be not essentially unmystical . . . it submits itself more directly than most to a universal test. Fox did not say, 'This light is mine;' he said, 'It is yours as much as mine'⁵²

Maurice's identification of the Quaker tradition was a fruitful one for liberal Anglicans.

His most influential book, *The Kingdom of Christ*, was addressed to the Quaker community, and was in essence a plea for them to bring their inner light into the safe confines of the universal (Anglican) church.

The American Broad Churchman, Phillips Brooks, under the influence of the transcendentalists, was less cautious. He told the graduating class of Harvard in 1886:

Many of the noblest souls have always felt, what they could not entirely describe even to themselves, such a mysterious union between their personal life and the deep spirit which works in all things, that they have known that the unity of their existence and their action was not the simple personality which in the tightest and most literal sense they called themselves, but was something more and greater. . . I am not merely this compact and single group of powers pervaded by this consciousness of personality; I am all this, kept in communion with the heart of all things, fed by the spirit of the universal life.

Translate this floating mystical persuasion into the terms of Religion and it becomes the conviction that God and man are so near together, so belong to one another, that not a man by himself, but a man and God, is the true unit of being and power. The human will in such sympathetic submission to the divine will that the divine will may flow into it and fill it, yet never destroying its individuality⁵³

Brooks knew he was stepping into questionable territory: "Men call it mystical and transcendental; they say it all sounds dreamlike to the great majority of men." But he concludes: "I confess that objection weighs with me less and less."

⁵²Maurice, *Kingdom of Christ*, 40-41.

⁵³Baccalaureate Sermon, Class of 1884, Harvard University. Cited in Allen, *Phillips Brooks*, Vol. 3, 127-129. Allen refers to similar addresses, published in *Essays and Addresses*, in *Phillips Brooks*, 208, 378. Anglican Bishop B.F. Westcott became known for his mystical Christian Socialism.

The fruitful partnership of Platonic idealism and Biblical Christianity reached its clearest philosophic expression in the work of the late-nineteenth-century idealists. Lily Dougall's studies in moral philosophy in Edinburgh in 1880 would have provided an introduction to idealist philosophy, but her prolonged visits to Oxford in the 1890s placed her in the institutional heart of philosophic idealism.⁵⁴ Dougall spent early 1894 in Oxford "making connections and forming friendships, which increased and became ever more important in her life from this time on."⁵⁵ The following summer, on board ship en route to Canada, she started work on her most theological novel, *The Zeit-Geist*. She was probably reading Caird's latest work, *The Evolution of Religion* (1893), at this time. Later that summer, as she struggled with the contradictions between her family's evangelicalism and her own liberal ideas at a Christian Alliance summer camp, the full implications of idealist thought dawned on her. She wrote to Sophie Earp:

I can't ever say what that book of [Edward] Caird's has been to me. [Probably *The Evolution of Religion* (1893).] It has united things that seem hopelessly separate (although one felt that there must be a union some place) and it has given everything a place and a satisfactory place, in the big whole of things. I never felt how really satisfying Caird's solution was, until I thought his book quietly over in the very midst of these great meetings.⁵⁶

On her return to Oxford in 1895 Dougall met Caird, who had only recently moved to Oxford to become the Master of Balliol. Caird was known for his habitual reserve, and in

⁵⁴By the turn of the century, the younger university men were turning away to realism: Caird was brought to Oxford in 1893 in part to reinvigorate idealism. In the wider world, however, and among theologians, idealism held sway until the First World War dealt a crushing blow to all optimism and all German ideas as far as the British were concerned. See A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind, The University in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 290-291, for a discussion of the reactions to German philosophy in Canada in World War I.

⁵⁵Earp, "Selected Letters," 133.

⁵⁶Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, August 14, 1894, Old Orchard, Maine. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 131. It is probable that Dougall was referring to *The Evolution of Religion*, 2 Vols., 2nd ed. (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1893; New York: Macmillan, 1894), a book which, first presented as the Gifford Lectures of 1890-91 and 1891-92, had been widely read and debated.

one letter Dougall tells a delightful story of her first encounter with him at a dinner, when, misunderstanding the introduction to the “Master of Balliol,” she took Caird for an elderly relative of her hostess. She seems to have charmed both Caird and William Wallace, White’s Professor of Philosophy at Merton College, and over the next months she cultivated a relationship with them, walking, boating, and socialising with both men and their wives.⁵⁷ But the social aspects facilitated more intellectual ambitions; she asked Caird (who was an advocate of women’s education) if she might attend his lectures, and gave drafts of *The Zeit-Geist* to both philosophers.⁵⁸ The novel, as one reviewer noted, is indebted to Caird’s philosophy, and Wallace discussed it with her at some length.⁵⁹ Wallace’s work on Hegel was noted for the literary language in which he expressed philosophical concepts; he, more than Caird, would have been sympathetic with the liberties Lily Dougall took with philosophical ideas.

Caird’s book, *Evolution of Religion*, was in effect a philosophical elaboration of Carlyle’s familiar metaphor:

The history of religion is but the history of the different symbols which have successively risen into prominence and then worn themselves out to make way for better, or which, to use the fundamental metaphor of Carlyle, have been cast

⁵⁷A letter from Wallace suggests that she was not shy about initiating social events. He wrote, “I find that I can quite as well go up the river on Saturday. Weather permitting. I think to start from the boat house about 3.15.” W. Wallace to Lily Dougall, 6 Bradmore Rd., Oxford, June 4, 1896. MS 729, Rare Books Department, McGill University Libraries. Dougall refers in a letter to social visits and excursions: “Afterwards I took supper with the Wallaces. Yesterday we spent the afternoon with Mrs. Caird, seeing the Browning relics.” Lily Dougall to M.S. Earp, March 15, 1896. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 139.

⁵⁸For John and Edward Caird’s efforts on behalf of women’s higher education at Glasgow University, see Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland*, 252-253. Caird served as the President of the Association for the Education of Women for the last ten years of his life.

⁵⁹“Miss Dougall is evidently attempting to put in dramatic form the thoughts of writers like Dr. Caird, to whose book on ‘The Evolution of Religion,’ we believe she is greatly indebted.” Review titled “Musical Gossip,” pasted into Clipping Book, p.63, BL, LDP, 7. Earp observed in *Selected Letters*, p. 131, 133, that Dougall wrote *The Zeit-Geist* on the transatlantic voyage in the late summer of 1894, and commented on the power of Caird’s analysis on her arrival in North America. She subsequently showed drafts to Caird and Wallace.

aside like old clothes, that humanity might reinvest itself in the garment of a new faith.⁶⁰

Caird described the evolution of religious ideas in dialectical Hegelian terms: each successive phase of thought represented another stage in the self-consciousness of what Hegel called Spirit and Caird interpreted as God. God was “a self-revealing Spirit, whose revelation reaches its culmination in the intellectual and moral life of man.”⁶¹ Caird’s use of evolution to account for the varied and changing forms of religious faith was an effective remedy for religious doubt, and allowed Dougall to reconcile her liberal ideas with the Calvinism of her grandparent’s generation. His formulations gave, as Dougall put it, “everything a place and a satisfactory place, in the big whole of things.”⁶²

Caird’s idealism provided a philosophical grounding for Dougall’s immanent faith. An idealist God was no longer transcendent, an unknowable ideal, but was realising himself through nature and through man. Taken too far (or for some theologians simply taken this far) idealism could become pantheism. An immanent God lost his identity, and became indistinguishable from the natural world and from man. A further implication of the immanent God working through history is that the miraculous becomes redundant. A miracle, if understood as a break in the natural process, or an intervention by God in natural law, is unnecessary in a world where the natural law itself

⁶⁰Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, 236.

⁶¹Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, 58.

⁶²*The Evolution of Religion* was addressed to those who were “alienated from the ordinary dogmatic system of belief but who, at the same time, are conscious that they owed a great part of their spiritual life to the teachings of the Bible and the Christian Church.” Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, 2nd ed., Vol. I (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1893; New York: Macmillan, 1894), vii. As his brother, theologian and fellow idealist. John Caird (1820-98) wrote: “Christianity and Idealism were the two poles of my brother’s thinking, and the latter seemed to him the necessary means for interpreting the former.” Alan P.F. Sell, *The Philosophy of Religion, 1875-1980* (London: Croom Helm, 1988), 21. My understanding of Edward Caird is drawn in part from Sell’s interpretation.

is the working out of God's purpose. God expresses himself through the working out of the natural law and has no need to break through it. Similarly, revelation is a continuous process, part of the ongoing self-consciousness of Spirit. Rather than God's voice breaking into the natural world, revelation was part of that world coming to realise itself. This had implications for the understanding of Christ. Instead of the emphasis on the atonement -- a momentous turning point in man's relation with God -- the emphasis shifted to creation and incarnation. Christ became understood as the highest moment of man's self-consciousness. He was the realisation of the potential for God in all men.

Idealist philosophy gave Dougall new confidence to develop her ideas in a series of mystical and almost pantheistic novels in 1895. Her purpose was most apparent in *The Zeit-Geist*. Dougall had not lost her sense of humour, and on one level the story was stock melodrama. The setting is a dank swamp, filled with the standing corpses of drowned trees. The main characters are Bart Toyner, an alcoholic who is only saved from the bottle by his new-found evangelical faith; Ann Markham, the beautiful beer-brewer he loves; and her father, a murderer. The plot involves midnight assignations in the swamp, ghostly apparitions, Bart's near-death at the hands of the murderer, and his rescue by Ann. On another level the novel was the fictional explication of Caird's *Evolution of Religion*. (The incongruity between the melodramatic and philosophic elements could be absurd. Bart sees his beloved Ann when he returns to consciousness. He says one word, "Ann" and another, "God.") Bart's love for Ann makes him question his evangelical righteousness and his experience in the swamp brings him to a higher understanding of God. Bart's religious evolution provided an example of the emerging self-consciousness of the Hegelian world Spirit. "[Toyner's] was a life which shows that

a man cut off from all contact with his brother thinkers may still be worked on by the great oversoul of thought. . . .”⁶³ He then preaches about the evolution of religious thought:

[W]hatever has life cannot possibly remain unchanged, but must always develop by leaving some part behind and producing some part that is new. It is God’s will that the religious thought of the world, which is made up of the thought of individuals, shall proceed in this way, whether we will or not, but it must always help progress when we can make our wills at one with God’s in this matter; we go faster and safer so...⁶⁴

The short novel is fascinating for its description of Bart’s experience of an immanent God. He is hit on the head by the murderer and lies unconscious in the swamp for two days. Ann takes him to an Edenic cabin in the woods where he experiences a form of heightened consciousness:

. . . his heart in its waking felt after something else around and beneath and above him, everywhere, something that meant light and comfort and rest and love, something that was very strong, that was strength; he himself, Bart Toyner, was part of this strength and rested in it with a rest and refreshing . . . it came to him he had made a great mistake . . . he had thought, he had actually thought that God was only part of things; that he, Bart Toyner could turn away from God; that God’s power was only with him when he supposed himself to be obedient to Him! Yes, he had thought this; but now he knew that God was all and in all.⁶⁵

Precipitated as it was by a prosaic bump on the head, Bart’s was a mystical experience. Dougall, who had dismissed the father of German mysticism, Johannes Eckhart, as a young girl, now used his phrase “the eternal now” to describe Bart’s appreciation of spiritual reality. “Bart looked around upon the trees and flowers and upon her with happy eyes that had no hint of past or future in them. Something of the secret of all peace -- the

⁶³Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 23.

⁶⁴Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 16.

⁶⁵Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 142-143.

Eternal Now remained with him as long as the weakness of the injury remained.”⁶⁶ The new God that Bart discovers in the swamp is an idealist one. Edward Caird had described God as an “an ultimate unity which underlies and embraces ‘all thinking objects, all objects of all thought.’”⁶⁷ Dougall wrote that God is in everything, “nothing is ever outside of Him.” Individuals are expressions of his reality: “our minds are just bits of His mind.” “The life that was in them all was all of God, every impulse, every act.”⁶⁸

The reception of the book reflected the predilections of the reviewer. *The Inquirer* noted that the book represented “the spirit that animates the best work and thought of present-day leaders, preachers, writers and philanthropists. . . .”⁶⁹ *Church Times*, a conservative Anglican journal (which Dougall later parodied as the *Church Chimes*), took offence at the pantheism of the novel: “This book is intensely purposeful and intensely dull. It shows how a man may attain to Pantheism and a firm belief in the Indefinite and Pervasive by the simple process of being knocked on the head and left in a swamp to die.”⁷⁰ “Indefinite” and “Pervasive” as they may have been, the ideas (as the reviewer in *The Inquirer* noted above) were common among “present day leaders, preachers writers and philanthropists.”

The novel fell between two stools, neither believable fiction nor convincing theology. It was given prominence as the first in a new series of “pocket novels,” called

⁶⁶Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 222.

⁶⁷ Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, 76.

⁶⁸Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 206, 207, 143.

⁶⁹*The Inquirer*. Clipping Book. BL, LDP, 7.

⁷⁰ *The Church Times*, August 23, 1895. Clipping Book. BL, LDP, 7. Dougall parodied the Anglican journal in *Paths of the Righteous*.

The Zeit-Geist Library, and was widely praised. But reviewers described the book as a religious tract,” “a sermon,” “a study in religious psychology,” “a theological disquisition of mystical flavour,” “a heavy web of theology,” and “a theological treatise.”⁷¹ Dougall deliberately obscured the philosophical origins of the ideas, and neither Caird nor Hegel is mentioned. Hegel’s influence is suggested by the title, but most reviewers missed the point. (One American reviewer wrote, “Setting aside the question of whether it would not have been in better taste to call an English story by an English name, I can’t see how the spirit of the book is, in any special sense, ‘the spirit of the times.’”⁷²) She was conforming to crisis-of-faith conventions: religious truths do not come through philosophising but through a lonely study of the Bible and through prayer. The hero, Bart, is supposed to have come upon these truths alone, after “years of desultory browsing in popular science and the one year of gospel and prayer” (as well as the above-mentioned bump on the head).⁷³ “No one had told him about the Pantheism which obliterates moral distinctions, or told him of the subjective ideal which sweeps aside material delight. He only felt after the realities expressed by these phrases and dimly perceived that the truth lies midway in between, and that truth is the mind of God and can only be lived not spoken.”⁷⁴ As one reviewer noted: “The hero’s acquaintance with men and with books – the latter limited, it would appear, to the Bible, ‘paper-covered infidel books, and popular books on modern science,’ -- is when his

⁷¹See the reviews compiled in the Clipping Book, pp. 53-77, BL, LDP, 7.

⁷²Review from *Chicago Interior* August 1, 1895. Numerous other reviewers were similarly baffled. See the Clipping Book, p.53-77, BL, LDP, 7.

⁷³Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 227.

⁷⁴ Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 202.

surroundings, parentage and education are taken into account, by no means sufficient to make probable the splendid theories and practices to which he eventually attains.”⁷⁵ (It is significant that in this, her most philosophical novel, she created a male character who, like Paul in “Lovereen,” might be taken more seriously than a woman.)

Sophie Earp preferred to link Dougall to eminent philosophers like Caird, but the ideas in *The Zeit-Geist* can also be traced to the liberal evangelist Henry Drummond. Dougall’s interests -- her evangelicalism, her interest in shaping public opinion, her work with the Student Christian Movement -- were closely aligned with those set by Drummond, a professor of natural sciences at Glasgow, renowned for his evangelism among young men at Edinburgh University.⁷⁶ He has been dismissed by contemporaries as well as historians, but his simple solutions to complex theological issues were reassuring and popular, and his poetic tracts won over readers baffled by Caird’s

⁷⁵*The Inquirer*, June 1, 1895. Clipping Book, BL, LDP, 7.

⁷⁶ See Cuthbert Lennox, *Henry Drummond, A Biographical Sketch with Bibliography* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1901); George Adam Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond* (Toronto: Revell Co., 1899), and Henry Drummond, *The Ideal Life: Addresses Hitherto Unpublished with Memorial Sketches by Ian McLaren and W. Robertson Nicoll* (Toronto: William Briggs, nd). Lily Dougall’s associate, D.S. Caird, provides one of the best descriptions of Drummond’s liberalism in his *Autobiography* (London: SCM Press, 1950), 112-116. The combined influence of Caird and Drummond in Canada has been noted by Brian Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988) and by Barry Mack, who suggests that Drummond’s liberal evangelicalism is so unorthodox as to be unworthy of the label. Barry Mack, “From Preaching to Propaganda to Marginalization: The Lost Centre of Twentieth Century Presbyterianism,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 137-53.

Drummond reached an entire generation of Canadians, directly through his books and inspirational pamphlets and speaking tours, and indirectly through his protégés Charles W. Gordon and Lady Aberdeen, as well as writers like Marshall Saunders. Charles Gordon propagated Drummond’s muscular Christianity through a series of best selling novels written under the pseudonym, “Ralph Connor.” Similarly Lady Aberdeen, a British aristocrat who founded the National Council of Women of Canada, the Victorian Order of Nurses, and other Canadian institutions during her term as the wife (and power behind the throne) of the Governor General of Canada, was an intimate friend of Drummond’s. In her many speeches to Canadian women she disseminated a maternalised version of Drummond’s work. See Joanna Dean, “Transatlantic Feminism and Evangelicalism,” unpublished paper presented to the Imperial Canada Conference at Edinburgh University, May 6, 1995; and “Speaking for God and Women: Lady Aberdeen and the National Council of Women,” unpublished paper, presented to the Woman’s Bible Centennial Conference, Seneca Falls, NY, November 4, 1995.

plodding prose. His new book, *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man* (1894), might, with some latitude, be considered a popular rendition of Caird's *Evolution of Religion*. Dougall paraphrased this book, and prefaced *The Zeit-Geist* with a quote from Drummond's *Natural Law in a Spiritual World* (1884): "If nature is the garment of God, it is woven without a seam throughout."⁷⁷

It is likely that Dougall had seen Drummond in Edinburgh. Perhaps she had been enthralled by his preaching, like Marshall Saunders, another young Canadian writer educated in Edinburgh.⁷⁸ The main character in *The Zeit-Geist*, Bart Toyner, bears a curious resemblance to Drummond; it may be coincidental but it seems not unlikely that she might have modelled her charismatic hero upon the liberal revivalist. Bart Toyner becomes a philanthropist after his experience in the swamp, and makes his home into a retreat where young men were entertained and introduced to the new creed. Like Drummond he has a magnetic personality.⁷⁹ Although his hair is white, Bart bears a physical resemblance to Drummond. "He was a slight, delicate man of middle size. His

⁷⁷Henry Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (New York: James Pott and Co., 1884). The book was very widely read. A series of inspirational sermons, published individually and in collected editions, established his reputation as a liberal evangelical revivalist and a popular scientist. "And what of man rising through the ages from beast to sainthood, rising from the mere dominion of physical law which works out its own obedience into the moral region, where a perpetual choice is ordained of God, and the consequences of each choice ordained." Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 151. Drummond's *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man* (1894; New York: James Potter, 1895) was first presented in Boston as a series of lectures in 1893.

⁷⁸Saunders described his preaching in her diaries for 1876: "Almost beyond description even the girls who are not professors of religion were quite charmed with it." Diary of Margaret Saunders dated December 3, 1876, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, N.S. Margaret Marshall Saunders Papers 1, Number 2. Saunders refers to Drummond in the autobiographical *Esther de Warren: The Story of a Mid-Victorian Maiden* (New York: George H. Doran, 1927), 109, and in an autobiographical sketch in *The Junior Book of Authors*, ed. Stanley Kunitz and Howard Haycraft (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1934): "Henry Drummond was our clergyman, and we fairly worshipped him." I am indebted to Paul MacKenzie for these citations and for insight into Marshall Saunders.

⁷⁹He has "a power over my understanding," as the narrator of the book describes it. Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 17.

hair and moustache were almost quite white. Something in the air of neatness and perfection about his dress, in the extreme gravity and clearness of his grey eyes, even in the fine texture of that long thin drooping moustache, made it evident that (he) was not an ordinary person.”⁸⁰ Drummond was known for the neatness of his dress, for being, as Dougall later describes Bart, dapper, rather dandified.⁸¹

The Zeit-Geist was Dougall’s most theological novel, but her romantic idealism emerges in other fiction written at this time. In *The Mermaid*, published earlier in the same year, Dougall presented an even more jarring juxtaposition of melodrama and theology. Caius, a young doctor whose evangelical upbringing has given way under pressure from his scientific studies to a broader, if equally self-righteous, religious expression suddenly has insight into the world of the spirit through the appearance of a mermaid. This mermaid is, we discover anticlimactically and quite unbelievably on the last pages, really a young woman who swims in a mermaid costume. Throughout the long and convoluted novel, however, she symbolises another reality, the breakthrough of the transcendent into the daily world. She represents an odd amalgam of nature, of romantic and sexual love, and of a higher and sacred reality.

Caius’ first sight of the mermaid is described in language drawn in part from evangelical conversion narratives, and in part from descriptions of mystical experience.

In the procession of swift winged hours there is for every man one and another which is big with fate, in that they bring him peculiar opportunity to lose his life, and by that

⁸⁰Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 12. For a picture of Drummond (and an account of his influence upon Lady Aberdeen), see Doris French, *Ishbel and the Empire, A Biography of Lady Aberdeen* (Toronto and Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1988), 67, 125. For a description of his dress and manner see Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, the “memorial sketches” by Ian McLaren and W. Robertson Nicoll in Drummond, *The Ideal Life*, and Lennox, *Henry Drummond*. Caird refers to Drummond as a “bird of paradise.” Caird, *Autobiography*, 116.

⁸¹Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 47.

means find it. Such an hour came now to Caius. The losing and finding of life is accomplished in many ways: the first proffer of this kind which Time makes to us is commonly a draught of the wine of joy, and happy is he who loses the remembrance of self therein.⁸²

To lose one's life in order to find it is an image familiar to evangelicals, but the situation, even apart from the bizarre appearance of the mermaid, lacks any of the other hallmarks of a conversion narrative. Caius does not experience an extended period of anxiety, a conviction of sin, then repentance and a sudden assurance. The loss of self, however, in a joyous experience of the divine, is characteristic of a mystical experience.

For it must all have been a dream — a sweet fantastic dream, imposed upon his senses by some influence, outward or inward; but it seemed to him that at the hour when he seemed to see the maid it might have been given to him to enter the world of dreams, and go on in some existence which was a truer reality than the world in which he now was.⁸³

In conformity with both the conversion and the mystical experiences, this moment is a transformative one. Caius struggles to fit her appearance into his understanding of reality: "He realised that some new region of life had been opened to him, that he was feeling his way into new mysteries of beatified thought and feeling."⁸⁴ The source of Caius' visions is a contemplative and reclusive woman, Madame Le Maitre, who has been swimming as a mermaid and appearing as a ghost on the seashore. When they meet, before Caius discovers her identity as the mermaid, she provides an example of a pure and spiritual life, and discusses, in elliptical and metaphorical manner, her faith. Finally, in the classic mystical conflation of the erotic and the spiritual, she is a beautiful and bewitching woman. Her character suggests Dougall's growing acceptance of a Catholic

⁸²Dougall, *Mermaid*, 41.

⁸³Dougall, *Mermaid*, 58.

⁸⁴Dougall, *Mermaid*, 59.

interiority. Madame Le Maître was raised in a convent, resembled an abbess, and is described as a Catholic who had expressed the “essential oil” from the creeds.⁸⁵ In his M.A. thesis on three of Dougall’s novels, Scott Swanson observes that the final destruction of the mermaid costume in *The Mermaid* is compared with the rending of the curtain in the holy temple on Christ’s crucifixion. Matthew 27:51, “And behold, the curtain of the temple was torn in two, from top to bottom, and the earth shook, and the rocks were split.” Upon its rending the natural and supernatural worlds become one.⁸⁶

The story intrigued reviewers, who described it as eccentric, outlandish, original, and weird. One summarised the plot: “How the Mermaid first introduced herself as the heroine of a sea myth, and thereafter proved to be a gracious lady, whose influence raised the rather sluggish and commonplace, though educated, Dr. Caius Simpson to the appreciation of things transcendental, is a mystery to which the clue is fairly well withheld in Mr. [sic] Dougall’s book.” Several found the romantic ending clumsy or “commonplace.” Madame Le Maître’s abusive husband, returning from a long sea voyage, drowns within his wife’s sight. It is clear she will marry Caius; as one reviewer said: “It all ends in the most bourgeois and blissful way.”⁸⁷

A third novel published in 1895, *The Madonna of a Day*, is laced with elements of sexual danger. Dougall abandons a brash young “new woman” in a camp of brutalised lumbermen, whose leader threatens her with a forced marriage. As she fends off these

⁸⁵Dougall, *Mermaid*, 161, 130.

⁸⁶Scott Rothwell Swanson, “Beyond Common Sense: Ideal Love in Three Novels of Lily Dougall,” (Master’s Thesis, University of Victoria, 1993).

⁸⁷*National Observer*, May 18, 1895. *Woman*, March 13, 1895. Clipping book, BL. LDP, 7.

sexual advances, the sceptical young woman has a series of mystical experiences in the mountains:

As her eye travelled upon the snow clad declivities of this high mountain she felt her mind lifted into a different class of thoughts and sensations She turned again to the vision that her heart had loved; in some way it gladdened her and saddened her at once. It filled her with a strange excitement; its mere height seemed to reveal a depth within herself which she had never seen before.

What did it mean? She found herself struggling with the belief that it meant something to her, just as words spoken from another mind to hers would have had meaning The meaning came to her in a flash of thought that seemed like sunrise in her soul. The mountain sang of an inspiration toward an impossible perfection, the struggle for which was the joy, the only joy of the universe.⁸⁸

Later she is locked in a cabin and sees a light flashing in the waterfall. Dougall always explains her melodramatic devices, and this one, we later learn, is a leak of coal gas that is kept lit so as to burn off the smell, but for the captive it takes on spiritual significance, and awakens her spiritual side.

It was . . . a physical salvation that she had something in her which responded to that appeal which nature is always making to the human mind to find rest in the contemplation of her loveliness Our help comes not from without but wells up from the depths within us. Beneath that depth what is there? It was said by one of old that underneath the soul is the hand of God.⁸⁹

She works her escape by appealing to an ugly dwarf, whose higher self is awakened by the appeal of a young woman who, in her blue cape, resembles the Madonna.

How do we account for the incongruous mix of theology and melodrama in Dougall's fiction? In *Mapping Ourselves*, Helen M. Buss draws upon a rich theoretical literature to analyse the way women have worked within and against male-defined literary genres to express a female subjectivity. She and other feminist literary scholars have argued that women, forced to work within male genres, express themselves by

⁸⁸ Lily Dougall, *Madonna for a Day* (London: Macmillan, 1895), 55-56.

⁸⁹ Dougall, *Madonna*, 99.

disrupting and subverting the genres. Developing arguments made by Marlene Kadar, Buss argues that the meaning often appears in spite of the form in which it is presented, in the interstices and ruptures of the text.⁹⁰ Dougall was not able to preach, or write theology or philosophy, and so her ideas emerged from the pages of her romantic novels. She justified this as the fictional representation of disparate points of view. As she explained in "Lovereen,"⁹¹ and later in *The Zeit-Geist*, fiction was ideally suited to the presentation of a range of religious opinions. "I do not believe that it belongs to the novel to teach theology but I do believe that religious sentiments and opinions are the legitimate subject of its art, and that perhaps its highest function is to promote understanding by bringing into contact minds that habitually misinterpret each other."⁹²

But the novel was not well suited to the articulation of complex ideas. Even a well-known novelist like Mary Ward struggled with the conflicting demands of theology and fiction. Her success with *Robert Elsmere* gave her account a triumphant tone, but it suggests also the very real difficulties created for women with serious ideas who try to shoehorn them into a feminine vehicle:

The problem then, in intellectual poetry or fiction, is so to suggest the argument, that both the expert and the popular consciousness may feel its force. And to do this without overstepping the bounds of poetry or fiction; without turning either

⁹⁰Helen M. Buss, *Mapping Ourselves, Canadian Women's Autobiography in English* (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 15. Buss draws upon the post Lacanian analysis of theorists such as Sidonie Smith, Shari Benstock, Susan Stanford Friedman, as well as Canadian theorists Marlene Kadar and Shirley Neuman.

⁹¹Lovereen said, "... we want our understandings trained so that they may weigh things rightly; we want knowledge of science, but above all we want to see the virtues and sins, joys and sorrows, of our fellow creatures; and because we cannot see them all actually, we want to have them truly depicted for us on the stage, in books, by music and painting. We want to be forced to taste the emotions of other people by the force of art. These are the currents of air we need to keep our minds perfectly wholesome. Think how round and lusty the virtue of Christian love and indignation would grow in a heart whose sympathy was fed by such an atmosphere. But instead of this, those who long after holiness are taught to build walls to keep out nearly all these winds..." "Lovereen." Vol II, pp.152-153, BL, LDP, 4.

⁹² Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, Preface.

into mere ratiocination, and so losing the “simple, sensuous, passionate element” which is their true life.

It is this problem which made *Robert Elsmere* take three years to write instead of one . . . [She describes Gladstone’s criticisms of the novel for lack of intellectual depth and argument.] Again and again I went on writing for hours, satisfying the logical sense in one’s self, trying to put the arguments on both sides as fairly as possible, only to feel despairingly at the end that it must all come out. It might be decent controversy; but life, feeling, charm, *humanity*, had gone out of it; it had ceased therefor to be “making,” to be literature.

So that in the end there was no other answer possible than suggestion — and of course *selection* — as with all the rest of one’s material. That being understood, what one had to aim at was so to use suggestion as to touch the two zones of thought — that of the scholar and that of what one may call the educated populace; who without being scholars, were yet aware, more or less clearly, of what scholars were doing. It is from these last that “atmosphere” and “diffusion” come; the atmosphere and diffusion which alone make wide penetration for a book illustrating an intellectual motive possible. I had to learn that, having read a great deal, I must as far as possible wipe out the traces of that reading. All that could be done was to leave a few signposts as firmly planted as one could, so as to recall the real journey to those who already knew it, and for the rest, to trust to the floating interest and passion surrounding a great controversy — *the second great religious battle of the nineteenth century* — with which it seemed to me both in Oxford and in London that the intellectual air was charged.

I grew very weary in the course of the long effort and often very despairing.⁹³

Ward’s difficulties are illuminating. In order to present an intellectual debate in fictional form she had to bury her own scholarship: “having read a great deal, I must as far as possible wipe out traces of that reading.” All that was left in her novel were “a few signposts as firmly planted as one could.”

Dougall also tried to hide her reading and present her ideas through fictional signposts. The result, however, is confusing. Her very tolerance makes her theological position hard to determine; as one of Dougall’s friends commented, she is remarkably even handed: “you give very fair description of all the Theological schools and no one could tell

⁹³See Ward’s memoirs, *A Writer’s Recollections*, excerpted in *British Women Writers, An Anthology from the Fourteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Dale Spender and Janet Todd (New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1989), 645.

with which you had most sympathy.”⁹⁴ Even her agent, A.P. Watt, was confused about her theological leanings. He annoyed her by suggesting she publish her second novel, *What Necessity Knows*, in serial form in the evangelical *Leisure Hour*, published by the Religious Tract Society (RTS). George Eliot had referred privately to the “slimey evangelicalism” of the RTS; Dougall’s feelings, while more carefully expressed, were similar.⁹⁵ She wrote to Watt:

The novel is not “religious” in the ordinary acceptance of the word as applied to tales . . . it is not the ordinary middle class reader that has been attracted to my BA [*Beggars All*] nor have I the capacity I think for writing for that class. My literary ambition would not be satisfied to see the story in *Leisure Hour* and if one considers the higher motive for working at all my work if it has any message of help in it is not addressed to such readers as I believe that magazine to have.⁹⁶

Watt’s confusion was understandable. Dougall considered herself far above the writers of sentimental fiction (like those evangelical daughters she had dismissed as a young girl), but she had not been able to discard her family’s belief that fiction’s only legitimate function was to serve as a moral vehicle.⁹⁷ Later, Watt suggested the name of *A Question of Faith* smacked of RTS evangelicalism: “In advertising and at first sight this is almost

⁹⁴A-tnoob [?] to My dear Beautiful Clever Beaver [Dougall], Melbourne, April 13, 1889. BL, LDP, 1. The Anglicans in the novel are represented by a complacent minister and a fanatical High Churchman who has “a slow, plodding, meagre intelligence.” “Cast-offs of Lovereen” 441. BL, LDP, 4.

⁹⁵Eliot wrote, “This society [the SPCK] brings out some excellent books and has not the stamp of slimey evangelicalism which belongs to the Religious Tract Society.” Cited in Elizabeth Jay, *The Religion of the Heart: Anglican Evangelicalism and the Nineteenth Century Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 228.

⁹⁶Lily Dougall to A.P. Watt, nd., BL, LDP, 7. She concluded: “*Good Words* is the only [‘so called’ subsequently added] religious magazine that I would care to see it in.” Dougall finally acquiesced and allowed publication in *Leisure Hour* but put her foot down when Watt suggested that this serial publication be mentioned when the novel was published in book form. See A.P. Watt to Sophie Earp, June 19, 1893, BL, LDP, 7.

⁹⁷“Fiction serves as a very pleasant and effective vehicle for communicating instruction. In the form of a parable it was the favourite mode of imparting spiritual truth which the Great Teacher employed. And of inspired books the most popular and useful is that inimitable allegory, *Pilgrim’s Progress*. That we do not emphatically object to fiction is sufficiently shown by the use we have made of it ourselves in the publication occasionally of tales suitable, as they proved, for promoting temperance, virtue and piety. Yet the use does not prevent us from remonstrating against the abuse of a thing. . . .” “Fiction,” *The Montreal Witness, Commercial Review and Family Newspaper*, December 27, 1871, p. 4.

sure to be taken as a controversial or religious work, or at least a tale with religious ideas set out for RTS ends. It would prejudice both magazine and book.” But she evidently refused to change it.⁹⁸

Dougall’s subjects found the divine in the strangest places, in mermaids, madonnas, and burning lights. Frequently they discover that these occurrences are false revelations, that the mermaid was a swimmer, the madonna a “new woman,” and the light nothing but a coal gas leak. But the discovery of the mundane reality behind the vision does not diminish its power. The visions have worked their changes in the lives of those around them. Through the vision of the mermaid Caius meets a reclusive contemplative woman. Through the false madonna, the ugly dwarf realises a truer ideal, and through the coal gas the false madonna herself has insight into a higher reality. Dougall’s provocative message is an idealist one (although Edward Caird might not recognise his paternity). She is arguing that God does not work through extraordinary miracles, whether these be Biblical miracles or mermaids, Virgin mothers or false madonnas. Rather God is present in the world and works through natural law. God is realised through mystical flashes of insight, momentary breakthroughs that Dougall understood as the workings of a romantic Higher Reason, and part of the rational framework of Platonic idealism.

⁹⁸A.P. Watt to Sophie Earp, February 12, 1895, BL, LDP, 7. What Watt did not appreciate was that although Dougall’s novels functioned as vehicles, they were not vehicles for evangelical piety, but rather for liberal virtues of tolerance, free thought, and an immanent spirituality.

Chapter Seven

Personal Idealism

“To deny the personality of God is to make religious experience illusory.”
C.C.J. Webb, 1911¹

After moving to Britain, Lily Dougall developed a network of relationships among independent, university-educated women. This chapter will examine these relationships, focusing upon the central relationship with Sophie Earp, and consider their impact upon her developing theology. Dougall eventually found Edward Caird’s idealism too abstract and his God too distant, and, like many liberal Anglicans, she turned to personal idealism, a theology based on the model of interpersonal relationships. It was experiential, grounded in the sense of a relationship with God, but it differed from the experiential piety of her youth by its emphasis on human freedom and independence. We saw in Chapter Five that Dougall’s rejection of her childhood evangelicalism was mirrored by her a rejection of the submissive role of the unmarried daughter. Dougall’s mature theology was similarly informed by the independence and mutuality of her adult relationships.

7.1 The Butcher and the Beaver; A Network of Relationships

One relationship stands out above all others in Dougall's life: Sophie Earp, a graduate of Newnham College at Cambridge, lived with Dougall for most of her adult life and is buried with her under a single gravestone. They met in Cheltenham, where Earp was teaching at the Cheltenham Ladies College, on October 28, 1887 and moved in together in January, 1888. The relationship was a close one; "altogether it is very like being married. . . . We have such cosy little breakfasts and dinners and suppers, and make each other toast, and pet each other generally."² It was also playfully intellectual. Dougall told a friend, shortly after meeting Earp,

If you want to know what I look like in this gown, Sophie says that I look exactly like the "Beaver in the Snark," I can't tell you why, but she sees the likeness so strongly that she seldom calls me anything else. Of course, it follows that she is

¹C. C. J. Webb, *Problems in the Relations of God and Man* (London: Nisbet and Co., 1911), 252.

²Earp, "Selected Letters," 88-90. The 1881 British census provides some family background. Mary S. Earp, aged 21, born in Melbourne, lived in Melbourne, Derbyshire "near the Church," with her parents, and a 20-year-old unmarried sister, Annie G. Earp. This is likely Sophie; her full name was Mary Sophia Earp, she was born in Melbourne in 1859, according to her gravestone, and an A.G. Earp is listed in her Visitor Book in 1914 and 1915. (Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1.)

Mary S. Earp lived with her parents, Henry W. Earp - (Marr. Age 46 yrs. Birthplace - Melbourne, Derby.) and Ann H. Earp (Marr. Age 48 yrs. Birthplace, Algerkirk, Lincoln.) The household included her maternal grandmother, Sophia Bowles (Widow - 77 yrs. Birthplace - Little Hall Fen, Lincoln) and a visitor, an elderly male relative, Francis Milns (Widower - 71 yrs. Birthplace - Little Hall Fen, Lincoln). They had four servants: Emma Wemham (Unm. Age 33 yrs. Birthplace - Pinchbeck, Lincs.); Eunice Smith (Unm. Age 20 yrs. Birthplace - Staunton); Emma Speed (Unm. Aged 20 yrs. Birthplace - Holbeach, Lincs.) and Ann Pitts (Marr. Age 19 yrs. Birthplace - Old Ningsby, Lincoln.) 1881 British Census, on CD-Rom, from the Church of Jesus Christ and the Latter Day Saints (FHL Film 1341809 Pro ref. RG11 Piece 3386. Folio 60 Page 30). The father, Henry W. Earp was probably the Henry Webster Earp, a Baptist, b. 1834, in Melbourne, Derby, listed in the International Geneological Index, Church of Jesus Christ and the Latter Day Saints.

Curiously, when Lily and Sophie began to work together, letters from editors were not sent to Sophie's parents' home but were addressed care of Rev. W.S. Earp, at Church House, Melbourne, Derbyshire. Rev. Earp does not appear in Crockford Directory. Nor is there a W.S. Earp in the 1881 census in Melbourne. (Geneological research courtesy of Edith Friskney.)

the “Butcher” and when she explains any of the grand things she learned in her Cambridge tripos, we call it “explaining the Jub-Jub”. . . .³

The nicknames were revealing. In Lewis Carroll’s *Hunting the Snark*, the Butcher pontificates upon mathematics and natural science to the receptive Beaver and:

The Butcher would gladly have talked till next day,
But he felt that the lesson must end,
And he wept with delight in attempting to say
He considered the Beaver his friend.

While the Beaver confessed, with affectionate looks
More eloquent even than tears,
It had learned in ten minutes far more than all books
Would have taught it in seventy years.

They returned hand-in-hand, and the Bellman, unmanned
(For a moment) with noble emotion,
Said “This amply repays all the wearisome days
We have spent on the billowy ocean!”

Such friends, as the Beaver and Butcher became,
Have seldom if ever been known;
In winter or summer, ‘twas always the same --
You could never meet either alone.

And when quarrels arose -- as one frequently finds
Quarrels will, spite of every endeavour --
The song of the Jub-Jub recurred to their minds,
And cemented their friendship for ever.⁴

Lily also sometimes referred to Sophie as Dodo, another elliptical reference to Lewis Carroll. Although she was the better educated of the two, Earp took on the support role. She acted as an advisor, editor, and sounding board and relieved Dougall of much of the tedium of secretarial and editorial work and domestic chores.⁵ They were well-matched:

³The “tripos” was the examination at Cambridge, to which women had only been admitted since 1872, unofficially, and 1881 officially. Earp, “Selected Letters,” 89.

⁴Lewis Carroll, “Hunting the Snark: An Agony in Eight Fits,” in *Hunting the Snark and Other Nonsense Verse* (Mount Vernon, N.J.: Peter Pauper Press, 1952), 37.

⁵Earp took on many of the activities of a wife. Dougall acknowledged Earp’s assistance in the preface to *What Necessity Knows*: “I would like to take this opportunity to express my obligation to my fellow-

"[Earp] understands me and I her, better than I have sometimes believed possible."⁶ They worked so closely that editors and literary agents found it a confusing partnership, and wondered where to address their queries.⁷ The relationship was a fruitful one for Dougall and clearly a happy one for Earp. They spent a full year in Europe, largely in Lausanne, Switzerland, from September 1888 to late August 1889. Dougall worked on "Lovereen"; Earp took dictation. It was a period Dougall was later to recall as "that happy Swiss life when we starved, feasted, despaired and were happy."

Diaries and biographical papers suggest that the relationship with Earp became more difficult to maintain after 1890 as Dougall was torn by continuing obligations to her aunt and Earp was similarly tied to her parents' home.⁸ Earp continued to handle all of

worker, Miss M.S. Earp, for her constant and sympathetic criticism and her help in composition." Lily Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, with an introduction by Victoria Walker (London: Longmans, 1893; Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1992), vii. Later B.H. Streeter credited Earp in the introduction to the joint volume *Immortality, An Essay in Discovery Co-ordinating Scientific, Psychical, and Biblical Research*, ed. Burnett Hillman Streeter (London: Macmillan, 1917), and in the "Biographical Note," in Dougall's posthumous *God's Way with Man*, 18. The editorial notes made on the margins of the manuscript, "Castoffs of Lovereen" (see for example Ch.V, p. 3, BL, LDP, 4) suggest the extent of her involvement. Earp makes frequent mention in "Selected Letters," to her work on Dougall's books. Notes that she transcribed from her diaries also reflect her role. For example, "July 1, 1908, Sailed on Adriatic with B. Correcting proofs . . . Jan 12, 1909 B. [Beaver, ie Lily] came to Melbourne. We are revising *Christus Futurus* for the second edition. . . January 27, 1911 Typed B's first Wicksteed paper." "S's Diary, 1904-1911," BL, LDP, 1. See Earp's obituary "The Death of Miss Earp," *Oxford Times*, November 23, 1928. Earp is described largely in terms of her role as Dougall's helpmate. "She was best known to some as the colleague of her distinguished friend, Miss Lily Dougall, with whom she lived and worked until Miss Dougall's death in 1923." Although the paper notes her abilities as a writer and speaker, her local activities were those traditionally engaged in by women: "care of the mentally deficient, the village Nursing Association, the Oxford Branch of the British Women's Total Abstinence Association, and matters of local government and public health." She had earlier been involved in local activities, including work with the Liberal party, in Exmouth. Dougall apologised for uprooting Earp from "your works" when they left Exmouth in 1911. Earp, "Selected Letters," 223.

⁶Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters."

⁷"It is three years since we have had any luck . . ." Lily Dougall to M.S. Earp, Highlands, Macon Co., North Carolina, USA, June 10, 1898. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 154. See also A.P. Watt to Lily Dougall, 2 Paternoster Square, London, October 23, 1894. BL, LDP, 7.

⁸Earp described this period: "For ten years Lily had a home with her aunt, the Edinburgh climate always tried her, subject as she was to asthma, and it was not possible, as Miss Redpath grew older, to give her the

Dougall's literary correspondence. The comments scrawled upon correspondence from editors indicate the active role she had in shaping Dougall's career at this point.⁹ They continued to meet for intense periods of work and holidays, but there were long absences and suggestions of strife.¹⁰ Letters written in 1892 suggest that Earp's interest in Catholicism may have disturbed Dougall,¹¹ and she appears to have been temporarily

companionship they both enjoyed and find time for her own work. Her aunt was always considerate and loving and the upshot was that during these years, Lily paid long visits, wintering with friends at Ventnor, or staying at my home at Melbourne, Derbyshire, and as always up to the end of her life, she periodically visited her Montreal home." "Selected Letters," 90. Diaries reveal the peripatetic nature of her life in Britain: In addition to long stays in Ventnor, Melbourne, and other English destinations, Dougall spent the winter of 1891-1892 at Cannes with her brother and sister, (Sophie joined them in the spring), and visited Canada in the summer of 1893, and again in the summer and fall of 1894 and the summer of 1896.

⁹Earp probably handled much of the correspondence because of Dougall's peripatetic life. Her work also freed Dougall to concentrate on writing, as a letter dated October 17, 1893 suggests: "All communication to Miss Earp as Miss Dougall is engaged in getting ready the material [for either *The Mermaid* or *Madonna for a Day*] she has collected in Canada." BL, LDP, 7. On July 19, 1892 Dougall's literary agent, A.P. Watt, asked where he might find Dougall. On August 9, Earp's role (and some unusual impatience) is revealed in a letter to Dougall: "Dear B. Have Watty's (or rather Watty's juniors) [Dougall's literary agent, A.P. Watt] latest attempt at being very civil and well behaved? . . . what shall we say in reply? . . . You never told me how you liked the new edition? You should read my letters *carefully* through when you answer them. . ." On another occasion Dougall provided Earp with two different responses to her agent, and left the decision up to Earp as to which to send, saying "If you don't like either of these notes to Watt concoct one . . . I love you very much. So tired. B" Written on the bottom of A. P. Watt letter dated, February 11, 1895, BL, LDP, 7.

¹⁰See Chapter Eight for further discussion of this difficult period. Notes among Dougall's papers suggest that their relationship was more complicated than it appears in Earp's "Selected Letters." A list of transcribed letters includes quotes such as: January 5, 1889, "Oh be joyful, my Do [Earp] came back. . . ." January 1, 1891, "Do had a fight after supper and butter B's nose. B hurt Do's arm. Do made B asthmatical. Went to early service. We worked. . . January 2. My Do went to Notting [Nottingham?] I was very sad and then Woolly [another friend whose name appears frequently] lived with me." "B's Letters" BL, LDP, 1.

¹¹The letters are addressed to M.S.E. -- Sophie Earp's initials. Earp's lack of explanation, and her apparent decision to address the letters to M.S.E., rather than using her full name, suggest a certain degree of discomfort with the content of the letters. Dougall wrote: "I can't help feeling that you are numbed with the idea that if you had a narrower creed or a visible Church, you would have better means to work with. Now, if that were true, it is awfully wicked to stay out of the church, but if it is not true it is just an evil temptation to let that notion weigh with you. And I for one, don't believe you would be better in the church, for the most pure and faithful, (*id est* full of faith) people I have known have not been in it." Lily Dougall to M.S.E., Edinburgh, October 21, 1892. See also Lily Dougall to M.S.E. December 26, 1892, Earp, "Selected Letters," 112-115.

Writing to a friend whose sister had joined the Roman Catholic Church, she said: "It doesn't hurt me half so much that W--- should go into the Roman Church (though that hurts too) as that you should write to her of your own faith as a mere *hope*; of yourself as a swimmer struggling, half faint-

replaced as amanuensis by another close woman friend, Miss McGillivray, or "MGM" in 1893.¹² On July of 1895 Earp noted: "Drifting apart."¹³ Dougall returned to Montreal frequently in the summer, and when her aunt died, in August 1897, she decided to return to Canada permanently. Separation appears to have strengthened the relationship with

hearted . . . did our Lord ever live on earth so as to show that He cared only for saving people in the mass; . . . if anyone thinks she cannot find Him without a great system of priestcraft to help, it is solely the fault of those who, believing otherwise, have not shown in their lives that He was found of them. . . . I don't think it matters very much about W— being a Roman, it is only a round-about way to the same end, but I hope that my unfaithfulness to the thing that I know has not helped by ever so little to send her there." Lily Dougall to unknown, Torquay, April 7, 1893. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 115-118.

¹²Earp wrote in her notes titled "B's life" that Miss McGillivray began work with B. on November 26, 1893, and then March of 1894 was at Minehead [?] with B. BL, LDP, 1. In "Selected Letters" she described "MGM" as a young friend who acted as Dougall's amanuensis for two years. The extent to which "Miss M" substituted for Earp is suggested in a letter partially transcribed by Earp in which Dougall reminisced about the "happy Swiss life" and wrote, "I so often think of it since I have begun to dictate to Miss M—, the first dictating I have done since those Swiss days and it is so different. It feels so monotonous to *know* that I can do it. *Then* each bit done had all the excitement of surprise." (Emphasis in the original). Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 89. A letter probably written in September 1893 suggests Earp's loneliness: "Dear B. I just got home and find this from [another piece of correspondence regarding publishing] . . . If I find I have to get help copying I will do so but the ms must go through my hands. Thank you darling for that sweet pretty picture I found in my room. I like it very much for itself and because it comes from you. And then it is a sign of you coming here. I suppose you judge that at present you can get on just as well where you are . . ." Letter appended to correspondence with publishers, BL, LDP, 7. MGM's untimely death in 1895 led Dougall to write an elegy that was published in the *British Weekly*.

We gathered daffodils beside the sea
This day last year. Ah! Time gives back to me
The sunny hours then told —
Beneath old apple-trees I saw you pass.
Stooping to gather from the such green grass
The lily forms of gold. . . .

Today, I send you daffodils, my dear;
You will not lift your hand to draw them near,
Or heed the thoughts they bring.
Wrapped in the tender mystery of death,
To-day they lay you in the earth beneath,
No more to feel the sweet but restless breath
Of our elusive spring.
Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 140.

¹³July, 1895, "Lily's letters. 1880-1898," BL, LDP, 1.

Earp. Diary notes for April 8, 1898 read "Long love letter."¹⁴ and in September of that year she wrote: "How much I want you I can sometimes never tell; no one else seems to do instead."¹⁵ In 1899, Dougall returned to England to spend the spring and summer with Earp; she spent another winter in Montreal, moved back to England in the spring of 1900, to return to North America in 1901.¹⁶ In 1903 this peripatetic life ended when they found a home together in Exmouth. They lived together for the rest of their lives.

Dougall's relationship with Earp provided stability and companionship; it was, as they had noted in the early stages of their relationship, a marriage. Dougall and Earp took pride in their shared female independence, and there appears to have been no self-consciousness about an intense relationship between two women.¹⁷ Martha Vicinus has

¹⁴April 8, 1898, "Lily's letters, 1880-1898," BL, LDP, 1.

¹⁵Lily Dougall to M.S. Earp, Birch Bay Camp, Georgeville, P.Q., September, 1898, Earp, "Selected Letters," 158.

¹⁶Dougall's whereabouts are unclear for these years, in part because of some confusion in the dating of Earp's "Selected Letters." In April, 1900, Dougall moved to England, with Janet. This move was intended to be permanent, and they stayed in The Manor House, Bicknoller, near Taunton, while Dougall's dog was in quarantine. Earp notes that the summer of 1900 was spent in England, then in October of 1900 Dougall returned to Montreal. Her health declined so she went to Redlands in Southern California. A year appears to be missing from the account here. The next letter is dated December 6, 1901 from California. The subsequent letter is dated 1902, and all following references follow this dating. Her health worsened and Dougall travelled with her sisters to Pasadena, California from January to May 1902. In June 1902, Dougall sailed to England with Hilda Oakeley, spent July and August in Llandrindod then cycled in Wales. She and Earp decided best climate was in Exmouth and took rooms in the Beacon in December. A letter in January 1903 is sent from the Beacon, in Exmouth. In the spring of 1903, they hoped to move to Oxford, but when Dougall's asthma worsened they found a home, East Undercliff, in Exmouth and moved in, in June 1903.

¹⁷It was after Lily Dougall's death that the work of sexologists like Havelock-Ellis, and trial over Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) brought the sexual possibilities in women's relationships to public attention. See Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: William Morrow, 1981); Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality, 1880-1930* (London: Pandora, 1985); Philippa Levine *Feminist Lives in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: 1990); Philippa Levine, "Love, Friendship and Feminism in Late Nineteenth Century England," *Women's Studies International Forum* 13, 1/2 (1993): 63-78; Alison Oram, "Repressed and Thwarted or Bearers of the New World: The Spinster in Interwar Feminist Discourse," *Women's History Review* 1, 3 (1992): 413-434; Deborah Gorham, "'The Friendships of Women': Friendship, Feminism and Achievement in Vera Brittain's Life and Work in the Interwar Decades," *Journal of Women's History*, 3, 3 (Winter 1992):44-69; and Elizabeth Edwards,

noted that women university graduates at this time frequently formed close supportive relationships.

Women consistently spoke of their love in terms that replicated heterosexual love. Quite unselfconsciously women referred to their relationships as marriages, complete with the exchange of rings and promises of lifelong fidelity. Such relationships were tied by a love that implied, and sometime openly avowed, feelings that went beyond simple attraction . . . Sexual passion if not physical sexuality characterised a special friendship.¹⁸

Vicinus chooses her words carefully. Dougall and Earp indulged in the pet names, romantic language, and physical playfulness described by Vicinus, but it would be presumptuous to speculate further about their relationship. In "Lovereen," Dougall described the intimacy of a relationship between two women in a manner that is innocent of any sexual dimension. ". . . [Lovereen] went to sleep that night in Flora's arms, soothed by her kisses and gentle assurances of unbroken friendship."¹⁹

Dougall was known to have "a genius for friendship," and Earp was the central figure in a wide circle of women friends and acquaintances.²⁰ Family letters refer to her childhood friends Katie and Agnes Drummond and Janie Couper, and her British diaries document a fairly constant stream of engagements and numerous shared excursions and holidays with women friends and relatives. Letters suggest a supportive female culture, with a heady sense of broken barriers, new privileges and unbounded opportunities.

When she had tea with Miss M.R. Walker, Dougall wrote her brother:

"Homoerotic Friendship and College Principals, 1880-1960," *Women's History Review* 4, 2 (1995): 149-163.

¹⁸Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women, Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1985), 158.

¹⁹Lily Dougall, "Lovereen," Vol. II, p. 39, BL, LDP, 4.

²⁰H. Oakeley, cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 187.

We had tea in the little parlour, and expressed to each other our innocent delight in being independent young maidens who could enjoy ourselves just as we pleased within the narrow limits of our circumstances. . . I feel very sorry for you, my dear John, that you are a man. I do not think men enjoy themselves much; they have not the slightest conception how much women find to enjoy.²¹

Literary stereotypes about women's incapacity for friendship were, she argued in a novel, the product of male authors.²²

Dougall's generation of women had been the first to gain admission to higher education in England, and her new friends appear to have been drawn largely from the growing circle of academic and literary women.²³ These women were unlikely to marry. An 1895 article in *Nineteenth Century* pointed out that, of the 1,468 British women with a

²¹Earp, "Selected Letters," 65. Dougall only identifies her hostess as "the younger Miss W." but it appears, from Earp's introduction to the letter, to be Miss M. R. Walker. For her acquaintance with Walker in Edinburgh see "Diary," October 19, 1884, BL, LDP, 1 and Earp, "Selected Letters," 64. This is almost definitely the Mary Walker whose school is mentioned in "B's Letters," January 7, 1890, BL, LDP, 1.

²²As she has her male narrator explain in *The Spanish Dowry*: "I've never been able to explain to myself the way that women attach themselves so easily to women. I am aware that a large number of quotations, and a great majority of books, take the reverse for granted and assert it as cheerfully as everyone used to assert the flatness of the earth . . . I can only say that I have never observed the tendency of women to quarrel with one another, except in the case of that particular class of women whose one aim in life is to monopolize the admiration of men; but when you come to think that most men fall a prey to this class of women sooner or later, and that literature until recently has been created by men, the mistake which the world has made in this matter is perhaps excusable." Lily Dougall, *The Spanish Dowry, A Romance* (London: Hutchison, 1906), 269.

²³Access to higher education varied by institution in Britain, and was generally achieved in a piecemeal manner. At Oxford, for example, women were permitted to take "special" women's examinations from 1875, took classes arranged by the Association for the Higher Education of Women from 1878, and could live in a residential hall (either Somerville or Lady Margaret Hall) from 1879. In 1883 the first college lectures were opened to women, and from 1884 women began to take the same examinations as men. In Cambridge, women could not take degrees, but had taken the Tripos exam from 1872, unofficially, and 1881 officially. Oxford and Cambridge were more conservative than the older provincial universities. See Rachel Trickett, "Women's Education," and Betty Kemp, "The Early History of St. Hugh's College," in *St. Hugh's: One Hundred Years of Women's Education at Oxford*, ed. Penny Griffin (London: Macmillan Press, 1986), 21. For a discussion of higher education for women in Scotland, see Lindy Moore, "The Scottish Universities and Women Students," in *Scottish Universities, Distinctiveness and Diversity*, ed. Jennifer J. Carter and Donald J. Withrington (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1992).

university education, only 208 had married. A larger number, 680, became teachers.²⁴

Dougall's friend, M.R. Walker, for example, was later the headmistress of St. George's School and Training College. Another friend, Hilda Oakeley, was the head of the new Women's College connected to McGill University when she met Dougall. When they returned to England, Oakely became a reader in philosophy at King's College, London, and she and Dougall stayed in close contact. She also became acquainted with writers, like the Scottish writer, Miss Keddie, "Sarah Tytler."

The new women's colleges in Oxford attracted an interesting community of educated women. Dougall stayed in Oxford in 1894 and 1895, and in 1896 she lived for a few months in the building that had originally housed the fledgling women's college, St. Hugh's Hall, several blocks from another woman's college, Lady Margaret Hall.²⁵ This newly developed area of Oxford was a comfortable environment for Dougall, populated with women students, the wives of Oxford tutors, and families, including a number from Cheltenham, who moved there for the cultured atmosphere. St. Hugh's had recently been established specifically to provide education to young Anglican women of limited means, and most of the students were middle class, mainly professional, including a large number of daughters of clergymen like Earp, and some non-professional middle class, like

²⁴Alice M Gordon, "The After-Careers of University Educated Women," *Nineteenth Century* 37 (1895): 958-960. American university graduates had a similar disinclination for marriage. Only about 25 percent of Vassar, Smith and Wellesley graduates between the ages of twenty-six and thirty-seven were married in 1903. Peter G. Filene, *Her/Him/Self*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: 1986), 26. Cited in Linda W. Rosenweig, *The Anchor of My Life: Middle-Class American Mothers and Daughters, 1880-1920* (New York: NY University Press, 1993), 8.

²⁵She took "Miss Soulsby's house" at 24 Norham Road for a few months early in 1896. Earp, "Letters," 139. St. Hugh's was started in 1886 in 25 Norham Road, expanded to 24 in 1887, and then moved the following year to 17 Norham Gardens near another Anglican women's college, Lady Margaret Hall.

Dougall's industrialist extended family.²⁶ Dougall appears to have made long-standing friends from this community and in 1911, when she moved permanently to Oxford, she worked with a number of the tutors from the women's colleges.²⁷

These friends broadened Dougall's horizons and provided an entrée into British intellectual society. Earp showed Dougall's early fiction to Henry Sidgwick, the Knightsbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge.²⁸ Keddie introduced Dougall to idealist philosopher, William Wallace. Oakely took Dougall with her to a London philosophical society, the Aristotelians.²⁹ They provided her with support for her literary ambitions and allowed Dougall to resist the prohibitions of her family and her elderly aunt. Friends read over "Loveleen" and provided enthusiastic and critical advice. Anna Kilpatrick told her, "The book is splendid"; another friend wrote, "L. has like the smell of a baby," and a third friend, writing in an intimate slang, wrote to "My Dear Beautiful

²⁶St. Hugh's was established by Elizabeth Wordsworth, then principal of Lady Margaret's Hall, specifically for students of modest means, especially daughters of clergymen. Like Lady Margaret's it was sectarian and modeled after Keble. The student body is described as a "preponderance of middle class background, mainly middle/professional —parsons, doctors, schoolmasters, solicitors, some civil servants, university teachers, army and navy officers. But there is also, from the beginning, a 'non-professional' middle-class element —daughters of manufacturers, industrialists, merchants of various kinds, farmers, auctioneers, estate agents —some certainly richer than the 'professional' group, some poorer. Some students were clearly very well off, but they were, as clearly, the exceptions. . . . 43 out of the first hundred students (to 1898) were daughters of clergymen, but after this the proportion declined as numbers grew." See Betty Kemp, "The Early History," in *St. Hugh's*, 19, 28.

²⁷The head of St. Hugh's from 1886-1915 was Charlotte Ann Elizabeth (C.A.E.) Moberly (1846-1937), the daughter of a liberal High Churchman, George Moberly, the Bishop of Salisbury. She was known to be deeply religious. Griffin, *St. Hugh's*, 64. See Chapter Twelve for Dougall's later work with members of St. Hugh's in the Anglican Fellowship.

²⁸Dougall had sent copies of an early story, "The Soul of a Man," to Henry Sidgwick. See "S. Diary, 1887-1895," July and August 1888, October 1888, BL, LDP, 1. See Earp, "Selected Letters," 92, 102, 165.

²⁹See Earp, "Selected Letters," 133, 139. Miss Keddie also acted as the intermediary when Dougall published her religious writing anonymously.

Clever Beaver, . . . a Work teeming with 'ideas' like the Tale of the Beaver simply fills the [me] with 'wonder, love and praise.'"³⁰

7.2 The New Woman

Dougall's fiction reflected the ambiguities of the female culture in which she now lived; her characters continually threaten to break out of the conventional plots in which they are situated. Her leading women characters -- Starr in *Beggars All*, Sophia and Sissy/Eliza in *What Necessity Knows*, Madame Le Maître in *The Mermaid*, Mary in *Madonna of a Day*, Alice in *A Question of Faith*, Oriane in *Paths of the Righteous*, and Susannah in *The Mormon Prophet*-- are still expected to act as moral beacons for the weaker males. Starr sets her thief of a husband on the right track, Sophia makes the Anglican minister a wiser man, Madame Le Maître teaches the doctor about a broader spirituality. But they have travelled some distance from the nineteenth-century cult of true womanhood and their moral sense is an iconoclastic one that leads them to break engagements with hypocritical and domineering suitors -- even or perhaps especially, ministers -- resist convention, and live independent lives.³¹

³⁰ Anna (Mrs.T.B.) Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 27 March 1888, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen; an unsigned undated letter addressed to "Dear B." ; My Dear Beautiful Clever Beaver from [A-tnoob?] Melbourne, April 13, 1889. BL, LDP, 1.

³¹ Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1860," in *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 137-157.

The women are strong figures, as their names suggest: Starr, Sophia (or wisdom), Madame Le Maître ("the master"). They are often well educated: Alice and Mary had both, like Sophie Earp, studied at Cambridge.³² They frequently have a healthy sense of their own superiority, which Dougall's readers sometimes found disconcerting in a woman, and her friends noted "was deliciously characteristic of the distinguished author herself."³³ They are ambitious -- as Eliza/Sissy tells Sophia, "I want so much -- I want so much."³⁴ They are often physically strong: Eliza/Sissy "was a large, strong young woman," who "had a sense of power within her"; Oriane is "tall and strong and vigorous," and Sophia casually packs a pistol in her belt as she goes to rescue a younger sister.³⁵

³²See also the young woman in a short story manuscript: "Gossip said she had a studious disposition, preferred history to novels, and was certainly not shy, and was perhaps passionate, and finally ended with the criticism that she was not pretty but wondrously attractive." "The Common Type," p.4. BL, LDP, 4.

³³"[Alice] is at her best with Knighton, when only her humility and frankness and lovableness fully appears, with Harvey and Mrs. Ross a sense of what she herself called or rather thought of as her 'superior mind and feeling' is perhaps unavoidably present in her mind and affects her relations with them." A.A. Short to Miss Dougall, December 16, 1895, Montreal, BL, LDP, 1. Kilpatrick's comments suggest that this sense of superiority was a characteristic of Lily herself. He notes that Lily's description "'Lovereen usually felt herself superior to young men,' was deliciously characteristic of the distinguished author herself . . ." T.B. Kilpatrick to Lily Dougall, 19 November 1889, 7 Marine Terrace, Aberdeen, BL, LDP, 1.

³⁴Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 133, 200. The sentiment was Lily Dougall's own. She wrote in a letter, a year after the novel was published: "I am so very human in wanting the things I want so terribly." Lily Dougall to [probably Sophie] Edinburgh, November 8, 1893. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 120. Her character, Sophia, reflects on her own youthful desire "no towards any living thing, but vaguely to all possible possession outside the longing self" (p. 121). "What we need is to think *more* of ourselves -- to think so much of ourselves that all aims but the highest are beneath us -- are impossible to our own dignity. What we need is ambition" (p. 200). "I tell you there is no such risk for an energetic clever girl as to place her where the rust of unexercised faculties will eat into her soul" (p. 281).

³⁵In one story, a "statuesque" woman rescues a "bantam" man when he twists his ankle and carries him home. In another, a young man falls for a farmer's niece, a tall, strong gymnast trained in New York: when she chases him he breaks a leg. Lily Dougall, "A Commercial Traveller," "The Syndicate Baby," *A Dozen Ways of Love*, 165. "The Pauper's Golden Day" features yet another tall strong woman.

"[Eliza] looked larger and stronger than the man with whom she was conversing." Lily Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 427. "Any intelligent eye seeing her would have seen large beauty in her figure, which like a Venus in the years when art was young, had no cramped proportions" (p.24). See also p. 10, 96, 117, 121, 205, 384, 389, 405. Her lover, Bates, was weakened by illness: he looked up at her (p. 389) and was compared to a child. (p. 392) and a boy (p. 391). For Sophia's pistol, see Dougall,

Dougall pruned them down in order to fit the genre -- reducing a woman's age in at least one case to meet the expectations of romance readers -- but her admiration for their strength and power is evident.³⁶

These young women may fall in love and marry, but they are at their best escaping from unwelcome suitors, arguing with missionaries, and rejecting ministers. Dougall concluded an essay on *Pride and Prejudice* with a revealing description of her ideal woman character:

Elizabeth . . . is critical and easily prejudiced. She is witty but never flippant; unjust but never unreasonable; sharp-tongued but never unkind. She is probably the most charming of all Miss Austen's women and one of the most delightful characters in the whole of English literature. . . . we are glad at the end of the book to leave both these sisters happily married, because in those days if they had not been married they would not have been happy.³⁷

We can sense a subtle reluctance to marry off her own female characters. In a short story, a Russian woman says, "No husband! It is no loss."³⁸ As one reviewer noted: "We do not indeed, remember a novel by this authoress in which 'they were married and lived happily ever after' in so many words. It is usually implied in a somewhat reserved thought-stimulating fashion."³⁹ Although "Lovereen" concludes conventionally with the engagement of Lovereen and Paul, he is more brother than lover, and much of the

What Necessity Knows, 270. For Oriane, see L. Dougall, *Paths of the Righteous* (London: Macmillan, 1908), 417.

³⁶I know it is weak concession to popular taste to make Sophie 28, but I feel she was such a contrast to the ordinary heroine that her love scene at the end might not carry the sympathy of the ordinary mind, unless I made her a little younger." Earp, "Selected Letters," 108.

³⁷Lily Dougall, "A Hundred Years Ago: *Pride and Prejudice*," Essay written for Exmouth Reading Union, April 6, 1910, BL, LDP, 2.

³⁸Lily Dougall, "The Girl Who Believed in the Saints," *A Dozen Ways of Love* (London: A.C. Black, 1897), 222.

³⁹"Love and Joe Smith," *The Literary World*, April 14, 1899, Clipping file, BL, LDP, 7.

narrative is concerned with a disturbing marriage between a healthy young girl and a sickly imbecile of an aristocrat.⁴⁰ In *What Necessity Knows*, Sophia spurns the respectable minister, and Sissy escapes the control of the Calvinist Bates to establish an independent life in the city. An early exchange between these two women is revealing:

“Most women are much happier married.” Sophia said this with orthodox propriety, although she did not altogether believe it.
 “Yes, when they can’t fend for themselves, poor things. But to be forever tied to a house and a man, never to do just what one liked! I’m going to take pattern by you, Miss Sophia, and not get married.”⁴¹

Dougall brings this novel to a conventional conclusion by marrying the women off, but these marriages are anticlimactic conclusions to the powerful identities the women have established as single women, and in both marriages the women are dominant figures.⁴²

Women tend to overshadow the men they marry. Lovereen marries the brother-like Paul. Alice turns to a gentle, and somewhat asexual, father figure. Madame Le Maître, conveniently widowed, is wiser and stronger than her new lover, the young doctor.⁴³ Sophia, after spurning a minister, is matched up with his younger and more compliant brother, a butcher. Similarly Sissy decides, after her dramatic escape in a coffin, to marry Bates, but he is another older and weaker man, and she has by this time

⁴⁰When Lovereen first considers marriage (to another character) she is tempted, not by romantic love, but by: “the understanding sympathy [marriage] offered, the possible wealth and leisure for study and travel.” “Lovereen,” Vol. I, p. 414, BL, LDP, 4.

⁴¹Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 369. See also the reference to “single blessedness” on p. 247.

⁴²She considered revising *The Earthly Purgatory* by marrying off the leading couples, “to give it a happier ending.” “Synopsis of *Earthly Purgatory*,” BL, LDP, 2.

⁴³Dougall’s opening description of Caius is typically deflating: It is a great problem why Nature sets so many young people in the world who are apparently unfitted for the battle of life, and certainly have no power to excel in any direction.” She describes in detail his lack of any useful abilities or characteristics. Dougall, *The Mermaid*, pp.2-3.

established her independence: “She was mistress now and he slave.”⁴⁴ As Henry Sidgwick said, of *The Mormon Prophet*, “the chief criticism I should make is that the hero --if Joseph Smith may be so styled -- plays so decidedly ‘second fiddle’ to the heroine.”⁴⁵

A subtext of abusive and violent heterosexual relations also undermines the romantic intent. The “Madonna” is repeatedly threatened with rape and forced marriage. In *What Necessity Knows*, Sissy escaped Bates’ early intentions to make her a “slave-wife” by hiding in her father’s coffin.⁴⁶ Alice breaks her engagement with a controlling man. Madame Le Maître’s marriage is an abusive one: her father had forced her to marry an older man, to prevent her from becoming a nun, and the return of her husband, with the veiled threat of marital rape, is the climax of the story. He drowns before he can assert his marital prerogative. In *The Mormon Prophet*, Susannah is forced to flee before she is forced into a bigamous marriage.

Dougall, of course, had found her most satisfying relationship with Sophie in a partnership that existed ambiguously between marriage and friendship. She never depicts a fictional partnership like her own, but the best developed relationships are often female friendships. Madame Le Maître’s experience of the perfect human relationship was her schoolgirl friendship: “I was perfectly happy when I was with her and she was with me; it was a marriage.”⁴⁷ Marian Gower, the lonely forty-year-old philanthropist in *Beggars All*

⁴⁴Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 403.

⁴⁵Henry Sidgwick to Sophie Earp, nd. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 165.

⁴⁶Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 396.

⁴⁷Dougall, *Mermaid*, 179-180.

recalled her schoolgirl friendships with pleasure: "She sympathised with women, not with men; she did not like men."⁴⁸

The tension between Dougall's stated purpose and her assertive characters is most evident in *The Madonna of a Day*, a direct (and perhaps hurriedly written) response to the transatlantic debate over the New Woman.⁴⁹ The protagonist is a New Woman, university-educated, brash, agnostic, and emancipated; Mary argues: "I have been three years at Girton, and I've lived in town for a year or two and I've travelled around the world and I can assure you the "New Woman" is a pure myth." She defends modern women:

She may make good honest friendships with men instead of flirting with them in a ballroom; and if she doesn't believe in religion she can stay at home instead of continuing to keep up a respectable sham. Do these things necessarily take away her principle? I tell you the men and women that go about saying that a woman does not believe in anything because she does not believe in shamming prove themselves to be far more unprincipled than the modern women I have met.⁵⁰

But then Dougall proceeds to teach the young woman a few lessons about her moral duty. Mary sleepwalks off a train on Christmas Eve in the wilds of the British Columbia mountains and finds herself alone with a rough gang of lumbermen. She avoids a brutal rape only because they mistake her, speechless in a blue cape, for a vision of the Madonna,

⁴⁸Dougall, *Beggars All*, 13.

⁴⁹The debate over the position of independent single women, launched in 1894 by a series of articles in the *Nineteenth Century*, spilled over into the pages of the *North American Review*. See B. A. Crackanthorpe, "The Revolt of the Daughters," *Nineteenth Century* 35 (1894): 23-31; E. B. Harrison, "Mothers and Daughters," *Nineteenth Century* 35 (1894): 313-322.; B. A. Crackanthorpe, "A Last Word on the Revolt," *Nineteenth Century* 35 (1894): 424-436; Alys Pearsall Smith, "A Reply from the Daughters," *Nineteenth Century* 35 (1894): 437-442, and Kathleen Cuffe, "A Reply from the Daughters," *Nineteenth Century* 35 (1894): 443-450. The debate was picked up in the American press. A debate between Sarah Grande, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," and Oudia [Louise Rame], "The New Woman," in the *North American Review* 158 (1894) : 271-273, 610-619, established the label, New Woman.

⁵⁰Dougall, *The Madonna of a Day*, 13-14.

and it is only by assuming a false piety that she is able to appeal to the chivalry of an ugly dwarf and escape. "They were just at the stage when piety was the only thing they respected in a woman, and I put it on thick." Upon reaching civilisation, she returns to her modern self, saying, "Now what I want is a good stiff brandy and soda and then half a dozen cigarettes," and betraying the chivalrous dwarf. He descends again into immorality, and she is chastened. Dougall has her realise her true womanly duty in the conclusion of the novel: "All those other men . . . could be turned into any sort of beautiful thing that one chose, if there were women to do it, and the women were angels."⁵¹

The message is a conservative one: that women should realise their moral duty to be a spiritual example to men. Sophie Earp drafted a revealing response to a review of the book:

Your interesting review of Miss Dougall's new story directs attention to the "ideal" woman as conceived in that book. You remark that a part of the truth seems to be omitted in that it is not clearly pointed out that Mary is untrue to her own ideal which, however commonplace, must have been better than that of a "cut throat band." You feel it needs to be made plain that to have been her honest self could have been the right thing. That her worst fault was her acting of a part.

I do not conceive that Miss Dougall denies that the necessity to pose was pitiable, but is not the point of the situation just this, that it *was* a necessity. Mary was *obliged* to abandon her own ideal it was too low to serve her: a little vulgarity more or less, even a good deal less, would not have saved her. In the conversation which sums up the book Mary acknowledges while she rebels against the necessity, "Tell me why -- to fetch those men I was forced to be pious."

Is not the dominating reflection with which the story leaves us this. That to be one's honest self (is not enough to make a good woman) (is not a rule which will suffice to live by) [It appears that Dougall was expected to select the correct conclusion for the final copy of the letter.]⁵²

This is a message of the sentimental novel: women must draw upon a higher power to be moral exemplars for men.

⁵¹Dougall, *The Madonna*, 253, 254, 260.

⁵²M.S.E. [Earp] to the Editor of *The Queen*, [nd], BL, LDP, 6.

But the message is curiously mixed. Immediately after realising her womanly duty Mary engages in a fierce feminist argument with a well-meaning missionary.⁵³ She tells him: "It is only since we began to shake ourselves free from the superstitions of religion that we have *begun* to have laws that are just for women," and argues that progress is the result of the developing moral consciousness of the world, "not sent down from Heaven."⁵⁴ She takes up "St. Paul upon the theme of women and hurl[s] it at her companions," and argues "the greater number of Christians are fools." The conclusion is a confusing one: Dougall's theological sympathies are with the missionary, but her personal sympathies appear to be with the feisty and independent young woman.⁵⁵ Mary's mystical experiences in the mountains have revealed the possibility of a "higher life" and the degradation of the dwarf has made her aware of her responsibility to others.

⁵³"Don't preach,' she said. 'I don't believe in the little humdrum rules and regulations that men make for women, and I should be as mean and shabby if I conformed to what I do not believe in as any heretic who recanted just to escape being burned.'" The missionary is not proposing to narrow women's sphere of action. He says, adopting the terms of maternal feminism, "the holy woman has her place not only in the church or at the hearth, but in the market-place, in the court of law, in the chamber of the government." Dougall, *The Madonna*, 266.

⁵⁴The missionary's arguments ring of a Mauricean Christian Socialism: "'I think fair lady.' - - he spoke quaintly -- 'that what you call the moral consciousness of the race is the outcome of man's dealing with the spirit of God, is indeed that very Kingdom of Heaven which is within us, but if, as you think, the religious consciousness is nothing more than moral development plus superstitions that drop off as the race grows older, still my argument does not alter. You believe that the ideal given us in the Gospels was the highest outcome of the moral consciousness of mankind in its development. I say that -- if only to subdue the selfishness in man -- there is need that women should still conform to this same ideal --higher and holier if you will by nineteen hundred years, because as we rise in the moral scale our interpretation of the ideal must rise. If you take from it the Divine inspiration that you call the supernatural you only take from yourself any Divine help in attaining it.'" Dougall, *The Madonna*, 267. The debate ranges over pages 260-268.

⁵⁵Dougall prefaces the novel with this fragment: A water pure and saltless,/ Has neither Taste nor Hue
A Beauty that is Faultless/ Is characterless too./ Blest are the discontented.
Her first description of Mary makes the reference clear. "The younger woman was a plump blithe creature. She would have been perfectly fresh and delightful if it had not been for a certain subtle spirit of unrest. . . ." Dougall, *Madonna*, 2.

One is led to conclude that she will come to a sense of moral purpose -- but not at the price of her right to think and argue for herself.

The main character of *A Question of Faith*, Alice, is another agnostic university-educated woman. In contrast to Mary, Alice is thoughtful and morally principled. She is thrust into an unconventional romance when she is left an inheritance on condition she marries a second cousin. They meet and fall in love, but he refuses to trust her when he finds she has been slipping off alone to the moor to visit a man, and so Alice refuses to marry. The romantic and dramatic elements are presented in a way well suited to modern sensibilities; it is easy to sympathise with Alice's anger when the young man decides that he "can no longer let her have her own way -- no longer, that was, if she had any intention of being his wife."⁵⁶ Alice, however, is also taught a lesson; an older man points out in the conclusion to the novel that her lack of faith in God was similar to her cousin's lack of faith in her. Like him, she needs to learn to trust. But the lesson, once again, is somewhat incongruous in a story that clearly revels in the self-assertion of a highly moral and intelligent woman.

The outspoken independence of Dougall's women characters, and their refusal to take a submissive role in a relationship, is significant for her theology. Human love is repeatedly paralleled with divine love in her novels, and the romance in most of the novels parallels an awakening relationship with God. In "Lovereen" the young girl's misguided romance parallels her religious confusion, and her final recognition of her feelings for Paul is described in terms usually reserved for a religious conversion: "[Realization of his love] came

⁵⁶Dougall, *A Question of Faith*, 184.

to her as an irresistible force impelling her into a new sphere of life. . . ."⁵⁷ The equation of romantic and religious love is even stronger in Dougall's second novel, *What Necessity Knows*. The kiss of a lover was described in mystical terms as

the highest holiest thing that had yet found entrance there, and it brought with it into the darkness of her heart, unrecognised by but none the less there, the Heaven which is beyond all self less love, the God who is its source. Other men might have proffered lavish affection in vain, but in this man's kiss, coming out of his humiliation and resignation, there breathed the power that move the world.⁵⁸

Sophia's decision to marry a butcher is compared to the renunciation required of a nun.⁵⁹ In *The Mermaid*, a young doctor, Caius, finds true religion as well as true love in the form of Madame Le Maître, a contemplative woman.⁶⁰ In the *Mormon Prophet*, a young woman is swept up with the Mormons and threatened with a false faith as well as a forced bigamous marriage. She escapes the hold of the movement and returns to the true (Bushnellian liberal) faith and true romantic love of her patient cousin.

⁵⁷"Lovereen a Canadian Novel," Vol. III, p. 461, BL, LDP, 4. Similarly Lovereen's discussion of religious doubt with Flora leads directly to a discussion of Flora's suitor's sincerity. "Lovereen, A Canadian Novel," Vol. II, p. 44-46.

⁵⁸When Sissy spurns Bates. Dougall editorialises "we have the power to repulse God." Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 403.

⁵⁹ Marriage to a butcher is seen as the greater renunciation. Dougall observes that a nun has greater status than a butcher's wife; once married to a butcher, Sophia "must renounce all interest in the world for ever." Dougall, *What Necessity Knows*, 434-435. Curiously, Sophia's marriage to a butcher held a great deal of significance for Dougall. She was asked to change this aspect of the story when she submitted the idea for serial publication, and refused, pointing out that in *Beggars All* she had been able to bring off a marriage to a thief. It was a theme revived from "Lovereen." Although Paul had a wealthy father, as he discovers in the course of the novel, the machinations of his grandmother (an apparently devout woman) have resulted in his paternity being hidden. So he is forced to join his maternal uncle in running a grocery store. His work entails butchering the meat, and Lovereen has to come to terms with his loss of status in deciding to marry him. He fears that she would "imbibe the common old-world belief that a man renounces all claim to distinction of mind when he steps behind the counter." but after some hesitation, she "came to feel the force of Paul's life and character." "Lovereen," Vol. III, p. 452-461.

⁶⁰Madame Le Maître says, "[Marriage] is the highest thing we can think of, except God." Dougall, *The Mermaid*, 179. The novel is prefaced with the verse: "Lady I fain would tell how e'ermore/Thy soul I knew not from thy body, nor/Thee from myself, neither our love from God."

Dougall's last novel, *The Paths of the Righteous*, provides the neatest parallels between romantic and religious love. Two elderly evangelical Canadians return to England to decide whether to leave their fortune to their nephew, Compton, a young Anglican cleric. They find he is engaged in a sectarian battle that has impeded both divine and romantic love: his vitriol against the Nonconformists prevented his congregation from seeing the truths of evangelical faith, and he has interfered in a romance between a Nonconformist, Nathanael, and a young Anglican girl, Oriane. Oriane (now grown to be one of Dougall's strong and mature women) comes to learn of the undying love of the Nathanael (now an archeologist and professor) at the same time as she realises the power of a personal God at a Higher Life convention.⁶¹ In the conclusion of the novel, Oriane draws the parallels between her loveless youth and the isolation of the Anglican Church by challenging Compton: "Are you not doing for the Church you love just what you have done for me?"⁶² He reflects upon her words and has a mystic experience. He then proceeds to facilitate the co-operation of the church with Nonconformists, and Oriane's belated union with Nathanael.

The parallels Dougall draws between erotic love and divine love were long established, in mystic literature and within nineteenth evangelical culture, and were a well worn convention of sentimental fiction.⁶³ Dougall adopts these conventions of this fiction

⁶¹L. Dougall, *Paths of the Righteous*. (London: Macmillan, 1908), 251.

⁶²Dougall, *Paths*, 420.

⁶³In *Middlemarch*, George Eliot reversed this practice when she paralleled Dorothea's disillusionment with Casaubon with her growing religious doubt. T.R. Wright, "Middlemarch as a Religious Novel, or Life without God," in David Jasper, ed., *Images of Belief in Literature* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984).

Christopher Armstrong described Evelyn Underhill's understanding of mysticism as a romantic one: "mystical experience involves man in a unique spiritual adventure to which the nearest human

only to break them. We might compare Dougall's novels to a Canadian novel, Maud Pettit's *Beth Woodburn* (1897). Beth Woodburn is a young woman who decides to marry and give up her freedom as an artist to dedicate her life to God as a missionary. The religious and romantic submissions converge in the conclusion as the newly-wed couple kneel and pray before stepping into the marital bed. In sharp contrast, Dougall's characters do not submit to God or husband for any significant period of time. They insist upon their independence and freedom. Rather than renounce the free development of their art to devote themselves to God, these women consider free expression necessary in order to find God.

7.3 Finding the Personal in the Ideal

Dougall's adult theology was built upon the idea of a relationship -- the relationship between God and believer, as well as the relationships among individuals. Although Edward Caird's idealist God solved a number of philosophic difficulties, Dougall could not let go of the idea of a personal God -- the childhood friend beside her always. An immanent abstract God, who is everywhere, is by the same token effectively nowhere. If "our minds are just bits of his mind" and our souls attain their ultimate expression through dissolution in the eternal Spirit, then the relationship between man and God is lost.

analogy is the experience of falling in love." Christopher Armstrong, *Evelyn Underhill (1875-1941): An Introduction to her Life and Writings* (London: Mowbray's, 1975), 114.

Dougall observed that Caird's rational approach to prayer left out this "childlike element" of prayer:

Don't you think that people like Prof. Caird, and all the modern people who *reason* about prayer, are apt to find their only mental power to believe in its efficacy to consist in submerging the individual will entirely (obliterating it) and while in *one sense* this is what God works out in the heart, in another sense, it borders on fatalism and does truly eliminate all the childlike element from prayer - the one element that is so pronounced in all Bible teaching about prayer and is so utterly at variance with our ideas of the possible.⁶⁴

Historians have largely assumed that idealism is incompatible with personal piety; the absolute idealism as expounded by Caird and in more extreme form by F.H. Bradley and Bernard Bosanquet gives little grounds for the friendship with God described by holiness teachers.

The question of petitional prayer raises the difficulty in an acute form. Petitional prayer implied a direct and personal relationship with a responsive and interventionist God. Dougall had never been able to give up her faith in petitional prayer. As she told Earp, "I have never been able to shake off the certainty of the reality of a spiritual power to which I could turn for help."⁶⁵ In March of 1891, worried about the prospects for *Beggars All*, she prayed directly for success. In her diary she wrote,

March 11 Had told S. [Sophie Earp] could not pray for what wanted most. Asked how [tried?] for that day and next and next.

⁶⁴Lily Dougall to [?], Edinburgh, November 8, 1893. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 120. See "The Instinct of Prayer," from the *Spectator* in *World Wide IV* (September 3, 1904):723. Dougall was not original in these remarks. James Orr in 1891 criticised Caird for substituting an abstraction for a personal God: "God is lost in logical relations. It is a system of categories which is presented to us instead of the Divine. It is the logical relation the eternal truth, which absorbs all the interest. All else is appearance, manifestation, temporary form. . ." Cited in Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900* (Edinburgh: The St. Andrew Press, 1978), 255.

⁶⁵Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, [1895]. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 128. Dougall wrote of Lovereen, "She had been reared in the atmosphere of daily dependence upon direct providences and although in some things she had of late years crept from under the shelter of her father's creed, her mind still in this respect followed the bent first given to it, especially in times of indecision." "Lovereen," Vol.1, p.310, BL, LDP, 4.

March 13 At night seemed to have answer that book would be successful.
 March 19 [Small picture of a bird] from Do [a pet name for Earp]. Longman
 had taken book.⁶⁶

She explained further in a letter to Earp:

I have been trying to hope about it and pray about it in the right way, but all my
 want about it seems selfish — just your pleasure and mine, not the highest best
 thing one should desire — that His will should be done. I don't know how to say
 the thoughts I think, but I think so many, and I feel as if I were growing into a new
 way of looking at life a little bit, or perhaps a big bit — I hardly know. I used to
 think the highest was to be content that God's will should be done with one's self
 and one's work. Now I felt as if there was something false about it, if one cannot
 pray most about what one desires most. Do you really desire most that our work
 should honour Him? Or that it should succeed?⁶⁷

Earp balked at this idea of a direct response to prayer, and Dougall conceded that as a
 person progressed spiritually they should ask less and less for selfish earthly good.⁶⁸ But
 she could not abandon petitional prayer. "I have found lately that if I only take my
 questions and doubts very simply to Him, as if he were as near as He was to Martha and
 Mary, they are transformed and made right in some way."⁶⁹

Richard Ostrander has observed that many liberals simply ignored the theological
 inconsistencies to retain a belief in petitional prayer.⁷⁰ Dougall's life suggests, however,

⁶⁶Taken from a list of handwritten notes, apparently consisting of transcribed entries from Dougall's daily
 diary, probably compiled by Earp. BL. LDP. II.

⁶⁷Dougall to Earp, March, 1891. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 99. (Earp says the letter was a
 response to the news that the book was to be published, so it was written after March 13.)

⁶⁸Earp had written Dougall, "I incline to be doubtful about expecting to get direct answers to prayer in the
 shape of definite earthly blessings. I suppose I am too reasonable." Dougall to Earp, Edinburgh,
 November 11, 1893. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 121.

⁶⁹Lily Dougall to unknown, Torquay, April 7, 1893. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 117.

⁷⁰Richard Ostrander, "The Life of Prayer in a World of Science: Protestants, Prayer and American
 Culture," Ph.D. Dissertation, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1996. "...[O]ne might expect that liberal Protestants
 like the German idealists before them, abandoned traditional petitionary prayer altogether. On the
 contrary, the liberal expurgation of the supernatural element in prayer was a gradual, halting process.
 Before 1920, a significant element of liberal Protestantism sought to retain the traditional confidence in

that a revised form of idealism, personal idealism, provided a transitional framework.

Dougall confronted the dilemma when writing her most idealist novel, *The Zeit-Geist*, and turned to William Wallace for advice as to how to handle it.

I told him as well as I could that my difficulty lay in knowing how far Toyner could go towards pantheism, and yet with good sense retain his belief in a God with whom he could hold communication. "Yes," said Mr. W. "I was wondering myself how far he could go." This was not very encouraging. He had a very shy, reserved manner, but Miss Keddie had told me he would have. He began telling me a little in what sense Hegel was a pantheist, but this was not practical enough for me. I explained to him that my difficulty was that I did not know whether, to a man who held the personality of God, such phrases as "God is in all things;" "the devils live and move in God;" were good sense. He said that he thought 'the all' could not be considered external to God in any sense in which a man's actions could not be external to himself -- i.e. he seemed to look upon the view that the self and not-self -- the universe, whatever you may call it-- was *not a thing made* by God, but a *present action of His*, as necessary to thought. That came pretty near what I wanted.⁷¹

In defining the question in terms of the "personality" of God, Lily Dougall was following a school of thought derived originally from German philosopher, Rudolph Hermann Lotze (1817-1881). Lotze's ideas provided a corrective to, but also a continuation of, Hegelian idealism, by looking back to both Schleiermacher and Kant for support for the personal experience of God.⁷² Lotze argued that the human individual was created by God but,

petitionary prayer even while asserting a devotional element in harmony with modern non-supernaturalistic thought. It was not until the 1920s that a full-fledged ethic of prayer largely stripped of petition began to take prominence within American liberalism" (p.167).

⁷¹Emphasis in original. Earp, "Selected Letters," 137. She raised this in the novel, speaking through Toyner: "Is it not hard to believe that we may ask and expect forgiveness and gifts from the God who by slow inevitable laws of growth clothes lilies, who ordains the fall of every one of these sparrows, foresees the fall and ordains it -- the God who character is expressed in physical law? The texts of Jesus have become so trite that we forget that they contain the same vision of 'God's mind in all things' that makes it so hard to believe in a personality in God, that makes prayer seem to us so futile." Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 19.

⁷²See William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976), 124-127. For a discussion of the importance of Lotze in the American Social Gospel, see William McGuire King, "'History as Revelation' in the Theology of the Social Gospel" in *Protestantism and Social Christianity* ed. Martin Marty (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1992), 145-165.

once created, exists independent of God. Reality is pluralistic -- a society of persons in which God is the source and ground of all being, but also the ideal personality.⁷³ This approach was first influential in mid-nineteenth-century British idealism through T.H. Green and James Martineau, but it was only later, in opposition to the absolute idealism of F.H. Bradley and Bernard Bosanquet, that it took form in a school of philosophy known in Britain as personal idealism and in United States as personalism.

Personal idealism has been largely, and some would say deservedly, forgotten. But it was an important transitional theology that dominated the liberal Protestant and Anglican world in the early twentieth century. In 1924, C.C.J. Webb said: "philosophical Anglican theology has, since [T.H.] Green, been to a considerable extent occupied with the study of the conception of Personality and vindication of its importance."⁷⁴ And in North America, Harry Emerson Fosdick spoke for many liberal Protestants when he said, "Let me tell you my philosophy. I can put it in a few words. Everyone who follows this ministry will recognise it. All my thinking starts from it and comes back to it. Here it is: *the key to understanding of all life is the value of personality.*"⁷⁵

⁷³See John H. Lively, "Personalism," in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York and London: Collier and Macmillan, 1967-1972) 6:107-110. As C.C.J. Webb put it succinctly, "Individual and mutually exclusive consciousnesses or spirits were ultimately real, and indeed the only ultimate reality, although they are not all alike eternal, one personal God being the cause of the existence of the rest." C.C.J. Webb, "Hastings Rashdall," *Dictionary of National Biography 1922-1930* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 708.

⁷⁴Webb, *Anglican Theology*, 83.

⁷⁵Cited in Kenneth Cauthen, *The Impact of American Religious Liberalism*, 2d ed. (1962; Lanham: University Press of America, 1983), 73. In United States personal idealism took shape later in a uniquely American school of philosophy, personalism, where it appears to have had a more lasting popular influence. In his definitive work on personalism A.C. Knudson says, "The term 'personal idealism' as used by Howison and Rashdall, is synonymous with 'personalism'; but the latter is the shorter and more distinctive term, and hence has in recent years been coming into more common use." A.C. Knudson, *The Philosophy of Personalism, A Study in the Metaphysics of Religion* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927; New York: Krause Reprint, 1969), 20. For a discussion of personalism, see Knudson's definitive work; Paul Deat and Carol Robb, eds., *The Boston Personalist Tradition in Philosophy, Social Ethics and*

The roots of Dougall's personal idealism probably lay in the United States with Phillips Brooks. Brooks, who had been introduced to Lotze's work on a sabbatical trip to Germany in 1882, found in his ideas the potential for "holding both together, the personality of God and the divine life of the universe."⁷⁶ Dougall had referred to a "universe of unseen Personalities" in "Lovereen" and emphasised the "personal" nature of God's love as early as 1892.⁷⁷ But American personalism was slower to take hold in the universities in America, and it appears to have been Dougall's acquaintance with

Theology (Macon, GA: Mercer, 1986); John H. Lavelly, "Personalism," in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York and London: Collier and Macmillan, 1967-1972) 6: 107-110; Edgar Sheffield Brightman, "Personalism," in Vergilius Ferm, *An Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), 576, and Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse*, 209.

The movement is not easily dated. Walt Whitman and Bronson Alcott made reference to personality in the 1860s. A woman, Mary Whiton Calkins, was the first to use the term "personalism" in 1907. As a school of thought personalism can be traced from Borden Parker Bowne, the author of *Personalism* (1908) who influenced students at the Boston University School of Theology: A.C. Knudson (1873-1953); Ralph Tyler Flewelling (1871-1960), founder of *The Personalist*, and Edgar Sheffield Brightman (1884-1953). Other prominent personalists included George Holmes Howison (1834-1916) and liberal theologians Henry Churchill King (1858-1934) and Newman Smyth (1843-1925). In his study, A.C. Knudson distinguished between various types of personalism, stretching the concept to incorporate "absolutistic personalists" like Edward Caird and J. Royce and "atheistic personalists" like M'Taggart. Others sometimes included in the personalist camp were such diverse figures as Nietzsche, Søren Kierkegaard, Paul Tillich, and Henri Bergson.

⁷⁶See Phillips Brooks to Arthur Brooks, Berlin, October 29, 1882, in Alexander V.G. Allen, *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*, Vol.2, (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1901), 467-469. See pp. 472-482 for Brooks' notes on his changing ideas about religion during his study in Germany, including a section titled "Personality" in which he describes the "personality" as "the essential peculiarity of Christ's teaching." Allen describes the centrality of Lotze's teaching to Brooks' later years. "In his philosophy of life and of religion he had been anticipating what Lotze could teach him" (p. 118). Brooks wrote in 1886: "The New Testament is always on the brink of pantheism and it is only saved from it by the intense personality of Jesus and His overwhelming injunction of responsibility. Surely [Christ] gives us reason to believe that there is a real possibility of holding both together, the personality of God and the divine life of the universe." Allen, *Phillips Brooks*, 107-109. This was not a departure from Maurice's theology. See F.D. Maurice's argument that, "human relationships are not artificial types of something divine, but are actually the means and the only means through which man ascends to any knowledge of the divine." F.D. Maurice, *Kingdom of Christ*, Vol. I, 280-281. Cited in Prickett, *Romanticism and Religion*, 136.

⁷⁷"Lovereen," Vol. III, p. 46, BL, LDP, 4. "... how much more *Personal* his love is that we could have any conception of....[Emphasis in the original]" Lily Dougall to M.S.E. [Sophie Earp] October 21, 1892. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 112.

philosophical personal idealists in England that influenced her subsequent work.⁷⁸ Scottish theologian James Iverach, whose advice Dougall sought about her early fiction, was an early personal idealist.⁷⁹ And after writing *The Zeit-Geist*, Dougall became personally acquainted with such leading personal idealists as J.R. Illingworth, Hastings Rashdall, and Henry Scott Holland, collaborated on a book with A.S. Pringle-Pattison in 1919, and worked on committees with the young William Temple. C.C.J. Webb attended her funeral.⁸⁰

⁷⁸In Britain, personal idealism was introduced with A.S. Pringle Pattison's *Hegelianism and Personality* in 1887, but became well known through the contributions by J.R. Illingworth (1848-1915) and Henry Scott Holland (1847-1918) to the iconoclastic Anglo-Catholic *Lux Mundi* (1889), Illingworth's Bampton Lectures on *Personality Human and Divine* in 1894, and the collection of essays edited by Henry Sturt, *Personal Idealism, Philosophical Essays by Eight Members of the University of Oxford* (London: Macmillan, 1902.) Webb describes T.H. Green as anticipating personal idealism in his essay, "A Century of Anglican Theology" in *A Century of Anglican Theology and Other Lectures* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1924), 77. The individuals involved also included Hastings Rashdall (1858-1924), W.R. Sorley (1855-), A.C. Fraser (1819-1914), A.S. Pringle-Pattison (1856-), J. Cook Wilson (1849-1915), statesman Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930), James Ward (1843-1925), Robert C. Moberly, William Temple (1881-1944), and C.C.J. Webb (1865-1954). Webb wrote, "The names of Illingworth, Moberly, Richmond, Rashdall, Temple, occur to me among those of Anglican theologians who have illustrated this remark [on the conception of Personality] by their writings." Webb, *Anglican Theology*, 82-83. Another prominent personal idealist, John Wood Oman (1860-1939), was the translator of Freidrich Schleiermacher, *On Religion, Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*. (1799; 1893; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958).

⁷⁹Dougall had sent copies of an early story, "The Soul of a Man," to James Iverach and Henry Sidgwick. See "S. Diary, 1887-1895," July and August 1888, October 1888, BL, LDP, 1. Their support gave her the confidence to pursue writing fiction on a full-time basis. See Earp, "Selected Letters," 92. James Iverach (1839-1922) was a theologian interested in philosophy, a professor of the Free (later United Free) Church College of Aberdeen who wrote for the *Spectator*. Iverach has been described as "among the most perceptive and judicious of commentators on the philosophic-theological frontier." Iverach accepted, with some reservations regarding the loss of personality in God and man, an idealist philosophy. He wrote *Theism in the Light of Present Science and Philosophy* (1900) and was known for articles on T.H. Green and Edward Caird in the *Expository Times*. (See *Expository Times*, IV, (1892-3): 164; V (1893-4): 205.) His advice would have made Dougall sympathetic to the formulations of personal idealism. See Alan P.F. Sell, *The Philosophy of Religion, 1875-1980* (London, Croom Helm, 1988), 3, 15-17, 28, 36.

⁸⁰"Dr. and Mrs. Rashdall, Longwall St., Oxford. To tea, Tuesday, November 5, [1912]"; "Professor Royce, Harvard, Mr. and Mrs. Illingworth, Longworth. To tea, Saturday Feb 1st. [1913]." "Mr. and Mrs. Illingworth and Mrs. and Miss Crum.[?] To tea, Thurs April 3, [1913]," Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1. A.S. Pringle Pattison contributed a chapter, "Immanence and Transcendence" to the joint volume, *The Spirit, God and His Relation to Man Considered from the Standpoint of Philosophy, Psychology and Art* (London: Macmillan, 1919). A copy of his book, inscribed to Dougall, is among her papers, BL, LDP, 8.

The assumptions and language of personal idealism colour all of her work from this point, but a 1912 work, *Voluntas Dei*, is the most sustained expression of this philosophy. In a brief “author’s note” Dougall thanks “a friend . . . involved in important philosophic work” who read the book in manuscript. This was probably J.R. Illingworth. Illingworth was an Oxford don, who retreated to a small parish just outside Oxford, where he wrote a series of influential books, including *Divine Immanence* and *Personality: Human and Divine*. Dougall became his neighbour in 1911 when she moved to Cumnor. She visited the reclusive philosopher and helped with his parish until his death in 1915.⁸¹

For Dougall, personal idealism functioned as a way to retain the personal God of her childhood within an idealist framework, to hold together, as Brooks had put it, the “personality of God and the divine life of the universe.”⁸² Personal idealists identified the

C.C.J. Webb wrote an account of Dougall’s funeral in Clement Webb Journal, Entry for October 13, 1923, Ms Eng misc. d.1115, fol 90R, Bodleian Library, C.C.J. Webb Papers.

⁸¹Dougall consulted with Illingworth when preparing her responses to the Free Church Commission. A.S. Peake to Lily Dougall, May 12, 1913, Gairloch, Freshfield, Nr. Liverpool. BL, LDP, 1. They exchanged visits: “Professor Royce, Harvard, Mr. and Mrs. Illingworth, Longworth. To tea, Saturday Feb 1st, [1913].” “Mr. and Mrs. Illingworth and Mrs. and Miss Crum. [?] To tea, Thurs April 3, [1913]” Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1. Illingworth refers to four visits by Dougall in 1914 and 1915. John R. Illingworth, *The Life and Work of John Richardson Illingworth, as portrayed by his letters and illustrated by photographs* (London: John Murray, 1917). See pp. 126, 148, 204, 296. His comments, especially regarding her conducting a missionary circle for his parish, suggest that she was a frequent and casual guest. In one letter he comments on the success of her book, published in March 1914. See Chapter Twelve for his support for her work on spiritual healing.

⁸²In this she was not unusual: the careful defence of personal faith engaged in by philosophers like Hastings Rashdall and C.C.J. Webb, and the theological arguments of Anglo-Catholics like J.R. Illingworth merged into a blunter statements of faith by figures like Arthur James Balfour. Balfour said in his Gifford Lectures in 1914, “[When I speak of God] I mean something other than an Identity wherein all differences vanish, or a Unity which includes but does not transcend the differences which it somehow holds in solution. I mean a God whom men can love, a God to whom men can pray, who takes sides, who has purposes and preferences, whose attributes, howsoever conceived, leave unimpaired the possibility of a personal relation between Himself and those who He has created.” As his remarks indicate, personal idealism for Balfour less a philosophy than an intellectually respectable return to an older form of theism. Arthur James Balfour, *Theism and Humanism. Being the Gifford Lectures Delivered at the University of Glasgow, 1914* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1915]), 36. Cited in Oppenheim, *The Other World*, 131.

loss of the individual personality as a problem in absolute idealism.⁸³ If the aim of all life was the merging of the soul in the absolute, then the individual self was lost. Similarly God became all, and lost his eminence and individuality. The central experience of worship, the sense of relationship between God and the worshipper, was lost in the unity of all. As Dougall explained in 1916, following an argument developed by Hastings Rashdall: “There is a good deal of vague belief that union between God and man implies unity or Pantheism, God being in fact the All and there being nothing but God. This view, however leaves no room for faith, because true faith, like true love, of which indeed it is but one aspect, involves an object other than the self that loves and trust.”⁸⁴ Just before her death in 1923, she wrote along similar lines,

God came to be thought of, not as the object of knowledge, but as universal intelligence interpenetrating human understanding. Modern philosophy is thus liable to lose sight of the distinction between Deity and humanity which is essential to the religion of Christ because love can only exist between distant natures, and man’s love to God and God’s love to man form the basis of Christian fellowship.⁸⁵

Some distance between man and God was essential to retain a relationship.

⁸³This problem had not been so acute with Caird’s idealism. The American personal idealist, Knudson identified both Edward Caird and Josiah Royce as personalistic absolutists, arguing that they ascribed personality to the Absolute, but acknowledging by the designation that personality is secondary to the absolute in their understanding. Knudson, *The Philosophy of Personalism*, 32-35. The editor of the first British work on the subject similarly excused Royce from his criticisms. Sturt, *Personal Idealism*, vii.

⁸⁴Lily Dougall, *The Christian Doctrine of Health* (London: Macmillan, 1916), 103. As Rashdall explained: “My toothache is forever my toothache only, and can never become yours; and so is my love for another person, however passionately I desire — to use that metaphor of poets and rhetoricians which imposes upon mystics, and even upon philosophers — to become one with the object of my love: for that love would cease to be if the aspiration were literally fulfilled.” Hastings Rashdall, “Personality: Human and Divine,” in Sturt, *Personal Idealism*, 384.

⁸⁵Lily Dougall, “Orthodox Dualism,” [Review of A.S. Pringle-Pattison *The Idea of Immortality* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923) and Canon O.C. Quick, *Liberalism, Modernism and Tradition* (London: Longmans, 1923)] *The Modern Churchman* XIII, 1 (1923-24): 45-53, 50.

Lotze had solved this difficulty by arguing that the human individual was created by God but, once created, exists independent of God. As Dougall put it, “Pantheistic thought identifies the life of the universe with God; . . . it appears saner to regard life as the not-God, which came from God and is being trained by Him to form with Himself a new unity.”⁸⁶ This new unity was predicated upon difference.⁸⁷ In *Voluntas Dei* Dougall waxed lyrical on this evolutionary development. The Hegelian understanding of an emerging self-consciousness has been modified to incorporate a mystic and almost romantic trajectory toward union with the “highest other, which is God.”

[W]e have pictured the beginning of our creation as life coming from God, given by God to itself, so that it should have in itself autonomous activity and duration; and we have pictured to ourselves the creative Intelligence watching over this life which was of His own substance, never coercing, always fostering, always waiting . . . It is then, clear that in our picture of creation Supreme Generosity must desire always to unite with creation just in so far as the growth and autonomy of any form of life will allow and that what creation is tending to must be a greater and greater power of union with God; and as creation on this planet seems to have been tending towards consciousness and then self-consciousness, towards self-direction and then towards free or right self-direction, it must be that, as man becomes more perfectly a self, a person, or as we sometimes say, a spirit, and as he directs that self more perfectly toward God, he can realise the highest degree of union with the highest other, which is God, and thence the highest degree of union with his fellows.⁸⁸

The goal then was union with God, but this union was predicated upon the development of difference and self-consciousness rather than the loss of self.

The concept of a “personality” lay at the heart of this philosophy. Dougall described a personality as “that unique combination of reason, self-consciousness and

⁸⁶[Dougall] *Voluntas Dei*, xi.

⁸⁷“Difference, personality, self-hood are necessary to a high degree of unity. We have no conception of real unity that does not depend upon difference.” “Union of man with God does not mean identity. True union depends on community of kind and difference of identity.” [Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, xiii. xiv.

⁸⁸[Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, 86.

activity which we each realise as making up the self.”⁸⁹ She is drawing again upon the careful formulations of personal idealist, Hastings Rashdall, who defined the personality as a conscious, permanent, self-distinguishing, individual, active being.⁹⁰ R.J. Campbell put it more simply, in the pages of Dougall’s review, *World Wide*: “The problem of the moment is personality, which simply means the soul.”⁹¹

The human personality was understood as a “a poor and broken reflection” of the divine personality, or conversely God was viewed as the perfection of human personality.⁹² Illingworth had quoted Lotze, “Perfect personality is in God only; to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof.”⁹³ Dougall, like Illingworth, became slightly defensive about the implicit anthropomorphism in this line of thought. She wrote, “It may seem as though, by basing our capacity to know the goodness of God on some experience of goodness in human beings, we make God after our own likeness, thinking him merely a magnified man.” This, however, is only one “aspect of His being, the one we can best know” and she insisted on the necessity of the “larger whole, totally inconceivable to

⁸⁹Lily Dougall, *The Christian Doctrine of Health* (London: Macmillan, 1916), 101.

⁹⁰Rashdall, “Personality: Human and Divine,” 372. Knudson reduces these five characteristics to three in *The Philosophy of Personalism*, 82.

⁹¹R.J. Campbell, “The Churches and the People,” *World Wide*, III, 17 (April 25, 1903): 279.

⁹²As Lyman Abbott explained in Dougall’s *World Wide* that “the Infinite and Eternal energy from which all things proceed, is an energy that thinks, that feels, that purposes and does; and is thinking and feeling and purposing and doing as a conscious life, of which ours is but a poor and broken reflection.” “God in his World” from the recent sermon preached December 18, 1904 by Lyman Abbott at Harvard, from *Outlook*, New York, copy from earlier October 19 sermon to the National Council of Congregational Churches, published in *World Wide*, (January 7, 1905):105.

⁹³Illingworth, *The Life and Work*, 273.

us.”⁹⁴ She rarely refers to this larger whole in her books, however; the continuing emphasis was upon the parallels between humanity and God. God is compared to a father, a gardener, and an artist. Dougall’s argument is frequently circular, moving from the ideal man, to God, back to prescriptions for humanity. Even in her final book she wrote: “We have some reason to believe that what we know of our own nature, which is summed in what we call personality, gives us the best glimpse of God.”⁹⁵

Human relationships are similarly “broken reflections” of the highest relationship, that of union with God. “God is thus the very Ideal and Reality, the perfection and completion, of all that imperfectly attracts us in any human being.”⁹⁶ Therefore our love for God is like our love for a friend or lover, on a higher level. As Dougall wrote in a 1908 novel: “In the mystic’s true vision of God all earthly loves become as shadows of one Reality, and there is nothing real but Love,” and in 1916, “the message of the Incarnation, the Cross, the Resurrection, is this -- that God is man’s eternal lover.”⁹⁷

⁹⁴Lily Dougall, *The Christian Doctrine of Health* (London: Macmillan, 1916), 104. “There is an essential difference between learning what we may of God’s character from the best we know of human goodness and having an anthropomorphic conception of God” (p.100).

⁹⁵Dougall, *God’s Way*, 67. Illingworth’s comments in a letter to friend reveal the central outline of his rather anthropomorphic argument: “I don’t think my remarks on personality would repay your perusal, as they are only half finished -- they are only a few rather obvious apologetic things strung together. 1. On the personality of man 2. on the inference from it to divine personality 3. on the revelation of a personal God, necessarily culminating in 4. the Incarnation 5. on the way in which a personal God can be known, on the analogy of our knowledge of human personalities.” Illingworth, *Life and Work*, 218.

⁹⁶[Lily Dougall] *The Practice of Christianity* (London: Macmillan, 1913), xix, 264. F.D. Maurice had anticipated this by arguing that familial relations, especially that between male and female, are routes to God. “They are not artificial types of something divine, but are actually the means, and the only means through which man ascends to any knowledge of the divine.” Frederick Denison Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ, or Hints to a Quaker, Respecting the Principles, Constitution and Ordinances of the Catholic Church*. 2d ed. Vol. 1, (London: Ribington, 1842), 288.

⁹⁷Lily Dougall, *Paths of the Righteous*, 431. [Lily Dougall] “Repentance and Hope,” in *Concerning Prayer, Its Nature, Its Difficulties, Its Value*, ed. B.H. Streeter (London: Macmillan, 1916), 137.

But this is not -- as we saw with Dougall's fiction -- the submissive relationship described in evangelical theology. Nor is it an exclusive relationship with God. Dougall's characters are free, independent beings; they are moving to a closer union with God, but do this by developing their own individual powers rather than renouncing their will. And rather than focusing on the single relationship with God they are highly aware of their relations with others and their mutual pursuit of a higher order.

The arguments of personal idealists have been dismissed by philosophers -- even C.C.J. Webb in 1937 described personal idealism as a *weltanschauung* rather than a philosophy -- but they were popular and filled the needs of people faced with the barren choice between scientific materialism and abstractions of absolute idealism.⁹⁸ Personal idealism allowed the subjective a place in theology, and as Dougall's intellectual development suggests it allowed the emotive and experiential elements of holiness and evangelical thought to continue to find a place within the liberal camp. It did so, however, without demanding the submission of individual will and the abdication of reason. Because the individual personality was an expression of the higher personality that was God, and because God's purpose was to be achieved through the development, rather than the denial, of this personality, personal idealism encouraged individual development and growth.

Personal idealism conformed to the new social reality of Dougall's life. The Calvinist emphasis on submission to a judgmental God had reinforced the patriarchal

⁹⁸Webb, "Hastings Rashdall," *DNB*, 708. Reardon argued that the exponents of personal idealism "were not always very rigorous in their arguments, and in retrospect their systems emerge as not much more than individual statements of faith -- type products of their time and now chiefly of historical interest." Bernard M.G. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore, A Century of Religious Thought in Britain* (London: Longman, 1971).

aspects of her childhood home. Dougall had rebelled against this. Like many women, Dougall lived within a network of relationships, with Sophie Earp, with friends, and with a large extended family. Hastings Rashdall's description of the world of pluralist personal idealism would have been very familiar.

. . . the world is neither a single Being, nor many co-ordinate and independent Beings, but a One Mind who gave rise to many. We may of course, if we choose, describe the whole collection of these beings as One Reality, with enough capital letters to express the unction which that numeral appears to carry with it for some minds; but after all the Reality, whether eternally or only at one particular stage of its development, is a community of persons.⁹⁹

The emphasis in personalism on multiple relationships was particularly compatible with the interlocking world of relationships within which many middle-class women lived at the turn of the century.¹⁰⁰ Relationships in personalism were egalitarian; all human souls were on one plane. More importantly these were not independent individuals but, as Rashdall explains, a *community* of persons, an interlocking web of relationships, with a common origin and a higher purpose in God. Feminist scholars like Carol Gilligan and Nancy Choderow have described the relational world of women and compared it to the drive for autonomy that characterises a male world view.¹⁰¹ This personalist theology, with its emphasis on egalitarian relationships, conforms closely to the relational female world.

⁹⁹Rashdall, "Personality: Human and Divine," 391.

¹⁰⁰The classic explication of this relational world is Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's "The Female World of Love and Ritual." The article has been criticised for its middle-class focus, but Dougall lived in the middle-class New England society described by Smith-Rosenberg. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth Century America." *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1 (1975): 1-29.

¹⁰¹As Gilligan says, describing Choderow's work, "masculinity is defined through separation while femininity is defined by attachment." Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice, Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982;1993), 8. Nancy Choderow, *The Reproduction of Mothering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978). We do not have to subscribe to essentialist notions of a "female world" to observe the extent to which personal idealism conformed to Dougall's particular social reality.

Chapter Eight

Christian Socialism

“Well, she is only a woman and cannot be expected, therefore, to understand Theology.”

Hannah Whitall Smith

Just as Dougall appeared poised for success, with the publication of four novels within one year, and a supportive network of friends and mentors among the leading Oxford academics, she suffered a crisis of confidence. She retreated to North America, and began to experiment with nonfiction, testing the waters first with a carefully researched piece of historical fiction, *The Mormon Prophet* (1899). She then turned anonymously to religious writing with *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* (1900), a lyrical religious essay which won immediate acclaim among liberal thinkers in Britain; as a critic for *The Churchman* wrote in 1910: “The author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* has already established a sort of vogue. Who he [sic] is we do not know”¹ After the success of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, Dougall returned to Britain, wrote her last novels, *The Earthly Purgatory* (1904), *The Spanish Dowry* (1906), and the *Paths of the Righteous* (1908), and then, on the advice of her publisher, turned exclusively to religious writing with *Christus Futurus* (published in the United States as *The Christ that is to Be*) (1907), *Absente Reo* (1910), *Voluntas Dei* (1912), and *The Practice of Christianity* (1913).²

¹*The Churchman*, November, 1910. Clipping file, LDP, BL, 6.

²L. Dougall, *The Mormon Prophet* (London: A. & C. Black, 1899); *The Earthly Purgatory* (London: Hutchison and Co., 1904); *The Spanish Dowry, A Romance* (London: Hutchison, 1906); *Paths of the Righteous* (London: Macmillan, 1908); [Lily Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, (London: Macmillan,

Like *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, these books are best interpreted as lyrical applications of F.D. Maurice's Christian socialism. Dougall toyed with the revival of mysticism and indulged in a brief flirtation with Bergsonian vitalism, but the underlying dynamic in her work at this time is a Mauricean one.³ Historians have represented social reform as a departure from experiential faith, and my interest here will be in demonstrating the ways in which a mystical sense of communion with God grounded Dougall's interest in social reform.

The chapter will open with a description of Dougall's difficult transition to religious writing. I will then focus on *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*. A survey of the anticlerical sentiment in Canadian women's novels establishes the literary context, and the theological underpinnings of the essay will be identified in F.D. Maurice's distinction between the sectarian religious world and the universal church. Dougall's subsequent books will be examined in the context of the powerful metaphor of the Kingdom of God.

8.1 "This Wretched Brain of Mine"

The transition to religious writing was not an easy one. Just as Dougall's charm had gained her access to the eminent philosophers of Oxford and given her ideas a hearing in

1900); *Christus Futurus* (London: Macmillan, 1907); *The Christ That is To Be* (New York: Macmillan, 1907); *Absente Reo* (London: Macmillan, 1910); *Voluntas Dei* (London: Macmillan, 1912), and *The Practice of Christianity* (London: Macmillan, 1913). The American publisher made the decision to translate the title of *Christus Futurus* for the American market. See George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, June 18, 1907, BL, LDP, 6.

³ Several reviewers commented upon the Christian socialism. See *Western Morning News*, April 13, 1914, and *The Daily Express*, March 5, 1914. Clippings file for *The Practice of Christianity*, BL, LDP, 7.

these circles, the trappings of romance had gained her theological speculations an audience. Feminine charm, like the romance of her novels, could be a double-edged sword. Her femininity gained her an audience, but it also ensured that she was not taken seriously. Similarly, the romantic elements in her novels undermined the reception of her ideas. But to venture forth in such a masculine realm as theology, and to present her ideas without the vehicle that fiction provided, was a daunting prospect. It was not simply that Dougall lacked the education, the academic infrastructure, and the clerical authority that supported most writers on religion. As a woman, she was considered to lack the faculty of understanding essential for theology. F.D. Maurice had argued that women cultivated the feelings that “embrace and comprehend the truth” and men cultivated the understanding. “Our faculty is worth nothing without theirs,” he claimed, but it was the male faculty that underlay theology: “There probably does not exist a female in England who, in any proper sense of the word, can be said to possess a knowledge of theology. . . .merely an edifying proof that women, unless it shall be thought expedient to give them a scientific education, never can become theologians.”⁴ Reviewers of her fiction had often assumed that “L. Dougall” was a man; those who knew better commented on Dougall’s masculine command of theology.

Dougall adopted a number of strategies to overcome this prejudice against women theologians. One was to speak with the voice of theological innocence. Hannah Whitall Smith had argued that women could not do theology: “but remember that God sometimes

⁴*Lincoln's Inn*, 5:191; *Kingdom of Christ* 2:42. Cited in John McClain “On Women,” in John McClain, Richard Norris, and John Orens, *F.D. Maurice, A Study* (Cambridge, MA: Cowley Publications, 1982). 45-46.

reveals, even to Babes, secrets that he has hidden from the wise and prudent.”⁵ One of Dougall’s protagonists says (while giving spiritual advice to a priest): “I am no theologian, I am only a disappointed woman,” and she herself assumed the voice of a layperson, while lecturing a minister in *Absente Reo*.⁶ But increasingly Dougall wrote with the new-found, and still halting voice of women academics, who spoke with the authority of their studies. In her religious works, Dougall displayed her knowledge of Latin in her titles, she made learned reference to Biblical history, and cited scholars and clerics. It took some time to find this new authoritative voice, however, and a sense of inadequacy continued to plague her.

Dougall’s visits to Oxford in 1894 and then over the winter of 1895-96 had been exhilarating, but the lofty intellectual company was intimidating. She described walking down the street with the two idealists, Edward Caird and William Wallace: “I felt like Thackeray’s snob walking on Piccadilly with a duke on either arm, or rather, I should like to have felt like that; I only felt sleepy and unable to converse. I think I am the stupidest person in conversation I ever met.”⁷ One letter from Caird, dated May 4, 1896, indicates that she considered sitting in on his lectures at Oxford. He welcomed her, saying, “I suppose you will not mind being the only lady present,” but she did not take him up on the

⁵Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life* (1875; Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1889), iv.

⁶Dougall, *Paths of the Righteous*, 425.

⁷Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, Oxford, March 15, 1896. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 139.

offer.⁸ Instead she left Oxford in June and stayed in North America in the fall of 1896, researching *The Mormon Prophet*.

In December 1896, her aunt became ill and Dougall travelled to Edinburgh to nurse her until she died in August 1897. Then she returned to Canada to assist in the upbringing of her numerous nieces and nephews. She set up a home in Montreal, and made connections with the other literary people, organising a series of successful Jane Austen readings involving faculty from McGill University. She reluctantly embarked on a busy social life, dining for example with Lord and Lady Strathcona when they entertained the new Governor General and his wife, the Earl and Countess of Minto. "The time and thought and fag are what I grudge," she wrote, "but what am I here for . . . I would rather be amending my preface, but the fact always stares me in the face that I have no reason for being in Montreal if I don't 'do' society as far as I can on behalf of the family."⁹ She stayed in North America, with trips back to Oxford in 1899 and 1900, until 1902.

Dougall's writing, which had been surging ahead with the simultaneous publication of *The Zeit Geist*, *Madonna of a Day*, *The Mermaid*, and *A Question of Faith*, came to a halt. She published only a collection of her short stories, *A Dozen Ways of Love*, in 1897, and her next book, *The Mormon Prophet*, was not completed until 1899. She struggled with feelings of depression and inadequacy for three years.¹⁰ Montreal was an intellectual

⁸Edward Caird to Lily Dougall, Balliol College, Oxford, May 4, 1896. MS 729, Rare Book Department, McGill University Libraries. He wrote: "You are quite welcome to my lectures. They are given in the lecture room of the centre quadrangle. I suppose you will not mind being the only lady present."

⁹Earp, "Selected Letters," 162.

¹⁰"I am afraid it [*The Mormon Prophet*] will be a fizzle, like the one I wrote last winter. What is the matter with me. I seem to have lost confidence." Lily Dougall to M.S. Earp(?), Montreal, October 12, 1896. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 144.

backwater in comparison to Oxford, and Dougall missed the supportive and stimulating company of other progressive and intellectual women. She was affected by the distance, both physical and apparently emotional, between her and Earp. Hilda Oakeley, the head of the new women's college attached to McGill, became a close friend, but Dougall desperately missed her British friends.

The writing of *The Mormon Prophet* probably raised difficult questions. The book was an early study of the psychology of religion in the form of a fictionalised history of Mormon leader, Joseph Smith. Although Dougall fully exploited the sensational aspects of Mormon history, it was a serious piece of work. She predicted, "It will be a bigger book in every way, if I can write what is on my mind, than the last four nurselings."¹¹ Dougall travelled through the United States in the fall of 1896 with her niece, Jean Dougall, and interviewed a number of people involved in the early days of Mormonism, using her connection with the *Montreal Witness* as a reference.¹² She consulted with leading members of the Society for Psychical Research, such as W.H.F. Myers and William James, and drew upon the new science of psychology to argue that Smith's visions were delusions:

It appears to me more likely that Smith was genuinely deluded by the automatic freaks of a vigorous but undisciplined brain, and that, yielding to these, he became confirmed in the hysterical temperament which always adds to delusion self-deception, and to self-deception half-conscious fraud.¹³

¹¹Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, October 25, 1896, Montreal. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 145.

¹²"Taking necessary liberty with incidents, I have endeavoured to present Smith's character as I found it in his own writings, in the narratives of contemporary writers, and in the memories of the older inhabitants of Kirtland." Dougall, *Prophet*, vi.

¹³Dougall, *Prophet*, vii.

She argued that the various effects he produced, such as faith healing and levitation, were the result of his use of natural and psychological forces, “a child playing among awful forces.”¹⁴ The attraction of Mormonism lay in its psychological power: “this new sect produced vehement psychical disturbance wherever it touched the surrounding population and many things occurred which might, or might not, be termed miracles, according to the interpretation of the observers.”¹⁵ There is an ambiguity here in Dougall’s work, which will be explored at length in Chapter Twelve. She had adopted the language and conceptual models of the emerging science of psychology -- Smith was “hysterical,” touching off “psychical disturbance” -- yet she had not entirely relinquished the theological terms of reference. It may be that the Dougall’s difficulties lay in part in the attempt to reconcile this new science with her understanding of religious experience.

While in Canada, Dougall became involved in a new publishing venture with her brothers as the editor of *World Wide, a Weekly Reprint of Articles from Leading Journals and Reviews Reflecting the Current Thought on Both Hemispheres*.¹⁶ *World Wide* contained a selection of articles reprinted from leading British and American newspapers:

¹⁴Dougall, *Prophet*, 211.

¹⁵Dougall, *Prophet*, 93.

¹⁶ The extent of Lily Dougall’s editorial role is not clear. Her obituary in *World Wide* notes: “Miss Dougall was the first editor of *World Wide* some twenty three years ago, and gave it its present shape, a task for which her broad sympathies and vision eminently fitted her.” (*World Wide*, October 13, 1923, p.1) *World Wide* receives no mention in Earp’s “Selected Letters,” nor is there any reference to it in the papers held at the Bodleian Library. Copies of the review make no reference to the editor, and refer simply to the publishers, Lily’s brother and nephew, John and Frederick Dougall. Her editorial control is revealed in the carefully chosen selection of articles on liberal theology, and the number of articles of special interest to highly educated single women, including an article from the *Cheltenham College Magazine*. (See *World Wide*, I,42.) Lily left Canada in April 1902, but she apparently continued editing the review from Britain. She is described as editor of *World Wide* in *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* Henry James Morgan, ed., 2nd ed. (Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1912). See Carl F. Klinck, ed. *The Literary History of Canada* 2nd. ed. vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 333.

political analysis and commentary, literary news and reviews, scientific reports, and, of course, liberal theological news.¹⁷ It was aimed at the same audience as her novels, those well-educated and well-informed members of the middle and upper classes who were interested in cultural, political, and religious questions. Theology was a minor element in the review, overshadowed by politics, and literature, but each issue usually contained at least one article by or about a liberal theologian, a review of a new book, or a sermon by Horace Bushnell or Philips Brooks.

The return to North America slowly bolstered her ego. She was lionized in Boston, as she wrote Earp: "It has helped me in this way, that I have got back some of the self confidence about writing that I have been without for some time."¹⁸ Similarly, a positive response by an American publisher, Appleton, to *The Mormon Prophet*, in the spring of 1898, lifted her spirits temporarily -- "I have been so oppressed for years with the fear that it was not worth doing, or that I had lost the art of doing it, that it is like a new lease on life."¹⁹ She began to work on her first work of theology, *Pro Christo et*

¹⁷The statement of purpose on the last page of Vol. 1, no.1 (January 5, 1901) reads: "It is proposed to fill the pages of 'World Wide' with articles and extracts (of permanent and world wide interest) with occasional selections from notable books and scenes from striking stories. An effort will be made to select the articles each week so that due proportion will be given to the various fields of human interest -- to the shifting scenes of the world great drama, to letters and science and beautiful things." A quotation from Terence, "So many men, so many minds./ Every man in his own way" was placed on the front page. Articles were chosen so that timeliness was not important, but it appears that it took about three weeks from their initial appearance in British newspapers to publication in *World Wide*. The review appears to have been successful; in the second year a higher grade of paper was used, a cover page with cartoons was introduced, and an annual index created, and the number of advertisements increased. References were made to the growing circulation in appeals for new subscriptions, but as the Dougalls were practised in the art of newspaper promotion it is difficult to know how to assess these claims.

¹⁸Lily Dougall to M.S. Earp, November 14, 1896; Lily Dougall to [M.S. Earp ?], March, 1898. Earp, "Selected Letters," 146.

¹⁹Lily Dougall to [M.S. Earp ?], March, 1898. Earp, "Selected Letters," 153.

Ecclesia (1900), taking an earlier piece of work, *Theological Dramas* and revising it steadily over the summer.²⁰ It was not an easy task:

I am inclined to be terribly depressed about my work, but I try to resist that, as it can do no good, and I am far too useless physically to do anything else, so I may as well keep on. . . . It is three years since we have had any luck and the difficulty is all in this wretched brain of mine which won't work. I have such a lot of things sketched out in my mind that I want to do, but a whole day goes in getting a few things down, and then I am dissatisfied with the quality and tired out. Under these circumstances it seems folly to compete with people who can use their wits.²¹

Dougall did not even tell Earp about the project until September, and then swore her to secrecy. She struggled against ill health, social demands, and her own insecurities: "sometimes I feel [the essays] are all rubbish, sometimes I feel quite inflated at their brilliancy; but they are dull work compared to a story, and nothing but dogged determination to get them off my mind would have kept me at them."²² She finally finished the book in the autumn, by secluding herself in a deserted Quebec cabin.

Her letters indicate that she was nervous about publishing her ideas. She had initially written them in a more acceptably feminine form as a drama, and only gradually revised them into a theological essay. She relied upon Earp's criticism and Cambridge credentials to support her. "My chief comfort in the worry of deciding what to write has been that you will be very competent to criticise this sort of thing -- the ethic, the logic, generally whether any part is worth saying or not."²³ She did not trust entirely to Earp's

²⁰See Earp's notes, titled "B's Life," in BL, LDP, 1. The entry for September, 1898 reads: "First thought of writing theology at the log Hut, Georgeville, Quebec."

²¹Lily Dougall to M.S. Earp, Highlands, Macon Co., North Carolina, USA, June 10, 1898. Earp, "Selected Letters," 154.

²²Lily Dougall to M.S. Earp, Birch Bay Camp, Georgeville, P.Q. September 1898. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 157.

²³Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, October 11, 1898. Earp, "Selected Letters," 158.

critical judgement, however, and, in a manner that was to become a pattern for her theological works, she ran at least parts of the book past the critical eye of the liberal president of Mansfield College, the Congregationalist, Dr.A.M. Fairbairn.²⁴

Dougall published this and subsequent religious works anonymously, because she felt that her ideas would not be treated seriously if it were known that they were written by a woman, especially a woman novelist.²⁵ She had hidden her gender before; she published her first stories under a male pseudonym, and her novels as the genderless “L. Dougall.” But with the religious work, she went to some lengths to hide her identity. Even her publisher did not know her true identity at first, but corresponded with her through Mrs. Tyndale of Oxford. It was not until 1917 that she published a religious book under her own name. By this time, significantly, she was publishing her essays as part of a group of clerical and academic men.

Pro Christo et Ecclesia was a critical success and a third edition was published in 1913.²⁶ The book was an eloquent and biting attack on the church, referred to by the

²⁴Andrew Martin Fairbairn (1838-1912) was a Free Church leader. He was ordained in the Evangelical Union but after studies in Berlin under Dorner advocated a broad theology. In 1877, he became a Congregationalist. He was the founder and first principal of the newly established Congregationalist theological college at Oxford, Mansfield College, in 1886, and the author of a number of books including the popular *The Place of Jesus Christ in Modern Theology* (1893) and *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion* (1902). He would have supported Dougall’s recovery of a historical Christ: as a review in *The Scotsman* noted, “Dr. Fairbairn starts from the principle that Christian theology must be based on the consciousness of Christ; and from the fact that the historical Christ is only now, nineteen centuries after his appearance on earth, being recovered for human knowledge and faith.” Cited in A.M. Fairbairn, *Catholicism Roman and Anglican* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1899).

²⁵Earp, “Selected Letters,” 182.

²⁶Dougall’s papers provide some publishing history for her books but the evidence is sketchy and incomplete. A chart provided in a letter of April 10, 1913 appears to list the total sales of her religious works. The chart indicates that *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* sold 2,162 copies in Great Britain, and 329 in the United States by June 30, 1912, and a subsequent chart indicates that the sales for the following year, from July 1, 1912 to April 10, 1913 the book sold 85 copies in England and 39 in the United States. By

reviewer in the Anglican Church organ, *Church Times*, as “that powerful book, *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*.”²⁷ Dougall’s Christ was liberal reformer battling the self-righteous individuals within the religious establishment. “[O]ur Lord waged war to the bitter death with the pious standards of the time. The wrath of the Lamb blazed out against men who were well-meaning, self-sacrificing and devout.”²⁸ Dougall indicted the organised church of the Pharisees, and by implication the churches of the modern world, in the crucifixion: “Jesus Christ was slain because he would not conform to rites and doctrines as a test of spiritual life.”²⁹ The appeal of the book lay in Dougall’s confident authority and in her power of expression. Despite the audacity of her claims the book is neither strident nor mean-spirited. Instead it is imbued with a kind of spiritual strength, a quiet but insistent authority, that tempered the damning criticism of the religious world.

The success of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* tempted Dougall to return to Britain. She had been plagued by ill health in Montreal, and was forced to move to warmer climes, in North Carolina, England, or California, each damp spring. In early 1902, she struggled with another serious bout of illness, and wrote to Hilda Oakeley, justifying the decision to leave her family again and return to Oxford (of all places) for her asthma.

I am so much better in California than I have ever been before, that I hesitate about leaving it, when by rights, I ought to take another year here. On the other

comparison the total sales to April 10, 1913 of *Christus Futurus* were 2,272, *Absente Reo* 1,376 and *Voluntas Dei* 757. George Macmillan to [Lily Dougall] LDP, BL, 6, p. 10. These figures are not entirely reliable, however. Dougall’s stature is better measured by the references to her in subsequent reviews. In 1913, Dougall accepted publication of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* in a shilling Theological Library series. George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, March 27, 1913, LDP, BL, 6.

²⁷Clipping of review of *Absente Reo* from *The Church Times*, July 29, 1910, BL, LDP, 6.

²⁸[Lily Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1900; 1913), 142, 32.

²⁹[Lily Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* (London: Macmillan, 1900), 140.

hand, a plan that I have been working for, for years -- that of living with my great friend and working steadily with her, can now be carried out, and everything draws and draws at my heart strings -- the sea, the English shore, the friendship, the work, Oxford -- Is there need to say more? the last word includes so much. Since I *cannot* live in Canada, Oxford is nearer home than anywhere else.³⁰

Living in Oxford would place Dougall in the centre of Anglican thought, in close proximity to the leaders of the growing movement of liberal Anglicanism.

Oxford is notoriously damp, however, and Dougall's asthma flared up on her return. A doctor recommended she spend the winter in rooms in Exmouth. Exmouth is in relatively balmy Devon, and like Ventnor, her earlier winter retreat, is a seaside town looking south over the English Channel. She made another attempt to settle in Oxford in the spring, but her asthma returned in the damp climate and she reluctantly returned to Exmouth. She and Earp found a house, "East Undercliff," where they made a home from 1903 to 1911. The years in Exmouth were recuperative and quiet. Dougall wrote fewer books, and travelled less, and gradually her health returned. Letters from this period refer to visits from friends, the antics of the barnyard animals, and domestic affairs.³¹

Pro Christo et Ecclesia had placed Dougall among the leading religious writers of the day, and chapters of her next religious work, *Christus Futurus* (1907), appeared in the leading liberal journals, the *Hibbert Journal* and the *Monthly Review*, before they were

³⁰Lily Dougall to Hilda Oakeley, Pasadena, California, February 16, 1902. Earp, "Selected Letters," 189. (The dates appear confused in this section of the transcript, and this letter may have been written in 1901.)

³¹She played an active role in the local cultural community: The Bodleian Library holds a number of the papers she wrote for the Exmouth Reading Union. "Mr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," (1909); "Pride and Prejudice, a Hundred Years Ago" (1910); "Introduction [to Milton]." All appear to be unpublished manuscripts, BL, LDP, 2. She also travelled back to Canada frequently, in the summers of 1905, 1906, and 1911. Earp, "Selected Letters."

published in book form.³² Macmillan published *Christus Futurus* in London and New York, (where they translated the title to *The Christ that is to Be*) and credited it to the anonymous “author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*.” The book was not as tightly constructed as her first work, and Dougall, possibly in response to the comments made by the publisher’s reader, wrote an apologetic preface:

This book is only a series of successive efforts to think what the gospel of Jesus really is. Each line of thought is unfinished, and there is very much in what is said that, in a mature work, would be more carefully guarded from misconstruction. These fragments are only published in the hope that those who have greater opportunity may find in them something to refine and complete.³³

When the essays received critical reviews, her publisher blamed the preface: “I think it is not at all improbable that the preface may have given people the idea that *Christus Futurus* was a series of disconnected fragments rather than a consecutive argument. The pity is the preface was ever written.”³⁴ But sales were better than the reviews, and the book sold fairly well -- one 1913 letter describes sales of *Christus Futurus* at 2,272 -- and was revised for a second edition in 1909, and a third edition in 1914.³⁵

Subsequent books, *Absente Reo* (1910), *Voluntas Dei* (1912), and *The Practice of Christianity* (1913) were also published anonymously. The books condemned the hypocritical charity, the social snobbery, and the conservatism of the existing church, and

³² Canon Scott Holland gave it a long review in *The Commonwealth*, November, 1900. See Earp, “Selected Letters,” 183. The *Times Literary Supplement* was quoted in an advertisement in the endpapers of Dougall’s *God’s Way with Man*: “Miss Dougall, whose *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* placed her among the leading religious writers of the day. . . .”

³³ [Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, np.

³⁴ George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, December 16, 1907; the reader’s comments were included with a letter from George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, March 4, 1907, BL, LDP, 6.

³⁵ In 1907 her editor, George Macmillan, said British sales of *Christus Futurus* were surprisingly good (450) considering that the book had not been so favorably reviewed as he had expected. George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, December 11, 1907, BL, LDP, 5.

called for sweeping social change based upon Christ's teaching. Reviews of the books were fairly positive but sales were uneven and none of the books matched the success of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*. *Absente Reo* was the most highly regarded and the reviewer in *Church Times* wrote perceptively:

[T]his brilliant writer . . . has much to say on prayer and faith and worship and it is said most beautifully and probes to the very bottom of religious truth. At times he [sic] is hurried and one sided but he is always thoughtful and intensely spiritual." [He notes that the church needs to be reminded of deficiencies.] If so it is as well that we should be reminded by one to whom the Presence of God is the joy of life, and this we believe to be true of the author of *Absente Reo*.³⁶

Over time, with reviews like this one, the anonymous "author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*" built up a reputation as one of the leading writers on religion in the Anglican world.

8.3 Dismissing Clerical Authority

The eloquent critique of the religious world in Dougall's books had been foreshadowed in her novels. Dougall's challenges to ecclesiastical authority were indirect at first, expressed in oblique comments, in tangential references, and in silences in her fiction. Her opinions were frequently revealed by what was not said, rather than by any openly critical statement, by the very absence of clerical authority in novels that centred on moral and spiritual dilemmas. The novels were strongly spiritual; "a profound realisation," one critic wrote, "of the unseen forces and unknown currents which mould the life of man."³⁷ But

³⁶Clipping of review of *Absente Reo* from *The Church Times*, July 29, 1910. Clipping file, BL, LDP, 6.

³⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, November 4, 1893. Clipping file, BL, LDP, 7.

they were critical, even hostile to the authority of the church. Ministers simply do not figure in the extended discussions of faith and belief. Instead, the moral and spiritual leaders are either well-educated young women or older men, often visionary lay evangelicals. The narrator of "Lovereen," for example, is dismissive of preachers: "They were a motley collection, both young and old, some of them were of gentle birth and superior minds; for the most part they had little to recommend them except their strict religious views and the diligence with which they adhered to their work."³⁸ Nor were Anglicans worthy of respect: the minister is complacent and the Tractarian priest is "weak and fanatical."³⁹ In *Beggars All* (1891), a Baptist preacher is a moral figure, but he has left the church to work as a servant, and the most spiritual character is an older woman. In *What Necessity Knows* (1893), the minister is portrayed as a social climber, who is more concerned about maintaining his social position than about religious or moral values. Sophia spurns him for his brother, a butcher. Similarly, in *The Mermaid* (1895), the minister is a poor shadow beside the powerful Madame Le Maître. In *Madonna of a Day* (1895), a missionary rather than a minister speaks for Christianity; he does not speak with authority, but rather with the voice of experience as a worker in the church. In *The Zeit-Geist* (1895), Dougall writes of the minister, "His heart was better than his head, as is the case of all small-minded souls that have come into conscious contact with God, but his opinions ruled his official conduct."⁴⁰ Even the evangelical preacher, whose personal faith

³⁸"Lovereen," Vol. I, p. 2/8, BL, LDP, 4.

³⁹The character in the novel with spiritual wisdom and authority is, curiously, a Roman Catholic seminarian, who "wore an expression of intelligence and kindness." "Cast-offs of Lovereen," p. 445. BL, LDP, 4.

⁴⁰Dougall, *The Zeit-Geist*, 97.

gives him a closer relationship with God, is imprisoned by his creeds: "The hard outline of his creed had grown luminous, fringed with the divine light from beyond, as the bars of prison windows grow dazzling and fade when the prisoner looks at the sun."⁴¹ Another rather inconsequential minister figures in *The Spanish Dowry* (1906):

The rector was always running about the village, and holding services and preaching. He was so good that he lived up to his ideals, and so lacking in goodness that his ideals were such as he could live up to. The climax of importance in the village was the rector's wife . . . [who] always wore a bonnet with a high feather which was, indeed, the very type and summary of her attitude towards all mankind. . . . [I]t was obvious she conceived of the Infinite as being something very fashionable and aristocratic.⁴²

Dougall is at her most condescending with her portrayal of the weak and vindictive Anglican minister and the self-satisfied Nonconformist in *Paths of the Righteous* (1908).

Nor do churches figure prominently in Dougall's novels. She rarely describes her characters attending church. Religious experiences, as we saw in Chapter Six, take place in fields and forests or among the mountains. Nor do the other accoutrements of religious institutions figure in her work. There is not much evidence of Sunday School, mission work, charitable organisations, or the multitude of social service agencies that were emerging from women's work in the church. In *Beggars All*, Dougall is highly critical of religious philanthropy. She depicts the humiliation and desperate poverty of a family forced to rely upon their chapel's charity, and the immorality of a man raised without love in an orphanage. Dougall argues that true charity must be offered as part of a personal

⁴¹Dougall. *The Zeit-Geist*, 34. 246.

⁴²Dougall, *The Spanish Dowry*, 62-63. Dougall's scorn for ministerial pomposity emerges in a short story: "The divine, feeling that free trade heresies and female enthusiasms were at length passed, and that they had now reached open water, where he might hoist full sail as guardian and escort, visibly swelled and resumed encouraging interpolations. His blandness was disconcerted [when the woman speaker retains the audience]." Loose manuscript marked, "Niagara, May. 1900," in BL, LDP, 4.

relationship, rooted in a personal spirituality, and must be part of a wider social reform. Her position bypasses the role of the church as an intermediary, by calling for more personal charity, and a more political reform.

Lily Dougall's depiction of religious leaders is not unusual. Canadian novels written by women at this time often presented ministers -- the embodiment of the institutional church -- as villains, hypocrites, or targets of scorn.⁴³ They were frequently indecisive characters, whose weakness was manipulated by the organised women of the church. Novelists Robina and Katherine Lizars noted in 1900, "The congregation had been sitting under the Reverend Caleb Short nominally; practically, the Reverend Caleb Short had been sitting under the (Ladies') Guild."⁴⁴ Joanna Wood described the rapture of "the little Methodist parson" in her 1898 novel, *Judith Moore: or, Fashioning a Pipe*: "he had once dreamed of a loftier destiny than the life of a Methodist preacher, but that was long past; still it was sweet to recall so vividly the season when his spirit had wings." He had lost true love due to too much studying, and "had paid dearly for his paltry elevation." Her satirical description of the local Methodist and Baptist churches emphasises their petty rivalry.⁴⁵ Two years later, in

⁴³ Most of the writers cited here represent one generation of Canadian women, slightly younger than Lily Dougall. Agnes Maule Machar, born in 1837, is older, and Frances Marion Beynon, born in 1884, is younger. Marshall Saunders (1861-1947), Alice Chown (1866-1949), Flora MacDonald Denison (1867-1921), Emily Carr (1871-1945), L.M. Montgomery (1876-1942), Marion Keith [MacGregor, Mary Esther] (1876-1961). The birth dates of the Lizars sisters and Wood are unknown. See Margaret Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender: 1875 to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 37-41 for a discussion of the anticlericalism of American feminist and evangelical women.

⁴⁴ Robina Lizars and K. M. Lizars, *Committed to His Charge* (Toronto: George N. Morang Ltd., 1900), 12.

⁴⁵ Joanna E. Wood, *Judith Moore: or, Fashioning a Pipe* (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co., 1898), 143, 179, 181, 35, 37. The novel describes a pantheistic nature worship: her hero "don't profess religion" and her heroine's religion "is kind of heathenish"; they find redemption through their love for one another. The novel concludes, "they even dare to dream that love will bestow upon them its own immortality -- that through eternity they will be as they are now, together and happy" (p. 238).

A Daughter of Witches (1900), Wood compared the true good and the “baleful creeds which disintegrated the universal brotherhood of man,” and “derring do” to “scholastic authority and ghostly reverence.”⁴⁶ Even Agnes Maule Machar, the Presbyterian daughter of the Reverend John Machar, Principal of Queen’s University, chose a “self-centred, coldly fastidious” minister as the villain of her best known novel. The aptly named Mr. Chillingworth (who, it should be noted, is an Anglican⁴⁷) has abandoned an alcoholic wife in England. In the opening of the novel he unknowingly turns his own daughter from the door in order to write a sermon on self-sacrifice. Marshall Saunders, another daughter of the manse, was similarly critical of the church in *Deficient Saints* (1899). Her female protagonist had little time for the trappings of religion: “she pretends not to care, — she laughs at the ministers and rarely goes to church, — but she is, I verily believe, one of the best Christians in the town.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶Wood, *Daughter of Witches*, 29, 22.

⁴⁷See Agnes Maule Machar, *Roland Graeme Knight: A Novel of Our Time* (Montreal: Drysdale and Co., 1892), 224, 238. It is possible that Machar was deliberately naming him for the Anglican Latitudinarian Chillingworth (1602-1644); whether she meant this as a direct cut at liberal Anglicanism is less clear. Machar’s Presbyterian ministers all ignore the doctrinal demands of their faith for a warm Christocentric humanism. Mr. Alden avoids discussion of the Atonement — “A theory, to my mind, is an attempt to force into a rigid mould of human formulae, mysteries which, because they belong to the workings of infinite Wisdom and Love, are quite beyond the compass of human thought. Every theory I know fails miserably somewhere.” He argues, “But to my mind religion is not a literary or historical question. Neither is it to be founded, as some tell us, on the witness of the intellect, which has neither compass nor rudder on that sea; nor, as others tell us, on emotion, which is variable and evanescent as these sunset hues. . . [it is founded] on something deeper than either; on the sense of *righteousness*, the deepest truest consciousness of humanity. Speaking for myself, *I want God* — want the Divine Perfection which is the same thing. I look for him in Nature, but I cannot find Him there, except in hints and hieroglyphs. Nor can I find in Humanity the perfection I long for. I see imperfection and limitation in all, even the best. But what I want, I find in Jesus of Nazareth; nothing else satisfies me; *that does*. If I cannot see God here, I can see Him nowhere. . . It sometimes seems to me, that this age of ours is saying, like Pilate, and very much in his spirit, ‘BEHOLD THE MAN!’ Well the more it learns to truth behold the *Man*, the more it will be compelled to recognize that Manhood as Divine. I should have become a very different moral being, before I could cease to worship in Him the Christ, the only manifestation of the Divine that we are able to comprehend and grasp.”

⁴⁸Marshall Saunders, *Deficient Saints: A Tale of Maine* (Boston: L.C. Page and Company, 1899), 95. Miss Gastonguay says: “I do not believe in what you call revealed religion . . . But what will become of me when I die? Your ministers send me down, down, down, — direct. . . I do not believe in the inspiration of the Bible; it was written by men like ourselves.” (pp. 176-177). See Karen M. Saunders, “Margaret Marshall

The most unconventional women writers were the most outspoken in their criticism. Alice Chown, the cousin of Methodist leader Samuel Dwight Chown, described the church in a 1921 memoir as a “dead organism,” teaching “dead formulas” bounded by the “dead trees of precept, custom and authority.” “The truths,” she wrote, “that once meant life and growth, force and virility, having been accepted as an end instead of a beginning, had killed the life of the spirit.”⁴⁹ Flora MacDonald Denison was contemptuous of the practitioners of orthodoxy in her novel *Mary Melville, The Psychic*.⁵⁰ Frances Marion Beynon later described the church in *Aleta Day* (1919) as the “leading hound in the pack of social tyrannies which try to drive the fine free souls of men to uniformity of thought.” She acknowledged the power of prayer but suggested ministers exercise it in a narrow fashion: “[The minister] had opened up a pathway to his God -- a narrow-minded bigoted God it is true -- for his intelligence was not capable of drawing a great splendid picture of God -- but his God.” Her own God was best found outside the church and away from ministers:

Saunders: Children’s Literature as an Expression of Early 20th Century Reform,” M.A., Acadia University, 1978, p. 108-115. Saunders notes that Marshall Saunders’ criticisms were made in an attempt to reform the church.

⁴⁹Chown, *The Stairway*, 14. The passage reads in full: “Little by little, I had come to feel that the church had crystallised. The truths that once mean life and growth, force and virility, having been accepted as an end instead of a beginning, had killed the life of the spirit. It seemed to me a dead organism existing by augmentations of numbers and institutions -- a faith in external things. It said, ‘This is the path bounded on every side by the dead trees of precept, custom, and authority, walk ye therein.’ I care for no path, am keen to live, to grow in harmony with principles inherent in me, and, I hope, in all people; but whether they are universal or not, this is my one chance to live, and I do not want to throw it away for dead formulas which have little but a narrowing and blinding influence on the lives of people who profess them.”

⁵⁰“Dr. World was one of the popular preachers who were slightly in advance of the generality of orthodox preachers. He did not preach hell more than once every six months and then under protest” Flora MacDonald, *Mary Melville, The Psychic* (Toronto: The Austin Publishing Co., 1900), 78.

The following summer they sent me to Sunday School but that did not improve my opinion of God. The being I heard about there was always angry at somebody about something and I was afraid of Him. There are good people who claim to have met the God of the big quiet places and the starry heavens in the churches but personally I never have. . . . But I met him in the afternoon in the corner of the pasture field. [She describes a passing breeze.] I know God passed me by in that breeze because for a little while I was not afraid of father or mother, or of anything in the world.⁵¹

Emily Carr also found God in lily fields and cow pastures. She wrote her autobiographical works much later than Beynon, and was even freer to express her distaste for the ministry: “During my absence my sister had lent the studio to a parson to use for a study. He had papered the walls with the *Daily Colonist*, sealed the windows. There were no cobwebs, perhaps he had concocted them into sermons. As I ran across the floor to fling the window wide everything preached at me.” Another curate was “so ugly and lean you could see his teeth through his cheeks.”⁵²

Even the wives of the clergy were critical of the church. In L.M. Montgomery’s novels nature replaces the institutional church as the location for the divine: Anne tells Gilbert they should “go together to the heart of the beechwoods -- and there under the arches that would be like a splendid cathedral, we would be married.” Montgomery wrote in her journal:

But I would like to go away on Sunday morning to the heart of some great solemn wood and sit down among the ferns with only the companionship of trees and the woodwinds echoing through the dim moss-hung aisles like the strains of some vast

⁵¹Frances Marion Beynon, *Aleta Day* (1919; London: Virago, 1988), 147, 555, 29-30.

⁵²Emily Carr, *Growing Pains, The Autobiography of Emily Carr* with a foreword by Ira Dilworth (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), 271, 200. This passage is amplified in *House of a Peacock* (1947). For further expressions of distaste for religious conformity see *Growing Pains*, pp. 3, 63, 102, 162, 170, 300. These passages contrast with her deep appreciation of the beauty and spirituality of Anglican and Catholic church services; see pp. 59-60, 123, 199, 204. Because Carr wrote her books long after Dougall’s death, it is easy to forget that she was only thirteen years younger. Her freedom of expression reflects a more receptive audience in the 1940s.

cathedral anthem. And I would stay there for hours alone with nature and my own soul.⁵³

Montgomery became bolder as she grew older, and her protagonist in *The Blue Castle* (1926) abandons stifling orthodoxy for the unbridled spirituality of a backwoods chapel and the pantheism of the Muskoka wilderness.⁵⁴

Even more conservative wives were dismissive of clerical authority. Marion Keith described the weaknesses of the modern liberal preacher in *Duncan Polite: the Watchman of Glenoro* (1905) and *The Bells of St. Stephens* (1922). She contrasts the style of the new minister to his Calvinist predecessors:

In the good old days, so lately gone, when Mr. Cameron had visited with the members of the congregation, a pastoral visitation was not merely a social function, but a solemn religious ceremony.... There were the Catechism and Scripture verses to be heard from younger members of the family and personal questions to be asked. The minister must know just what progress each one was making on the upward road. . . . still more solemn had been the visitations of John Egerton's grandfather. That grand old apostle lived in the hard rough days, and his coming was often looked forward to with dread. His scorching rebuke of sin, his powerful personality and his complete consecration combined to make his visits a sort of foreshadowing of the great judgement day.

But John McAlpine Egerton belonged to a different era. He honestly wanted to do his duty, but his duty on this occasion, he felt, consisted in making himself agreeable to the Johnstone family, not knowing that the head of the household did not care one whit how disagreeable his pastor might be, so long as he was solemn. . . .⁵⁵

The new minister busies himself with social groups.⁵⁶ One old parishioner speaks for the older generation, and, it appears, the author: "His societies! Man, wi' his Y.P.S.C.E. and his

⁵³Cited in Gavin White, "The Religious Thought of L.M. Montgomery," in *Harvesting Thistles: The Textual Garden of L.M. Montgomery, Essays on her Novels and Journals*, ed. Mary Henley Rubio (Guelph, Ont.: Canadian Children's Press, 1994), 86.

⁵⁴L. M. Montgomery, *Blue Castle* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1926).

⁵⁵Marian Keith [MacGregor, Mary Esther]. *Duncan Polite: The Watchman of Glenoro* (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1905), 106-107.

⁵⁶"He even went so far as to get the older women out of their homes and before they knew what they were doing they had formed a Ladies Aid Society and were making plans to carpet and decorate the church." Keith, *Duncan Polite*, 119.

Y.M.C.A. an his X.Y.Z. fowk's heids are fair turned. Jist sparkin' bees, every ane o'them. An' him the biggest spark o' them a'. A Chreestian Endeavour Society! Man, where's he gaun to get it without the Chreestians?"⁵⁷ Lily Dougall published two very hostile reviews of this book in her review, *World Wide*.⁵⁸ What is intriguing, however, is the parallel with Dougall's anti-clericalism: Keith's criticism is reserved for the modern liberal clergyman and her polemics point back to a more authoritative clergy, but even she, the wife of Presbyterian minister, places religious authority in the hands of a layperson, old Duncan Polite.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Keith, *Duncan Polite*, 163.

⁵⁸Dougall's merciless reaction to the book reveals the degree of her animosity to lingering elements of Calvinist theology. She ran two separate reviews, in different issues of *World Wide*, dismissing the novel for its derivative characters and outdated theology. The review taken from the New York Times Saturday Review is satirical: "It's maist s'rprisin' leddy — an it's a leddy we're thinkin' ye'll be by yer name — that when the pioneers went awa' frae Scotland ae Canady they tuk sic'a wheen o' auld releegious notions wi' them." *World Wide* (July 15, 1905): 652. The British review, from the *Outlook*, is more gently dismissive: "Miss Keith has, however, entered on territory which is well occupied already, and if, in doing so, she challenges comparison with great writers she must take the consequences." *World Wide* (June 17, 1905): 571.

⁵⁹"It is an old man, Duncan Polite, who teaches "the spiritual side" the power of the Atonement to the children, and then sacrifices himself to save the village from a flood. "She knew her catechism perfectly and could repeat whole chapters of the Bible; she had never done anything wicked in her life, not even what *she* considered wicked, and she had supposed these qualifications were sufficient. Mr. Egerton had given her the impression that he thought so at least. Duncan Polite's conception of the act seemed entirely different. . . . 'My child,' [Duncan Polite] said tenderly, 'I will not be wise to tell you these things, but,' — he hesitated a moment and a tenderer light came over his face; his voice sank to a whisper — 'if you would be having the *vision*, the vision of Calvary; if you would be seeing how the Lord Jesus put away His life for us, you would be knowing then that His work is all and these other things will be just nothing.' . . . The old man's words were not all; piety creates its surrounding atmosphere, stronger than any verbal expression of it, and Duncan's manner said more than his tongue. . . .

"The visit always ended by their reading a few verses of the Bible together, and one day, before she left, Duncan laid his hand gently upon her curls and said softly, 'the Lord bless thee and keep thee!' and she went away feeling that a benediction had fallen upon her.

"At the time of these visits to Duncan Polite, Jessie was studying with other members of the Christian Endeavour Society, the Life of Christ. The meetings were well attended, and Mr. Egerton gave them a most graphic and interesting account of the historical and picturesque aspect of the wondrous season upon Earth of the Son of the Most High. But Jessie went up to the little shanty on the hilltop for the spiritual side. Under Duncan's gentle, humble dealing with the Divine mystery, the girl gradually came to comprehend, in a measure, what Duncan had termed 'the vision.' She understood at last, the meaning of the Great Sacrifice, besides which all possible human sacrifice stands poor and mean. She caught a gleam of the light from Calvary, and in its searching effulgent blaze all the faint glitter of worldly achievement grew dim and disappeared." Keith, *Duncan Polite*, 234-235; 237-238. In the conclusion, the liberal minister takes up another line of work, and Duncan's nephew takes on the ministry.

Keith's social gospel novel, *The Bells of St Stephens* (1922), continues many of the themes of *Duncan Polite*: a well-meaning but weak minister, a congregation distracted by material things, in this case fundraising

It would be easy to attribute the anti-clericalism in these novels to the secularisation of Canadian society. But these were the same novelists who were describing a pantheistic mysticism in cathedral-like forests and supernatural sunsets in Chapter Six. Spirituality was not simply fading away, but it was moving outside the church. Novels, as was observed in the discussion of the crisis-of-faith genre, are awkward vehicles for the serious discussion of theology. Dougall was increasingly frustrated with the limitations of the genre, and finally in 1900 turned to a genre more conducive to serious debate, the religious essay, in *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*. “I only know I had to write [*Pro Christo et Ecclesia*],” she told Earp, “as it seemed the outcome of all the things I have been trying to say for years and could not.”⁶⁰

8.3 F.D. Maurice and the Universal Church

Dougall makes no reference to F.D. Maurice in *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, but the book was a lyrical explication of some the central tenets of his liberal Anglican theology. Maurice’s theology is legendary for its obtuse complexity: “Of all the muddle-headed, intricate, futile persons I have ever studied,” Leslie Stephen complained, “[Maurice] was about the most

for the bells of the title, an older member of the Plymouth Brethren, Johnnie Petatie, who is the spiritual mainstay of the community, and whose stepson marries the heroine. But they are situated within a strong social gospel message about the neglected poor, and Duncan’s fierce emphasis on the atonement has muted to an emphasis on prayer: “And I learn every time that Johnny Petatie’s secret is communion with his father. We must learn that lesson too, and some day the bells of St. Stephen’s will ring out such a peal that the town will be full of music.” Keith, *Bells of St Stephen’s*, 263.

⁶⁰Lily Dougall to M.S. Earp, nd, 1898. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 182.

bewildering.”⁶¹ Maurice’s understanding of the church is particularly difficult. Maurice distinguished between the petty religious world, which is made up of sectarian religious authorities, and the universal church, which is the manifestation on earth of the “Divine Order,” the eternal and unchanging Kingdom of God. In Maurice’s theology, the Kingdom of God was not a future aspiration but already encompassed all of humanity as alternate mystical reality.⁶² Knowledge about this kingdom is unfolding progressively, through the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and finally the Pentecost. In the Pentecost, the Holy Spirit gave the disciples and the church, through apostolic succession, perfect knowledge of the reality of the Kingdom of God.

The Church exists in the world as a witness to mankind that there is a continual, divine, gracious government over it --. The Church is to declare, that the spiritual and eternal kingdom which God has prepared for them that love Him, is about men now, and that they may enter into it --. To bring these truths practically home to the minds and hearts of human beings, is, it seems to me, the great function of a Church.⁶³

Maurice has been criticised for equating the universal church with the Church of England, and forcing his mystical sense of the divine order into a conservative Anglican Church. As J.S. Mill wrote,

Great powers of generalization, rare ingenuity and subtlety, and a wide perception of important and unobvious truths, served him not for putting something better into the place of the worthless heap of received opinions on the great subjects of thought, but for proving to his own mind, that the Church of England had known everything from the first.⁶⁴

⁶¹ F.W. Maitland, *The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen* (London: Duckworth and Co., 1906), 240. Cited in McClain, et.al. *F.D. Maurice*, 61.

⁶² Torben Christenson, *The Divine Order: A Study in F.D. Maurice's Theology* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 53.

⁶³ F.D. Maurice, *The Patriarchs*, XX-XXII. Cited in Christenson, *Maurice*, 254.

⁶⁴ *Autobiography of J.S. Mill* (New York: 1924). Cited in Olive J. Brose, *F.D. Maurice: Rebellious Conformist* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1971), 88.

Similarly Otto Pfleiderer wrote,

While he teaches on the one hand that the entire human race is created and has its essential nature in Christ as its ideal Head, he seems to maintain on the other hand that it is only in the Church of England that the Kingdom of Christ has attained actual existence. This is a contradiction that a German intellect finds hard to comprehend, or can only explain by supposing that the strong national feeling of the Englishman had got the better of the intellect of the theologian.⁶⁵

More recently, a biographer, Olive Brose, has also pointed out the incongruity between Maurice's radical conception of the Kingdom of Christ and his conservative endorsement of the Anglican Church.⁶⁶

Maurice does not argue, however, that the Anglican Church offers exclusive access to the Kingdom of God: "God is living and reigning and -- He has not delegated His powers to any body of ministers or shut up His grace in any ceremonies."⁶⁷ Individuals are already members of the kingdom, and the ordinances of the church mark only the increasing knowledge of, rather than access to, that membership. Baptism is a witness to an existing relationship with God, rather than a change in status. Similarly the eucharist and the ministry function as visible signs of an eternal truth rather than instruments of redemption.

In contrast to the universal church, Maurice posed what he called the "religious world": those sectarians who try to control access to God. They set themselves apart from the world, consider themselves superior, and claim that their rules determine the salvation or eternal damnation of the individual. As Torben Christenson has explained:

⁶⁵Pfleiderer, *The Development of Theology* (1890), 378. Cited in Vidler, *Maurice and Company*, 186.

⁶⁶Brose, *Maurice*.

⁶⁷F.D. Maurice, *Sermons* I, 51-52. Cited in Christenson, *Maurice*, 255.

The basic reason for Maurice's antagonism to the religious world is that all its preaching and activity imply that mankind has fallen from God and can be saved only through the life and death of the incarnate Christ, a salvation made accessible to the individual through the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments as the divinely instituted means of grace. It is this idea of Christianity which for Maurice ultimately constitutes the denial and apostasy of the religious world. Because it has not recognised that Christ is the living Head of humanity and always has fellowship with every man, it is a sect which has reduced Christ to the status of the founder of a religion and the Saviour only for those who belong to the sect.⁶⁸

The sectarian religious world threatened to destroy the universal church, from without by undermining its teachings, and from within by turning the universal church into yet another sect. And so every true prophet has to fight the religious world. "So the prophets of old found; so the apostles found; so the reformers found; so it was in the days when our Lord walked upon the earth. All had to contend with the religious world of their day -- He most of all."⁶⁹ Maurice identified the Jewish sects in Christ's time as displaying all the characteristics of the sectarian religious world. "For a Lord over their own hearts they had substituted the notion of an outward Christ, who was to be identified by certain particulars of place and time, which must be ascertained by studying the letters of a book."⁷⁰ In his own time he identified the evangelicals, and to a lesser extent the Tractarians as members of this group, and he felt it presented a constant threat to the universality of the Anglican Church.

Pro Christo et Ecclesia was a lyrical exposition of Maurice's argument. Dougall adopted Maurice's description of Christ's battle with the religious world. "The world that

⁶⁸Christenson, *Maurice*, 258-259.

⁶⁹F.D. Maurice, *Sacrifice*, XLI. Cited in Christenson, *Maurice*, 258.

⁷⁰F.D. Maurice, *The Gospel of St. John*, 346-347. Cited in Christenson, *Maurice*, 259, n. 60.

hated Jesus was the religious world.”⁷¹ She described Christ as a liberal fighting against the Sadducees, “those orthodox and stagnant in belief,” and the Pharisees, “those progressive in belief, determined to govern the whole life by an increasing application of religious law and increasing separation from evil doers.”⁷² Christ was, by implication, a religious liberal, fighting the conservatives among the Tractarians and the evangelicals.⁷³ As her modernist friend, Canon B.H. Streeter, wrote: “In effect it is an appeal to people inside the churches, who are genuinely religious and believe that they stand for the cause of true religion, whether they may not be standing, like the zealous Pharisees of old, for a religion which resembles Pharisaism more closely than the religion of Christ.”⁷⁴

Maurice focused upon the evangelicals in his criticism of the religious world, and Dougall argued that Christ’s greatest anger was reserved for their Judaic equivalent, the Pharisees. Dougall’s historical approach and metaphorical style allowed her to avoid identifying any particular parties or sects. Although she did mention the modern

⁷¹[Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 124.

⁷²[Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 4.

⁷³The analogy is not a simple one, but the Sadducees, who were the aristocratic and priestly caste in Judaic society, appear to stand for the Tractarians and other conservatives within the Anglican hierarchy. The Pharisees, described by Dougall as progressive but separatist, resembles most closely evangelicals, although Dougall notes similarities to elements in the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian churches. “Briefly, Sadduceeism was characterized by sober reason and a reverence for that part of the national religion which had become historic: in secular matters their judgment was not biased by the enthusiasms of faith; in religion they did not believe in adding to the doctrine of their fathers. . . . The Sadducees, in religion, were conservative to a very high degree.

“The Pharisees, practicing the law as interpreted by oral tradition, entered the devout life by choice. Almost all the pious among the common people, and some of the priestly class, were on their side. . . . [T]he legal observances had for their chief aim the dissociation of the pious from the impious. We can have no difficulty in sympathizing with this, for is it not an advantage in our own estimation? I could quote, were the sentiment too familiar to repeat, many passages from recent manuals of devotion. Romanist and Anglican. . . . Or again the writings of the more pronounced evangelical school are full of exhortations to separation from ‘the world.’” [Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 23-25.

⁷⁴ Dougall, *God’s Way*, 13.

“Puritans” of Mildmay and Keswick, Dougall generally made sweeping condemnations:

“[Christ] said that the impious vices were nearer to God than any conservative religion, or any form of zealous piety which, having its root in a personal or party desire for heavenly favour, imprisons the generous emotions in an assured doctrine of a God whose character is a reflection of human selfishness.”⁷⁵ Her language could be biting:

Jesus would have no share in any outward act which was set up as a test of spiritual condition . . . Even when the ceremony was harmless he replied, “I take my stand outside your way, with those who, you say, know not the law and are cursed. I neglect your rite, despise your interpretations of Scripture and make my friends among those who ignore them. See now if you can recognise God’s inspiration in another form. And those Pharisees could not. Let us remember that the devout among them thanked God for their privileges, that they coupled this gratitude with an unrelenting zeal for converts, and with a sense also that there was something of a redeeming force for the many in the faithfulness of the few. Had they lived nowadays we might have defended them, saying how very good they were — “very narrow, bigoted, in fact, but that is almost a necessary consequence of intensity.” Jesus Christ called them “children of hell.”⁷⁶

Just as she had in her first unpublished novel, Dougall tapped her old anger at her evangelical father. Sectarians were the “children of Hell.”

Liberals were Christlike; at one point Dougall goes so far as to compare Christ to higher critics and modern philosophers.⁷⁷ She turns religious uncertainty into a sign of truth and argues that one of the signs of the religious sectarian is an unfounded sense of assurance. Dougall wrote lyrically: “their assurances had built a wall round the heart,

⁷⁵ Dougall, *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 72. She identifies Mildmay and Keswick on page 181, and the Salvation Army, Keswick, and the Student Volunteer Movement, in a note on page 132.

⁷⁶ [Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 43-44.

⁷⁷ “What would be our mental attitude towards a being as evidently exalted and powerful who should appear today and contradict what seem to us the obvious tenets of revealed religion, reviling us for our favourite forms of piety. Let us conceive of him, for example, handling our canon of Scripture as roughly as the most destructive of the higher critics, showing himself as indifferent to sacrament and religious service as our modern philosophers, eating the bread and salt of corrupt politicians, receiving gifts from women of doubtful character, and consorting with the ignorant in preference to the clergy.” Dougall, *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 43.

which is the organ of sight, a wall composed of the stern fibre of their very conscience.”

Assurance caused the deadly sin of pride, and the resulting separatism. Christ, in comparison, offered no literal answers: “His answers to all questions, of followers or enemies, are at once like a rift in the heaven above, and a yawning of the earth beneath. They open the mind to the heights and depths involved in the matter, before undreamed of, and fill the new sense of ignorance they create with some new aphorism of limitless significance.” Even deep spirituality offers no assurance: “Whatever be the meaning of that mystical dipping into the unseen world of the soul, the sense of personal contact and comfort which by psychic law is the inevitable result of absorbed prayer, it is evident that personal experience can supply no criterion of opinion.”⁷⁸ The best that humanity could reach was “an earnest waiting,” “a dim notion,” the “ignorance of adoration.” The lack of assurance that in other philosophies might lead to doubt and disbelief, became in Dougall’s work the cornerstone of faith.

Maurice’s idea of the Kingdom of God informed Dougall’s thought throughout her life. As late as 1918, she wrote to the Roman Catholic modernist, Maud Petre: “I think in the main I agree with you as far as I understand your meaning with regard to spiritual union. Perhaps I differ slightly in thinking that the spiritual union exists more widely at present than you do, and needs only to be manifested, rather than to be brought into being.”⁷⁹ Dougall was too much of a North American, however, and too much her father’s daughter to entirely accept Maurice’s identification of the Anglican Church with

⁷⁸[Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 161, 73-74, 180, 80.

⁷⁹ Lily Dougall to Maud Petre, February 25, 1918, Cutts End, Cumnor. The British Library, London, AD 45, 744.

the universal church. In this and increasingly in later works, she sought the same unity through an ecumenicism that embraced all Christian churches under one umbrella. Maurice had provided grounds for this departure in his criticisms of the Tractarians. Dougall made repeated criticisms of Anglican exclusivity in her fiction: this doctrine was the fatal weakness of her Tractarian minister in “Lovereen,” she refers to it in *The Spanish Dowry* and she played out this debate again in her last piece of fiction, *Paths of the Righteous*.⁸⁰ In *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, Dougall’s position on the church is left open. When she wrote of the Church, capitalising the word, she appears to be describing the entire Christian body of believers, rather than the Anglican Church. The following passage suggests how she drew upon Maurice’s understanding of the church as a vehicle of truth while broadening this to include the “manifold diversity” of Christian thought:

The blind Church which cannot accept the spiritual religion of Christ in its purity and entirety, until it has read the continuation of its own selfish and material religions into it and out of it once more, is led by ways that it knows not; and we see in the more intimate record of any age of the Church that the divine life quickens successively now one phase of religious thought and another, as if that which had become hackneyed could not be its vehicle. Are we not, therefore, bound to believe that in the manifold diversity of Christian fellowship, in the long stream of thought and sentiment that flows throughout Christian literature, there is room and food for all possibilities, for all limitations of the individual, who is surely safe with God if he will but honestly pray. Just as in natural things, isolate himself as he will, he is still an organic part of the race, moving with it in its development, so when he prays he is lapped around by The Spirit that informs the Church; think what he may, do what he may, he must move with the great march of the world-soul advancing to its God.⁸¹

⁸⁰When the Tractarian in “Lovereen” is invited to speak on morals to a Nonconformist audience he speaks instead on the exclusive authority of the Anglican Church: the “apostolic succession and the gifts that come to us in an unbroken stream of soul healing thus proceeding from the Lord in whom we all adore.” He tells them that those outside the church, who had not received the sacraments could not receive the fullness of Divine grace. His speech has the effect of “an explosive war shell,” and he is chased through town by a mob throwing eggs. “Lovereen,” Vol.II, p. 169-172. See also Dougall, *Spanish Dowry*, 62; *Paths of the Righteous*, 10, 246-247, 406.

⁸¹[Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 187.

A Hegelian sense of the irreversible progress of the world Spirit, “the great march of the world-soul,” allows Dougall to place confidence in a broader sense of the universal church. The progressive individuals in every denomination are moving in the same direction. Many Anglican liberals shared Dougall’s ecumenicism. There is, however, even sometimes in Dougall’s work, a lingering Mauricean echo in the underlying assumption that the ecumenical unity was, ultimately, an Anglican one.

8.4 Christian Socialism

Christian Socialists were enthusiastic about *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*; Canon Scott Holland praised the essay in *The Commonwealth* for its “singular spiritual insight.”⁸² Dougall’s subsequent theological books were oriented toward these well-educated progressive individuals. The Christian Social Union (CSU), as the most moderate and the most popular of Christian socialist organizations, provided a large (and wealthy) audience; by 1900 there were 4,000-6,000 members in Britain, and a substantial number of transatlantic branches, with an additional 1,000 members, including such social reformers as W.D.P.

⁸²Scott Holland guessed that the author was a woman, although Dougall’s identity remained a secret for a number of years. Review in the *Commonwealth* dated November, 1900. Cited in Earp “Selected Letters,” 183. A positive review of *Absente Reo* (London: Macmillan, 1910) from *Commonwealth* is cited in the endpapers of subsequent books, including *The Practice of Christianity* (London: Macmillan, 1913): “Whatever ‘our views’ are we ought to be glad to have this kindly and keen critic at our elbow.” Scott Holland appears to have assisted in subsequent revisions. See the letter from Dougall’s publisher, Macmillan and Co., on November 21, 1900 discussing revisions: “We are glad to hear that Canon Scott Holland has dealt with the point to which we called attention.” BL, LDP, 6.

Bliss and Vida Scudder, in the United States.⁸³ It was upper-class and academic -- disparaged as "socialism for bishops" -- but Dougall had loved Oxford and was comfortable in this milieu.⁸⁴ Her audience, she felt, had never been the "ordinary middle-class reader."⁸⁵ Many members were Anglo-Catholic. Dougall's books followed the fortunes of the CSU closely. The CSU was at its height in 1908, and disappeared in Britain after World War One.⁸⁶ Dougall's Christian socialist books were correspondingly published in 1907, 1910, 1912, and 1913.

The critical edge of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* was still present in these books. *Christus Futurus* had, *The Manchester Guardian* noted, "the charm of style, the illuminating flashes of originality and the insistent desire to pierce through religious convention to the very mind of Christ which arrested us in the former volume."⁸⁷ They were aimed, however, at the "regeneration of corporate humanity," and drew more

⁸³See Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914, Religion, Class, and Social Conscience in Late-Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), Chapter VI. John C. Cort says membership in Great Britain grew to 6,000 at its height, including 16 of 53 bishops. *Christian Socialism, An Informal History* (May Knoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1988).

Edward Pulker has argued that Canadian Anglicans did not share the Christian socialism of the British Anglicans and American Episcopalians; he argued their conservatism on social reform was the product of a more agrarian society. He does not, however, provide a great deal of evidence for this position. *We Stand on their Shoulders; The Growth of Social Concern in Canadian Anglicanism* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1986).

⁸⁴"By 1908, the CSU had thoroughly permeated the Church of England, especially the hierarchy; it was a form of "socialism" for bishops." Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 217.

⁸⁵As she had told her publisher about her fiction, "it is not the ordinary middle class reader that has been attracted to my BA [*Beggars All*] nor have I the capacity I think for writing for that class." Lily Dougall to A.P. Watt, nd., BL, LDP, 7. "We have been having so many visitors lately," she told her brother in 1915. "It is a little difficult to take Christian credit for hospitality, however, as they are one and all solidly rich; but I find the rich are as much in need of spiritual hospitality as the poor." Earp, "Selected Letters," 243.

⁸⁶Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 216.

⁸⁷Review cited in the end pages of *Voluntas Dei*.

frequently on the metaphor of the Kingdom of God. *Christus Futurus* was a series of essays on the realisation of the Kingdom, as a message of joy and love rather than retribution. *The Practice of Christianity* was, in Dougall's words, "a criticism of our present civilization as judged by the Christlike temper of uncompromising faith and hope and charity." In a lyrical, but slightly hectoring tone, Dougall criticised the existing "City of Destruction" in chapters on the penal system, warfare, personal violence, poverty, and competition, and called for the "Pilgrimage of the Soul."

The most tightly written of these books, *Absente Reo*, was an indictment of British privilege and Anglican conservatism. It was structured in the form of a series of letters from a lay Anglican to a fictional young minister. Dougall described the Anglican Church as a decaying and hypocritical institution, closely tied to the privileged and wealthy members of its congregation, focused on the externals of religion, and blind to both social justice and true spirituality.⁸⁸ Dougall still wrote with a provocative and playful tone. One reviewer of *Absente Reo* noted that "the author rides full tilt at clerical narrowness, intellectual unfitness and social conventionality, yet in such a kindly fashion that no offence can be taken."⁸⁹ We sense her delight in preaching to the men who usually preached to her:

God is life and the fuller life comes only from Him. But this impulse of fuller religion implies independence of hackneyed thought, getting into the mountains of the soul at night time, and meeting there with God, going out a great while before it is day into the solitudes of the spiritual life.

⁸⁸[Lily Dougall], *Absente Reo* (London: Macmillan, 1910). She argued that the clergy were still tied to an older version of the ideal: "Negative virtue, scrupulosity in personal religious observances, a tithe of time and income given to the poor, and intellectual assent to the creed" p. 42.

⁸⁹*Harrow Gazette*, October 29, 1911. Envelope labelled "Reviews, *Absente Reo*," BL, LDP, 6.

And you --what are you doing? Is not the greater part of your time spent in forcing, as it were, the nose of the laity to the grindstone of hackneyed words, hackneyed ideas, hackneyed responsibilities.⁹⁰

She argued that the church had lost touch with the age, and would not be able to give a definitive answer to the doubts raised by biblical criticism and historicism. Nor would it be able to keep its congregation if it continued to fashion itself in a hierarchical form, and administer charity rather than social justice. "You must preach a new doctrinal argument, a better social life and civil order, a deeper spiritual life, if you are to hold the people."⁹¹

Dougall criticised the minister (described as a reader of CSU tracts) for failing to support the younger members of the congregation who had a new vision:

When this iron-master's son came home from the university filled with the new conceptions of what the Kingdom of God would mean for young and old, rich and poor, did you frankly side with him

When Mrs. Smith's daughter returned from her training at the slum "settlement" her eyes dazzled with the new vision, did you stand by her and tell all your frightened feminine followers that they must learn what she had to teach? or did you help them to prune her down to their own level?⁹²

The book was surprisingly mystical; the answer to the threats of doubt and social injustice she says, can be found in recourse to the indwelling voice of God. Sophie Earp wrote: "Perhaps the central idea of the book may be said to be the importance of personal illumination rather than the ceremonial forms which accompany that inward illumination and vary with age."⁹³ One reviewer described her as a mystic, and Dougall told Oakeley

⁹⁰[Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 209-210.

⁹¹[Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 67.

⁹²She also lashed out at women parish visitors: "Many of them visit the poor without the least hope that those they visit will be anything else but poor. They teach them to do their duty in that state of life unto which it has pleased God to call them, and do not observe that they misquote and slander the Catechism." [Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 45.

⁹³Earp, "Selected Letters," 219. *Absente Reo* appears, from the letters from the publisher, to have been accepted quickly for publication (December 10, 1909), received good reviews, sold rather slowly ('fallen

that she felt she might have neglected the outer forms of religion in this book, in her attempt to stress the inner life.⁹⁴

8.5 The Mystical Kingdom of God

The mystical component of Dougall's Christian socialism comes as a surprise to those schooled in the recent historiography of practical and efficient social activists. It is frequently argued, most effectively in Canada by Ramsay Cook, that with the turn to social reform the church had lost its mystical dimension. Social Gospellers had brought the Kingdom of God down to earth and in the process had stripped the Kingdom of its otherworldly dimensions. As the discussion of F.D. Maurice in Chapter One suggests, however, this reading is based on the American social gospel. Dougall's Christian socialism was a social reform theology built upon a complex otherworldliness.

It was not that Dougall was unaware of the practicalities of reform. As her health improved, she attended numerous conferences and meetings with Earp. She wrote to Hilda Oakeley:

We have had an arduous and somewhat exciting holiday – “The Destitution Conference,” “The Fabian School,” the quarrymen at Festiniog, the miners at Methyr; then a farm in Herefordshire. All these have been visited with a conscientious desire to get to the bottom of things and a sense of stupidity and

rather flat,’ June 29, 1910) but steadily (“as the sales keep up quite satisfactorily,” September 21, 1910). A letter written on April 10, 1913 seems to indicate that the total sales from the time of publication were 1,376 copies, compared to 2,162 copies of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* and 2,272 copies of *Christus Futurus*. Of these 159 copies sold in America. George Macmillan to Lily Dougall or Sophie Earp, BL, LDP, 6.

⁹⁴Lily Dougall to H.D.O. [Hilda Oakely], Melbourne, Derbyshire, September 7, 1910. Earp, “Selected Letters,” 220.

timidity which made one feel shockingly like a mere sightseer and quite incapable of realising the human toil and distress that ought to evoke tears.⁹⁵

Her sympathies lay more with progressive and secular reformers than with those she called self-righteous Christians:

Those who believe in and work for the triumph of the principles of Christ are surely much nearer to the Kingdom -- be their name for the Highest Good what it may -- than are those who, with the name of Christ perpetually on their lips, despair of earthly progress or hope only in the triumph of the purse or of the sword.⁹⁶

In 1910, Dougall and Sophie Earp attended Beatrice Webb's Fabian summer school.

Dougall wrote to Webb:

I was very much struck with the temper of the school. There was in everyone there a mood of buoyant comradeship, hopefulness in the human possibilities of their fellows, and a most generous tolerance for failure. We heard many critical remarks but not one spoken in a grudging or discontented spirit. With regard to the lectures, of course, they left us all heavily in your debt. I do not recall one minute of boredom in all the hours I spent in the schoolhouse, and I recollect a great many hours of very lively interest and pleasure. I have made several Fabian friends that I shall not lightly lose sight of.⁹⁷

⁹⁵Lily Dougall to H.D.O. [Hilda Oakeley]. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 218-219.

⁹⁶[Dougall], *Practice*, 230-231. The passage reads in full: "Christianity is the acceptance of the Christ, not as interpreted by the world's morality but by the implications of His own sayings and example -- by His own insight into the things that were on the side of omnipotence and had survival value -- together with the faith that His divine and universal reign is at hand if men will. Duties are not performed more faithfully in this faith than an atheist or agnostic can perform them, but the whole atmosphere of the soul is changed by it, the most trivial gossip of home or club or market is of a different character. In the light of the faith of Christ thus conceived the problem of the sexes, the problem of capital and labour, the problem of the backward races, the problem of international relations, pass out of the region of storm and darkness, of just grievance, ridiculous assumption, and selfish passion, into the sunny morning light of affiance in God and practical wit. For when in this faith we say that 'in Christ' there is neither male nor female, bond nor free, forward nor backward races, home land nor foreign land, the words 'in Christ' do not merely refer to an unearthly sphere, undefined, incomprehensible, but also to the insight of Christianised social sense in the practical statesmanship of earth. Without this faith the City of Destruction, for the civilisation that is not co-operating with God is certain to become disintegrated. . . ."

Along similar lines she wrote, "Many of the paths to God that have been called Christianity are no more Christian than the other ways [Buddhism, social reform, science] just mentioned. These are lanes, even tunnels; by which the earnest soul gravitates at length as all souls must do, to the spiritual centre, which is God." [Dougall], *Practice*, 271.

⁹⁷Earp, "Selected Letters," 217. Webb's personal recollections of the summer school were more critical. She wrote in her diary: "Halfway through the very exhausting process of directing the Fabian summer school. On the whole more satisfactory than I had expected. The first fortnight, with the somewhat

She continued to correspond with Webb for a number of years.

Nevertheless, Dougall felt that the real change needed was in the hearts of humanity. "I am sure that all the doing in the world is no good, unless it proceeds from, results spontaneously from, a growing aliveness to God," she had written to Sophie in 1892.⁹⁸ This attitude was a long-standing one, probably stemming from her evangelical childhood. As we noted in Chapter Three, the Dougalls had little patience with social work that did not arise from a changed heart. Dougall was scathing about church charity in her first novel, *Beggars All*. The protagonist in her last novel, *Paths of the Righteous*, says on her conversion:

I don't want to go away and be a hospital nurse or a ministering angel to any set of people, or give jam to the poor, and I'm quite determined to give up my class in Sunday School. I think it's very right to do all those things, but just now for me they don't go deep enough or far enough to touch either the terrible pain or the terrible joy of life. . . . Good and evil seem so much more real than ever before, and so terribly different from one another; and the good, you know, is so much greater that if people would only bask in it and take it in and grow in it, they would set about the reform of life in a different way. They would go about it

remarkable party we had here and the many interesting and influential persons who had congregated at the national conference [of the Poor Law Campaign], was really profitable from the standpoint of propaganda and personal influence. But I cannot say that even this fortnight was exactly 'enjoyable.' To keep house for twenty persons and be accessible to another hundred, as well as lecturing three or four times in the week, is a strain on nerves. Since our more especial friends and supporters have left, we have been surrounded by a miscellaneous crowd, all kindly and well-bred and interested, but not exciting in themselves, and some of them ugly and crude in mind and manners. Still my dominant impression is of the 'well-bredness' of this extraordinarily mixed assembly: I.L.P. organisers, medical officers of health, teachers, minor officials of all sorts, social workers, literary men, journalists and even such out-of-the-way recruits as auctioneers and unregistered dentists, all living in extremely close quarters, and yet not getting on each others nerves through too great a disparity of speech and behaviour. It is a wonderful instance of the civilising effect of a common purpose and a common faith." She regretted the dearth of university men, and the lack of seriousness on the part of those who came, as well as the emphasis in the last four of the six weeks on recreation rather than education." Beatrice Webb, *The Diary of Beatrice Webb*, Vol. 3, 1905-1924 *"The Power to Alter Things,"* eds. Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie (London: Virago, 1984), 141-144.

⁹⁸Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, October 21, 1892. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 112..

gently and effectually as the mushrooms when they lift up stones. Just now we are all running about like ants, and the stones are not rolled away.⁹⁹

Her interest lay in the “terrible pain and terrible joy of life”; touch these she argued, and reform would grow, like “mushrooms when they lift up stones.” An inveterate meeting goer and letter writer, Dougall argued in *Christus Futurus* that society did not need a “calling of meetings, or much talking, or letters in the newspapers; still less do we want organization of new societies. These may have their place, but they are not essential -- each must individually form new purpose.”¹⁰⁰

Mauricean Christian socialism provided a practical and politicised reform built upon this “growing aliveness to God.” His concept of the Kingdom of God suggests a complex trope, a vision of the future that was grounded in an experiential present. As we saw in Chapter One, Maurice interpreted the Kingdom of God as an all-embracing divine order. Individuals did not simply work toward a Kingdom of God on earth or nervously await the second coming. Rather they were *already* members of an eternal kingdom, and they only had to recognize their existing relationships with God and each other to bring about the Kingdom of God on earth.

The concept is a complicated one, built upon Maurice’s non-linear sense of time and his controversial interpretation of the word “eternity.” Maurice had argued that eternity was already in existence and could be experienced within time. “I maintain that Time and Eternity coexist here. The difficulty is to recognize the Eternal State under our

⁹⁹Dougall, *Paths of the Righteous*, 298.

¹⁰⁰[Lily Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 328.

Temporal conditions; not to lose Eternity in Time.”¹⁰¹ It was a Johannine sense of eternity as an alternate dimension. (The roots lay, at least in part, in Coleridge, who argued: “The true and only contra-position of the Christian Church is to the world. Her paramount aim and object indeed, is *another* world, not a world *to come* exclusively, but likewise *another world that now is*, and to the concerns of which the epithet spiritual, can without a mischievous abuse of the word be applied.”¹⁰²) Maurice’s application of this concept of eternity to the problem of eternal punishment resulted in his being removed from King’s College, London.

Dougall adopted this concept of eternity, and its implications for the Kingdom of God.¹⁰³ She was already drawing upon this liberal Mauricean theology at the age of nineteen when she attempted to explain herself to a disapproving young member of the premillennialist Plymouth Brethren:

For instance you believe that Christ will come to set up his visible kingdom upon earth perhaps next week, perhaps next year. We believe He is close beside us always, not only as a God and King, but as a friend, and as the Kingdom of Heaven is in men’s hearts now, so it will be in the Millenium when all men come to him.¹⁰⁴

Twenty-two years later she described the kingdom as an existing entity, as well as an emerging, future one: “Jesus taught that we must first find *within* us the Kingdom -- the purposes and works of the Spirit -- before that Kingdom can be realized in the complex

¹⁰¹Cited in McClain, *Maurice*, 70.

¹⁰² S.T. Coleridge, *On the Constitution of Church and State*, edited by H.N. Coleridge (London: Wm. Pickering, 1839). 127.

¹⁰³F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ, or Hints to a Quaker, respecting the principles, constitution and ordinances of the Catholic Church*, 2d ed., (London: Rivington, 1842).

¹⁰⁴ Lily Dougall to unknown, November 1, 1879. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 23.

harmony of the external life.”¹⁰⁵ The Kingdom of God was not simply a moral ideal, but an alternative reality that existed outside of time as it was being realised in time.¹⁰⁶ Dougall lived then as a citizen in two kingdoms, the Kingdom of God and the earthly kingdom, and it was the power of the first kingdom that drove reform in the second. In her translation of the Lord’s Prayer in *Christus Futurus*, she wrote, instead of “Thy Kingdom come,” “Thy Kingdom be within and around us.”¹⁰⁷ Her translation is a deliberate and typically audacious departure from the Greek that suggests a kingdom that is both within, in the form of a mystical experience of God, and around, in the form of the battle for social justice.

This was a mystical vision, but, as one of the reviewers of *The Practice of Christianity* noted, it was a rational and militant mysticism: “The mysticism of this book is not the ‘Quietism’ of the medieval saint. The love sought after is to be militant in its attitude to life.”¹⁰⁸ Communion with God came first, but it led inevitably and necessarily to social reform. As Dougall wrote: “Thus the Kingdom of God, when really within men, makes for the Kingdom of God manifested in outward conditions,”¹⁰⁹ and later: “We are in communion with true God only in the degree in which we are seeking the salvation of the world. The Kingdom within is the missionary spirit, and thus the pilgrimage of the soul is

¹⁰⁵[Dougall], *The Practice of Christianity*.

¹⁰⁶“Those who thus live in the temper inculcated by Jesus are at present within the Kingdom.”[Dougall], *Practice*, 246.

¹⁰⁷[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 57. This wording is a fairly free interpretation of the original Greek, albeit one that might be supported by a critical reading of the concept of the Kingdom of God in the New Testament.

¹⁰⁸Anonymous, “Rational Mysticism,” *The New Statesman*, June 6, 1914. Clipping file, BL, LDP., 7.

¹⁰⁹[Dougall], *Practice*, 32.

inevitably a missionary journey.”¹¹⁰ Dougall wrote in *Christus Futurus*, “We turn to the Gospels and find that their main theme is a ‘Kingdom’ *both present and eternal*, to which Jesus calls all men, of which he is the king. This implies that he still lives in an invisible world of spirit, very near; still calls us to enter and enjoy the Kingdom, to proclaim its power and suffer for its sake.”¹¹¹ Later, in *The Practice of Christianity* (1913), she suggested that it has “been one of the greatest mistakes in religion to suppose that prayer can ever be as effective when divorced from social activity.”¹¹²

Maurice had been criticised by fellow Christian socialists for his other-worldly focus. Ludlow had challenged him in 1852:

Surely the whole work of Christianity is building not digging . . . it does seem to me that you are liable to be carried away by Platonistic dreams about an Order, and a Kingdom, and a Beauty, self-realized in their own eternity, and which so put to shame all pretended earthly counterparts that it becomes labor lost to attempt anything like an earthly realization of them, and all one has to do is to show them, were it only in glimpses, to others by tearing away the cobwebs of human systems that conceal them. I do not think this is Christianity.¹¹³

In response, Maurice argued that the reformer should not invent something new, but rather rediscover the eternal and divine pattern for society:

Let people call me merely a philosopher, or merely anything else, or what they will; my business because I am a Theologian and have no vocation except for theology is not to build but to dig; to show that economics and politics [. . .] must have a ground beneath themselves; that Society is not to be made anew by arrangements of ours but is to be regenerated by finding the law and ground of its Order and Harmony, the only secret of its existence, in God . . . to preach the

¹¹⁰[Dougall], *Practice*, 236.

¹¹¹Emphasis added. [Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 16.

¹¹²[Dougall], *The Practice of Christianity*, 253. The passage is prefaced: “it is a very serious question whether it has not been one of the greatest mistakes”

¹¹³ Manuscript letter of 13/9 1852 from Ludlow to Maurice. Cited in Torben Christensen, *Origin and History of Christian Socialism, 1848-54* (Copenhagen: Universitetsforlaget I Aarhus: 1962), 306.

Gospel of that Kingdom, the fact that it is among us, and not to be set up at all, is my calling and business.¹¹⁴

The CSU was also criticised for its lack of programmatic reform; the Mauricean defence given by the mystical Bishop Westcott that “it is not the office of the church to propose any social programme but to enforce eternal principles.”¹¹⁵ Dougall was vulnerable to this same criticism. In *Christus Futurus* she argues explicitly against greater organisation:

We do not need to turn our attention to a better organization, still less do we want to break down such organizations as exist. We want the intense realization, based upon psychological fact, based upon the highest inspiration of the prophets, based upon the teaching and practice of Jesus, that those who offer to God the same thoughts, the same desires, the same adoration, have not to hope for union with one another — they are in union with one another, their union is not to become a strength, but is a strength, — a strength which no outward organization, having its own sort of strength, can increase. We need to remember that those who are thus united to one another in purpose are at the same time at one with the purposes of God, are members of an organism whose health and growth are of God, and that the consummation of his purposes is sure.¹¹⁶

Her books offered no political or economic analysis, and even her most reformist book, *The Practice of Christianity*, consists of sweeping condemnations of war and selfishness, rather than specific reforms.

¹¹⁴F.D. Maurice, *Life*, Vol. II, 136-137. See also Maurice, *Kingdom of Christ*, I, 258 with reference to philosophical movements: “. . . if humanity be essentially spiritual, the reconciling method may already exist, and that the work of our age maybe not to create it afresh, but to discover its meaning and realize its necessity.”

¹¹⁵Prefatory note to W. Moore Ede, *The Attitude of the Church to some of the Social Problems of Town Life* (1896), viii. Cited in Vidler, *Maurice*, 261. B.F. Westcott, the Bishop of Durham, was the first president of the CSU. “Westcott was essentially a scholar, a mystic even, . . . a Mauricean through and through . . . His socialism was of course ill-defined; the word meant to him (as to Fremantle) a life-theory the opposite of individualism, and which conceives of humanity as an organic whole and adopts cooperation rather than competition as its method of constructing a social system . . .” Jones, *Christian Socialism*, 179-180. Vidler has argued that Westcott came independently to positions held earlier by Maurice, but his argument, that Westcott had not read extensively in Maurice’s work, does not seem to take into account the strong likelihood of an indirect influence. See Vidler, *Maurice and Company*, Chapter 13, “Westcott’s Christian Socialism.”

¹¹⁶[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 309.

Christian socialism ebbed after the Great War, as scientific social reform distanced itself from religious impulses, and Dougall turned to more purely religious issues with *Concerning Prayer* (1916). She continued to ally herself with progressive groups, even as the gap between them widened, and felt the distinctions between her work and the scientific socialism of Fabians like Beatrice Webb were largely ones of language. She was hurt by Webb's criticism of *Concerning Prayer*. She referred in a letter to Webb about the good work Webb was doing "for what you call humanity and I call the Kingdom of God" -- and was disappointed that Webb did not see the matter in the same light.¹¹⁷

On first consideration, Dougall appears in this letter to be rather naïvely out of touch with Webb's progressive reform movement. Biographical work on Webb, however, reveals that Webb was inspired at least in part by religious motivation, although she understood her religious sensibility as a private and feminine attribute, and kept it apart from her public work. As her biographer has observed: "Prayer, religious inspiration, 'emotive thought,' these were Webb's means of expressing what she regarded as the 'feminine' aspects of her nature, aspects which she feared were inhibited by her pursuit of a systematic and logical explanation of the workings of the universe."¹¹⁸ Webb suggested the difficulty in reconciling her faith and scientific socialism in her autobiography:

That is a creed which is only the product of one side of our nature, the purely rational, and ought we persistently refuse authority to that other faculty which George Eliot calls emotive thought? And this, when we allow this faculty to govern us in action; when we secretly recognise it as our guide in our highest

¹¹⁷Lily Dougall to Beatrice Webb, November 29, 1917, Cutts End, Cumnor. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 259. Webb had written Dougall a long and critical letter about Dougall's collaborative work, *Concerning Prayer*, and Dougall, while evidently hurt, responded that Webb was objecting to an old and out-dated Christianity.

¹¹⁸Deborah Epstein Nord, *The Apprenticeship of Beatrice Webb* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985), 92.

moments. Again what is the meaning for our longing for prayer, or our feeling happier and nobler for it? Why should we determine in our minds that the rational faculty should be regarded as the infallible head in our mental constitution? But perhaps the real difficulty is that the emotional faculty, though it gives us a yearning, a longing for, perhaps even a distant consciousness of, something above us, refuses to formulate and to systematise; and even forces us to see moral flaws in all the present religious systems.¹¹⁹

Webb kept these aspects of her life hidden, with the result that she felt herself to be a “spiritual outcast.”¹²⁰ Her isolation was the mirror image of that of Vida Scudder, the deeply religious Christian socialist, who found that her religious faith “consigned me again to solitude” in the secular world of social reform.¹²¹

Dougall continued to work for Christian socialist projects, and before her death was involved in the planning of the 1924 Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (COPEC).¹²² But after the publication of *The Practice of Christianity* in 1913 she turned to more spiritual concerns with the publication of a number of group books, *Concerning Prayer* (1916) *Immortality* (1917) and *The Spirit* (1919). The fruitful Mauricean synthesis of reform and spirituality continued to inform these works, even as their emphasis shifted.

¹¹⁹Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship*, 89. Cited in Nord, *Beatrice Webb*, 92-93.

¹²⁰“Like so many other poor souls,” Beatrice Webb wrote in 1926, “I have the consciousness of being a *spiritual outcast*.” Beatrice Webb, Diary entry, April 14, 1926. Cited in Nord, *Beatrice Webb*, 237.

¹²¹Scudder wrote in full: “My religious position consigned me again to solitude, among radical comrades to whom I escaped for relief now and then. These were with a few notable exceptions secularists, imbued either with active antagonism or with contemptuous indifference toward any effort to hold or regain a lost spiritual heritage. There was a similar aloofness among the cultured Protestant groups with whom my professional work and my social activities more naturally lay. I had not worked out either my socialism or my religion alone, and in the synthesis of the two interests I was a disciple and a learner; yet my fellowship was rather with books than with men, and my union of religious conservatism and of Catholic sympathies with social radicalism was far more unusual then than now.” Vida Scudder, *On Journey* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1937). Cited in Lindley, “Neglected Voices,” 83.

¹²²After the war the CSU merged with the Industrial Christian Fellowship and much of their work was carried on by COPEC. Dougall died before the April, 1924 conference.

Chapter Nine

Anglican Modernism

“Of the vast superstructure of doctrinal and ritual and ethical tradition which has been built on and around the essential Christianity.... There is a great deal of hay and stubble that has simply got to be cleared away.”

Hastings Rashdall, 1899¹

By 1911, Dougall's health had improved enough for her to consider returning to Oxford.²

She and Earp found a cottage in Cumnor, a village on a hill just outside the university town. As Lily wrote in a poem, they were close to Oxford, “That busy mart of mind, where men may sell/ their lore their dreams; where folly for a song/ may run and buy ideas all day long;/ where all the world delights to hear and tell.” But in the interests of her health, they located high above the river mist on a “lonely hilltop, kissed by the cold, brave breezes from the Berkshire down.”³ Dougall's position near Oxford now placed her in close proximity to many liberal Anglicans and the reputation of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* provided an entry into elite and academic circles. On her return from the 1915 Social

¹ Sermon delivered October 6, 1899. St. Peter's Parish Room, Bayswater. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 61.

² An apologetic letter written to Sophie in 1911, when Lily had gone to Canada and left Sophie with the organisation of their move, suggests that the move to Oxford was instigated by Lily's needs rather than Sophie's. She wrote, “Stormy doubts come over me, as to whether I did not do wrong to uproot you from your works, and whether it was not all a selfish mistake -- our moving.” M.S. Earp, “Selected Letters of Lily Dougall with biographical notes,” typescript, NAC, DFP, 5, 9, p. 223. A series of setbacks may also have prompted Dougall to move to the centre of theological thought: Sales of *Paths of the Righteous* had been poor, *Corchestor of the Future* had been rejected by Macmillan, *Christus Futurus* received poor reviews, and although *Absente Reo* had been well reviewed, sales had been poor.

³ “Cutts End Cumnor, November, 1911,” in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 225.

Service Conference at Swanwick (the newly established Student Christian Movement conference centre), Lily wrote to her brother, describing the crush of 300-400 people: “quite a distinguished crowd.”

The really tiring thing at Swanwick is the personal talks one gets into between the meetings, and they are tiring because they are so very enjoyable and absorbing . . . I made several new friendships of great interest to me. One was [*Times* columnist] Clutton-Brock . . . there were also C.R.Buxton and his wife, [Student Christian Movement leader] Malcolm Spencer, A.E.Zimmern, and St. George Heath . . . One afternoon I had a lovely motor drive with [activist clergyman Harold Anson] and Clutton-Brock to Haddon Hall while Sophie was playing tennis.⁴

The relationships that Lily established through these conferences, and through her books, grew into a large circle of influential friends.⁵

After 1913 she began to work collaboratively, and published a series of books in co-operation with Oxford academics.⁶ She gradually became identified with the Anglican modernist movement. Anglican modernism has yet to receive a critical historical examination, and is usually understood simply as a facile movement of accommodation with secular culture. Dougall’s work suggests that this is a misguided and possibly hostile interpretation. The metaphors employed by the modernists themselves describe a

⁴Earp, “Selected Letters,” 243.

⁵Clutton-Brock, a literary critic for the *Times Literary Supplement*, was to become an important member of the Cumnor Group set up by Dougall. Harold Anson worked closely with Dougall on the Guild of Health. Malcolm Spencer was an organiser with the Student Christian Movement. At another Swanwick conference, Dougall met Cyril Emmet, who was to become the co-author with Dougall of *The Lord of Thought*.

⁶She worked with B.H. Streeter and other liberals to write three group books: *Concerning Prayer* (London: Macmillan, 1916), *Immortality: An Essay in Discovery Co-ordinating Scientific, Psychical, and Biblical Research* (London: Macmillan, 1917), and *The Spirit: God and His Relation to Man Considered from the Standpoint of Philosophy, Psychology and Art* (London: Macmillan, 1919). In 1916 she published *The Christian Doctrine of Health* for the Guild of Health. With Streeter and the Archbishop of Dublin, she wrote *God and the Struggle for Existence* (London: SCM, 1919), and with Cyril Emmet she wrote *The Lord of Thought* (London: SCM, 1922). Finally, Streeter gathered her final essays for the posthumous *God’s Way with Man: An Exploration of the Method of Divine Working suggested by the Facts of History and Science*, with an introduction and biographical note by Canon B.H. Streeter (London: SCM, 1924).

movement for renewal within the church: as novelist Mary Ward put it, “the attempt of the modern spirit, acting religiously, to refashion Christianity, not outside, but inside the warm limits of the ancient churches, to secure, not a reduced, but a transformed Christianity.”⁷

This chapter will sketch the movement, first at an organisational level, and then on the level of ideas. The spirituality at the centre of modernism is pursued further in the discussion of mysticism in the following chapter, but the groundwork is laid here by describing the Anglo-Catholic idea of incarnation and the modernist debates over the nature of the supernatural, in particular the central question of the miraculous nature of the virgin birth and the resurrection.

9.1 The Churchman’s Union

Dougall arrived in Oxford at a propitious time, when the liberal Broad Church movement was coalescing into the far more political movement of Anglican modernism. Her visitor book indicates visits from leading figures in the movement in 1912 and 1913: Kirsopp Lake, Hastings Rashdall, J.R. Illingworth, and Neville Talbot.⁸ The most important

⁷This definition, from Ward’s novel, *The Case of Richard Meynell* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1911), was cited approvingly by leading modernists. See “The Case of Richard Meynell,” *The Modern Churchman* 1.12 (March, 1912): 667; Percy Gardner, *Modernism in the English Church* (London: Methuen, 1926), 1; and Chapter XVI, “The Ideas of Mrs. Humphrey Ward,” in Alfred Fawkes, *Studies in Modernism* (London, Smith Elder and Co., 1913).

⁸ Kirsopp Lake, the man behind the decision to hold Modern Churchman conferences, was a frequent visitor with his wife and children at Cutts End, recorded in the Visitor Book on July 30, 1912, and August 17, 1912. Dr. and Mrs. Rashdall came to tea on Tuesday, November 5, 1912. J.R. Illingworth came to tea with Josiah Royce on February 1, 1913. Neville Talbot, one of the authors of *Foundations*, came to tea on Sunday February 16, with a Miss Ella Smith from Somerville College. (Smith later returned for a three week visit.) Other modernist guests include Dr. Skrine, September 8, 1912. Harold Anson, (repeatedly),

influence was that of B.H. Streeter (1874-1937), an Anglo-Catholic fellow of Queen's College.⁹ Streeter's scholarly work was focused on the New Testament, to which he brought a critical modernist perspective. The secret of his influence, however, according to one biographer, was "his own personality with its great sincerity and its attractiveness to students of every type."¹⁰ He was active in promoting the ordination of women, and he wrote *Woman and the Church* (1917) with the Anglican woman preacher, Edith Picton-Turbervill.¹¹

In 1910, Streeter had started a theology discussion group made up of eight Oxford fellows who met in each other's rooms on Fridays. Shortly after Dougall's arrival in

B.H. Streeter. R.J. Collingwood. Mr. and Mrs. Clutton-Brock stayed for two day in 1916. The Student Christian Movement Secretary visited on September 8, 1912 with Dr. Skrine. Eleanor Jourdain, the Vice Principal, and shortly after, the Principal of the women's college, St. Hughes College, came to lunch on March 13, 1913. Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1

⁹Streeter was described in one review as the leader of the Broad Church party. He was a popular figure, especially with students, but this seems to overstate the case. Review of *Immortality* clipped from *Church Times*, January 18, 1918, BL, LDP, 6.

¹⁰L.W. Grenstead, "B.H. Streeter." *Dictionary of National Biography, 1931-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 838. After Dougall's death, Streeter and his wife became involved with Frank N.D. Buchman's Oxford Group.

¹¹ B.H. Streeter and E. Picton-Turbervill, *Woman and the Church*, foreword by the Bishop of Durham (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1917). The book does not promote women in the priesthood but, in Streeter's words, "emphasises the position that a wider employment in some way or other of women in the preaching and pastoral work of the Church cannot but make for the Church's spiritual welfare" (pp. vii-viii). Streeter's demands are limited: "It is not suggested that *any* woman who considers herself fitted should, on *any* occasion she chooses, be permitted to address the congregation. It has only been asked that permission should be given to women duly licensed by the Bishop and specially invited by the incumbent" (p.16-17).

Turbervill's argument is stronger, though her wording is careful. She argued for "the inclusion of women in the full ministry of the church. . . . We believe that ordained women should have a place in the ministry of the Church in a far wider sense than they have today and as wide a sphere of service as is open to men" (pp. 69-70). Turbervill used an essentialist argument. She argued that there had historically been an emphasis on God's male qualities, but that now a greater value was put on the feminine, "what Juliana of Norwich beautifully describes as the Motherhood of God, especially the tenderness, gentleness, compassion which will not suffer her child to perish. Thus we have a clearer comprehension of the Father-Motherhood of God enabling our incomplete humanity to acquire a more perfect vision of the Godhead" (p. 46).

Oxford they produced a controversial book of liberal theology, *Foundations. A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought* (1912). Most of the writers were liberal Anglo-Catholic scholars -- William Temple, Neville Talbot, A.E.J. Rawlinson, R.G. Parsons, R. Brooke and Walter Moberly -- and the book was calculated to press theological limits set by an earlier generation of liberals like Charles Gore.¹² Dougall was impressed by the book, and said it anticipated many of her own ideas.¹³ A mutual acquaintance arranged an introduction to Streeter in 1914, and at her prompting, they immediately set to work on a collaborative work, published in 1916 as *Concerning Prayer*.¹⁴

Dougall quickly became an integral member of Streeter's circle. The description given by one historian reveals her close connection with this elite academic world:

The dons who attended [Streeter's group] typically had close association with the modern churchman's union and with a wider circle of intellectuals that included Lily Dougall, Cyril Emmet [Philosopher C.C.J.] Webb attended The Group with some regularity from 1910-1930. [Philosopher R.G.] Collingwood published his first theological essay with Lily Dougall's *Concerning Prayer* and was himself occasionally in attendance until 1935.¹⁵

¹²*Foundations, A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (1912; reprint, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971). The personal idealist, J.R. Illingworth, hosted the group. Earp, "Selected Letters," 234. Streeter later told Gore's biographer he "deliberately intended to challenge the dominant party of the church of which Gore was the theological leader.. ." (p. 272).

¹³Lily Dougall to Professor Newsome, February 20, 1913, BL, LDP, 6.

¹⁴Earp transcribes from her diary their first meeting (which she dates however on January 22, 1915): "Mr. Streeter (Queen's) came up at 4.30. Stayed till 10. A very long talk on the proposed book on Prayer." Earp "Selected Letters," 251. For Streeter's account, and his acknowledgement of her leadership, see the Biographical Note in Dougall, *God's Way with Man*. Dougall was already acquainted with Neville Talbot, a fellow contributor to *Foundations*. Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1.

¹⁵James Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals, Idealism and Orthodoxy in Oxford, 1901-1945* (Macon, G.A.: Mercer University Press, 1985), xxvi. Members included F.R. Brook, R.G. Parsons, W.H. Moberly, N.S. Talbot, A.E.J. Rawlinson, James Moffatt, G.K.A. Bell, W.A. Prickard, R.A. Knox, and N.P. Williams.

Streeter was likely responsible for bringing Dougall into the modernist movement. In 1916, Dougall delivered a paper on “Conscience and Authority” to the third annual modernist conference, held in the women’s college, Lady Margaret Hall, in Oxford. She became closely identified with the movement, and spoke at the 1918 and 1922 conferences. She contributed to liberal journals like the *The Modern Churchman*, *The Hibbert Journal*, *The Interpreter*, *A Quarterly Magazine of Biblical and Theological Study*, and *The Commonwealth*, *A Christian Social Magazine*. By the time of her death, in 1923, she was widely known as a leader in the modernist movement, and her name was included by F.D.A. Major in a pantheon of noted academics and philosophers: “A movement which had such leaders as William Sanday, Hastings Rashdall, Lily Dougall, Clutton-Brock, Cyril Emmet, Maurice Pryke, Michael George Glazebrook will not strike those who knew them as lacking in moral or spiritual force.”¹⁶

Anglican modernism has received very little critical attention. A number of histories have been written by members of the movement, most published when modernism was at the peak of its notoriety. H.D.A. Major’s *Modernism*, Percy Gardner’s *Modernism in the English Church* (1927) and J.F. Bethune Baker’s *The Way of Modernism and Other Essays* (1926) are the best informed. There are a number of other apologias including two published by the Modern Churchman’s Union, R. Gladstone Griffiths, *The Necessity of Modernism*, and R.D. Richardson’s *The Gospel of Modernism*, and a series of diatribes against the movement such as Leonard J. Dunne’s *The Heart of*

¹⁶Later he cited her, with Maude Royden and Alice Gardner, as defenders of the faith versus secularist materialists. H. D. A. Major, *English Modernism: Its Origin, Methods, Aims*, Being the William Belden Noble Lectures delivered in Harvard University, 1925-6 (London: Oxford University Press; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927). 224.

Modernism of the Morals of a Modernist. A Startling Disclosure of the Truth Concerning the Modern Churchman's Union (1936). Two younger modernists have contributed more recent accounts: Norman Pittenger's biographical articles in the 1950s and A.M.G. Stephenson's anecdotal history published in 1984. But we are still in need of a critical account of the intellectual basis of a movement that attracted hundreds of Anglican clerics, many more lay people, and challenged the basis of the church in the early twentieth century.¹⁷

¹⁷There has been very little historical discussion of this movement. Stephenson's account of modernism is comprehensive and detailed, but he speaks from within the movement, and his anecdotal style does not do justice to the theological and philosophical aspects. Alan M.G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism, The Hulsean Lectures 1979-80* (London: SPCK, 1984). W.R. Hutchison's *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, M.A.: 1976) is a history of the American Protestant variant of the movement.

Memoirs and autobiographies also provide some insight into the movement and the period: W.R. Inge, *Vale* (London: Longmans, 1934); W. R. Inge, *Diary of a Dean, St Paul's 1911-1934* (London: Hutchison and Co., 1949); Herbert Hensley Henson, *Retrospective of an Unimportant Life*, Vol. I 1863-1920 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1942); P. E. Matheson, *The Life of Hastings Rashdall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928); Nan Dearmer, *The Life of Percy Dearmer* (Oxford: The Religious Book Club/Alden Press, 1941); Harold Anson, *Looking Forward* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1938), and Maude Royden, *A Three Fold Cord* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947).

Contemporary accounts of the movement also provide a perspective, if usually a partial one: H.D.A. Major, "The Biographical Record of the Modern Churchman's Movement, 1898-1957," *The Modern Churchman* XLVI, 3 (March, 1956); H.D.A. Major, *English Modernism: Its Origin, Methods, Aims*, (Cambridge, M.A.: , 1927); J.F. Bethune-Baker, *The Way of Modernism and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927); Alfred Fawkes, *Studies in Modernism* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1913); Percy Gardner, *Modernism in the English Church* (London: Methuen, 1926); R. Gladstone Griffiths, *The Necessity of Modernism*, Modernist Series (London, Skeffington and Son, Ltd., nd [post 1932]); R.D. Richardson, *The Gospel of Modernism*, Modernist Series (London: Skeffington and Son, Ltd, nd [1933?]); Leonard J. Dunne, *The Heart of Modernism of the Morals of a Modernist. A Startling Disclosure of the Truth Concerning the Modern Churchman's Union* (1936). Edmund McClure, *Modernism and Traditional Christianity*, 2nd ed. rev. (London: SPCK, 1914); C.H.S. Matthews, ed., *Faith and Freedom. Being Constructive Essays in the Application of Modern Principles to the Doctrine of the Church* (London: Macmillan, 1918) (Contributors included: Alfred Fawkes, W. Scott Palmer, Charles E. Raven, A. Clutton-Brock, and Harold Anson.); W. Pryke, *Modernism as a Working Faith*, (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1925); H.P.V. Nunn, *What is Modernism* (London: SPCK, 1932); Herbert Leslie Stewart, *Modernism: Past and Present* (London: John Murray, 1932), and T. Wigley, *The Necessity of Christian Modernism*, with a foreword by H.D.A. Major (London: James Clarke and Co., [1939]). Lily Dougall's brief and apparently unpublished account of the movement is also useful: Lily Dougall, "English Modernism," BL, LDP, 2. Articles in liberal journals like *The Modern Churchman*, and the *Hibbert Journal* also provide insight.

Several articles are useful: Norman W. Pittenger, "James Matthew Thompson: The Martyr of English Modernism," *Anglican Theological Review* XXXIX, 4 (1957): 291-296; "The Christian Apologetic of James Franklin Bethune-Baker," *Anglican Theological Review* XXXVII, 4 (1955): 260-

Anglican modernism was the second generation of the scholarly Broad Church movement, politicised by the Roman Catholic condemnation of modernism, and infused with the energy and spirituality of a youthful Anglo-Catholic membership.¹⁸ The early Broad Church had been characterised by a bold and critical attitude to the Bible and a comprehensive understanding of religious faith; it was emphatically not a party or sect within the church. When William John Conybeare described the movement in an 1853 article:

Side by side with various shades of High and Low Church another party of a different character has always existed in the Church of England. It is called by different names: Moderate, Catholic, or Broad Church, by its friends, Latitudinarian or Indifferent by its enemies. Its distinctive character is the desire for comprehension. Its watchwords are charity and toleration.

277; "Modernism," *Theology* VLXVII, 535 (1965): 53-60; 55-56, and Paul Avis, "Charles Gore and Modernism: A Half-Centenary Exercise in 'Corporate Believing,'" *Theology* LXXXV, 703 (1982): 269-277.

For the liberal's sense of their history, see Hastings Rashdall, "Clerical Liberalism," and H.G. Woods, Master of the Temple, "Past Liberalism," in *Anglican Liberalism* by Twelve Churchmen (London: William and Norgate; New York: B.P. Putnam and Sons, 1908). Rashdall traces their history from the Erasmus and Dean Colet, and the Latitudinarians or Cambridge Platonists, (a legacy also claimed by the writers on mysticism within modernism). Woods identifies three stages in the recent past: that of Arnold (1796-1842), that of Maurice and Kingsley lasting to the 1870s, and the period to 1908. See also Percy Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica, A Brief Examination of the Basis and Origin of Christian Belief* (London: A. & C. Black, 1899).

For the American movement, see Leighton Parks, *What is Modernism?* (New York, London: Charles Scribner Sons, 1924); Shailer Mathews, *The Faith of Modernism* (New York: Macmillan, 1925); Frank Hugh Foster, *The Modern Movement in American Theology: Sketches in the History of American Protestant Thought from the Civil War to the World War*, (1939; reprint, Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), and E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the Episcopal Church* (New York: Scribner, 1946).

¹⁸In her 1922 paper, "English Modernism," Lily Dougall described two groups, the early Broad Churchmen and a younger generation, "many of whom belonged to what was called 'the High Church party.'" Dougall, "English Modernism," 3, BL, LDP, 2. Major described two wings, Liberal Protestant and Liberal Catholic, in the modernist movement, and argued that the Catholic was the stronger one. H.D.A. Major, "The Biographical Record," 198. Percy Gardner described both the liberal Protestantism influenced by Harnack, and the French modernism, coexisting in England. Gardner, *Modernism*, 12. A number of modernists, including Alfred Fawkes, W.E. Addis, and the third chair, A.W. Hutton, had been ordained as Roman Catholic priests but returned to the Anglican fold.

F.D. Maurice objected to even this degree of party identity, calling it a “fiction of Conybeare’s.”¹⁹ The emphasis was on freedom and inclusivity, and as a result Broad Churchmen did not form any lasting political or theological body. The Free Christian Union was founded in 1868 by Dougall’s mentor, Henry Sidgwick, and the Anglican Church Reform Organisation was formed in 1870 to increase the power of the laity and remove restrictions on clergy, but both organisations failed, apparently for lack of popular support.²⁰ The Curates Clerical Club, founded in 1868 with such members as F.D. Maurice and Dean Stanley, lasted longer. Attempts at producing a liberal journal were also short-lived and *The Broad Churchman* lasted only six months in 1873. In the United States the movement was similarly fragmented. As American Broad Churchman Rev. D. Samuel D. McConnell (1845-1939) wrote, “The difficulty is it is not a ‘party’ and never has been. It is a state of mind. The men of that type have always been difficult to organize.”²¹

¹⁹Stanley wrote, “There is no need -- although if need there were it could be amply satisfied --for minute comparisons of the particular formularies of the Church to prove the general truth that it is by the very condition of its being, not High or Low, but Broad.” *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1850. Cited in Chorley, *Episcopal Church*, 285. Conybeare is cited in, among others, Sanders, *Coleridge and the Broad Church Party*, 1. Maurice responded: “I do not know well what the Broad Church is. I always took it to be a fiction of Conybeare’s. If it means anything, I suppose it is a representation, under different modifications, of that creed which is contained in Whately’s books, or of that which has arisen at Oxford out of the reaction against Tractarianism.” J.F. Maurice, *Life of Maurice*, Vol. II, 359. Cited in Chorley, *Episcopal Church*, 286.

²⁰The object of the Free Christian Union was “to invite to common action all who deem men responsible, not for the attainment of Divine truth, but only for the serious search for it; and who rely, for the religious improvement of human life, on filial Piety and brotherly Charity, with or without particular agreement in matters of doctrinal theology.” A. Sidgwick and E.M. Sidgwick, *Henry Sidgwick. A Memoir*, 189f. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 27. The Anglican Church Reform Organisation opposed the use of clerical subscription and the use of the Athanasian Creed in services, and promoted the invitations to preachers from outside the Anglican orders.

²¹ He continues: “They have never had any societies --like the Evangelical Educational Society or the Catholic Club -- or organs like *The Living Church* or the *Southern Churchman*. The only attempt by them at concerted action that I can recall was that connected with the Muhlenberg Memorial [an 1853 debate on freedom in opinion, discipline and worship, in the House of Bishops].” Cited in Chorley,

The acceptance of liberal thought is best traced through the publication of liberal books, the ensuing controversy, and gradual change in opinion. The publication of *Essays and Reviews* (1860) is viewed as a turning point. Conservatives in High and Low Churches joined forces to condemn this “lurid jet of the great Anti-Christ,” and charge the clerical authors with heresy, but the passage of time vindicated their position: one author, Benjamin Jowett, became the Master of Balliol and, another, Frederick Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury.²² (On becoming Archbishop, Temple had his contribution to *Essays and Reviews* hastily removed from new editions of the book.²³) The publication of the Revised Version of the New Testament in 1881, the Old Testament in 1885 and the Apocrypha in 1895 brought growing acceptance of a critical attitude to the Bible. Four books, Hastings Rashdall’s *Doctrines and Development* (1898), Percy Gardner’s *Exploratio Evangelica, A Brief Examination of the Basis and Origin of Christian Belief* (1899), William Ralph Inge’s Bampton Lectures on *Christian Mysticism* and James M. Wilson’s Hulsean

Episcopal Church, 284-285. Phillips Brooks organised a club, the Clericus, but the American Broad Church organ, *The Living Church*, lasted only six weeks.

²²Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of London. Cited in Chorley, *Episcopal Church*, 296. The book united temporarily the High and Low churches, both of whom were horrified at the liberties taken. Two essayists were found guilty of heresy in denying the inspiration of the Scriptures and the doctrine of eternal punishment, but the judgement was reversed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which decision prompted 11,000 clergy and large numbers of laity to sign a Declaration stating their firm belief in “the inspiration and Divine authority of the whole canonical Scriptures, as not only containing but being the Word of God; and further teaches in the words of our Blessed Lord that the ‘punishment’ of the ‘cursed’, equally with the ‘life’ of the righteous’ is ‘everlasting.’”

The consequences were more severe for the author of *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (1862-79), John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal, South Africa. Bishop Colenso was excommunicated for his critical reading of the Bible.

²³This revision is described in an article about Temple in *World Wide*: “The Late Archbishop of Canterbury” from the *Manchester Guardian*, and “Anecdotes of the Late Archbishop of Canterbury” from the *Daily News London*, *World Wide*, III, 3 (January 10, 1903):21-23. For a discussion of Temple’s difficulties in living down his involvement with *Essays and Reviews*, see David L. Edwards, *Leaders of the Church of England, 1828-1944* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 291-293.

Lectures, *The Gospel of Atonement* (1899), marked the growing respectability of a liberal theology.²⁴

These disparate voices coalesced at the turn of the century. In March of 1898, a new liberal periodical appeared, *The Church Gazette, A Review of Liberal Religious Thought*.²⁵ Letters and articles in the *Gazette* resulted in the organisation of the Churchman's Union for the Advancement of Liberal Religious Thought, in late 1898.²⁶ A.M.G. Stephenson dates the origins of modernism to the creation of the Union, but the movement was still embryonic at this time; Percy Gardner described only the "rudiments of an Anglican School of Broad Church theology" at Oxford on the publication of *Contentio Veritatus* (1903) by Oxford tutors including Hastings Rashdall and W.R. Inge.²⁷

It was a development outside of the Anglican Church that finally galvanised liberal Anglicans: the Roman Catholic condemnation of modernism. Biblical critic Alfred Loisy

²⁴*Essays and Reviews*, 7th ed. (1960; London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1971); J.R. Seeley, *Ecce Homo. A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ* (1865; London: Macmillan, 1903); [Edwin A. Abbott] *The Kernel and the Husk. Letters on Spiritual Christianity* (London: Macmillan, 1886); *Contentio Veritatus. Essays in Constructive Theology* by Six Oxford Tutors, (London: John Murray, 1902); W.R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 7th ed (1899; Meridian Books, 1956).

²⁵*The Church Gazette* had published six volumes between March 12, 1898 and December 29, 1900. It was replaced by the *Liberal Churchman* which published from November 1904 to January 1908. Lily Dougall excerpted an article from the first issue of the *Liberal Churchman* for her review, and referred to it as the organ of the Broad Church Party: "The Bishop of Hereford on the Church and National Life," from the *Liberal Churchman, World Wide* (December 31, 1904): 88. See the description of the origin of the movement in the first issue of modernist journal: "The Birth of the Church Union," *The Modern Churchman* 1.1 (April, 1911): 12-15.

²⁶The Union's purpose as expressed in the first conference was, "To unite the body of Churchmen who consider that dogma is susceptible of reinterpretation and restatement, in accordance with the clearer perception of truth attained by discovery and research." Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 57. In 1928, it became the Modern Churchman's Union.

²⁷"Contentio Veritatus," *World Wide* III, 6 (February 7, 1903): 91. Stephenson does not suggest that the prominence of liberalism in 1898 reflects rising numbers, but the first editorial in the *Church Gazette*, which he cites, argued that the appearance of the journal reflected a recent rise of Church Liberals into prominence and recognition. See Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 32-36; 53.

precipitated the Roman Catholic crisis with *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* (*The Gospel and the Church*) (1902) in which he argued that the basis of doctrine was human experience, the expression of which varies from age to age. He was condemned by the Papacy: his books were placed on the Index in 1903, and his arguments individually condemned in the Decree "Lamentabili" of July 3, 1907. The Papal Encyclical "Pascendi" of September 8, 1907 systematically outlawed modernist views, and after 1910 every priest was ordered to take the "Oath against Modernism."

Anglicans, like Dougall, watched the Roman Catholic debate closely, and when the condemnation effectively silenced debate among Roman Catholics, modernist energy moved into the Anglican Church.²⁸ Streeter started regular meetings with his group of Anglo-Catholic scholars in 1910. Evelyn Underhill, a prominent writer on mysticism, abandoned plans to convert to Catholicism after the Encyclical, and eventually returned to the Anglican fold. Those Roman Catholic modernists who managed to stay within the Roman fold, like Baron Freidrich Von Hugel, contributed to Anglican debates. Anglo-Catholics like Kirsopp Lake, Alfred Fawkes, and J.F. Bethune Baker brought a modernist point of view into the Churchman's Union. It took some time, however, for Anglicans to adopt the Roman Catholic label: Liberals only identified themselves as modernists after a

²⁸The Encyclical was effective: Loisy broke with the church and continued to publish biblical criticism. An Irish Jesuit, George Tyrrell (1861-1909) incurred virtual excommunication for his criticism of the Encyclical. Dougall included an article on Loisy's *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* in *World Wide* III, 15 (April 11, 1903): 247-248, and two on Loisy himself: "The Abbe Loisy," (no author cited) *World Wide* II, 8 (February 21, 1903): 122; "M. Loisey and His Work," A.L. Lilley, *World Wide*, IV (December 17, 1904): 95. She also included several articles on liberal French Protestantism. See "The Evolution of Religion in France" M. Paul Sabatier from *Country Review*, *World Wide* (October 14, 1905): 904-906.

1919 conference, and the Churchman's Union only became the Modern Churchman's Union in 1928.²⁹

The Roman Catholic condemnation of liberal thought made Anglican liberals more militant. In his memoirs, modernist W.R. Inge suggested that liberal churchmen banded together in the Churchman's Union largely because of the "heresy hunts" and "episcopal persecution" that impeded the advancement of liberal clerics; the modernist crisis suggested that their worst fears might be realised.³⁰ The Union took on a more political cast under the combative leadership of a New Zealander, H.D.A. Major, the vice principal, and later principal, of the newly established liberal Ripon College.³¹ In 1911, Major became the editor of *The Modern Churchman*, the journal which replaced the *Gazette's* short-lived heir, *Liberal Churchman*. At Major's prompting, the first of a number of provocative annual conferences was begun in 1914, with the conference papers published in *The Modern Churchman*. A series of books, the Modern Churchman's Library, also under Major's editorial direction, was published from 1914.

It is difficult to gauge the number of supporters within the church. There were a significant number of liberals within the church ranks: in 1905, 1,725 clergy signed a petition advocating a more liberal attitude to Biblical Criticism.³² But they were slow to unite; Hastings Rashdall said in 1912, "we are isolated, terribly isolated, and many of us, I

²⁹Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 7.

³⁰ "When the society was founded, heresy hunts were not uncommon, and it as thought that those who were dissatisfied, in one way or another, with the traditional apologetics might combine for mutual protection against episcopal persecution." William R. Inge, *Vale* (London: Longmans, 1934), 72.

³¹ In 1919, Ripon College was moved to Oxford and Major was named principal.

³²Hastings Rashdall, "Clerical Liberalism," and Percy Gardner, "Lay Liberalism," in *Anglican Liberalism*.

fear timid. Each of us imagines himself to be alone, or almost alone.”³³ Membership grew from 281 in 1901 to 494 in 1908; in 1911, although the chairman expressed concern about “the comparatively small membership of the union and the limited attendance at its meetings,” there were a thousand copies of *The Modern Churchman* being distributed each month.³⁴ Percy Gardner said that membership was much smaller than the numbers of sympathisers; he pointed out that as many as 6,000 copies of the conference numbers of *The Modern Churchman* were sold.³⁵ The laity was more supportive than the clergy.³⁶ Modernism as a movement reached its height in the Girton Conference of 1921 and continued to be prominent in the 1920s and 1930s.

The role of women in the Union is an intriguing question. Some of the most prominent women in the Anglican Church were active in the Union: the lay preacher, Maude Royden, novelist Mary Ward, academic Alice Gardner, Dr. Jane Walker, and the writer on mysticism, Evelyn Underhill, contributed to debates. The annual conferences were held at the women’s colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and H.D.A. Major observed that it was the women members of the conference committee who had refused to back down on the controversial subject matter of the 1921 conference.³⁷ Major’s description

³³ Hastings Rashdall, *Christus in Ecclesia: Sermons on the Church and its Institution* (Edinburgh: T.T. Clark, 1912), 344.

³⁴For 1901 and 1908 figures see Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 65, 75. For 1911 figures, see *The Modern Churchman* 1, 5 (August, 1911): 283. Hastings Rashdall claimed in 1912 that liberal clergymen were in the minority “but a very sizeable minority.” Rashdall, *Christus in Ecclesia*, 344.

³⁵Percy Gardner, *Modernism*, 64.

³⁶See Gardner, “Lay Liberalism,” in *Anglican Liberalism*. Lay members had been prominent from the outset. See “The Birth of the Church Union.”

³⁷Major, “Biographical Record,” 207. The conference venues were: 1914, The Spa Hotel, Ripon; 1915, The Laurels Girls School, Rugby; 1916, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford; 1917, Girton College, Cambridge; 1918, Girton College, Cambridge; 1919, London; 1920, Somerville College, Oxford; 1921, Girton

of the structure of the Annual Conference committee, however, casts women modernists in a domestic and “self-sacrificing” role.³⁸

Dougall played no such self-sacrificing role. She was recognised as an intellectual, or perhaps more accurately, as a spiritual leader in the Union.³⁹ She is the only woman described in any detail in the one historical monograph on the Modern Churchman’s Union and among a select few in Major’s reminiscences. Her role was that of apologist; her lyrical style and her familiar metaphors made her work more accessible than most academic modernists. The daughter of a family of journalists, Dougall knew how to promote her books and appeal to the public. But hers was still a feminine role: Dougall found a place in the modernist camp in part because, as a woman she expressed the piety that modernists feared they might have lost. She reinforced her critical, iconoclastic views by tapping the spiritual resources of her evangelical childhood.

Her first modernist paper, “Conscience and Authority,” given at the 1916 conference and subsequently published in *The Modern Churchman*, gives a sense of her lyrical contributions to what could be a combative movement. She distinguished between the old legalistic notion of conscience and a living and revivifying voice of God. She was,

College, Cambridge; 1922, Somerville College, Oxford; 1923, Girton College, Cambridge; 1924, Somerville College and St. Hugh’s College, Oxford; 1925, Somerville College and St. Hugh’s College, Oxford; 1926, Girton College, Cambridge; 1927, Selly Oak, Birmingham; 1928, Girton College, Cambridge; 1929, Girton College, Cambridge; 1930, Somerville College and St. Hugh’s College, Oxford. They continued to be held largely in women’s colleges in the thirties and forties.

³⁸He recalled in 1956 that the women’s section had been responsible for venue, “domestic and social arrangements,” and finances: “what our conferences owe to the self-sacrificing competency of our women’s section year after year cannot be over-estimated.” Major’s comment, however, may have owed something to retrospective revisionism. Major, “The Biographical Record,” 28.

³⁹ Writing in 1925 in defence of the spiritual credentials of modernism, Major identified Dougall and some of her associates as spiritual leaders. Major, *Modernism*, 224. Major’s bibliography includes three of Dougall’s religious works, *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, *The Lord of Thought*, and *Christus Futurus*.

as usual, most effective in condemning the old, and she compared the old idea of God to a despotic potentate who keeps men in slavery. The new is less clear -- "It goes without saying that to make such a doctrine explicit, coherent and practical, many minds would need to give of their best, and many books would need to be written." The essence of the new is, however, freedom, and Dougall assumes that men, if free, will be drawn inevitably to truth, beauty, and righteousness. Conscience, she says, is "the touch of the Divine Spirit enabling us to perceive what will best satisfy our natures."⁴⁰ The article is one of Dougall's best, clearly and confidently argued and eloquently written.

She spoke at the 1918 Modernist conference, held in August at Girton College, Cambridge, the theme of which was "The Psychology of Religious Experience." Her paper went unpublished, but a typescript among her papers, titled "Religious Experience in Maturity" and dated July 1918 is almost certainly a draft of her contribution. At the 1922 conference on "Christianity as a World Religion," she gave a paper on "Christianity and the Western World." It was later published in *The Modern Churchman*.⁴¹ Her other articles in *The Modern Churchman* included "The Lay Section of the Churchman's Union," (1917), "Christianity and Psychic Healing," (1919), "Spiritualism and Science," (1920), and "The Theology of Mr. Clutton-Brock," (1920). Dougall's contributions to religious modernism were not limited to *The Modern Churchman*. *The*

⁴⁰Dougall, "Conscience and Authority," 318, 319. Her argument reveals her new friendship with A. Clutton-Brock, whose recently published book, *The Ultimate Belief*, had dwelt on the triumvirate of truth, love and beauty, and Hastings Rashdall, whose latest book, *Conscience and Christ* (London: Duckworth: 1916), covered similar ground.

⁴¹*The Modern Churchman* XII, 6&7 (October, 1922).

Hibbert Journal, A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology and Philosophy provided an interdenominational forum for liberal religious thought.⁴²

9.2 Anglo-Catholicism

The Roman Catholic condemnation of modernism brought a new generation of radicalised Anglo-Catholics into the liberal Anglican movement. Whereas the Broad Church had been rational, presenting at times a dry and reasoned religion, many of the modernists were responsive to a renewed spirituality.⁴³ Whereas liberals were individualist, the Catholic sense of the historic church gave a reforming impulse to the movement by reinstating a commitment to the institution. The Anglo-Catholic contribution to the liberal Anglican movement may be summed up in the term “incarnation,” which came to be understood in broad terms as the progressive revelation of God through the church. This school defended tradition, while understanding it to be

⁴²As the first editorial stated in 1902, this journal was devoted to all “living” forms of religion: “Its opportunities will be reserved for thought which lives and moves. . . . [and the journal is in sympathy with those] who see in theology a process akin to evolution in nature.” The editors pledged themselves to three revealing “truths”: “that the God of thought is One; that thought striving to reach the Goal, must forever move, that in the conflict of opinion, the movement is furthered by which the many approach the One.” *Hibbert Journal* 1,1 (October, 1902).

⁴³For a further discussion of the distinctions between a Catholic modernism and Protestant liberalism, see H.D.A. Major, *English Modernism*; Stephenson, *Modernism*, especially 150-154, and Norman W. Pittenger, “The Christian Apologetic of James Franklin Bethune-Baker.” Pittenger noted, “Bethune-Baker’s sympathies were with ‘Catholic Modernism’ and not with ‘liberal Protestantism.’ He had a strong sense of the Church, a deep appreciation of sacramental life, a vivid awareness of the long tradition of Christian thought and experience; and he never tired of insisting that any reconstruction must be within ‘the ancient Churches,’ for he was a loyal son of the Church of England.”

a corporate and evolving entity, and defended the church, by emphasising the continuing presence of God within the church.

The first public sign of the emergence of a liberal Anglo-Catholicism was the publication of *Lux Mundi, A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* (1889).⁴⁴ As the editor, Charles Gore, pointed out, “the younger High Church school stands in the succession of the Christian Socialists, of Maurice, and Kingsley and Westcott, as well as in that of the Tractarians.”⁴⁵ Maurice’s distinctions between the sectarian religious world and the universal church, described in Chapter Eight, allowed the Anglo-Catholics to criticise the existing church, as a sectarian body, without losing faith in the true incarnational church, the voice of God speaking to all of humanity through the sacraments and the “community of faith.” They also drew upon Newman’s evolutionary concept of the church as one in a series of forms infused with divine life.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Charles Gore, ed., *Lux Mundi. A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* (London: John Murray, 1889). In an early article in the *Hibbert Journal*, Alfred Fawkes emphasised the affinities between Roman Catholic modernism and the Broad Church. He described modernism as “the shape religion takes in the mind of the modern as distinct from the medieval man.” He went on, “It stands for a reaction against the external in religion – hierarchy, institutions, formula – which it conceives as relative. It does not abolish these things; rather it vindicates their right to exist. But it markedly throws the accent elsewhere. Its natural kinship is with the Liberal movement of the English churches, Episcopalian and Presbyterian, and we must class its representatives not with Simeon or Pusey but with such men as Stanley and Jowett in England, or in Scotland, with Erskine, Caird and Robertson Smith.” Alfred Fawkes, “Modernism: A Retrospect and A Prospect,” *Hibbert Journal* VIII, 1 (1909): 67-82. Italian modernist, Ernesto Buonaiuti felt that Webb and Bethune-Baker defended an “essential modernism.” This discussion of Roman Catholic modernism is partially drawn from W.N. Pittenger, “Modernism,” *Theology* V LXVIII, 535 (January, 1965): 53-60.

⁴⁵ C.C.J. Webb, *A Century of Anglican Theology*, 81. Maurice was at one point a Tractarian; he stood as the Tractarian nominee for an academic post in political economy, but he broke with Pusey over the doctrine of Baptism. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 92.

⁴⁶“If one had to suggest the most obvious difference between the theology of the earlier Tractarians and that of the contributors to *Lux Mundi* and their followers, one would I think, find it in the contrast between the tendency of the former to regard the Church of the present as the legal legatee of the authority of Christ and his apostles and that of the latter to present it rather as the form which, by a regular process of development, the organism into which the divine life had by the Incarnation been infused has now come to wear.” Webb, *A Century of Anglican Theology*, 49. Webb attributes this idea of developing church to

This Catholic presence distinguished the Anglican modernist movement from the liberal Protestantism that, in the United States, is sometimes also called modernism. The movements share many common features, including a diversity that muddies the historical waters, but the Catholic theology had a developmental dynamism with the idea of the incarnational church.⁴⁷ American liberal Protestantism is built on the theology of Albrecht Ritschl, whereas British modernism grew out the Catholic rejection of Ritschl.⁴⁸ Ritschlian liberals emphasised the historic Christ: in *What is Christianity?* (1900), Ritschl's disciple, Adolph Harnack, rejected the accretions of dogma and liturgy to return to the historic figure of Christ. Alfred Loisy responded to Harnack with the modernist call-to-arms, *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* (1902). Adopting the argument of J.H. Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (1878), he turned to the growing and developing church, rather than the historical Christ for inspiration.⁴⁹ Ritschlian liberals

Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. Modernist J.F. Bethune-Baker explained, "[B]ecause [Modernism] is convinced that in the historical society of the Church, whatever its formulas, there has always been true Christian experience, it cannot contemplate any severance from that stream of life. The synthesis it aims at must be effected in the Church itself." Cited in Pittenger, "James Franklin Bethune-Baker," 266.

⁴⁷Percy Gardner explained: "For the Catholic does not primarily base religion on the Bible, but on the Church. And the application of the doctrine of development to the history of the Church, however little it may lie in the line of past Catholic teaching, does not seem to be altogether an impossibility. Newman, notoriously, has developed it, with very imperfect success — but any application of the doctrine of development to the Bible necessarily does away with its infallibility and its verbal inspiration." Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, 3.

⁴⁸See Pittenger, "Modernism," 53-60. American theologian Newman Smythe, who was deeply affected by Catholic modernism, was an exception (p. 59). William R. Hutchison did not comment on this Catholicism but observed, in the context of his work on American modernism, that "British liberalism ... remained notably more theoretical than the American form and more subdued in its overt humanistic enthusiasms." *The Modernist Impulse*, 6.

⁴⁹See Webb, *A Century of Anglican Theology*, 49, and J.H. Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (1878; rev. ed. London: Pickering, 1881). Loisy had read Newman in 1896 before writing *L'Evangile et l'Eglise*, and judged him "the most open-minded theologian the Church had had since Origen" A.F. Loisy, *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire religieuse de notre temps* (1930-31) I, pp. 421, 426. Tyrrel similarly acknowledged Newman's influence, noting that Newman's notion of an idea as

emphasised the life of Christ; modernists like Loisy emphasized the tradition that grew from human response to that life. The Anglo-Catholic Christ was an ongoing and progressive incarnation, rather than an historic figure.

Anglo Catholics, like Lily Dougall's friend, B.H. Streeter, and members of his Oxford group, like J.M. Thompson, welcomed a vision of the church as a dynamic and responsive movement of thought rather than a corpus of tradition. As Norman Pittenger explained in an analysis of Thompson:

Thompson believed that it is through the growing experience of the Christian community of faith, with its religious judgment that the Man of Nazareth does for the believer what only God can do, that the belief in the Incarnation has its base; and that it is through participation in the life of that community, with its eucharistic worship above all (upon which he laid great emphasis) that this faith is developed in the believer, rather than through the simple return to the supposedly historical figure alone.⁵⁰

Liberal Anglo-Catholicism was a lively and dynamic bundle of contradictions: corporatist but anti-authoritarian; deeply spiritual but iconoclastic, progressive but deeply rooted in the life of the church.⁵¹

Ritschlian liberalism co-existed with Anglo-Catholic modernism in the Modern Churchman's Union, but there was ongoing tension, and the differences emerged in public debate in 1914, 1921, and 1937. In *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1910), Albert

a spiritual force rather than intellectual concept was "weapon that Modernists had taken from him and turned against much of that system in whose defense he framed it." Tyrell, *Christianity at the Crossroads* (1910), 33. Cited in Reardon, *Religious Thought*, 110.

⁵⁰Pittenger, "James Matthew Thompson," 295.

⁵¹Norman Pittenger has said of Roman Catholic Modernism, in an article that refers back to Anglican and Protestant modernism, that "Modernism was never an organized movement; rather it was a loosely united group of thinkers, with different backgrounds and varying interests, all of them convinced however of one thing — and I can find no better way of putting it than by paraphrasing Mathew Arnold's famous remark that men cannot do without Christianity, but they cannot do with it as it is commonly and traditionally represented by "official" spokesmen for the Church." See Pittenger, "Modernism," 53-60, 55-56.

Schweitzer forced the issue by examining the apocalyptic element in the New Testament and arguing that the historical Christ was deluded: "The truth is it is not Jesus as historically known but Jesus as spirit risen within who is significant for our time."⁵² Controversy over this argument dominated the 1910 Church Congress. Hastings Rashdall adopted Schweitzer's position in the pages of *The Modern Churchman* in 1911, and the differences emerged within modernism at the first Churchman's conference, organised in Oxford in 1914 by F.D.A. Major with two prominent Anglo-Catholic modernists, F.J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake.⁵³ They argued, following Loisy, that a return to Christ was static, and frequently presentist. As Lake told the Churchman's Union, "It was not the Christianity which stood still and remained where it was, even with the teaching of Jesus Himself, which won the world, but it was the Christianity which went out into the world and took from that world a great part of the truths which it sent to preach, which won the world."⁵⁴ In a book published the following year, Lake adopted Schweitzer's line of argument:

Liberal Protestantism thought that historical criticism would remove all the misrepresentations of later tradition and reveal the figure of the historic Jesus as infallible. Is that hope also to go? Yes I fear so. It is impossible to find its fulfilment in Jesus if he conditioned his teaching by Jewish apocalypticism, and believed in what was, after all, an illusory expectation of the coming of the Kingdom of God. But is this a tragedy?⁵⁵

⁵²Cited in Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England, 1900-1965* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1966), p. 89. See Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus. A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*, translated by W. Montgomery, with a preface by F.C. Burkitt (London: A.C. Black, 1910).

⁵³See Hastings Rashdall, "Is Liberal Theology a Failure?" 28. Foakes Jackson was the Dean of Jesus College in 1914, and Lake was a professor of Theology at Leyden.

⁵⁴Cited in Stephenson, *Modernism*, 102.

⁵⁵Kirsopp Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith. Our Heritage from Early Christianity* (London: Christophers, 1915), 43f. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 110.

By 1921, at the Girton Conference, the arguments had become harsher. Foakes Jackson dismissed Harnackian liberalism of Protestants like Harry Emerson Fosdick as outdated. "They have lost the historical Christ, and have not regained him by converting Him into a social reformer, a moral legislator, a revealer of a new conception of God."⁵⁶ Dougall's friend, Cyril Emmet, said that Foakes Jackson and Lake had reduced Christ to "a very common place and uninspiring prophet."⁵⁷ The debate continued after the conference when Foakes-Jackson published an article in the *Hibbert Journal* in which he argued that the Ritschlian Modernists wanted to replace Christianity with Jesuanity.⁵⁸

Lily Dougall entered the debate with a book co-authored with Cyril Emmet, *The Lord of Thought* (1922).⁵⁹ The issue of Christ's apocalyptic teaching had disturbed her for

⁵⁶*The Modern Churchman*, (September, 1921): 224. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 115.

⁵⁷Emmet said of Lake and Foakes Jackson, they "appear to give us the picture of a very common place and uninspiring prophet, differing from the prophet of the Liberal-Protestant, in that he only taught much what other people had already taught, except for a few original remarks which were either untrue or quite impractical." Such arguments, Emmet said, failed to explain the fascination Christ exercised on his contemporaries. *Modern Churchman*, 1921, 251f. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 114.

⁵⁸*Hibbert Journal*, (January, 1922): 205. The differences between the liberal Protestants and the Catholic Modernists broke out again, after Lily Dougall's death, in 1937. See Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 150-153.

⁵⁹The title dates back to Dougall's first religious book, *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*: When she identified the "Dramatis personae" (the book had been written as a drama) she identified Jesus as "The Lord of Thought." [Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* (London: Macmillan, 1900), 4. Cyril William Emmet (1875-1923), was a biblical critic, the vice-principal of Ripon College and an active modernist vicar. Lily Dougall's respect and feeling for Emmet are apparent in a memoir published posthumously in *God's Way with Man*. Streeter suggested that his early death in 1923 hastened her own death three months later. Streeter, "Biographical Note" in *God's Way*, 9. Emmet had written *Eschatological Question in the Gospels* (1911) and *Conscience, Critics and Creeds* (1918), as well as a number of commentaries and translations of Biblical texts. He had contributed an article, "The Bible and Hell," to Dougall's group book *Immortality* in which he argued that the doctrine of eternal punishment was not taught in the New Testament, and two articles, "The Psychology of Grace: How God Helps," and "The Psychology of Inspiration: How God Teaches," to her book on *The Spirit*. Letters between the publisher, Hugh Martin, the Literature and Assistant Secretary of the Student Christian Movement, and Lily Dougall, suggest some difficulties in writing *The Lord of Thought*. Martin assumed initially that Emmet would only write an introduction; they debated the title until the last moment (*Lord of Thought* was Dougall's idea) and

some time, for it directly contradicted her understanding of God's love and mercy. Although her studies in Greek in Ventnor and with a private tutor in Cheltenham had given Dougall the ability to read the Bible in Greek, in *The Lord of Thought* she deferred to Emmet as a biblical scholar. She wrote the introductory chapters, laying out her argument, and Emmet provided the scholarly artillery. *The Lord of Thought* is an extension of arguments earlier made in *The Practice of Christianity*. With Emmet she argued that the teaching of Christ in the New Testament was contradictory and combined the vindictive God of the Apocalypse and the image of God as a loving and forgiving father. (Her characterisation echoes the older dichotomy between the punitive God of Calvinist theology and the loving God of liberal theology.) Dougall and Emmet argued that the Apocalyptic elements are Jewish doctrines mistakenly attributed to Christ -- Dougall arguing from intuition and the peculiar logic of her variant of personal idealism, and Emmet arguing from a textual analysis. *The Lord of Thought* was published not by a modernist body or a secular press but by the Student Christian Movement. The book was widely criticised, even in *The Modern Churchman*.⁶⁰ Probably the most damning criticism came from the modernist scholar of Judaism, Claude Montefiore, who publicly defended his faith from their attacks.⁶¹ In an angry letter to Emmet, he said Dougall had equated

Dougall wrote extensive revisions at the last moment, incurring an expense of forty two pounds. More than 1,200 copies were sold in the first year. BL, LDP, 6.

⁶⁰See the critical review of *The Lord of Thought*, "Eschatology Rearranged," by W. Maurice Pryke, in *The Modern Churchman* XII, 8 (1922-23): 475-480. Emmet's brief response is in the following issue, p. 526.

⁶¹In distinguishing between the older vindictive view of God, and Christ's vision, Dougall's work takes on an anti-Semitic tone. She credits Judaism with the "priceless contribution" of the highest existing idea of God, but then refers to "the Jewish thirst for retributive punishment for the unrighteous," and argues: "In Christendom all instances of persecution and exclusiveness would seem to be due to the acceptance of, and emphasis on, Jewish eschatology." Dougall, *Lord*, 210-212. Claude Montefiore was a student of Broad Church leader Benjamin Jowett, and his Hibbert Lectures, "The Origin and Development of the Religion

Judaic thought with the Apocalyptic literature, and presented it as “that horrid dark background” for Christ’s teaching.⁶²

Dougall’s final position appears in “Orthodox Dualism,” a review article in *The Modern Churchman*, written shortly before her death. She described Canon Oliver Quick’s distinctions between liberal Protestants who “take refuge from our metaphysical difficulty by giving attention only to the facts of the manhood of our Lord,” the Catholic modernists who turn from the historical Christ to a broader sense of incarnation, and those who “hold that the essential truth of orthodoxy must be retained together with the realisation of Divine immanence.” The positive tone of her review suggests that Dougall understood herself to be in this last camp, neither a Harnackian liberal (she suggests that these may not exist as described) or an Anglo-Catholic modernist, but a hybrid, in which the historical Christ is important as a mediator, as the cause through which a mystical incarnation is effected.⁶³

9.3 Modernist Metaphors

Scholars have described modernism as a matter of accommodation with modern secular culture; W.R. Hutchison, looking at the American phenomenon, defined it as “the

of the Ancient Hebrews.” published in 1892, had been influential on the development of English Modernism. Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 87.

⁶²See Claude J. Montefiore to Cyril Emmet, dated Feb 16, [probably 1923]. Letter in the possession of Dorothy Emmet.

⁶³Lily Dougall, “Orthodox Dualism,” *The Modern Churchman*, XIII.1 (1923-1924): 50-52.

conscious, intended adaptation of religious ideas to modern culture.”⁶⁴ While this is not inaccurate, and some liberals described their theology in terms of adaptation to modernity, most modernists defined their goal as one of freedom rather than conformity to any particular body of opinion.⁶⁵ They emphasised organic growth rather than accommodation. It was usually critics of the modernist movement, like Edmund McClure writing for the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, who described it in terms of accommodation: “[Modernism] represents a far spreading attempt to accommodate Christianity to the assumed demands of modern science, philosophy and criticism.”⁶⁶

The interpretation of modernism as accommodation is coloured by the assumptions of neo-orthodox theology. The neo-orthodox condemned liberals for weakly accommodating culture, which they understood to be inherently secular. They emphasised God’s transcendence and separation from a sinful world and called for a church that stood apart from the world. Dougall and her associates in the modernist movement, however,

⁶⁴ Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse*, 2, 6, 14. See also Steve Bruce’s definitions of liberalism, “A Sociological Account of Liberal Protestantism,” *Religious Studies* 20, 3 (September, 1984): 401–415. “Liberalism is a tendency within Protestantism which recognizes as paramount human reason, and which accepts as primary the agenda of the secular world. It thus appears as a continual impulse to modernize the faith, to abandon the confines of the old creeds and to accommodate the thought and practice of the churches to that of the secular world” (p. 401).

William McGuire King provides a definition closer to Dougall’s experience in “Liberalism,” in *Encyclopedia of American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*, ed. Charles H. Lippy (New York: Scribner, 1988), 1139: “the self-conscious acknowledgement of the historical tentativeness of all theological formulations; thus freeing modern theology from the grip of tradition.”

⁶⁵ As one example, F.C. Burkitt described the theologian’s task as one “to restate the Christian message so that it can be understood by the modern man.” “Theological Liberalism,” in *Anglican Liberalism* by Twelve Churchmen (London: Williams and Norgate; New York: G.P. Putmans, 1908). In the same volume, in an article titled, “Clerical Liberalism,” Hastings Rashdall traced the movement to the Latitudinarians, defined as “claiming liberty in thought and expression for lay and clergy, and free interpretation of formulae.”

⁶⁶ McClure, *Modernism*, 147.

did not see the two worlds as separate. Dougall had specifically rejected the separation of secular and spiritual worlds in her parents' theology. She understood God to be immanent in the world. Culture, whether expressed in theatre, art, literature, or even in "Loveleen" in dancing, was an expression of God. Similarly the pursuit of truth, through philosophy or historical criticism of the Bible, was one of the many paths to God."⁶⁷

Modernists were not so much accommodating as embracing culture; historian, William McGuire King, has aptly described American liberals as theological maximalists and expansionists.⁶⁸

The modernists were not preoccupied by modernity, which they took as a given. They thought that modern thought had already done its damage, (which they assumed was restricted to the inessentials of creed and doctrine) and their work consisted in rebuilding the church. They focused upon their opponents in the traditional church.⁶⁹ Modernist statements and books were characterised by a challenging, combative, and self-righteous tone, a tone established in *Essays and Reviews* when Benjamin Jowett wrote, "We are determined not to submit to this abominable system of terrorism, which prevents the

⁶⁷The editors of the *Hibbert Journal* pledged themselves in their first issue in 1902 to three revealing truths: "that the God of thought is One; that thought striving to reach the Goal, must forever move, that in the conflict of opinion, the movement is furthered by which the many approach the One." *Hibbert Journal* 1,1 (October 1902).

⁶⁸William McGuire King, "Liberalism," in *Encyclopedia of American Religious Experience*.

⁶⁹F.M. Szasz makes a similar observation of American liberalism: "[Harold] Bolce noted that the crucial issues of the time [1909] rested not on the conflict between science and religion but on vital faith versus antiquated creeds." Ferenc Morton Szasz, *The Divided Mind of Protestant America* (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1982).

statement of plainest facts, and makes true theology or theological education impossible.”⁷⁰

Even the more cautious future Archbishop Frederick Temple said:

I joined in writing this book in the hope of breaking through that mischievous reticence which, go where I should, I perpetually found destroying the truthfulness of religion. I wished to encourage men to speak out. The study of theology and criticism, so full of difficulties, imperatively demands freedom for its conditions. To tell a man to study, and yet bid him, under heavy penalties, to come to the same conclusion with those who have not yet studied, is to mock him. If the conclusions are prescribed, the study is precluded too.⁷¹

(Lily Dougall took up this point and this tone in *The Mermaid*: [Caius] had been born into that religious school which teaches that a man should think for himself on every question provided he arrives at a foregone conclusion.”⁷²)

The condemnation of Roman Catholic modernists only increased this sense of martyrdom. “Join us,” Hastings Rashdall said, “and you will be misrepresented, abused and derided.”⁷³ The report of the first annual conference of the Union in 1914 sounded a note of militant spirituality:

The feeling that pervaded the Conference was one of invincible hope and prayerful expectation. Its members felt like men “marching into the dawn”; as those about to witness another great advance in the Reformation of English Christendom. Yet with these high hopes was the solemn realisation that only fearless truthfulness, spiritual faith, and self-sacrificing love could cause the movement to prevail; that great aims meant great pains.

Lily Dougall indulged in provocative comments, especially when she was writing in the pages of *The Modern Churchman*.⁷⁴

⁷⁰Cited in Chorley, *Episcopal Church*, 294

⁷¹Cited in Chorley, *Episcopal Church*, 295.

⁷²L. Dougall, *The Mermaid* (London: Hutchinson, 1895), 2.

⁷³E.W. Barnes, Foreword, in Richardson, *Modernism*, 17.

⁷⁴Modernist theology, she wrote, “would tend to make goodness and religion one conception and one experience, which assuredly at present they are not,” and she referred with anticipation to the “coming theological crisis in the Anglican Communion.” Lily Dougall, “Conscience and Authority,” *The Modern Churchman* VI, (1916-1917): 303-319, 319; “Orthodox Dualism,” *The Modern Churchman* XIII, 1 (1923-1924): 45-53, 52.

The model for many modernists was not, as critics claimed, a Renaissance of rational humanism, but the renewed spirituality of the Reformation, posed against a corrupt and ageing church.⁷⁵ In *Christus Futurus*, Dougall described the “life principle” of Christianity, continually breaking free of restrictive creeds: “A life principle which must ultimately break the shell not only of its formula but of all successive formulae, as they are outgrown.”⁷⁶ Dougall’s collaborative book, *The Spirit*, is prefaced with a quotation from F.D. Maurice: “I cannot but think that the reformation in our day, which I expect to be more deep and searching than that of the sixteenth century, will turn upon the Spirit’s presence and life, as that did upon the Justification by the Son.”⁷⁷ Some years later, Richardson wrote in the well-received *Gospel of Modernism* (published as part of the Modern Churchmen’s Library) “The Gospel of Modernism is the Gospel of the Spirit.”⁷⁸ He defined the movement as a new Reformation: “by Modernism I mean the Modernism which has appeared in English speaking Christianity, that which has inherited the spirit of the Reformation, and faced by the new accession of knowledge, would continue that work of reform.”⁷⁹ In contrast to the rationalism of early biblical critics, the Anglo-Catholic

⁷⁵If neo-orthodoxy presented a militant Christianity posed against modern culture, modernism presented a militant liberal faith, posed against the stifling obstructions of an ageing church. For the comparison with the Reformation, see Hastings Rashdall’s review of *The New Theology* in *Hibbert Journal* VII, 4 (1909): 922. See also Michael Glazebrook’s paper for the first Conference of the Churchman’s Union, in 1914, “The Second Reformation.”

⁷⁶[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 343. The chapter is called, tellingly, “The Protestantism of Jesus.”

⁷⁷John Orens has observed Maurice’s emphasis on the Spirit: “Indeed, few nineteenth-century theologians emphasized the Spirit more than did Maurice.” John McClain, Richard Norris, and John Orens, *F.D. Maurice, A Study* (Cambridge, M.A.: Cowley Publications, 1982), 74.

⁷⁸Richardson, *Modernism*, 21. See also the emphasis on spirituality in H.D.A. Major’s foreword to Wigley, *Christian Modernism*, xiii and passim. This spirituality was traced to F.D. Maurice as well as the related influence of Anglo-Catholicism on the movement.

⁷⁹Richardson, *Modernism*, 11.

modernists emphasised a renewed spirituality. In a 1922 paper, "English Modernism," Dougall said: "Modernists are engaged in an effort to state the spiritual realities embodied in the Christian faith in a way that will meet the religious hunger of those who have rejected orthodoxy."⁸⁰

The metaphors employed by Dougall and other modernists were those of natural growth hampered by the detritus of tradition. The spiritual core of faith was the living body and soul under the worn clothing, the kernel emerging from the dead husk, or the new growth under the hay and stubble. Early issues of *The Modern Churchman* featured a quote from Carlyle on the cover. "The old never dies till this happen. Till all the soul of the good that was in it have got itself transferred into the practical New." This was quickly replaced by a quotation from Erasmus, a more respectable figure than the angry, prophetic Carlyle; but a Carlylean imagery and spirit continued to inform the modernist movement. His metaphor of the dead clothes and living spirit of religion had a long life in modernist literature. Phillips Brooks had referred to "a man who knows how to be true to the essentials and yet not bound in the grave clothes of dead formulas."⁸¹ Dougall repeatedly described the activities of the religious world as so much dead clothing. In *Christus Futurus*, she compared the canonical scriptures to old garments: "If the Christian Church, by upholding the authority of all the canonical Scriptures, has determinedly put a new patch on an old garment, the ever-increasing rent cannot be charged to Jesus."⁸² She was

⁸⁰Dougall, "English Modernism," 2.

⁸²[Dougall] *Christus Futurus*, 138. See also 183, 307, 343-5. The Carlylean metaphor runs through all of her work, in *The Zeit-Geist* she observed: "The nakedness of Bart's statements [on theology] seemed to want tradition for a garment." (London: Hutchinson, 1895), 214. And later: "Is it not possible that, in speaking of the process of the advent of the Christ, the religious consciousness may again have mistaken

in good company; she prefaced *Voluntas Dei* with a Carlylean quotation from the modernist Bishop of Winchester, E.S. Talbot, who described “the outer truth of religion in which this living truth found body, cracked and shaking and disfigured.”

The imagery of natural growth was particularly suitable to the evolutionary immanentism of many modernists. The growth was internal, not a forced adaptation to modern culture but a natural response to the light of rational thought. *The Kernel and the Husk*, published anonymously in 1886 by Edwin A. Abbot, gave the movement an enduring metaphor: the dry husk of orthodoxy was stripped away to uncover the kernel of life within. Dougall had adopted this imagery for “Lovereen,” when she compared her parents’ faith to the “decadence” of last year’s garden, from which “the blossom of their children’s lives [will] spring up in fresh form.”⁸³ The imagery was organic, evolutionary -- the “new life” came in “fresh form” and progress, while not unbroken, was inevitable. The metaphor had wide usage. In Prince Edward Island, L.M. Montgomery wrote in her journal on October 7, 1897:

I cannot recall just when I ceased to believe implicitly in those teachings -- the process was so gradual. My belief in the fine old hell of literal fire and brimstone went first - - it and others seemed to drop away like an outgrown husk, so easily that I knew it not until one day it dawned on me that they had been gone a long time. I have not yet formulated any working belief to replace that which I have outgrown. Perhaps it will come in time. These things must *grow*, like everything else.⁸⁴

crisis for process? But in admitting these mistakes, if they be admitted, we are bound to always admit that the truth they clothe was no mistake.” [Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, 180.

⁸³Lily Dougall, “Lovereen,” Vol. I, Chapter 1, p 5, BL, LDP, 4. See Chapter Three for the full quotation.

⁸⁴L.M. Montgomery, *The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery, 1889-1910*, Vol. I, edited by Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1885), 197.

Two years later, Hastings Rashdall, “the greatest and most erudite exponent of English Modernism” described the central tenets held by the modernists at the first annual meeting of the Churchman’s Union: the belief in a personal God, belief in personal immortality, and belief in the unique and paramount revelation of God in the historic Christ.⁸⁵ Beyond this essential Christianity there was, he said, a great deal of “hay and stubble” that needed to be cleared away.⁸⁶ The emphasis was on the clearing away.

Liberals also developed the biblical metaphor of a house built upon sand. Percy Gardner wrote in his 1899 book, *Exploratio Evangelica*:

I have tried to clear away the accumulation of the dust of ages, which lies about the foundation of the Christian creed, and to see wherein the foundation really consists, and what kind of superstructure it is capable of supporting. To build any such superstructure is not in my plan. I conceive that many structures of Christian faith, differing by race, by historic tendency, by personal prepossession, might all justify themselves to a criticism such as I have endeavoured to develop. It is not a particular set of beliefs that I have advocated but a particular way of founding and regarding belief. I have tried to show that religious beliefs, like all the active principles of our lives, can only be justified when they are based on realities and experience, and can only lead to success and happiness when they are suited to their environment, psychological, intellectual and spiritual.⁸⁷

Dougall made a similar analogy in *Christus Futurus*:

The edifice of the visible Church, ages old, marvelous and majestic, seemed to cant over some while ago, some part of the foundation sinking below the ground, the door hanging loose. A better rock bottom may be touched; towers and walls

⁸⁵Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 59. Rashdall was prominent in modernism from its origins in 1898, although he was only briefly president of the Union, from 1923-24, before his early death.

⁸⁶Sermon delivered October 6, 1899, St. Peter’s Parish Room, Bayswater. Described by Philip Henry Bagenall in H.D.A. Major, “The Biographical Record.” See also Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 61. T.H. Green used a similar metaphor writing to his sons: “Remember always that although Evangelicalism . . . be not the perfection of Christianity, yet it is Christianity, vital and essential. I would rather not have my sons narrow minded and silly, but this will be merely the wood, hay and stubble, which will be swept off the foundation at the Day of Account.” Green, *Works* III, 230-276. Cited in Melvin Richter, *Politics of Conscience, T.H. Green and His Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), 49.

⁸⁷Percy Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, 519.

may be righted, the door set firm, we hope, but in the meantime may not be sure.
Many have trooped in without right of entrance . . .⁸⁸

The church was a sagging old building, sheltering imposters and squatters.

These metaphors operated in tandem, and were also frequently and haphazardly mixed.⁸⁹ One of the contributors to *Liberal Anglicanism* drew upon several metaphors while trying to move past them:

We have in theology passed beyond the stage in which men thought that there was nothing to do but clear away some lumber and the truth would stand out. We have all come to learn that construction is even more necessary than the mere removal of the superfluous; for the living spirit not only casts off the worn out vesture of past time, but must clothe itself anew in the forms appropriate to its own growth and to its new surroundings.⁹⁰

As these mixed metaphors suggest, modernists did not see themselves as accommodating their faith to modernity, to culture, or to rationalism, but rather understood the process to be one of stripping away the inessentials, the husk, the stubble, the superstructure, for the essential core of faith.

Modernists were criticised for their lack of substantive belief, as a sarcastic remark made about Gardner suggests: "There is no one in Oxford who prays more and believes

⁸⁸She continues, referring in a convoluted metaphor to Biblical literalists and Biblical critics: "...and have lived under the protection of the veil that hangs before the inner presence-chamber exquisitely wrought of holy scripture. But now this veil has been rent in the midst by learning we cannot impugn. The glory of the workmanship may be enhanced by the rending of the poorer part, but we cannot now join the pieces perfectly." [Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 16-17.

⁸⁹They were also widely used outside the modernist movement. The spiritualist Countess of Caithness wrote that, "the established religions of the world are on the eve of great changes; they will be thoroughly sifted, the fine gold of good they contain will be preserved, and the dusty cobwebs of theological lore that have so accumulated as to almost exclude the growing light, will be swept away." Countess of Caithness (Marie Sinclair), *Old Truths in a New Light or, An Earnest Endeavour to Reconcile Material Science with Spiritual Science, and with Scripture* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), 99. Cited in Oppenheim, *The Other World*, 108. Oppenheim observes that even the spiritualists who were seen to be anti-Christian directed their antagonism at the institution of the church, and continued a devotion to the teachings and person of Christ.

⁹⁰Rev. A.J. Carlyle [Oxford lecturer], "Social Liberalism or Liberal Theology and the Reconstruction of Industrial Society," in *Anglican Liberalism*, 191.

less than Percy Gardner.”⁹¹ R.A. Knox, who had earlier parodied Streeter’s book, *Foundations*, with a book titled *Some Loose Stones*, made the same point with a satirical rhyme about modernists:

O God, forasmuch as without thee,
We know nothing whatever about thee,
Help us all by thy grace,
To teach the whole race,
We know nothing whatever about thee.⁹²

The dogmas and creed that the modernists shed as so much worn clothing were, to the critics, central to Christian faith. But they understood themselves to be stripping away the dead growth of past seasons, the sagging architecture of the past, to allow the new to appear. The imagery of the kernel, the living spirit, and the deep foundations suggests the spirituality that lay at the heart of modernism, and distinguished it from the earlier Broad Church.

9.4 Courting Controversy

The spirituality that lay at the heart of modernism has been misunderstood in part because it has been overshadowed by a series of public skirmishes revolving around the question of

⁹¹ Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 66.

⁹² Prayer written by Ronald Knox. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 3-4. Knox appears to have been a satirical thorn in the modernist side; see earlier references to his critical work on Upham, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion with Special Reference to the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), and his condemnation of *Foundations*, B.H. Streeter’s work, *Some Loose Stones, Being a consideration of certain tendencies in modern theology illustrated by reference to a book called “Foundations”* (London: Longmans, Green, 1914).

miracles, particularly the virgin birth and the resurrection. These are the very issues that lie at the base of concepts of “secularisation” mooted by Owen Chadwick and Canadian historians such as David Marshall and Ramsay Cook. The modernists courted controversy with their intellectual audacity; they were deliberately provocative and the traditionalists responded predictably with accusations of heresy. Although Lily Dougall rarely played a prominent role, leaving the finer theological points to the scholars, she followed the arguments closely and appears to have accepted most of the modernist arguments, if not the provocative tone.

The debates need to be understood in the context of an inclusive national church. Unlike sectarians who set believers apart -- “weaned from the world”-- the Church of England was a comprehensive catholic church that laid claim to the world and to all of humanity.⁹³ This could result in a wide latitude, as the case of Dougall’s young associate, William Temple, reveals. When Temple, the son of the liberal Archbishop of Canterbury, Frederick Temple, approached the Bishop of Oxford about ordination in 1906, he was refused because he could not give more than a very tentative assent to the doctrines of the virgin birth and of the bodily resurrection of Christ. Two years later, after consultations with Dougall’s fellow liberals, B.H. Streeter and Henry Scott Holland, he approached the Archbishop again and Randall Davidson found his views to be acceptable.⁹⁴ The

⁹³See Streeter’s criticism of Charles Gore for attempting to turn the Church of England into a sect. Typically Streeter gives credit to SCM, the Missionary Movement, and the modernists --all organisations with which he was involved -- for preventing this development. B.H. Streeter to Albert Mansbridge, July 4, 1932, cited in Avis, “Charles Gore,” 276.

⁹⁴Temple’s authorised biographer, F.A. Iremonger, said that “from B.H. Streeter, with whom he was in closer spiritual contact than with any other member of the University, Temple acquired most of his views on New Testament criticism.” Scott Holland, he said, taught Temple to see his faith as a whole, so that the truth of certain parts might carry the others. F.A. Iremonger, *William Temple, Archbishop of*

Archbishop's letter to the Bishop of Oxford suggests, however, that Temple may simply have learned to express his doubts in ways that Archbishop, keen to bring his close friend's son into the priesthood, was able to accept.⁹⁵ Temple was a privileged example, but the fact that he was accepted for ordination and that he eventually became the Archbishop of Canterbury suggests the elastic and inclusive nature of Anglican theology.

At times, however, Anglicans stepped over the line. The question of the divinity of Christ was a controversial one. Lily Dougall's acquaintance, Oxford philosopher Hastings Rashdall, led the way in *Doctrine and Development* (1899) with his explication of degree Christology -- the idea that Christ differed from humanity in degree rather than kind.⁹⁶ In 1903 he brought this perspective to the Annual Meeting of the Churchman's Union, in a sermon titled, "In what sense is Christ the Son of God?" He argued that all believers shared, to some degree, in Christ's divinity:

Now what is the natural inference that we should draw from the fact that our Lord talked of Himself as the Son of God in some distinctive sense, and yet that he called other men sons of God too? Does not the question almost carry its own answer with it? ...To all men some measure of the Divine Nature was communicated; He felt that to Him it was communicated in an exceptional degree.⁹⁷

Canterbury, His Life and Letters (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 126. See also Joseph Fletcher, *William Temple: Twentieth Century Christian* (New York: Seabury Press, 1963).

⁹⁵"[Temple] could explain neither Christian or European history if he did not firmly believe that our Lord was in visible tangible personal contact with the Disciples as Teacher and Guide after His Death and Resurrection, and he regards the evidence in favour of what you and I believe true as being in his judgement far stronger than the difficulties which beset it. I believe him *in all essential particulars* an orthodox believer in the Virgin Birth of Our Blessed Lord and His Resurrection." Randall Davidson to Francis Paget. March 22, 1908. Cited in Iremonger, *William Temple*, 116. The precarious nature of Temple's orthodoxy is suggested in the Bishop's request that Temple be ordained by Archbishop.

⁹⁶Hastings Rashdall, *Doctrine and Development, University Sermons* (London: Methuen, 1898)

⁹⁷Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 71. Dean Fremantle took this idea a step further when he presented Christ as a morally supreme man, going so far as to speculate that Christ was conceived not by a virgin birth, but by the spiritual equivalent, parthenogenesis. Mary had so wanted a son, that "spiritual longing and Divine influence gave the vivifying energy which would otherwise have been given by a husband. . . ." Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 68.

In 1903, another article on the virgin birth resulted in the forced resignation of a clergyman, but the Churchmen's Union rose up in defense of the rights of clergy, and it appeared that opinion was shifting. Personal idealist, J.R. Illingworth, observed in 1907: "it is sad to see how very widely spread is the assumption that no person who is in the least up-to-date dreams of believing in the divinity of Christ."⁹⁸

Another controversy, arising on the year of Dougall's arrival in Oxford, involved a number of her new associates. One of the members of B.H. Streeter's theological group, J.M. Thompson, a Fellow and Dean of Magdalen College, caused an uproar with the publication of his book, *Miracles in the New Testament*. He unequivocally denied the existence of miracles in the life of Christ: "Though no miracles accompanied His entry into, or presence in, or departure from the world; though he did not think or speak otherwise than as a man; yet in Jesus Christ God is incarnate --discovered and worshipped, as God alone can be, by the insight of faith."⁹⁹ There was a public furore. Thompson was quickly ejected or resigned from Streeter's group, but the *Modern Churchman* rose in his defense, and he remained an active modernist.¹⁰⁰

The pace of controversy quickened. Conservative Anglo-Catholics were among the harshest critics of the modernist movement. Dougall wrote: "between the popular

⁹⁸J.R. Illingworth to "MCL," April, 1907. Cited in *The Life and Work of John Richardson Illingworth, as portrayed by his letters and illustrated by photographs* (London: John Murray, 1917), 246.

⁹⁹These words are printed in italics. J.M. Thompson, *Miracles in the New Testament*, 217. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 89.

¹⁰⁰See Pittenger, "James Matthew Thompson." Avis suggests that Thompson's rejection was because of his aggressive personality; Streeter, who was more tactful, evaded censure. Avis "Charles Gore," 271. See also Patrick, *Magdalen Metaphysicals*.

Anglo-Catholic party -- a party well organised and highly militant -- and the adherents of the Modernist Movement-- which seems to show no tendency to militant organisation -- we see on a large and public scale the same clash of minds as that . . . which is taking place quietly in every rural village.”¹⁰¹ The liberals of an earlier generation reacted most harshly to the liberties taken by their modernist successors. Charles Gore, who had shocked Tractarians with his critical approach to the Old Testament in *Lux Mundi*, became known as the “hammer of heretics” for a series of attacks on leading modernists.¹⁰² B.H. Streeter’s *Foundations* was deliberately calculated to press theological limits set by Gore.¹⁰³ Streeter’s article, “The Historic Christ,” advocated the “subjective vision” theory of the resurrection.

The essence of what it is we mean by the hope of the resurrection of the body is surely contained in its emphasis on the survival of a full and distinct personality . . . It is suggested that what the disciples saw was a series of visions caused by some acute psychological reaction -- the hopes which He had raised in their hearts, the impression of His personality upon them, refusing to submit to the hard fact of His death.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹Dougall, “English Modernism,” 15. See also Hastings Rashdall, “Clerical Liberalism,” in *Anglican Liberalism*, 127,130.

¹⁰²The most controversial essay in *Lux Mundi*, Charles Gore’s “The Holy Spirit and Inspiration,” caused controversy by suggesting that the Old Testament must be understood historically. Gore did not extend this critical view to the New Testament, and later strongly opposed the modernist interpretations of the historic nature of the virgin birth and the resurrection, but his early emphasis on the Spirit and his critical approach to the Bible set the terms for more modernist Anglo-Catholics. Gore elaborated a kenotic theory of the Incarnation -- in which Christ laid aside his divine omniscience on becoming man -- to account for Christ’s own acceptance of the Old Testament. See Paul Avis, “Charles Gore.”

¹⁰³The book was written in close collaboration; the men circulated their papers and met to criticise and edit one another’s work. Streeter’s work was too extreme for the others to accept and he took full responsibility for it.

¹⁰⁴B.H. Streeter, “The Historic Christ,” *Foundations*, 132-133. Characteristically Streeter replaces the doctrine of the atonement and physical resurrection with the idea of the incarnation and continuing mystical presence of Christ: “Shortly after the appearances which convinced His disciples that He was still alive, there came upon them an immense influx of spiritual power. They had been men, they now were giants, and the secret of the change in them was not merely that they believed the Master *had* risen, but that He was *still and now* their constant though unseen companion” (p.143). Emphasis in the original.

In the resulting outcry, the *Modern Churchman* came to Streeter's defence.¹⁰⁵ Gore spoke against a critical approach to the New Testament in *The Basis of Anglican Fellowship* (1914), arguing that there was "a broad difference between the Old Testament as prophecy and the New Testament as fulfilment in fact."¹⁰⁶ Modernist scholars, such as H.M. Gwatkin, J.F. Bethune Baker, B.H. Streeter and Cyril W. Emmet, reacted swiftly and published responses immediately.¹⁰⁷ William Sanday, the Cambridge Biblical scholar, made a dramatic conversion to the modernist cause.

In 1915, H.D.A. Major explicated a non-miraculous interpretation of the incarnation in "A Modern View of the Incarnation," published for the Anglican Fellowship (a group with which, as we shall see in Chapter Twelve, Dougall was closely involved). He extended Rashdall's degree Christology to argue that the incarnation was a continuing process. "What seems to be clear is that the Incarnation process is not the mechanical addition of a Divine Personality to a human personality but the development of human

¹⁰⁵Frank Weston, the missionary Bishop of Zanzibar, was so alarmed at the implications of the book that he called for clerical discipline in an open letter *Ecclesia Anglicana: For What Does She Stand?* See Frank Weston, *Christ and his Critics* (London: 1918).

¹⁰⁶Charles Gore, *The Basis of Anglican Fellowship in Faith and Organization: An open letter to the clergy of the diocese of Oxford* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1914), 18.

¹⁰⁷See R.B. Mullin's discussion of this debate in *Miracles and the Modern Religious Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 162-164. Mullin sees this as a significant shift from the earlier Cambridge mediating position, and focuses upon William Sanday's pamphlet: *Bishop Gore's Challenge to Criticism* (1914). The modernists themselves appear to have viewed it as a natural result of that position, rather than a reversal. (See for example Sanday's argument as quoted by Mullin, p.164.) They see Gore's position as the shifting one, from a critical to a conservative interpretation. See William Sanday, *Bishop Gore's Challenge to Criticism*, (London: Longmans, 1914), H.M. Gwatkin, *The Bishop of Oxford's Open Letter* (London: Longmans, 1914), J.F. Bethune Baker, *The Miracle of Christianity* (London: Longmans, 1914), B.H. Streeter, *A Plea for Liberty: A Letter to the Bishops in Reference to Dr. Gore's Pronouncement* (London: 1914), and Cyril W. Emmet, *Conscience, Creeds and Critics, A Plea for Liberty of Criticism within the Church of England* (London: Macmillan, 1918). Avis also describes Gore's role in the controversies surrounding J.M. Thompson, B.H. Streeter, Hensley Henson, and Hastings Rashdall in "Charles Gore."

consciousness until within the sphere of human limitations it may be said to coincide with the Divine consciousness.”¹⁰⁸ Christ is the son of God, but at the same time all believers have the potential to become sons of God.

In 1915, Hastings Rashdall delivered the Bampton lectures, published in 1919 as *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*. In them, he criticised the idea of a substitutionary atonement and defended the Abelardian view that Christ’s death “justifies” humanity simply kindling within humans a love of God. Dean Hensley Henson, who had defended J.M. Thompson in *The Creed in the Pulpit* (1912), was the next very reluctant modernist martyr. Modernists leapt (unasked) to Henson’s defence in 1917 when Henson’s suitability for the position of Bishop was questioned by Charles Gore. A debate around the first modernist manual, Michael George Glazebrook’s *The Faith of a Modern Churchman* (1918), led to a response by his Bishop, *Belief and Creed*, to which Glazebrook responded with *the Letter and the Spirit, A Reply to the Bishop of Ely’s Criticism* (1920).

The various skirmishes culminated in the Girton Conference of 1921.¹⁰⁹ Dougall’s close friends, Cyril Emmet and Harold Anson, as well as such acquaintances as Hastings Rashdall and E.W. Barnes spoke at the conference.¹¹⁰ Rashdall’s paper was one of the

¹⁰⁸H.D.A. Major, “A Modern View of the Incarnation” privately printed for the Anglican Fellowship in 1915 by Parrs of Knaresborough. The pamphlet was an expansion of a *Modern Churchman* article of the same name published in 1913. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 92.

¹⁰⁹The trajectory of Congregational modernism followed a similar timeline, reaching its height in the late 1920s. See R. Tudor Jones, *Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962* (London: Independent Press Ltd., 1962).

¹¹⁰Emmet spoke (with R.H. Lightfoot) on “What do we know of Jesus”; Rashdall on “Christ as Logos and Son of God”; Anson (with Percy Gardner) on “The Uses of a Creed.”

most provocative of a series of liberal papers on Christology. He argued again that Christ's divinity was a matter of degree rather than kind:

If we believe that every human soul reveals, reproduces, incarnates God *to some extent*; if we believe that in the great ethical teachers of mankind, the great religious personalities, the founders, the reformers of religions, the heroes, the prophets, the saints, God is more fully revealed than in other men: if we believe that up to the coming of Christ there had been a gradual continuous, and on the whole progressive revelation of God (especially, though by no means exclusively, in the development of Jewish Monotheism), then it becomes possible to believe that in one Man the self-revelation of God has been signal, supreme, unique. That we are justified in thinking of God as like Christ, that the character and teaching of Christ contains the fullest disclosure both of the character of God Himself and of His will for man -- that is (so far as so momentous a truth can be summed up in a few words) the true meaning for us of the doctrine of Christ's Divinity.¹¹¹

The conference resulted in a series of public debates. As Dougall described it, in 1922:

“During the last two years [the Union] has grown much in numbers and prominence, largely owing to a general newspaper attack on the teaching of papers read before it -- an attack popularly believed to have been organised by some members of the Anglo-Catholic society.”¹¹² Rashdall preached a number of defensive sermons, later published as *Jesus Human and Divine* (1922) and engaged in a public debate with Bishop Gore. The controversy was a bitter one, thought to have hastened his early death in 1924.¹¹³

Major was investigated for heresy, rather reluctantly, by Bishop Burge on the basis of letters published after Girton in the *Church Times*. He had argued that the resurrection was the “survival of death by a personality which has shed its physical

¹¹¹(Emphasis in the original.) Hastings Rashdall, *Modern Churchman* (September, 1921): 283. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 117-118.

¹¹²Dougall, “English Modernism,” p. 13A. This typescript is undated, but her references reveal it to be written in 1922, on her return from the Annual Conference. She crossed out this passage, probably because of its inflammatory references to the Anglo-Catholics. (Popular is mistyped “polular” in the typescript.)

¹¹³See C.C.J. Webb, “Hastings Rashdall,” *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1930 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937).

integument forever, ” and that Christ’s resurrection differed from man’s only in the fact that he had risen to the right hand of God.¹¹⁴ Although in his defence Major continued to deny the physical resurrection, Burge, on the advice of a panel of Oxford professors, decided not to proceed with charges.¹¹⁵ The Archbishop of Canterbury refused to interfere. The debate continued, however, in the church. Finally, Archbishop Davidson created a Doctrinal Commission, with a number of modernists including Cyril Emmet and B.H. Streeter, as well as philosophers like C.C.J. Webb. The purpose of the Commission was to establish limits for doctrinal debate. It did not report until 1938.

Dougall appears to have shared the views expressed in the Girton Conference, but not Major’s pugnacious expression of these views. It is clear that the existence of miracles, even the miracles of the virgin birth and the physical resurrection of Christ, were not necessary to her faith. In *Christus Futurus* she suggests Christ’s significance lay in his life, rather than “certain aspects of his prenatal life and his resurrection, to which it is less

¹¹⁴He repeated his earlier statement in polemical terms: “A new historical criticism, a new science, a new philosophy, a new psychology have caused a general disbelief among modern Christians in this doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh as it has been believed for eighteen hundred years.

What alternatives are open to us as Christian teachers today? We can either make our stand with the Muhammadans and the Roman Church or in response to the modern interpretation of Scripture and the monitions of the modern mind we can frankly acknowledge that we have abandoned a belief which is no longer tenable. It is this which I have done in stating publicly that the form which the doctrine of the resurrection assumes in my mind is the survival of death by a personality which has shed its physical integument forever.” Cited by Major in “A Biographical Record,” 211.

¹¹⁵The charge was made by an Anglican priest to the Bishop of Oxford, Bishop Burge, who submitted it for investigation to three professors in the University of Oxford, Rev. A.C. Headlam, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity, Rev. W. Lock, D.D. Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Rev. E.W. Watson, D.D. Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. They advised Bishop Burge that there were no grounds for proceeding against Major, and when an appeal was made to Archbishop Davidson, he upheld Bishop Burge’s decision. Major recalled that he was released with nothing more than a mild warning from the Archbishop, “I know that I am no scholar, and I know that I am no theologian, but I hold an ecclesiastical position of considerable responsibility and I should wish to be consulted.” Major, “Biographical Record,” 211.

certain he gave the seal of his own authority.”¹¹⁶ In her response to the Free Church Commission survey, she said: “A real (or saving) faith in Christ is possible without the belief [in the virgin birth].”¹¹⁷ At times she argues that supernatural interpretations are weaknesses. “To reject nature in favour of an imaginary super-nature,” she argued in *The Practice of Christianity*, “seems to be the last infirmity of spiritually-minded men.”¹¹⁸ God worked only through nature, but “we have called [the law of sin and death] ‘supernature,’ thinking Him to be more honoured in the over riding of His Creation than in its natural fulfilment.”¹¹⁹ She avoided controversy, however, by saying that the issue of the supernatural or natural form of Divine power is irrelevant to the current question. She was similarly equivocal in *Voluntas Dei* (1912) when she questioned the idea of the virgin birth: “While there is much modern discussion as to whether the doctrine of the Virgin Birth is founded upon a mistaken or a true tradition, it is helpful to realise how great a truth lies outside the range of this controversy.” “Whether then the story of the Virgin Birth relate fact or relate a poetic interpretation of truth, the idea it expresses is still true.”¹²⁰ The virgin birth, like the descent of Greek heroes from the Gods, may be myth, but she does not want to remove an image that still functions to teach a truth: “Whether

¹¹⁶[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 22.

¹¹⁷Marginalia in response to question, “Does the Incarnation as a historical fact stand or fall with the historicity of the Virgin Birth?” Galley 4, np., envelope marked “Free Church Commission.” BL, LDP, 1.

¹¹⁸[Dougall], *The Practice of Christianity*, 42. This passage is part of a critical attack on Schweitzer’s *Quest of the Historical Jesus* which she suggests by implication arises from a sense of despair at the natural world, and a tendency to “pander to the condition of mind which refuses to trust God unless nature is to be broken into by miracle.”

¹¹⁹[Dougall], *The Practice of Christianity*, 282.

¹²⁰[Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, 113, 116. In the previous chapter she suggested that Christ’s divinity came about only after his birth, when God recognised his spiritual powers (p. 105).

then, the doctrine of the divine Fatherhood of Jesus be fact, or only a poetic representation of fact, the idea it symbolises is still true But he who sees truth and mistakes its form lives more wisely than he who fails entirely to see it.”¹²¹

Dougall did not dismiss the centrality of the incarnation and the atonement. She argued that they must be either “corner stones” or “mere illusions.”

If we are to accept Christianity, the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement, which are its warp and woof, must offer the most fundamental explanation of existence as we now apprehend it . . . If we cannot interpret them to be as much as this, however passionately we may adhere to them, the familiar story . . . will become . . . as it has to many a sincerely religious Modernist, to many a sincere and true-hearted agnostic, a mere mythology.¹²²

Dougall retained these doctrines, by reinterpreting them along Mauricean and Bergsonian lines. She explained the incarnation as the manifestation of God’s participation, as a Bergsonian Creative Intelligence, in the evolutionary process. Similarly the atonement was “the manifestation of the eternal action and passion of the Creator” reconciling humanity by “suffering with it in its waywardness.”¹²³ The resurrection was “not so much any theory about dead bodies, as the idea of immortal man . . . living on.”¹²⁴

In the book written after Girton, *The Lord of Thought* (1922), Dougall was still careful. The book is revealing, not only for indicating the consistency of Dougall’s thought from her adolescence to this her penultimate book, but for showing how far her criticism of Christian orthodoxy had progressed. She had adopted much of Hastings Rashdall’s degree Christology, and suggested in a review published at this time that the

¹²¹[Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, xvi.

¹²²[Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, 200, 195.

¹²³ [Dougall], *Voluntas Dei* , 203.

¹²⁴[Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, 272.

debate over degree Christology was “meaningless.”¹²⁵ She approached Christ as a human thinker -- “I start with the presumption that in Jesus human intellect attained high development.”¹²⁶ Although she made reference to the divinity of Christ, it is not clear that this divinity separated him from mankind in more than a matter of degree. Christ is extraordinary for the new vision of God that he preaches, but this new vision is the result of his intellect -- as “the Lord of Thought” -- rather than any special revelation. Her discussion of the resurrection in the concluding summary was remarkable for what it did *not* say, and suggests that she shared Major’s conclusions, if not his audacity in trumpeting them to the world.

To all who know that personal relations are of more account than all the universe besides, belief that God is and is good carries with it belief in the survival of the personality after death We need not, then, turn first to any transcendental doctrine to explain the belief that death could not hold or change the soul of Jesus. That the friendship of Jesus for his friends was stronger than death, that so ardent and vivid a personality as his must survive, and be no faint reflection, no pale ghost, but more strong and vivid when set free from material conditions, would be a natural belief to men who lived in theocratic habits of thought. . . .

Turning now to history, we find that something certainly happened after the death of Jesus which gave to the depressed and frightened disciples a tremendous impulse of exalted joy and courage. One day we see them a small despised Galilean sect, all their crude hopes shattered, bereaved alike of their dearest friend and of the leader whose prestige gave them what little importance they had, disloyal, terrified, broken. Another day, soon after, we see them an indomitable band, strong with sheer joy in the face of persecuting authority setting out with unwavering faith to bring joy and comfort and new power to mankind. This much is historic fact, as is also the large result of it upon the world.

What concerns us further here is that undoubted fact that Jesus of Nazareth was believed by the members of the conquering school of his disciples to be living in the unseen a life of great power and glory, in touch with all who

¹²⁵Lily Dougall, “Orthodox Dualism,” *The Modern Churchman* XIII, 1 (1923-1924): 45-53, 53. Review of A.S. Pringle-Pattison, *The Idea of Immortality* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922) and Canon O.C. Quick, *Liberalism, Modernism and Tradition* (London: Longmans, 1923).

¹²⁶ Dougall, *Lord of Thought*, 3.

touched him, supplying their spiritual needs; and that through this belief he became, in fact, the most powerful leader whom the Western world has seen.¹²⁷

The evasiveness of this summary, especially in light of the Girton Conference, is fascinating. “This much is historic fact,” she wrote, implying that any more would be outside of history. Even “that undoubted fact” is a limited one: “that Jesus of Nazareth was *believed* by the members of the conquering school of his disciples to be *living in the unseen* a life of great power and glory”¹²⁸ Christ is only believed to have a spiritual resurrection. Dougall may not have taken the same delight in flouting orthodoxy that Major took, but here we see her presenting at most a very partial view of the resurrection.

Her interpretation is even more interesting in light of Dougall’s experience, twenty years earlier, on the death of her sister Janet. She told a friend that some days after Janet’s death she felt that she saw her again, and she speculated about the possibility of a limited resurrection for the faithful:

. . . suddenly to my mind came most vivid picture of her face (I can never recall faces clearly), hers in every line, but with an expression so new, so triumphant, and with a twinkle of humour, as she would say: “Child, the glory of life is too great to admit of tears for what you call death.” I know that I could never have imagined that expression; it was beyond my creative power, although by what window it came to me I cannot tell.

My mind is full of wondering about the possibilities of death is it possible that those who follow the Master in giving their whole personal life in intercession and help for others may also follow Him in leaving some degree of peace that the world cannot give to their loved ones? Is it possible that they may

¹²⁷ Dougall, *Lord of Thought*, 218. Emphasis added in the subsequent use of this quotation. “that Jesus Christ was *believed*”

¹²⁸ Emphasis added. See also an earlier article in which she argues that Christ did not share the belief in corporeal resurrection. “The Quick and the Dead,” *The Interpreter* 13, 4 (1916-17): 133-134. An article on the Resurrection in *World Wide* in 1906 suggests that Dougall’s views had changed over the preceding decade. A.M. Fairbairn, her mentor for *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, had written an article defending the Resurrection, on the grounds of its historical influence and wide acceptance, rather than written evidence. This limited defense would easily lead to Dougall’s explanation. A.M. Fairbairn, “Evidences of the Resurrection,” *World Wide* (April 14, 1906): 392-393. (The article may have been written for Dougall’s review; unlike other articles in the review, this is not attributed to another newspaper.)

be allowed to follow Him in being given a period of forty days in which to hold some invisible communion with their friends on earth and teach them, as our Lord held visible communion.¹²⁹

In 1903, she had toyed with the idea that all the faithful experience some form of resurrection and opportunity for communication with friends on earth. She continued to believe this.¹³⁰

Her discussion of the resurrection in the book, *Immortality* (1917), brought these arguments together and described Christ's influence after death as differing only in a matter of degree from the influence she attributes to saintly humans, like Janet Dougall. She suggested briefly that Christ's reappearance to his disciples may have been the result of telepathy, "but the strength of His spirit and His love were such that He could give clearer and stronger impressions of His presence than other spirits can." She concluded: "The outstanding idea we seem to gather from our Lord's teaching is that the better and nobler the life here the more closely it will be associated with the helping of humanity after death."¹³¹ The resurrection, then, was like the incarnation, a matter of degree. The phenomena was a natural one, and Christ's resurrection was not a miraculous break from nature but the culmination of a natural process.

¹²⁹Lily Dougall to "a friend bereaved," nd. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 190.

¹³⁰See *Voluntas Dei*, 233. This is discussed further in Chapter Twelve. In Dougall's contribution to *Immortality*, "The Undiscovered Country," she argues that Christ's appearance before his disciples was not a unique occurrence, but is repeated through history when believers feel a vivid sense of Christ's presence, and further may be repeated by godly men and women after their deaths: "men and women who come nearest to the moral and spiritual level of [Christ's] life here will be those who have most power in the beyond to touch and help the friends they have left and all who in all times are working for the reign of God" (p. 360). She suggests that the Invocation of the Saints was an attempt by the church to institutionalise this mediating presence of the dead.

¹³¹ Lily Dougall, "The Undiscovered Country," in *Immortality*, 361.

9.5 A Line in the Sand

Why dwell at such length upon the question of the miraculous nature of the virgin birth, the divinity, and the physical resurrection of Christ? The answer is that the question functions as a litmus test for the concept of secularisation.¹³² Mary Ward's *Robert Elsmere* (1888) was the most widely read fictional representation of the loss of faith. Ward describes Elsmere's crisis of faith, his resignation from the ministry, and his work with a new social movement for the working class of London, the New Brotherhood. He has his moment of reckoning when he realises that he no longer believes in Christ's divinity.

Do I believe in God? Surely, surely! "Though He slay me yet will I trust in Him!" *Do I believe in Christ?* Yes, -- in the teacher, the martyr, the symbol to us Westerns of all things heavenly and abiding, the image and pledge of all the invisible life of the Spirit -- with all my soul and all my mind! "But in the Man-God, the Word from Eternity, -- in a wonder-working Christ, in a risen and ascended Jesus, in the living Intercessor and Mediator for the lives of his doomed Brethren?" He waited, conscious that it was the crisis of his history, and there rose within in him, as though articulated one by one by an audible voice, words of irrevocable meaning. "Every human soul in which the voice of God makes itself felt, enjoys, equally with Jesus of Nazareth, the divine sonship and 'miracles do not happen!'. . ."¹³³

If "every man shares divine sonship," and "miracles do not happen," then Elsmere is forced to abandon his beloved church. Robert Elsmere dies eventually of exhaustion and overwork. His trajectory from the ministry through historical criticism and doubt to

¹³² These ideas are also central to the Apostle's Creed, a creed Dougall would have recited on a regular basis in church services. Robert Bruce Mullin discusses the debate around the virgin birth in *Miracles*, 151-178.

¹³³ Mary Augusta Ward, *Robert Elsmere*, Vol. II (London: Smith and Elder, 1888), 291. He later tells his anguished wife, "Miracle is the natural product of human feeling and imagination; and God was in Jesus - pre-eminently, as He is in all great souls, but not otherwise in kind than He is in me or you."

secular social reform (and death) is repeated in the narrative structure of historiography of secularisation. Historians take us from faith through critical thought to social gospel and the death of religion. The turning point rests on the acceptance of the supernatural.

Owen Chadwick identified the recognition of the existence of miracles as the turning point in secularisation: “this very axiom, *miracles do not happen*, comes near the heart of that elusive shift in the . . . mind that we seek.”¹³⁴ Canadian historian, David Marshall, adopts this interpretation, and argues that it is the acceptance of an intrusive supernatural that distinguishes religious faith. “Religious people and institutions hold that the supernatural is a living effective and intrusive force in the natural world and in human history.”¹³⁵

Marshall argues that belief in resurrection is essential to Christianity. Major and apparently Dougall have crossed the line drawn in the sand by historians of secularisation. By denying the physical resurrection of Christ, they become secular, or at least not Christian, figures.

Many Christians, including members of Dougall’s own family, understood modernism to have moved outside the Christian fold. A letter from James Dougall to his son in 1911 reveals his hostility: “The good Lord can preserve my health until he sees fit to appoint a

¹³⁴ Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 6. As I noted earlier, however, Chadwick’s own knowledge of the intellectual history of the church forces him to acknowledge that it is possible for a Christian to deny the existence of miracles.

¹³⁵ David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith, Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 21, 24, 7.

successor. I am sure He would not wish to see the *Witness* and *Sabbath Reading* preaching the 'modern' gospel, which is no gospel."¹³⁶

But many liberals accepted the widening of the theological terms. Even Mary Ward, after making her name charting religious doubt with *Robert Elsmere*, joined the modernist movement. Mauricean liberals had seen this coming. When *Robert Elsmere* was first published, two prominent American liberals argued that Ward, the granddaughter of Broad Churchman, Thomas Arnold, had missed the point. Rev. H.R. Haweis argued that if Elsmere had been introduced to Broad Church teaching he might have remained in the church."¹³⁷ Phillips Brooks similarly wrote to a female friend:

[*Robert Elsmere*] seems, as Matthew Arnold used to seem, to be entirely unaware of the deeper meanings of Broad Churchmanship, and to think of it only as an effort to believe contradictions, or as a trick by which to hold a living which one ought honestly to resign. It is not good to name a doctrine by a man's name, but there is no sign that this writer has ever heard of the theology of Maurice. But how interesting it is! what charming pictures of English life! and what description of mental conditions and evolutions, whose real source and true issue we must still feel that she misses.¹³⁸

Ward came to share their point of view. She joined the modernist movement and in 1911 published a sequel to *Robert Elsmere*, *The Case of Richard Meynell*.¹³⁹ The book was

¹³⁶James Dougall to Frederick Dougall, July 12, 1911, NAC, DFP, 2, 12. He defined modernism in terms of a literal Bible: "To me free trade or protection, paternalism, socialism, individualism are extremely unimportant questions compared with the question whether we have or have not an *authoritative* declaration of the mind and will of God. And on that supreme question I do not think that W. agreed with me although he never expressed his view on the subject definitely in my hearing." Wilfred may have cleared the air: on September 11 he was offered a position.

¹³⁷Rev. H.R. Haweis, *The Broad Church or What is Coming* (London: Sampson Low Ltd., 1891). Cited in Alexander V.G. Allen, *The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1901), 276-277

¹³⁸Phillips Brooks to Miss Meredith, September 1, 1888. Cited in Allen, *Phillips Brooks*, 276-277.

¹³⁹Ward is described as a member of the Union in *The Modern Churchman*, X, 1 (April, 1920): 14, but she probably joined earlier. She was booked to speak to the Union on "Church Membership" in December of 1903 but was not able to do so. Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 70.

well received by the modernists; Alfred Fawkes described it as a romance of Anglican liberalism.¹⁴⁰ Richard Meynell represents the next generation of Anglicans; he courts Elsmere's daughter. Meynell does not leave the church because of his doubts, but stays within Anglicanism, and fights as a modernist to broaden the ancestral church. He is confident of his own reworked faith and only despairing of a church that cannot encompass modern thought. He and his modernist friends are described sympathetically, even heroically, while their opponents are seen as hidebound conservatives. Significantly, Elsmere's wife, the evangelical Catherine, respects Meynell. She represents an older faith, a true faith, but, as Catherine's death at the end of the novel signifies, one that is dying out.

The Case of Richard Meynell never received the attention of *Robert Elsmere*. It suggests, however, that by 1911 the heroic and progressive figure no longer left the fold, but stayed within and battled for a broader church.¹⁴¹ Mary Ward was closely attuned to

In her reminiscences Ward wrote, "Like Mr. Jowett, [Matthew Arnold] would have liked to see the Church slowly reformed and 'modernised' from within. . . . And in the course of years -- as I showed in a later novel written 24 years after *Robert Elsmere* -- I feel have very much come to agree with him." Cited, from *The Cornhill*, in *The Modern Churchman* VIII, 2 (May, 1918): 52. A similar article was included in Ward's memoirs, *A Writer's Recollections*, and republished recently in *British Women Writers, An Anthology from the Fourteenth Century to the Present* ed. Dale Spender and Janet Todd (New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1989).

The character of Richard Meynell was based upon Hudson Shaw, the minister and University Extension lecturer who inspired and finally married Dougall's acquaintance, Maude Royden. See Royden, *The Three Fold Cord* for an account of the triangular relationship between Maude Royden, Hudson Shaw and Shaw's wife. (There are some interesting links between University Extension Lectures and Anglican modernism. H.D.A. Major was a lecturer and Miss Dora Nussey, the Hon. Secretary of the University Extension Courses was influential in creation of the Annual MCU Conferences. See Major, "Biographical Record," 201.)

¹⁴⁰ See Fawkes, *Studies in Modernism*, 461. *The Modern Churchman* reported that the novel, "seems to represent correctly with few exceptions, the attitude and aspect of the liberal churchman." "The Case of Richard Meynell," *The Modern Churchman* I, 12 (March, 1912), 667.

¹⁴¹ James Livingston is one of the only historians to acknowledge this shift, which he dates to the 1890s. He argues that the new emphasis on the nobility of those who stayed within the church was due to a

intellectual fashion, and her novel suggests that the distinctions regarding miracles laid out in *Robert Elsmere* (and later mooted by historians like Owen Chadwick), had become outdated in the early twentieth century. As Goldwin Smith asked in Dougall's journal, *World Wide*, in 1901: "Is not the Encyclopaedia Biblica, in which the resurrection of Christ is treated as a vision, edited by a Canon of the Anglican Church and professor of theology at Oxford?"¹⁴² Even William Temple, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, was dancing along the secular line in the sand. In a 1913 letter, Temple laid out his beliefs. He said he believed in the virgin birth, but then dismisses the import of the doctrine: "I cannot in my own mind find any theological significance in it." He said he believed in the physical resurrection, "but if it could be disproved, I don't think it would affect my faith as a whole."¹⁴³

It is not difficult to find similar Canadian examples. L.M. Montgomery, who appeared to be a devout minister's wife and Sunday School teacher, held strong private doubts about the "essentials" of faith. She wrote a friend in 1906:

Like you, I *cannot* accept the *divinity* of Christ. I regard him as immeasurably the greatest of all great teachers and as the son of God in the same sense that any man inspired of God is a son of God. Further than this I cannot, at least, go. I believe that He was truly sent from and of God, as are all great teachers. And possibly he may also stand as an emblem of man in his highest and yet-to-be-attained development — the perfect flower of the tree of life blooming before its time as an earnest of what may be.¹⁴⁴

pragmatic concern about moral decline with reduced church attendance. James C. Livingston, *The Ethics of Belief, An Essay on The Victorian Religious Conscience* (Tallahassee, Florida: American Academy of Religion, 1974).

¹⁴²*World Wide* V, 29 (June 17, 1905): 567.

¹⁴³William Temple to R.A. Knox, October 29, 1913. Cited in Iremonger, *William Temple*, 163.

¹⁴⁴L. M. Montgomery, *The Green Gables Letters, from L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, 1905-1909*, ed. Wilfred Eggleston (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1981), 35. She told a friend that she did not believe in a literal Bible: "You know, to be frank, I do *not* look upon the Bible as a book inspired by God. I look upon it as a book much of which is inspired *with* God- a collection of the myths, history, poetry ethics and philosophy of a

Nor did Montgomery feel that all ministers believed the essentials:

By the way, just for the sake of curiosity I read Bob Ingersoll's lectures recently. I expected to be horribly shocked for when I was a child it was "aut Ingersoll aut diabolus." Well, I was amazed. With the exception of his disbelief in a personal God, Christ's divinity and eternal punishment - and as you know, the last two would not be exceptions with all ministers - everything he states would be admitted openly or tacitly by any minister under 40 years old today.¹⁴⁵

Montgomery may have been guilty of some exaggeration, but her assessment of the ministry, as a minister's wife in conservative rural Ontario, reveals that Dougall's modernist attitude to the miraculous spread far beyond the Oxford elite.

The disbelief in an intrusive supernatural did not necessarily result in a desacralised world. As we noted in Chapter Four, Dougall's fiction had a running theme of debunking myths of an intrusive supernatural force. Her novels are filled with extraordinary supernatural devices -- wailing ghosts, walking corpses, mermaids, glowing lights -- that are revealed to be purely natural events. In her first novel, the screaming Hell-bound sinner is revealed to be a disturbed but very alive man. The Mermaid was a swimmer, the Madonna was a new woman, the corpse rising from the coffin in *What Necessity Knows* was a runaway girl. The flickering light in the mountains was nothing but coal gas. Yet their naturalness does not undermine their power to awake the spiritual

singularly spiritual (taking into account the period in which they lived) people whose superior conception of the Great Intelligence fitted them to be the mouthpieces of that Intelligence" (p. 30). She disliked teaching her Sunday School class. "I have to follow the old traditional paths of thought & expression or I would get into hot water immediately. Cavendish is wholesomely (?) old fashioned and orthodox...." (p.46).

¹⁴⁵L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, April 5, 1908. *Green Gables Letters*, 65-69. She continued: "He was howled down because he believed in evolution and denied that the Garden of Eden was an historic fact, because he denied predestination, and stated that the God of the Old Testament was not deity worthy of undiluted love and admiration, and denied the verbal inspiration of the Bible. There were his principle 'heresies.' However, the lectures were rather blatant and vulgar, and his views were stated in an offensive fashion. If they were clothed in more considerate language they might be -- and are -- preached from the majority of pulpits today."

nature of the characters. These things were illusions, but Dougall is careful to establish that the higher reality to which they point is real. Caius finds a higher purpose through the woman masquerading as a mermaid. Similarly, the Madonna finds higher truth through the coal gas light, and she, in her false persona as a Madonna, brings about a real redemption in the hearts of the rough lumbermen. The underlying implication is that the teachings of the church may also have been illusions, myths, and stories with only a faint basis in reality, but that this does not undermine the existence of the higher reality toward which they point. Modernists understood theological dogmas to be the transient symbols of the unchanging religious experience. When the dogmas no longer reflected vital experience, they needed alteration. (French Protestant theologian August Sabatier drew upon Schleiermacher and Ritschl to develop this idea in his influential works of “critical symbolism,” *The Philosophy of Religion* (1901) and *Religions of Authority and the Religion of Experience* (1903).¹⁴⁶)

In *Voluntas Dei* (1912) Dougall suggested, rather carefully, that the stories of the virgin birth were (like the perception of the mermaid or the sight of the coal gas) a misinterpretation, but the truth they represent is unchanged. Modernists, she argued in another religious work, *Absente Reo*, do not want to remove mystery, but see mystery in the natural world. “It is more likely that they would urge against the old theology that the whole of life is so impregnated with mystery that it is a pity to retain any artificial mystery if it can be proved to be artificial.”¹⁴⁷ If she takes pleasure in debunking miracles, it is

¹⁴⁶Auguste Sabatier (1839-1901), *The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904).

¹⁴⁷[Lily Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 117. See also p. 161.

because God may be found in the mountains and in the natural order, rather than in miracles that interrupt that order.

In Dougall's fiction, and later more clearly in her religious works, she argued that God works through the natural world and has no need of other miracles. He is not a transcendent figure breaking into this world, but is immanent within the world and working through it. For Dougall the test of faith was not the intrusive force of the supernatural, but the experience of the spiritual within the natural world. This is the "natural supernatural" of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*: the supernatural was now placed within the natural world, the sacred took part in the secular.¹⁴⁸ One of Dougall's most eloquent religious essays, published first in *Hibbert Journal* as "Miracle Inconsistent with Christianity" and then posthumously in *God's Way with Man*, develops this point.¹⁴⁹ The essay was written in response to the revival of belief in miracles, particularly in the sacraments, in the Anglican Church.¹⁵⁰ Dougall described the belief in an intrusive supernatural as a primitive theology: "the old pre-Christian faith in a God who at times breaks in and does all that He wills, has grown along with the higher faith, as tares grow up with the wheat."¹⁵¹ She pointed out the difficulties in believing in a God who can

¹⁴⁸"Or what is Nature? Ha! Why do I not name thee GOD? Art thou not the 'Living Garment of God? O heavens, is it in the very deed, HE, then, that ever speaks through thee; that lives and loves in thee, that lives and loves in me?" Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, 143.

¹⁴⁹ The later version is titled "Providence and Miracle"; the book was published posthumously by B.H. Streeter, and he may have substituted the more cautious title. Miss Dougall, "Miracle Inconsistent with Christianity," *Hibbert Journal* XIX, 2 (January, 1921): 296-307. Lily Dougall, *God's Way with Man. An Exploration of the Method of Divine Working suggested by the Facts of History and Science* with introduction and biographical noted by Canon B.H. Streeter (London: Student Christian Movement, 1924).

¹⁵⁰ Dougall refers to two articles on miracles: Canon Oliver Quick in *The Pilgrim* (October, 1920): 96; Bishop Temple in *The Oxford Magazine* (November 6, 1920).

¹⁵¹ Dougall, *God's Way*, 43.

intervene, but chooses not to: “how can God, while able always to intervene ‘easily by a nod,’ allow the faithful to call upon Him in vain?”¹⁵² She sorted through the various solutions to this dilemma, and concludes:

The last, and, as it seems to me, the only answer which is consistent with the Christian revelation, is that God has chosen to work through nature, never performing his own will in spite of natural consequences, but taking upon Himself the whole burden of the universe that is some way emanates from Himself. Such a universe could not be mechanical, and must be thought of as in all its parts alive and interpenetrated with spirit, but with spirit which is not God nor wholly in harmony with the transcendent Spirit of God. This spirit in nature – untamed but tameable – would be everywhere and in all things open in greater or less degree to the influence of God, manifesting His beauty. In this belief all things that have a material nature have, in their own degree, a spiritual nature; and these two natures are not two things but one thing, just as man –spirit and body – is not two but one. The spirit that is in all things and attains personality in every man is not God, but is open to the influence of God, and when yielded to that influence becomes the perfect agent of God. So that although we may speak of God as immanent in man and in all things, and manifest when these are wholesome and good, yet all things are the object of His transcendent love, and He is the object of the love of all things and all men; lover and loved are not one but two.¹⁵³

The passage is a lengthy one, but serves as an excellent summation of her mature thought. God does not intervene in the natural world, but is immanent within it. She skirted the dangers of this position, avoiding charges of pantheism by insisting upon the transcendent as well as the immanent nature of God: “lover and loved are not two but one.” She had more difficulty with the question of church teaching on miracles, arguing that miracles were actual natural processes, or suggesting that they were the product of “reverent imagination.” She did not mention the resurrection, and even her discussion of the incarnation is awkward: the incarnation was not a miracle, but a particular historical act of

¹⁵² Dougall, *God's Way*, 28.

¹⁵³ Dougall, *God's Way*, 33-34.

God, not an irruption into nature but “the supreme manifestation of Divine activity on earth.”¹⁵⁴

Dougall argued that those who insist on miracles, “irruptions into the natural order,” are looking in the wrong direction for reassurance as to God’s existence. Faith in God lies not in the miraculous nature of the incarnation or the sacraments, but in the experience of God. She wrote that “it is those who have themselves felt the power of God manifested in Christ and in the Sacraments who believe, in the orthodox sense, in the miraculous nature of the Incarnation or the Sacraments; and we suspect the real belief of such people to be based, not on their belief in miracle, but on *their religious experience, which is incommunicable*.”¹⁵⁵

Dougall does away with miracles as a test of faith. In their place she substitutes religious experience. She makes the same point in an essay on her co-author, Cyril Emmet.

He had a constant sense of the personal presence of God as revealed in Christ. One day he was in earnest conversation with a friend upon gospel miracles. The other, an eminent Christian, said with eager conviction: “If I did not believe that God had broken through the natural order in the Virgin Birth I could see no reason to believe in Him. What evidence is there? Where is God?” Cyril Emmet looked for a few moments with quiet astonishment and then, with a slight gesture of his hand to indicate the room in which we sat, he said, “God is here. I do not see how you can be unconscious of Him.” The slight gesture, made quite unconsciously, conveyed, more than any words could, how real was his constant sense of God.¹⁵⁶

The uncertainties of modernism had only strengthened the touchstone of her faith --the personal experience of God.

¹⁵⁴Dougall, *God’s Way*, 44.

¹⁵⁵(Emphasis added.) Dougall, *God’s Way*, 27.

¹⁵⁶Dougall, “Cyril William Emmet,” *God’s Way*, 121.

Chapter Ten

The Spirit of Modernism

“The ‘impregnable rock’ is neither an institution nor a book,
but a life or experience.”

W.R. Inge, Dean of St. Pauls ¹

The modernists retained faith in the incarnational church, the voice of God speaking to all of humanity through the “community of faith.” But where to locate this voice? For many modernists, it was found among the mystics. The mystics provided a language, a way of expressing spirituality, that was continually renewed by the experience of God, and appeared to be free of the institutional accretions of the intervening centuries. Mysticism offered an iconoclastic authority, a tradition that existed at the fringes of and in resistance to the sectarian powers of the church. This chapter will examine the revival of mysticism, particularly neoPlatonic and Quaker mysticism, in the early twentieth century. This revival spread much further than the somewhat rarefied and combative academic world of modernism. Lily Dougall cannot be identified as a mystic, but she had close friends among the writers on mysticism and she drew upon their work to understand her experiential faith.

10.1 Finding New Authority

As a young girl Dougall was taught that mysticism would lead to mental weakness, and even as her novels show growing acceptance of mystical experience, Dougall remained suspicious of more esoteric forms of mysticism. When she was struggling with the manuscript of *The Mormon Prophet*, she turned to William James for advice.² James, somewhat condescendingly, supported psychological explanations of Mormon religion, but they differed when they discussed the basis of the phenomena. She told Earp:

... he believed that the philosophic mind was swinging around to the idea that we lived on the fringes of a reservoir of soul, into which at times we dipped, voluntarily or involuntarily. He said he thought this was the basis of much that I was inclined to call "thought-transference." I can't be sure exactly how he described it, but I think he said, "For instance, it is not that your thought affects mine directly, but that you dip in and agitate some thought-wave there, and I dip in and feel the impression of it." No, that was not what he said, but it was something that gave the impression that the two minds had to take header in. He certainly said, "It is out of this reservoir that all religions come, and by the same method, and we must judge of the value of the revelation by the content and not by the method."

The reservoir theory has a basis in mystical tradition, but Dougall had two strong reservations. She was concerned with finding new imaginative constructions to replace the punitive Calvinist God of her youth. This reservoir idea, however, held little resonance. "I said how it was possible to make [the conception of a reservoir] affect my thought or that of others, because it was unimaginable." It was worse than useless, as she said to Earp in the close of her letter: "The only imaginative image that I received from his conversation was that of frogs on the outskirts of a pond." Her second objection

¹Cited in A.M.G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism* (London: SPCK, 1984), 73.

² Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, November 14, 1896, Cambridge, Mass. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 146-150.

lay in the suspension of reason that was involved in “taking a header” into this reservoir. Dougall suggested to William James that the “method” he described was a dangerous form of “automatism,” encouraging “a sort of split in consciousness, a numbing of the reasoning faculties, and that there was no proof that a better result would not be produced by the same soul in the full exercise of its conscious powers.” She noted in an aside to Earp, “Of course, this is the whole question of quietism, mysticism and all their modern forms.”³

In 1907, however, we find her citing the mystical phrases from St. John: “And the glory which thou has given me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one.”⁴ And by 1910, she not only accepted mysticism but, as she told Hilda Oakeley, she saw it as the highest form of faith, “I am sure that mysticism produces the truest sanity.”⁵ One reviewer of *Absente Reo* (1910) commented, “The writer is a mystic, a twentieth century mystic,” and, if his enthusiasm led him to overstate the case, the book marks the high point of Lily Dougall’s recognition of the mystic tradition.⁶ In *Voluntas Dei* (1912), Dougall argued that the joyful assurance of the faithful is the final proof of the “God hypothesis”:

³ She read James’ *Will to Believe* (1897) and *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) and continued to use psychological terms to understand religious experience. But the fascination with the bizarre and extreme, which characterised James’ *Varieties of Religious Experience* and Dougall’s most psychological work, *The Mormon Prophet*, was dropped. For the reference to James’ *Will To Believe* (1897) see Louise Chandler Moulton to Lily Dougall, July 22 [no year], London. BL, LDP, 1.

⁴[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 310. (St. John xvii: 20-23.)

⁵Lily Dougall to H.D.O.[Hilda Oakeley], Melbourne, Derbyshire, Sept 7 1910. Earp, “Selected Letters,” 220. She recalled, “. . . one so often comes across the notion, in early religious training of the young, that any experience of that sort may lead to mental weakness.” Lily Dougall to H.D.O.[Hilda Oakeley], Melbourne, Derbyshire, September 7, 1910, Earp, “Selected Letters,” 220.

⁶*The Transvaal Leader*, November 1, 1910, clipping file, p. 11, BL, LDP, 6.

The fact remains that there are. . . a great unnumbered multitude, scattered in all nations, silent unobtrusive folk, without mutual resemblance, to whom personal conversation with God seems to be the great, the only absolute, certainty of their lives. Joy is theirs... Within their hearts is an ever growing persuasion that joy unspeakable surrounds them in the unseen and still awaits their ultimate discovery. They will refer to this authority or that as the basis of their belief, but the fact that, while it grows year by year more strong, more pervasive of the whole sphere of their consciousness, it remains outwardly incommunicable, is perhaps an indication that its true source cannot be cited among religious authorities on earth.⁷

The book's dedication suggests that she was referring to her family, but Dougall's lyrical evocation of their faith served a modern purpose and reflects a dramatic shift in the popular understanding of the mystical tradition.

Between 1899 and 1911 a flood of books on mysticism appeared. There had only been one survey of "mysticism" before that time, R.A. Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics* (1856).⁸ No longer associated with asceticism, fanaticism, or even, necessarily, Catholicism, mysticism became an acceptable topic for theological debate and public discussion. As Eric J. Sharpe has asked, "But why did the *word* mysticism, quite apart from any phenomena to which the word might be taken to refer, suddenly become fashionable in the 1890's and the early 1900's?"⁹

The answer lies in the modernist search for religious authority in the mystic tradition. The work of psychologists of religion like William James and Richard Maurice Bucke, which has since dominated and arguably reduced our understanding of mysticism,

⁷[Lily Dougall], *Voluntas Dei* (London: Macmillan, 1912), 17.

⁸R.A. Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, 3rd rev. ed. (1856; London: Strahan and Co., 1856).

⁹Eric J. Sharpe, "The Study of Religion in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*," *Journal of Religion* 70, 3 (July, 1990): 347. It may be that this modernist mysticism was a predominantly British movement; Cauthen did not consider Jones' mystical liberalism in his book on liberal religious thought because, although religious experience was central to liberalism, the "distinctive mystical type of religion espoused by Jones is not so widespread as the other types." Kenneth Cauthen, *The Impact of American Religious Liberalism*, 2d ed., (New York: University Press of America, 1983), 36.

was overshadowed at the time by the surveys written by modernists like W.R. Inge, Evelyn Underhill, Baron Friedrich Von Hugel, Percy Gardner, and Rufus Jones. Some of the most prominent members of the modernist movement wrote on mysticism: William Ralph Inge (1860-1954), Dean of St. Paul's, was president of the Modern Churchman's Union from 1924-1934. His publications on mysticism included his 1899 Bampton lectures, *Christian Mysticism*, which had reached a sixth edition in 1925, and a series of subsequent variations on the theme.¹⁰ Classicist Percy Gardner (1846-1937), author of *Exploratio Evangelica, a brief exploration of the basis and origin of Christian Belief*, (1899) was another president of the Modern Churchman's Union (1915-1922).¹¹ Baron Friedrich Von Hugel (1852-1925), dubbed the lay bishop of Roman Catholic modernists, introduced a largely Anglican British audience to mysticism with *The Mystical Element of*

¹⁰W.R. Inge's books included, *Christian Mysticism* (London: Methuen and Co., 1899; 7th ed. Meridian, 1956); *Light, Life and Love, Selections from the German Mystics of the Middle Ages* translated and edited with an introduction by W.R. Inge, (1904); *Faith and Knowledge Sermons* (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1905); *Studies of English Mystics, St Margaret's Lectures 1905* (London: John Murray, 1906, 1907, 1921); W. R. Inge, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism: The Paddock Lectures for 1906 delivered at General Seminary, New York* (London: Longmans, 1907); *Faith* (London: Duckworth and Co., 1909); *The Philosophy of Plotinus, The Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews, 1917-1918* (London: Longmans, 1918); *Personal Religion and the Life of Devotion* (London: Longmans, 1924); *The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought, The Hulsean Lectures 1925-1926* (London: Longmans, 1926); *Outspoken Essays* (London: Longmans and Co., 1919, 1922), and *Mysticism in Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948; London: Hutchinson and Co., 1948). For biographical information see W.R. Inge *Diary of a Dean, St. Paul's 1909-1934* (London: Hutchison and Co., 1949), and *Vale* (London: Longmans, 1934). During his life, however, he was probably better known for his popular weekly articles in the *Evening Standard* (1921-46).

Inge was raised in a Tractarian home, and although he disavowed his parent's theology, their piety remained with him. See Paul Crook, "W.R. Inge and Cultural Crisis, 1899-1920," *Journal of Religious History* 16, 4 (1991): 410, and Robert M. Helm, *The Gloomy Dean* (John F. Blair, Winston Salem, 1962).

¹¹*Exploratio Evangelica: A Brief Exploration of the Basis and Origin of Christian Belief* (London: A. & C. Black, 1899); *The Practical Basis for Christian Belief: An Essay in Reconstruction* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1923), *Modernism in the English Church* (London: Methuen, 1926); *The Interpretation of Religious Experience* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1931), and *Autobiographica* (Oxford: Basil and Blackwell, 1933). He also wrote a number of books on his professional archeological and numismatic interests. His sister, Alice Gardner, was also a prominent modernist.

Religion as studied in Ste Catherine of Genoa and her friends (1908). He was the most scholarly of the modernist writers on mysticism, and his work on mysticism hewed most closely to traditional theology.¹² Evelyn Underhill (1875-1941) was a late convert to Anglican modernism: she was raised an Anglican, toyed with the occult, and would have joined the Roman Catholic Church but for the 1907 Papal condemnation of modernism. She turned to Baron Von Hugel as a spiritual director and in 1921 returned to the Anglican fold. Her *Mysticism, A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (1911) has become the standard text on mysticism; it was reprinted ten times, revised in 1930, and is still widely recommended as a primer on the subject.¹³ Her subsequent books on mysticism explore various aspects, from an increasingly orthodox perspective. Rufus M. Jones (1863-1940) a liberal Quaker, was an associate of Lily

¹²I have not considered Von Hugel's work here, beyond noting that it provided a scholarly grounding to the more popular works of writers like Underhill, because it had little direct influence upon Lily Dougall. Von Hugel was a scholar of considerable depth, and his adoption of the mystic tradition was not as transparent as that of Inge.

¹³Evelyn Underhill's married name was Mrs. Stuart Moore, but she wrote as Evelyn Underhill. *Mysticism, A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (1911; 3rd rev. ed., 1912; 12th rev. ed., 1930; reprint, London: Methuen and Co., 1967); John Cordelier [Evelyn Underhill], *The Spiral Way, Being Meditations upon the Fifteen Mysteries of the Soul's Ascent* (London: J.M. Watkins, 1912); *The Mystic Way, a Psychological Study in Christian Origins* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1913); *Practical Mysticism* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1914); *Mysticism and War* (London: John Watkins, 1915); *The Essentials of Mysticism and Other Essays* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1920); *The Life of the Spirit and the Life of Today*, Lectures delivered in Oxford in 1921 (London: Methuen and Co., 1922); *Mystics of the Church* (London: James Clarke, 1925); *Concerning the Inner Life* (London: Methuen and Co., 1926); *Prayer* (London: YWCA, 1926); *The House of the Soul* (London: Methuen, 1929); *The Golden Sequence, A Four-Fold Study of the Spiritual Life* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1932); *Worship* (London: Nisbet, 1936) *Collected Papers*, ed. Lucy Menzies (New York: Longmans, 1946). See Dana Greene, *Evelyn Underhill, Artist of the Infinite Life* (New York: Crossroads, 1990); and *Evelyn Underhill: Modern Guide to the Ancient Quest for the Holy*, ed. and with an intro. by Dana Greene (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988). The second book contains an extensive bibliography of works by and about Underhill. For a more distanced analysis see Christopher J.R. Armstrong, *Evelyn Underhill (1875-1941) An Introduction to her Life and Writings* (London: Mowbrays, 1975). See also *The Letters of Evelyn Underhill* ed. Charles Williams (London: Longmans, 1943). Dana Greene notes that Underhill's greatest influence lay among women (*Artist*, p.148).

Dougall's and the author of more than fifty books on mysticism and the Society of Friends.¹⁴

The flood of publications on mysticism was augmented by reprints of the original mystic texts. Thomas Upham's work on Madame Guyon, for example, reappeared in a new 1905 English edition edited by W.R. Inge.¹⁵ Most popular was Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ*. As a reviewer in Lily Dougall's *World Wide* noted in 1905, "In fact, the possession, if not the perusal of [*The Imitation of Christ*] may be said to form part of the religious education of the average Englishman of the better class." He observed, "All this seems very strange, when one considers the writer is, before all things, a monk, a celibate, an ascetic" and concluded that the attraction lay in the monk's

¹⁴See the compilation of Jones' work, compiled by Harry Emerson Fosdick, for a listing of the more than fifty books on religious questions. *Rufus Jones Speaks to our Time, An Anthology*, ed. Harry Emerson Fosdick (New York: Macmillan, 1951). Hal Budge quotes the *American Philosophy of Religion* (1936) by Henry Nelson Wieman and Bernard Eugene Meland: "Rufus Jones may undoubtedly be considered the most eminent American mystic of recent times, if in fact, he is not the American mystic *par excellence*." *American Mysticism: From William James to Zen* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1970), 29. His works include *Quakerism and the Simple Life* (London: Headley Bros., [1905.]); *Quakerism: A Religion of Life* (London: Headley Bros., 1908); *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1909); *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1914); *The Inner Life* (1916), *The World Within* (1918), *The Record of a Quaker Conscience*, C. Pringle's Diary, with an introduction by Rufus M. Jones (New York: Macmillan, 1918); *The Story of George Fox* (New York: Macmillan, 1919); *New Studies in Mystical Religion. The Ely Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1927); *Some Exponents of Mystical Religion* (London: Epworth Press, 1930 [1929]); *Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932); *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, 2 Vol. (London: Macmillan, 1921); *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 1923), and W.C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, with an introduction by Rufus Jones, 2 Vol. (London: Macmillan, 1923).

¹⁵*Light, Life and Love, Selections from the German Mystics of the Middle Ages*, trans. and ed. with an introduction by W.R. Inge, (1904). Thomas Cogswell Upham, *The Life, Religious Opinions and Experiences of Madame Guyon*, new edition with an introduction by W.R. Inge (London: Allenson and Co., 1905). The continuing relevance of Madame Guyon is suggested also by the reference to her work in H.D.A. Major's review of Dougall's later book, *Concerning Prayer*. See *The Modern Churchman* VI (1916-1917), 224. See also Arthur Wollaston Hutton, "The 'Inner Light' Today," from *The Commonwealth in World Wide* II, 31 (August 12, 1902): 492-493. Hutton concludes with a quote from Madame Guyon's spiritual director.

“exceptionally vivid account” of religious experience.¹⁶ Another reviewer in *World Wide*, commenting upon a new edition of St. Catherine of Siena, (edited by Christian Socialist Vida Scudder), similarly noted: “Perhaps the keynote of Catherine’s success is her perception of and her firm belief in, the actual presence of God in the human beings around her.”¹⁷

These books were widely read, not by eccentrics, but by a well-educated and critical public. One church historian notes that, “Exponents of mysticism in England were not intemperate enthusiasts or hotheads but historical and critical scholars of intellectual, moral and spiritual depth and discernment.”¹⁸ Members of the Bloomsbury set, like John Middleton Murray and Katherine Mansfield, toyed with a mystical faith.¹⁹ More surprisingly, philosopher Bertrand Russell, in response to the mystical Anglicanism of his lover, Ottoline Morrell, seriously considered mysticism in a series of works: “Prisons” (1911), “The Essence of Religion” (published, like some of Dougall’s work, in the liberal *Hibbert Journal* in 1912), *The Perplexities of John Forstice* (unpublished, written in

¹⁶*World Wide* V, 27 (June 3, 1905): 530.

¹⁷Margaret Vaughan, “S. Catherine of Siena, as Seen in her Letters,” reprinted from the *Speaker*, London, in *World Wide* (October 21, 1905): 929-930. Review of *St. Catherine of Siena, as Seen in her Letters*, trans. and ed. by Vida D. Scudder (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1905). Scudder’s first name is given as Viola, but the British Library catalogue identifies the author of this book as Vida Dutton Scudder.

¹⁸Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England, The Ecumenical Century, 1900-1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

¹⁹Writers like Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry experimented with a decidedly obscure mysticism. See John Middleton Murry, *God, Being an Introduction to the Science of Metabiology* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1929). The autobiographical sections of the book reveal the ways that mysticism was understood in his literary set; for the most part the book is obscure, embarrassingly confessional, and almost maudlin in tone, despite the adoption of pseudo-scientific language.

1912), and “Mysticism and Logic” (1914).²⁰ As Russell explained the wide interest in the subject:

The decay of traditional beliefs has made every religion that rests on dogma precarious, and even impossible, to many whose nature is strongly religious For right action they are thrown back upon bare morality; and bare morality is very inadequate as a motive for those who hunger and thirst after the infinite. Thus it has become a matter of first importance to preserve religion without any dependence upon dogmas to which an intellectually honest assent grows daily more difficult. . . . In some ways therefore a religion which has no dogma is greater and more religious than one which rests upon the belief that in the end our ideals are fulfilled in the outer world.²¹

The many thousands of readers who bought Underhill’s *Mysticism* and read Inge’s *Christian Mysticism* were grasping for evidence of a spirituality that stood independent of church, creed, or theology. Russell failed to find a *modus vivendi* between the imperatives of mysticism and logic, and after 1914 opted for the latter. The vehemence of his later secular position, however, reflected the promise that mystical thought had once held.

This revival of mysticism has been ignored and dismissed in what is frequently an insulting manner by historians. In Canada, Ramsay Cook described R.M. Bucke’s cosmic consciousness as debased supernaturalism. Jackson Lears described Vida Scudder’s Anglo-Catholicism and the mystical Buddhism of Americans William Sturgis Bigelow and George Cabot Lodge as selfish, and ultimately futile expressions of a weak and feminine antimodernism: “Eager for liberation from Victorian constraints but lacking firm moral

²⁰ See *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, Vol. 12, ed. Richard A. Rempel, Andrew Brink and Margaret Moran (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1985), Part III. For a discussion of Ottoline Morrell’s role in his life and beliefs, see Miranda Seymour, *Ottoline Morrow: Life on the Grand Scale* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1992). For an interesting discussion of Russell’s interest in religion see Nicholas Griffin, “Bertrand Russell as a Critic of Religion,” *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 24,1 (1995): 47-58. Griffin argues that Russell’s position against religion was not an original one, but drew upon the ideas of radical mid-Victorian free-thought rather than engaging with the current anti-rationalist strands of Christianity. For advanced religious thinkers involved with process or liberation theology, existentialism or drawing upon Wittgenstein, he argues, “Russell’s critique of religion would have seemed rather passé, an attack on religion as it used to be, not as it is” (p.58).

commitments outside the self, many Americans transformed mysticism and aestheticism into therapeutic cults of personal fulfillment.”²² He described the contemplative life as “morbid introspection,” neurasthenic, dependent, weak, and ultimately effeminate, ignoring evidence, in Scudder’s life at least, of strong active reformism.

Cook and Jackson Lears make moral judgements upon the modern mystics; they are weak, morbid, debased. Michel de Certeau offers an alternative perspective in his *Mystic Fable*. He looks at the sixteenth century mysticism as a new field of discourse, and asks why that field arose, and what purpose it served. He concludes, in a peculiarly post-modern version of Weber, that mysticism arose with the rise of the rationalism, and was essentially the voice of mourning for the cosmic world. Without drawing too heavily upon the connections to de Certeau’s highly theoretical and complex analysis, we can ask what purpose the study of mysticism served in the twentieth-century modernist world.

The modernists argued that religious experience provided a new empirical grounding for faith. As Dougall explained in *Absente Reo*:

Not long ago men took Christianity on the valuation of the clergy, or they left it altogether; now men are trying to fit Christianity into the facts of life as they are found in history or as they see them today, and life looks very different to this person and that. In the process of sifting all Christians must fall back upon some rock which is not being assailed, some common ground on which they can find footing, and on it stand to fight their battle. *The only rock on which they can rest is the personal experience of God's voice in their hearts.* It is this and this alone which brings the peace which science and research and social institutions can neither give nor take away.²³

²¹ Bertrand Russell, “The Essence of Religion” in *The Collected Papers*, Vol. 12, 114-115.

²² T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 223. For Cook’s treatment of Bucke, see *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), Chapter Six.

²³Emphasis added. [Lily Dougall], *Absente Reo* (London: Macmillans, 1910), 127.

Her argument was stolen from W.R. Inge:

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that both the old seats of authority, the infallible Church and the infallible book, are fiercely assailed, and that our faith needs reinforcements. These can only come from the depths of the religious consciousness itself, and if summoned from thence, they will not be found wanting. *The "impregnable rock" is neither an institution nor a book, but a life or experience.*²⁴

The experience of faith reinforced the faltering authorities of church and Bible.

Through mysticism the modernists could lay claim to a heritage that, whatever its pathological "aberrations," had an uncontested claim to a certain knowledge of God. Inge wrote: "I was convinced very early, and I have never wavered in my conviction, that this testimony of the saints and mystic has far greater evidential value than is usually supposed, and that it may properly take the place of those traditional 'evidences' which for one reason or another have lost their cogency."²⁵ Underhill was typically eloquent, describing the mystics metaphorically as Mary running from the tomb, "with the message of eternity."²⁶ Dougall advised the young minister in *Absente Reo* to overcome the difficulties of Biblical criticism by preaching "the voice of God in the soul."

Let me beseech you to remember that this fragment of difficulty that dismays you today [regarding Christ's apocalyptic teaching] will dismay your flock — man, woman and child, saving the fools, so to speak — tomorrow. That is just what I have been telling you so long. How are you going to hold faith undisturbed in such a case? By mastering the apocalyptic problem, deciding what is true, and telling them that? Alas! no. No one knows, or will know for many a day, what the consensus of historical judgement will finally be on this: and when they do, other

²⁴Emphasis added. Cited in A.M.G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism* (London: SPCK, 1984), 73.

²⁵ Inge, *Vale*, 39. He wrote further, "I was attracted to the subject of mysticism by the conviction that those who have devoted their whole lives to the pursuit of holiness, 'without which no man may see the Lord' must have something more to tell us about the high places of the spiritual life than ordinary men and women can know . . ." Inge, *Vale*, 44.

²⁶ Underhill, *Mysticism*, 449.

difficulties will be on every one's mind. You cannot here find or transmit any outward authority; without faith in some inward authority men must waver, their ranks must break in the face of such disturbing interpretations. It is the inward authority alone, the voice of God in the soul, that can give peace and contentment in the dark places of necessary doubt concerning traditional beliefs.²⁷

Mysticism provided new authority for a faith that had lost its old authorities in the Bible and creed. The reinforcement was an effective one: no less a liberal Protestant than Harry Emerson Fosdick attested to the power of mysticism in shoring up his faltering faith as a young man.²⁸

We have observed the importance of Platonic idealism, in the work of F.D. Maurice, in Edward Caird, and finally in the personal idealists. The liberal writers on mysticism accordingly sought their past in neoPlatonic Christian mysticism. The neoPlatonic tradition was a familiar one, and it had soundly British antecedents in the Cambridge Platonists, that served as a corrective to the old understanding of mysticism as an irrational and fanatical Catholicism.²⁹ Inge and Jones traced the mystical tradition to "the father of Western mysticism," Plotinus (205-270 AD). Inge's main work was *The Philosophy of Plotinus* (1918). Rufus Jones' summary of the main ideas of Plotinus indicates the key points of his philosophy for the twentieth century students of mysticism.

²⁷ [Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 237.

²⁸ Fosdick, ed., *Rufus Jones Speaks to our Time*, v.

²⁹Inge, who had been highly influenced by Edward Caird, was critical of Underhill's *Mysticism* for neglecting to mention him. Armstrong, *Underhill*, 130. Inge cites Wallace in two of his books (without noting, however, how Wallace's definition of mysticism differed from his own): "In the Kingdom of God are many mansions; and while some are content, as it were to live contradiction and authority, to believe on trust, to repose on the common strength, it is necessary that there should also be from time to time a few, a select number who resolve, or rather are compelled by a necessity naturally laid on them, to see for themselves. Theirs also is faith: but it is the faith which is gnosis. Hard things have been said of gnosis, and harder things of gnosticism: but it cannot be too clearly seen that gnosis is the very life of the Church, the blood of religion." Inge, *English Mystics*, 36-37, and Inge, *Mysticism in Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948), 9. Rufus Jones was also influenced by the Caird brothers, but more directly by fellow American, the idealist Josiah Royce.

At the centre of all reality in the universe, in Plotinus' system of thought, set forth in his *Enneads*, is the Godhead, the One, the Absolute Good, the Source, which transcends thought and concrete being and utterance, an undivided and undifferentiated Unity. From this ultimate One, by an overflow from the superabundant Godhead, a succession of emanations radiate out in stages of decreasing splendor and reality. First in Order is the *Nous*, Mind or Spirit, which radiates from the One as light emanates from a luminous body. This is the Overmind of the Universe, the World of Ideas, Patterns or Forms, of which all minds and everything real and intelligible, partake. The Third Order of Plotinus' Trilogy and the second emanation, is the Over-Soul, which is the principle of life, of activity and process. It's the Life of all life and enfolds all souls. It floods out and makes the concrete world. Matter by itself is unreal. It is the limit or barrier against which the outflowing reality of soul is broken and splashes into multiplicity and differentiation. Soul is amphibious and may live downward in the lower world or live upward in the World of Yonder.

For Plotinus there is "a way down" by emanation and "a way up" or return to Source. The Soul must first of all come to itself, withdraw from desires, objects of sense, and contemplate the true patterns of things, and rise to the height of thinking God's thought, and so attain the realm of Spirit – *Nous*. The last stage of the journey to the Fatherland, the Divine Centre, or Source, can be reached only by a leap of ecstatic mystical experience, which Plotinus called "the flight of the alone to the Alone."³⁰

Plotinus' mysticism was incorporated into Christianity by St. Augustine, whose theology provided a mystical counterpoint to the rationalist Thomism through the history of the Roman Catholic Church.

Many of the books written by the modernists consisted of the compilation of this new authority. In his 1899 lectures, Inge traced mysticism from the Fourth Gospel, through St. Paul, and back to the early Platonists. He described Meister Eckhardt, and the other introspective mystics of the fourteenth century, the Spanish Quietists, and then turned to Renaissance nature mysticism, Bohme, William Law, and the Cambridge Platonists. Finally he described the romantic mysticism of Wordsworth and Tennyson. He traced the mystic tradition further in his historical works, *Studies of English Mystics*,

³⁰ Rufus Jones, "Neo Platonism," *An Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), 525.

St. Margaret's Lectures, *The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought* and *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, as well as broader works like his *Christian Mysticism*.

10.2 Modernising the Mystic

This was an eminently rational mysticism, a mysticism defined along Coleridgean lines as a higher purified reason.³¹ In *Christian Mysticism*, Inge distinguished between those mystics who pursue the *via negativa* and blind themselves to the world of the senses, and the objective or symbolical mystics, typified by the Cambridge Platonists. He explained in 1907: "The organ by which we apprehend divine truth is no special faculty, but the higher reason, which we distinguish from the understanding because we mean it to include the will and feelings, disciplined under the guidance of the intellect."³² Lily Dougall similarly dismissed rational thought as a shallow exercise and claimed a higher reason for faith. In *Absente Reo*, she adopted a metaphor, borrowed by Coleridge from the Cambridge Platonists, of "the eye of the Spirit": "The opening of the Soul's eye to the Love's being is only the beginning of an education which cannot proceed, as the progressive creed of the Pharisee did, from the known to the unknown, but always from the imperfectly known to the unknowable."³³

³¹ See Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 290. Paul Crook describes Inge's work as the pioneering interpretation of rational mysticism in "W.R. Inge and Cultural Crisis, 1899-1920."

³² W.R. Inge, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism: The Paddock Lectures for 1906* (New York: Longmans, 1907), 5.

³³ [Dougall], *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, 167.

Students of mysticism have rarely observed the extent to which this new-found tradition was tailored to fit the needs of the modernist generation. Modernists re-wrote the mystical tradition in their own image. Inge disparaged “the debased supernaturalism which usurps the name of mysticism in Roman Catholic countries.”³⁴ He dismissed the *via negativa* as “the great accident of Christian mysticism,” the result of “Asiatic” influence.³⁵ Dougall similarly distinguished between mysticism and the “pathological” behaviour associated with cloistered medieval mystics. She invited Rufus Jones to contribute to a collaborative volume in 1916; in his essay, much of it written at Dougall’s home, he argued that Christians must discard the old negative mysticism that introduced such esoteric elements as the “mystic way” and the *via negativa* to create a new affirmative mysticism.³⁶

We can best help our age toward a real revival of Mysticism as an elemental aspect of religious life, not by formulating an esoteric “mystic way,” not by clinging to the ancient metaphysic to which Mysticism has been allied, but by emphasising the reality of mystical experience, by insisting on its *healthy and moral* character, and by indicating ways in which such dynamic experiences can be fostered, and realised, and put into *practical* application.³⁷

³⁴Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, xiv.

³⁵Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 115. In his early works, Inge frequently distinguished between the rational forms of mysticism, which he understood to be Greek in origin, and what he saw as the perversions that resulted from “Oriental” influence. This changed when, at the end of his life, Eastern mysticism gained credibility. See his late book, *Mysticism in Religion* (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1948), where he says the West has neglected the spirit, and he has been studying the Eastern Orthodox Church for the “wisdom of the East.”

³⁶“Mysticism will not be revived and become a powerful present day force until it is liberated from dependence on outworn and inadequate forms, and until it conquers for itself more congenial thought terms through which in a vital way it can translate its human experience and its vision of God.” Rufus Jones, “Prayer and the Mystic Vision,” in *Concerning Prayer, Its Nature, Its Difficulties and Its Value* (1916; 2nd ed., London: Macmillan 1918), 110.

³⁷Emphasis added. Jones, “Prayer and the Mystic Vision,” 117.

By shedding the “ancient metaphysic,” the esoterics of mysticism, for a “practical,” “healthy” experience, Jones normalised, as much as modernised, the mystical experience. Even the more positive manifestations of the extremes of mystical experience were minimised: visions and ecstasies were viewed with suspicion.³⁸ Dougall suggested that the popular stereotypes existed because only the more extreme mystics wrote about their experiences.³⁹

These writers described mysticism as a continuum whose lower reaches were accessible to any believer. Inge confessed:

I have never myself had what are usually called mystical experiences. But in truth the typical mystical experience is just prayer. Anyone who has really prayed, and felt that his prayers are heard, knows what mysticism means The higher stages are for the saints who have given up all to win the pearl of great price.⁴⁰

Jones also defined mysticism broadly as “the type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of a relationship with God, a direct and intimate contact with the Divine Presence.”⁴¹ Evelyn Underhill concluded *Mysticism* by arguing that the average person can follow the mystic way at a lower level: “So too for us the Transcendant Life for which we crave is revealed, and our living within it, not on some remote and arid plane of being, in the cunning explanations of philosophy; but in the normal acts of our diurnal

³⁸ Jones argued that “the sanest mystics discount visions and ecstasies.” Jones, *Studies*, 144.

³⁹[Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 270.

⁴⁰Inge, *Vale*, 38. His understanding of mysticism was a broad one: he concluded the Bampton lectures with a discussion of Browning and Wordsworth; by 1921, when he wrote *Studies of English Mystics*, Inge included scientists and intellectuals who have a sudden insight, and even explorers like Gordon of Khartoum, in the pantheon of mystics.

⁴¹Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, xv. Jones defined mysticism slightly differently in subsequent books. This definition is the one most likely to have influenced Dougall, but a subsequent definition, cited in Budge, *American Mysticism*, 29, is more detailed: “Mysticism is the type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of relation with God, or direct and intimate consciousness of the Divine presence. It is religion in its most acute, intense and living stage.”

experience, suddenly made significant for us.”⁴² William Temple made the same point, arguing that mystics were like great artists, simply those who had a special gift, a heightened sense of a “fleeting glory,” that the average believer sensed through the more prosaic sense of a gradually realised conviction.⁴³

Dougall followed modernist precedent when she described mysticism as the experience of heard prayer, familiar to every believer. “The lamp of mysticism,” she wrote, “is more or less alight in every religious soul, and therefore in every true prayer, although often unrecognised.”⁴⁴ She was reticent about her own religious experience, but Streeter explained after her death, “She meant by this, holding one’s self in quiet recuperative concentration of mind and heart, so that the All-pervading Presence of the Divine could enter into and fill one’s own feeble personality.”⁴⁵ In *Christus Futurus*, she described prayer as the opening of a window in man’s understanding to “this flood of life, falling like sunshine.” Individuals, she said, should withdraw “temporarily from the things

⁴² Underhill, *Mysticism*, 449.

⁴³ William Temple, in 1910, cited in F.A. Iremonger, *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, His Life and Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), 85. Temple explained the average experience of religion: “In its essence [religion] is experience — the experience of a presence and power which we can only understand if we call it the presence and power of God. We may never have had visions or trances, nor any thrill of conversion or assurance of acceptance, but we have said prayers when we knew that we were heard; we have asked for guidance and received it; we have made surrenders of our wills to find that in that act we most fulfilled them. But such a catalogue of isolated events can never exhaust or explain what we mean by our religious experience. These are merely the outstanding moments in a life which tries to see the world and act in it as though with the eyes and will of God. This attempt, half-hearted as it usually is, yet brings with it not only in moments of exaltation, but in the gradual crystallization of conviction, an assurance of its own essential rightness, which is hard to communicate or justify, precisely because it is built up of numberless occurrences, some unnoticed, almost all of the unremembered”

⁴⁴ [Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 273.

⁴⁵ Streeter, “Biographical Note,” 21-22.

of sense in order to find God. ”⁴⁶ Beyond a daily hour of private devotion and prayer, however, she was not interested in the solitary pursuit of God. As she advised a troubled reader, “about secluding oneself for several days in order to find God, I can only say that personally I should never expect to gain anything that way.”⁴⁷

The emphasis was on sanity and normality, in part as a reaction to William James’ explicit emphasis in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) on the extreme and abnormal. Jones argued that a mystical element informed the sanest and most matter-of-fact person among us “in the call of duty and in the moments when prayer is lifted into vital communion with God”: “These mystical experiences in a *perfectly sane and normal fashion* often come over whole groups of persons in times of worship.”⁴⁸ As a part of this emphasis on normality, these writers emphasised the practical, even business like behaviour of many mystics. “As a matter of fact,” Inge states, “all the great mystics have been energetic and influential, and their business capacity is specially noted in a curiously large number of cases.”⁴⁹ Dougall quoted Inge to argue that St. Teresa’s visions did not impair her powers as an organiser.

The modernists also wrote the erotic out of the mystical. Inge quoted Schleiermacher’s description of the religious experience in *Studies of English Mystics* (1921).⁵⁰ His quotation was, however, a selective one, and the maiden’s kiss and bridal

⁴⁶[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 60. 309.

⁴⁷Lily Dougall to [?] October 22, 1912, Cutts End, Cumnor. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters.” 232.

⁴⁸Emphasis added. Jones, *Studies*, xviii, xix, and xx.

⁴⁹Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, xvii.

⁵⁰W.R. Inge, *Studies of English Mystics St. Margaret Lectures, 1905* (London: John Murray, 1921), 27-28.

embrace had been removed from the text. This may be more than a matter of British prudery. The model was increasingly a friendship rather than a marital relationship, as in Schleiermacher, or the more purely erotic relationship found in some medieval mystics. The loss of individual will and rational control in a passionate relationship with God has been replaced by a measured and rational friendship with God.

Evelyn Underhill, whose book was arguably the most influential work on the subject written in the twentieth century, shamelessly adapted the sources to meet her generation's needs. She excised Christian phraseology in *Mysticism*. As she told her researcher, "I want most passages in metaphysical rather than definitely Christian language; i.e. references by name to Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin etc., or bits flavoured with scraps of Scripture aren't much good; but those in which the same things are called the Eternal, the All, the Divine Love, etc. etc. will be useful."⁵¹ Christian terminology smacked of narrow orthodoxy, Underhill sought a mysticism expressed in more universal terms. She was more interested in using the mystics to establish her own predetermined ideas about mystical experience, than in understanding them. "It is a study of mystical method and doctrine, *not* of specific mystics: so that bits bearing upon my points are more useful than bits showing *their* peculiar characteristics."⁵² Later, sending a difficult edition of Eckhardt, she advised, "there's no need to read it *all* you know, just skip through."⁵³

⁵¹Underhill continued, "The book is not going to be specifically theological as I want to make a synthesis of the doctrine of Christian and non-Christian mystics, so no 'over-beliefs' are admissable." A second book *Mystic Way* was explicitly Christian. Evelyn Underhill to Margaret Robinson, [probably] November, 1908. The quotation is from what appears to be a copy of Underhill's letter in Robinson's hand. See Christopher Armstrong, *Evelyn Underhill*, 104.

⁵²Evelyn Underhill to Margaret Robinson, November 21, 1908. Cited in *The Letters of Evelyn Underhill*, edited with an introduction by Charles Williams (London: Longmans Green, 1943; Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1989), 87.

At times the depiction of the mystic tradition verged on caricature. The mystics described by Inge are seen to be Protestants, even when in Roman Catholic garb; Eckhart and his school of introspective mystics anticipate Luther, and even the Counter Reformation Quietists eventually threaten the Roman Catholic church.⁵⁴ Not only were the mystics essentially Protestant, in many of the descriptions they appear as Protestant modernists. Inge argued that “the Jesuits say with their usual acumen that Mysticism, even in the most submissive guise, is an independent and turbulent spirit”⁵⁵ His account of the characteristic features of western mysticism, drawn from an eleventh-century mystic, Amalric, is remarkably modern: “its strong belief in Divine immanence, not only in the Church, but in the individual, its uncompromising rationalism, contempt for ecclesiastical forms, and tendency to evolutionary optimism.”⁵⁶ Amalric, despite a few “perversions” has in Inge’s description anticipated liberal Protestantism, even to its evolutionary optimism. This modernist mysticism is contrasted with “legalism,” for which we can read Reform Calvinism:

The legalist — with his conception of God as the righteous Judge dispensing rewards and punishments, the “Great Taskmaster” in whose vineyard we are ordered to labour; of the Gospel as “the new law,” and of the sanction of duty as a “categorical imperative” — will never find it easy to sympathise with those whose favourite words are St. John’s triad — light, life, and love, and who find these the most suitable names to express what they know of the nature of God.⁵⁷

⁵³The quotation is from what appears to be a copy of Underhill’s letter in Robinson’s hand. See Armstrong, *Evelyn Underhill*, 104.

⁵⁴ Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 243. He argues that the discipline of the church had produced a perverted type of mysticism in Quietism.

⁵⁵Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 243.

⁵⁶Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 139.

⁵⁷Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 36.

Inge's description of Meister Eckhart might be applied to Lily Dougall: "intellectually he is drawn toward a semipanthestic idealism, his heart makes him an Evangelical Christian."⁵⁸

Rufus Jones and Percy Gardner had both worked with William James, and like him they argued that the empiricism of the mystic experience was akin to the empiricism of science. "Here is a thoroughly scientific psychologist . . ." Gardner said, reviewing James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, "who declares it to be a real and objective truth that in God we live and move and have our being." James' work, he argued, did not "rise in the clouds like the Gothic cathedrals of the Middle Ages, but may yet protect us and our children from the chilling blasts of scepticism."⁵⁹ Jones described mysticism as the science of theology:

Our generation has grown weary of ancient traditions and accumulated systems. We have discovered new worlds in all directions by following the sure path of experience, and we can never again settle down with a naïve and child like trust in the house which the past has builded [sic]. Our first question in any field is, not What do the scribes and schoolmen say? not What is the unbroken tradition? but, What are the facts ? What data does experience furnish? This shifting of centre from "authority" to "experience" runs through all the pursuits of the human spirit in the modern world . . . This profound tendency of the modern world has brought strongly into prominence a mystical type of religion, that is to say, a type of religion which is primarily grounded in experience, and with the tendency has come a corresponding interest in the mystics of the past.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 150.

⁵⁹*Hibbert Journal* 1,1(1902-1903): 184. Cooler minds among the modernists discerned the difficulties James' work posed for the continuation of Christianity.

Dougall included a review in *World Wide* making a similar argument: "In this religious experience, of which, as being a thing within our own direct, personal consciousness we can be perfectly certain. — more certain than we could of any external revelation obtained by submission to the authority of either Church or Bible claiming infallibility — we perceive that we have attained to the knowledge of the Father." "A Liberal Theologian" from *Westminster Gazette*, (a review of Arthur Wollaston Hutton's *Ecclesia Discens*) in *World Wide* (April 1, 1905): 348.

⁶⁰Jones, *Studies*, xv.

Mysticism offered “the facts,” “the data” of religious experience. Jones even entertained the reservoir theory, briefly, before turning to the long tradition of Christianity.⁶¹

The interest in mysticism was compatible with the growing interest in, and tolerance of, other forms of religious belief. Schleiermacher had described the feeling of dependence on God as a universal feeling that existed across creeds and religions. Similarly, Upham argued in his work on Madame Guyon that “religion, so long as it is religion, is *always* the same; the same in all lands and ages; the same in its nature and results.”⁶² Scholars like Max Müller had been exploring other religious traditions and presenting them to the British public. In his 1893 Gifford lectures, Müller compared Eckhardt’s mysticism and Eastern religion, and concluded that the goal of all religion is the same, unity with God.⁶³ At the same time, missionaries had brought back stories of religions, that for an unorthodox few, were more attractive than Christianity. Such esoteric groups as Madame Blavatsky’s Theosophists promulgated a form of eastern faith adapted to Western culture. As Dougall wrote, “Since the world began there has been but one inward and spiritual faith, which has in each of its various stages found many outward and visible expressions. . . .”⁶⁴

⁶¹Rufus Jones had argued in his early book, *Social Law in the Spiritual World: Studies in Divine and Human Inter-Relationship*, that, “[t]he vast realm of subconscious life, which for all we know, borders upon infinite Life, rises out of it and may receive incursions from it.” Later, however, he found limitations in this approach. Rufus Jones, *Social Law in the Spiritual World, Studies in Human and Divine Inter-Relationship* (Philadelphia: J.C. Winston Co., 1904). Cited in Budge, *American Mysticism*, 28.

⁶²Upham, *Madame Guyon*, 51.

⁶³Max Müller, *Theosophy or Psychological Religion, Gifford Lectures, 1893* (London: Longmans, 1898).

⁶⁴[Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, 194. See also *Practice of Christianity*, 271.

The study of mysticism could account for these alternate traditions as different routes to the same truth. Lily Dougall described the various faiths as alternate routes to God. This was not toleration so much as a form of religious imperialism. By claiming that all religion was one, but at the same time claiming the right to define that one truth and arguing, as Müller did, that one found its highest expression in Christianity, liberals could appear to accept other faiths while at the same time overriding any threats to or contradictions with Christianity. By 1913, Lily Dougall thought that Christianity was the highest existing form of religious faith, if not the final or ultimate form that religion would take.⁶⁵ Her friend, B.H. Streeter, described Christianity in 1937 as the “type-form” of religion, “a *synthesis* of the finer elements of the Higher Religions.”⁶⁶ In 1922, he published *The Message of Sadhu Sundar Singh: A Study in Mysticism or Practical Religion* (1922), a breezy biography of a Christian mystic from India. Theologically Singh was a liberal, devotionally he practised an exotic and foreign kind of mysticism, tamed just enough for British consumption. Streeter was coy about describing Singh’s visions and fasts: “To him, the mystic way is not the *via negativa* of self-conscious renunciation but just a simple quiet life of Prayer and self-sacrificing Service.”⁶⁷ Ten years later, after Dougall’s death, Streeter wrote another book in which the imperial tendencies of this line of thought are even clearer. In *The Buddha and the Christ* (1932), he argued that “Where

⁶⁵See [Dougall], *Practice of Christianity*, 272. Dougall also crossed out the word “finality,” in a phrase arguing that comparative religion has shown more clearly the supremacy and finality of Christianity. Galley 2, np., envelope marked “Free Church Commission,” BL, LDP, 1. She was asked to take part in the Commission in 1913.

⁶⁶ B. H. Streeter, *The God Who Speaks: Warburton Lectures, 1933-35* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 214, 212.

⁶⁷B.H. Streeter and A.J. Appasamy *The Message of Sadhu Sundar Singh, A Study in Mysticism on Practical Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 67.

the Buddha was most himself, there he was most like Christ.”⁶⁸ The implications were made clear when another modernist cited his work to show that Buddhism was evolving in the direction of Christianity.⁶⁹ This mysticism was a form of religious imperialism which incorporated all of the major religious traditions, claiming to find their essence in a modern and Western mystical experience.

Dougall’s interest in mysticism was short lived. W.R. Inge referred to Emerson’s description of the Oversoul, which Inge equated with “regular mystical theology,” and said that “Christians have generally preferred the word Spirit.”⁷⁰ In the years after writing *Absente Reo*, Dougall returned to the language of her childhood, and referred increasingly to the Spirit in her writing and work. She published a number of articles on the Spirit, including “The Spirit in the Church” and “The Spirit and the Life,” and contributed to a collaborative volume, *The Spirit: God and His Relation to Man* (1919).⁷¹ When she and Evelyn Underhill were invited to speak at a Church Congress, it was Underhill who spoke on mysticism, and Dougall, who was almost a generation older, had returned to the

⁶⁸B.H.Streeter, *The Buddha and the Christ, an Exploration of the Meaning of the Universe and the Purpose of Human Life* (London: Macmillan, 1932), 71.

⁶⁹R.D. Richardson, *The Gospel of Modernism*, with a foreword by E.W. Barnes (London: Skeffington and Son Ltd., nd [1933?]), 53.

⁷⁰W.R. Inge, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism: The Paddock Lectures for 1906 delivered at the General Seminary, New York* (London: Longmans, 1907), 114.

⁷¹L. Dougall, “The Spirit in the Church,” *The Interpreter* 19, 1 (October, 1915) in BL, LDP, 6; [Lily Dougall] “The Spirit and the Life” *Present Day Papers* 11,12 (December, 1915): 370-378. Lily Dougall, “Thoughts Preliminary to a Restatement of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit,” unpublished manuscript, 24 p., BL, LDP, 2. The book she edited with Streeter was the culmination of this work on the Spirit: *The Spirit: God and his Relation to Man Considered From the Standpoint of Philosophy, Psychology and Art*, ed. Burnett Hillman Streeter (1919; 2d ed., London: Macmillan; 1920).

evangelical language of her youth and spoke on the Spirit.⁷² The word Spirit, as Inge said, might be equated with transcendental or mystical interpretations of the divine, but there were important differences. The Spirit was a Christian concept, clearly located in the historic church. The Spirit was experienced individually, but also could be shared, as in the Pentecost, in a fellowship of prayer. In the last decade of her life, Dougall turned increasingly toward fellowship. We can trace two influences, one popular, the other philosophical, in Dougall's new emphasis on the Spirit and fellowship. The first was a growing distaste for excesses of popular mystical movements, like the mental science movement. The second was the growing influence of personal idealism. She had become friends with J.R. Illingworth, a leading personal idealist. With his assistance, she responded to a questionnaire by the Free Church Commission, and argued that the best way of seeking God is in the safe company of other seekers:

. . . the best way, and the only full way, of opening the life to God, of seeking His wisdom and hearing His voice is to be found in the assemblies, little or big, of God-seeking and God-loving people. It is for this that human beings are endowed with the collective power of evoking the collective intelligence and emotion and soul-energy. This is the highest use of this power, and it is a perversion of life -- a sort of insanity -- when the religious soul does not desire so to use it. The assembly need not be large, it need not be small, but it must be like-minded in humility, in love and in turning from past failure to future victory.⁷³

⁷² Program of the Church Congress of October 19-20, 1920, LDP, BL, 6. Lily Dougall spoke on "Spirituality: The Things of Sense and Spiritual Communion"; Evelyn Underhill spoke on "The Mystic Experience." Interestingly, Underhill was also moving to a less individualist understanding of spirituality; she finally joined the Anglican Church in 1921.

⁷³ Lily Dougall to W.F. Lofthouse, June 15, 1914, Cumnor Oxford. BL, LDP, . Personal idealist J.R. Illingworth assisted her in her responses. See A.S. Peake to Lily Dougall, May 12, 1913, Gairloch, Freshfield, Nr. Liverpool. BL, LDP, 1. He says he does not mind her consulting with Illingworth for her contributions to the Free Church Commission.

10.3 Mental Science Movement

The mental science movement was a nebulous one that existed under a variety of names and within a number of different organisational structures. Horatio Dresser said, in 1919, that Mental Science was an early term, like Mind Cure and the Boston-Craze, for what became known as New Thought. Similar movements were called Higher Thought in Britain, Higher Life in Boston, (where there was a church of Higher Life in 1894), Practical Christianity in Kansas, Unity or the Unity School of Christianity, centred in Kansas, Liveable Christianity, and Home of Truth.⁷⁴ The various groups coalesced by the 1940s into the broad New Thought movement and the more Christian Kansas-based Unity School.⁷⁵ Men led the movement initially, but as Dresser noted, and women's historians have confirmed, "women began to take a prominent part until in time that organisation became and has remained essentially a woman's club . . . after 1890, there were probably more leaders among women than among men."⁷⁶ As the name Mind Cure suggests, the movement combined a contemplative practice with therapeutic claims.

⁷⁴In 1886, Emma Curtis Hopkins broke away from Mary Baker Eddy's movement, to found what became known in the 1890s as New Thought. See Gordon J. Melton, "New Thought and the New Age," in *Perspectives on the New Age*, ed. James R. Lewis and Gordon J. Melton (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 15-29. The movement, which can be traced to the early Christian Science movement, was popular: the Unity School, for example, had centres in Europe, South Africa, Australia, and Asia, as well as North America, and claimed 2 million members.

⁷⁵For an account of a Canadian woman's trajectory from orthodoxy into the Unity School, see Gloria Whelen, "Maria Grant, 1854-1937: The Life and Times of an Early Twentieth Century Christian," in *In Her Own Right, Selected Essays on Women's Experience in British Columbia*, Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds. (Victoria, B.C.: Camosun College, 1980), 125-146.

⁷⁶Dresser, *New Thought*, 309.

Dougall, "having long withstood and derided the literature of the 'mental science' movement as pure rubbish," was finally encouraged to attend their meetings in 1908 by Archdeacon Wilberforce and Percy Dearmer, a modernist Christian socialist. These two clerics had suggested that the advocates of mental science were more cognisant of spiritual realities than most church-goers.⁷⁷ "Mr. Dearmer says, in brief, 'You will have nothing to do with these people because they do not exalt the name of Jesus Christ. Yes, but they have rediscovered the Holy Spirit, which you have practically denied.'" ⁷⁸ Dougall was fascinated and described the meetings in a series of letters to her brother.

These people radiate peace and joy and success in work. All that I have met are workers either in the slums or in professions. After the "silence meeting" where the names or initials of those to be helped are read aloud at intervals, one and another get up to tell that in this, that or the other life the desired change has come. The names are divided into classes: those who need health; those who need conversion to true ideas, and those who need prosperity. The latter class is always

⁷⁷Lily Dougall to Dougall family, London, May 16, 1908, LDP, BL, 1. Lily Dougall to Dougall family, London, May 15, 1908, LDP, BL, 1. Also cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 213, 210. It was convenient for Dougall to attribute her attendance to Anglican priests; it is not likely it took a great deal of prompting for her to explore these channels. Rev. Percy Dearmer (1867-1936) was best known for his work reviving English liturgy and ceremonial, and his popular hymnbooks. He was a Christian Socialist, the secretary of the London branch of the Christian Social Union from 1891-1912. He played a role in the recovery of traditional ceremony, a movement later derided as "British Museum Religion." He was active in such progressive causes as the 1906 movement for prayer book revision, the Anglican Fellowship and the ministry of women. He started the interdenominational worship services in the Guild House with Maude Royden. When he left the Guild House in 1924, Harold Anson, who had taken up the Guild of Health after Dearmer, again stepped in to fill the breach. See Geoffrey C. Harding, "The First 75 Years of the Guild of Health" (London: The Guild of Health, 1983). Dougall wrote a positive review of his book, *False Gods* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1914), in which she suggested briefly that in his depiction of a God of love, he brushed over the philosophical and theological difficulties, such as the existence of evil. [Lily Dougall] "Our Conception of God," *The Interpreter* 11.4 (July, 1915): 396-407. He was included in the "List of Modernists," appended to Alan M.G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism* (London: SPCK, 1984). He wrote *Body and Soul. An enquiry into the effects of religion upon health, with a description of Christian works of healing from the New Testament to the present day* (1909; 2nd ed., New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923), and two pamphlets for the Guild of Health: "The Inner Health Movement," and "The Thorn in the Flesh." See [Lily Dougall] *Christian Doctrine of Health, A Handbook on the Relation of Bodily to Spiritual and Moral Health* (London: Macmillan, 1916), 92 and endpapers. See Nan Dearmer, *The Life of Percy Dearmer* (Oxford: The Religious Book Club/Alden Press, 1941).

⁷⁸ Lily Dougall to Dougall family, 15, 16 May (no year), BL, LDP, 1. Also cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 211.

large. Nothing else at all is desired from God but that each one mentioned should in his or her own heart be assured that the desire is fulfilled. For example, the leader of the meeting says, "John Smith, know in your heart that in God there is no failure; you live in God and God in you." Then they sing to John Smith: "God is power — pure power — blessed power. That power is yours — *yours*. You live in God and God in you." Then they are perfectly sure that J.S. — wherever or whoever he may be — has been influenced in the right direction, "Almighty Intelligence carrying the message and knowing how to apply it." Day by day John Smith gets the same message.⁷⁹

Dougall was sceptical, but the movement appealed to her long-standing concern about her own and her family's health. In another letter, several days later, Dougall described a similar meeting:

. . . The studio was painted white inside -- about 15 or 20 people were there mostly young and very sturdy. Some very [?] dressed and some very plain or poor. The women there between 16 and 30, there was a fashionably dressed youth and two middle-aged men. The artist was an exceedingly pretty girl. She sat down in front of us all and began to read about the man with the withered hand Her point was that the Pharisees had a withered intelligence just as the man a withered hand. But they would not stretch out their minds when Jesus told them to. She then spoke of the interpenetration of life and matter in the hand. It was not an instrument held by Life, it was not a vessel through which life flowed. There was some kinship between matter and life where the man "reckoned on Jesus" by stretching out his hand. She said all this quite fast in an artless way then she said that we would realise life in silence. Everyone at once sat upright and shut their eyes. They all looked serene and contented while she recited sentences for meditation at intervals of about five minutes. 1st Be still and know that I am God. 2nd Your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost. 3rd God is power. 4 God is goodness and so on through all the attributes which may be common to the divine and human. The moment the hour was over she rose up and everyone went out instantly in various directions. Their manner of departure showed that they had not come for society or out of idleness.⁸⁰

During the same trip, Hilda Oakeley, who was now a reader in philosophy at King's College, London, invited her to a "parlour sermon" by an elderly cleric. Dougall noted:

⁷⁹Lily Dougall to Dougall family, 15, 16 May (no year), BL, LDP, 1. Also cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 211. Although she includes these letters in her biography of Lily Dougall, Sophie Earp neglects to describe the extent of Dougall's interest, perhaps because of the directions taken by mental science by the time of Dougall's death.

⁸⁰ Lily Dougall to John Dougall, May 19, 1908, BL, LDP, 1.

. . . . this is not mental science. None of these people have ever heard of it. The curious thing is it turned out to be an aspect of the same thing under a different name. [she describes a rambling sermon, “a torrent of musical words,” on God as love.] This was obviously not a doctrine which would be taught in a church. It is very strange to see all of these different little assemblies which find themselves outside the churches and are so intent on building up something they can realise themselves in. They are not frequented by people with time to waste.⁸¹

Dougall was defensive about her interest in mental science, carefully telling her family that she had been advised to attend by Anglican clerics, or emphasising that she had been led to believe the meetings were a health class. She argued, however, that these meetings constituted an advance upon evangelical prayer meetings. Most prayer books, she noted, require that the Christian must become “perfectly repentant, or perfectly humble, or perfectly submissive, or perfectly consecrated or (most strange of all) perfectly Christ-like -- before he is encouraged to believe that God *must* speak to him out of the silence and must fulfil his desires.”⁸² This, she argued, was a mistake, in practice admitting only the arrogant few access to the power of prayer. In contrast, “[Christ’s] promises of prayer were cast over the sea of seething humanity without conditions.” Mental science was closer to Christ’s teaching as “the place of power is not said to depend upon any experience of spiritual depth or height attained by the individual.”

These movements confirmed Dougall’s modernist critique of the Anglican Church. Their success, she argued, pointed to the “neglect by the Church of one part of the Apostolic Commission.”⁸³ “However wrong the Mental Science may be in their doctrines,

⁸¹Lily Dougall to “My own dearest people.” May 19, 1908, BL, LDP, 1.

⁸² Lily Dougall to Dougall family, May 16, 1905. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters.” 214. The sermon was given in the home of a Miss Schuster, sister of Sir Felix, and Dougall makes the comment that it was a “philosophical audience.” The cleric’s name is difficult to decipher, possibly a Mr. “Cobet.”

⁸³Lily Dougall, “The Church and Christian Science.” Unpublished [?] manuscript. BL, LDP, 2. Dougall’s attitude was similar to that expressed by Congregationalist minister Gaius Glenn Atkins, in 1923. He felt

and they have no distinctly formulated doctrines, I am perfectly convinced that they have a great secret which must be added to the ordinary Christian life of this age if that life is not degenerate.”⁸⁴ Dougall acknowledged the intellectual shallowness of the movement, but, like Dearmer, emphasised the spiritual power and popularity in comparison to the declining membership of the churches.

The Mental Science movements built upon liberal holiness and mystical teachings, dropping much of the Christianity but retaining the contemplative practice. As Dougall noted: “The name [Mental Science] seems absurd; the thing seems to be -- at least among this set of people -- a return of the power of the Gospel.”⁸⁵ She argued that the nineteenth-century holiness movement had taught a new understanding of sin that underlay the new health movements. “Their idea was that man could by faith so appropriate the death of Christ as to die always with Him to all the stirrings and actions of sin, and live joyfully to God – ‘dead to sin and alive to God,’ as St. Paul put it.” Although the holiness

that the new cults pointed to the inadequacy of the major churches: “Unsatisfied needs of the inner life have unlocked the doors through which they have made their abundant entry.” “Here are really new adventures in religion with new gospels, new prophets, and new creeds. They need to be twice approached, once through an examination of those things which are fundamental in religion itself, for they have behind them the power of what one may call the religious urge, and they will ultimately stand as they meet, with a measure of finality, those needs of the soul of which religion has always been the expression, or fall as they fail to meet them. But since some limitation or other in the types of Christianity which are dominant among us has given them their opportunity they must also be approached through some consideration of the Christianity which they have reacted. Unsatisfied needs . . .” Gaius Glenn Atkins, *Modern Religious Cults and Movements* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1923), 8.

⁸⁴ Lily Dougall to Dougall family, May 22, 1908, BL, LDP, 1. She also describes the intellectual shallowness of the movement in an earlier letter: “it is an intensely practical movement, it has as yet come to no intellectual expression.” Lily Dougall to Dougall family, May 15, 1908 BL, LDP, 1. See also her comment that those in mental science “write and talk only for the unlearned.” Lily Dougall to Dougall family, London, May 21, 1908. BL, LDP, 1.

⁸⁵ Lily Dougall to Dougall family, 181 Cromwell Rd., London, May 15, 1908, BL, LDP, 1.

movement devolved into a more conservative and narrowly defined faith, the essentially emancipatory theology informed other movements:

But the impact of this joyful conception of the force of the supernatural grace of the Atonement escaped from these narrow devotees into a larger air, and can be distinctly traced in the theories of "Christian Science," "Higher Thought," the "New Theology," etc. These theories all differ from their prototype, but they beat with the joyful pulse of emancipation. . . . [Christian Science and Higher Thought] seek to give men courage to count righteousness and health theirs by telling them that their true selves, hid with Christ in God, are united in God, and that their conscious selves can, if they will, do and be all things in the strength of that vision The third form of the movement, -- called "New Theology" -- as far as I can see, preaches much the same practical philosophy with regard to sin, but leaves out physical health. It is the more purely reasoning aspect of the movement which in its other streams seems to gather the forces of mysticism and magic, and to minimise reason.⁸⁶

Like holiness believers, the proponents of mental science understood that man was essentially good and needed only to trust in this goodness -- and in God -- to realise his full potential.⁸⁷ Douglas W. Frank has analysed the many similarities between the Mind Cure movements and the twentieth-century permutations of higher life into the Victorious Life Movement.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ [Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 181, 184 -186. These comments are made in the context of a defense of these forms of thought against the criticism made by orthodox thinkers like Dr. Figgis, that they lack any sense of sin. Dougall argues that dwelling upon sin is not the only way to counteract its effects.

⁸⁷ Dresser confirmed that liberal theology was closely connected to the metaphysical movements: "The correspondence with religious liberalism is so close at many points that some of the New Thought leaders have believed that the best way to give New Thought its proper setting is to identify it with religious liberalism in general, unmindful of the fact that it is its therapeutism which makes New Thought distinctive." Horatio W. Dresser, *A History of the New Thought Movement* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1919), 312.

In his scoffing but insightful account of modern movements, Charles W. Ferguson also describes New Thought as having been identified with liberal theology, drawing upon transcendentalism and Unitarianism, and preparing the way for modernism. His chapter on New Thought provides an interesting introduction to the subject. Charles W. Ferguson, *The Confusion of Tongues, A Review of Modern Isms* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Moran and Co., 1928), 172. A third contemporary account by a Congregationalist minister also emphasises the liberalism of the movement. Gaius Glenn Atkins, *Modern Religious Cults and Movements* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1923).

⁸⁸ Douglas W. Frank, *Less Than Conquerors: How Evangelicalism Entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmann, 1986). Frank's book is opinionated, but provides a critical and insightful analysis of the movement. His comparisons with Mind Cure are particularly interesting.

Over time, however, Dougall lost her initial enthusiasm for mental science. A brief survey of three New Thought leaders, Emma Curtis Hopkins, Ralph Waldo Trine, and Joy Towne, will explain Dougall's changing attitude. Emma Curtis Hopkins, a key figure in the largely female New Thought movement, emphasised the power of mind over body.⁸⁹ She taught a six step form of contemplation that involved the repetition of affirmations in "the Silence," a meditational frame of mind. "You are alive with the Life of the Spirit . . . you are bold and vigorous and hardy and energetic and tough and enduring. You are strong and free and well."⁹⁰ She described a mystical merging with the universe, into a centre, the "I AM." Hopkins' work bore some similarities -- as Dougall had suggested -- to the early holiness movement. Like Hannah Whitall Smith, she emphasised joy and passivity.⁹¹ One student recalled of Hopkins: "The effortless way--that was the way she counselled. Not to try, not to work, not to struggle. 'Be still and know that I am God' -- that sort of thing. An emphasis on the power within that knows all and does all without the interception of the 'poor little wandering lunatic mind' or the powerless stubborn

⁸⁹ The material on Hopkins used here is drawn from Beryl Satter, *New Thought and the Era of Woman, 1875-1895*, Ph.D. Diss., Yale, 1992. Chapters 4-6. Satter is interested in the connections between New Thought and the woman movement and the gendered tensions over conceptions of mind, matter, spirit, and desire. Although she notes the mystical nature of some New Thought writings, she does not discuss this element at any length. Satter describes Hopkins as "the foremost student of Mary Baker Eddy who went on to teach practically every New Thought leader of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century" (p. 479).

⁹⁰ Emma Curtis Hopkins, *Class Lessons*, 262-263. Cited in Satter, *New Thought*, 301.

⁹¹ Like Thomas Upham, Hopkins described the current era as the last of three stages, and rewrote the divinity to include a mother God, in a trinity of Father, Son, and Mother. For a discussion of Hopkins see Satter, *New Thought*, 214. Hannah Whitall Smith was, like Dougall, interested in faith healing. She had a daughter healed by Cullis, and later was sympathetic to the Mind Cure movement. See Smith, *Religious Rebel*.

will.”⁹² She drew upon a naive kind of mysticism, saying in a quote attributed to her by another student: “Oh, it is wonderful to be alone and feel your oneness with everything outside you Sometimes when I am waiting for a student I go in my room and draw the curtains and I lie down on my bed and draw the blanket and I have the most delicious moments.”⁹³ Hopkins adopted the word “mysticism” in the first decade of the twentieth century, writing a book called *High Mysticism*.⁹⁴ She retained a semblance of Christianity, claiming for example that her “I AM” was Jesus Christ, but the ties to Christian orthodoxy were slim.

Ralph Waldo Trine’s *In Tune with the Infinite*, published in 1897, was the most popular of New Thought books. Trine preached: “Come then into the full, conscious, vital realisation of your oneness with this Infinite Life, open yourself to its more abundant entrance, and full and ever-renewing bodily health and strength will be yours.”⁹⁵ Trine claimed the same authorities as the modernist students of mysticism described earlier: Plotinus, medieval mystics, Swedenborg, the Quakers, and Emerson.⁹⁶ Like Hopkins, he later adopted the mystic label in *This Mystical Life of Ours*.⁹⁷ Trine argued that all religions are essentially one, that the oneness with Infinite Life lies at the base of

⁹² Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Movers and Shakers* Vol. III, Intimate Memories Series (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1938), 476–469. Cited in Satter, *New Thought*.

⁹³ Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Edge of Taos Desert*, Intimate Memories Series (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937). Cited in Satter, *New Thought*, 326.

⁹⁴ E.C. Hopkins, *High Mysticism* (Santa Monica, CA: DeVorss and Co., 1974). Satter says the book was written in about 1909. Satter, *New Thought*, 298.

⁹⁵ Ralph Waldo Trine, *In Tune with the Infinite, or Fullness of Peace Power and Plenty* (1897; New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1942), 87.

⁹⁶ Trine, *Infinite Life*, 199, 219.

⁹⁷ Reference from the flyleaf of Trine, *Infinite Life*.

Christianity, Buddhism, Judaism or Hinduism. He told his readers to abandon the dead Christ, the “old forms and dogmas and speculations,” to find the “living Christ,” “the Christ within,” “the pearl of great price.”⁹⁸ Prayer can take place in any church, in fact anywhere, “anywhere and anytime God and man in the bush may meet.”⁹⁹ He described a form of meditation: “There in the quiet alone with God, put yourself into the receptive attitude . . . you will feel a quiet peaceful illuminating power . . . You are now on the mountaintop, and the voice of God is speaking to you.”¹⁰⁰ Eventually, Trine said, the believer will be able to retreat into his meditation anywhere, and to live in a “spirit of continual prayer . . . to know and to walk with God.” This experience, Trine said, is the second birth. The incarnation, God’s appearance on earth in Christ, is equated with God’s presence in every person. Every person partakes of the divine.¹⁰¹ The parallels with liberal holiness faith are evident, but there are key differences. As all religions are, in Trine’s view, one, Christ is reduced to one prophet among many. There are also differences in the goals. By realising their oneness with the Infinite life, Trine’s readers can find joy, health, and prosperity.¹⁰² There is no mention of eternal life or ethical demands.

Trine worked from a Christian framework, but as Elizabeth Towne’s best-selling *Joy Philosophy* (1911) reveals, New Thought eventually lost the Christian theology and

⁹⁸Trine, *Infinite Life*, 169-170.

⁹⁹Trine, *Infinite Life*, 206.

¹⁰⁰Trine, *Infinite Life*, 213.

¹⁰¹Trine, *Infinite Life*, 229.

¹⁰²“He who lives in the realisation of his oneness with this Infinite Power becomes a magnet to attract to himself a continual supply of whatsoever things he desires.” Trine, *Infinite Life*, 176.

language, and lost any ethical or moral base for the pursuit of joy, and even financial success.¹⁰³ Towne wrote:

The most effective practice for the cultivation of will is that of dwelling mentally upon the Sublime Self. Go away by yourself for a half hour or more and simply *remember*, and try to *feel*, this unity of personal self with the Sublime Self. Do not try to *argue* yourself into believing and understanding how it can be so; simply relax your muscles, lift up your soul and try to *feel* as if it were so.

At first you will see little result, except that you feel more *quiet* than has been usual with you. You will be less easily and frequently upset, and recover more quickly. Rejoice in this and keep at the recognition exercises.

Very soon you will find this peace deepening in you, and you will find it growing *easy* to do many things you had considered hard. You will find yourself remembering without effort that ALL things are working *with* you, and that you are free to do as you will.

Keep on with the practice and you will find all the deepest desires of your heart growing easy of accomplishment. You see, you are making sure your *connection* with the ALL-SELF. Instead of having to do things all by yourself as you used to, you have opened a sluice for the Sublime Will to flow into and work through you for the accomplishment of what you desire.¹⁰⁴

That this “Sublime Will” -- appropriately named the “All-Self” -- is at the service of the individual, and that it can be put to any purpose is made clear in continuing emphasis on financial success. Towne writes, “you will wake one morning to find yourself making more money . . . when you find yourself approaching the \$5,000-a-year mark you have set yourself you will find yourself wanting \$10,000. Now don’t accuse yourself of never being satisfied. Just rejoice in this evidence of spiritual [sic] growth, enlarge your operations and go in to win on a larger scale.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Trine at times used Christian terminology, in one passage calling on “the illumination and guidance of the Holy Spirit,” but more frequently used the quasi-mystical language of Infinite Spirit. Trine, *Infinite Life*, 226.

¹⁰⁴Emphasis in the original. Joy Towne, *Joy Philosophy* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1911), 53. Towne was an influential figure in the movement, the editor of the New Thought journal, *Nautilus*. See Dresser, *New Thought*, 173.

¹⁰⁵Towne, *Joy*, 50.

Dougall wrote *Absente Reo* (1910) two years after her initial forays into mental science, and she was still enthusiastic about their potential:

The jibes and caricatures made at the expense of the adherents of this great wave of thought, which has as yet not very intelligent expression that I can find, have no doubt acted like the proverbial curses and gone home to roost. . . . I confess that the church's way of stating this same tolerance, this same faith, this same love, seems to me more rational; but the trouble is that these three points, emphasised by the newer view, are by the orthodox constantly slurred over, while emphasis is given to an unsuccessful purgative process and a merely future salvation.¹⁰⁶

Her descriptions of religious experience are influenced by the language and tone of the metaphysical groups. In 1914, she deliberately described the result of individual prayer in a way that is strikingly similar to the claims of the mental science and human potential movements, as, “the attainment of a unique godliness, a way of enjoying God all their own and of manifesting Him in the power and outcome of their lives.”¹⁰⁷ (The wording is deliberate, as she noted: “It seems better to set before them the ‘power and outcome’ rather than ‘character’, though of course, character is formed in the living.”) As late as 1922 Dougall was still speculating that these groups might indeed be tapping divine power.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶[Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 185-186. These comments are made in the context of a defense of these forms of thought against the criticism made by orthodox thinkers like Dr. Figgis, that they lack any sense of sin. Dougall argues that dwelling upon sin is not the only way to counteract its effects.

¹⁰⁷Lily Dougall to W.F. Lofthouse, June 15, 1914, Cumnor, Oxford, BL, LDP, 1. Her comments were written as a contribution to the Free Church Commission.

¹⁰⁸“ . . . the truth underlying the claims of its votaries is that in hypnoidal states — by practice easily induced — certain powers of the human mind are discovered which, so far, have never been thoroughly explored or utilised. We have to make up our minds whether these powers are natural to the human spirit and can always be made use of for good or evil, or whether, if they are obtained from some transcending spiritual power by processes somewhat resembling prayer, we can believe that a spirit of evil has any real power to impart, or whether we must believe that power is always of God, whatever use man may make of it. In this connection we may consider our Lord's saying to Pilate. “Thou couldst have no power at all except it were given thee of God.” Lily Dougall, “The Spirit in the Church.” *The Interpreter* 19-20 (1922-24): 38-39.

She became increasingly critical of the movement, however, for intellectual shallowness and lack of fellowship. As she told D.S. Cairns in 1916, “those who are refinding [inward recollection and concentration of faith] in Christian Science and kindred movements think they can experience its full power without being ‘of one accord in one place’ with others.”¹⁰⁹ She thanked him for bringing his learning to the movement that had been dominated by people who “skate gaily on the surface. They do not worship God with their reason; their God is not reasonable, yet they have a secret key which can open great riches of the mind of Christ if they know how to use it.” In *Immortality* (1917), she distinguished between mysticism and fellowship: “There are two distinct conceptions of the ultimate future of man; the one seems founded upon the ecstasy of mystic vision, the other upon the experience of the excellence of fellowship or friendship.”¹¹⁰ She described the ecstatic vision of the mystic as an immature experience typical of the first apprehension of God, and argued that some mystics confuse this immature experience with the goal of religious life. Some mystics overcome this, “but to weaker natures the mistake of mistaking contemplation which has no intellectual content to be the goal of religious life is fatal; and under the delusion we see men and women whose wills become weaker, whose thoughts become more and more shallow, whose virtues are largely negative, and whose prayers seem ineffectual.”¹¹¹ She calls for a worship that increases individual will and reason, and exalts friendship.

¹⁰⁹Earp, “Selected Letters,” 255. For a critique of Christian Science, see Dougall’s paper, “The Church and Christian Science,” typescript, no date, BL, LDP, 2, where she argues that the strength of Christian Science is “due to neglect by the church of one part of the Apostolic Commission.”

¹¹⁰[Dougall], *Immortality*, 367

¹¹¹[Dougall], *Immortality*, 369

An article published posthumously made an even more forceful criticism of New Thought. She criticised the prayer of the “Oriental Mystery Religions now practised in Christian Science, Theosophy, New Thought” and “any Christian teaching that depreciates the intellectual life.” These new schools teach that “God’s saving activities can only be fully drawn upon when the needy soul has learned by practice to make the mind vacant and receive what is desired in ecstatic realisation.”¹¹² Dougall wrote that this form of prayer “is like a flood rising in hot river valleys, making the food fields fertile, but bearing on its tide malodorous things and germs of disease.”¹¹³

10.4 The Personal and the Mystic

As she became disillusioned with the mystical excesses of mental science, Dougall shifted closer to the rational and academic world of personal idealism. Dougall moved to Oxford after writing *Absente Reo*, and became acquainted with the personal idealists in her new neighbourhood. Hastings Rashdall and his wife came to Cutts End for tea in 1912.

J.R. Illingworth and his wife came the following year.¹¹⁴ A.S. Pringle Pattison worked

¹¹²Lily Dougall, *God's Way with Man, An Exploration of the Method of the Divine Working suggested by the Facts of History and Science*, with an introduction and biographical note by Canon B.H. Streeter (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1924), 55.

¹¹³Dougall, *God's Way*, 56. In a later article she referred to those groups that, “like a stagnant pool giving off miasma -- infest the air with bad moral germs because of a belief in their own infallibility in holding to either traditional notions or novel ideas.” Lily Dougall, “Conscience and Authority,” manuscript, p.4, BL, LDP, 2.

¹¹⁴“Dr. and Mrs. Rashdall, Longwall St., Oxford. To tea, Tuesday, November 5, [1912]”; “Professor Royce, Harvard, Mr. and Mrs. Illingworth, Longworth, To tea, Saturday Feb 1st, [1913].” “Mr. and Mrs. Illingworth and Mrs. and Miss Crum.[?] To tea, Thurs April 3, [1913]” Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1. The

with her on *The Spirit*.¹¹⁵ She arrived at a time of growing tension between mysticism and personal idealism. Hastings Rashdall, who served as president of the Modern Churchman's Union for a short period between Gardner and Inge, was outspoken in his criticism of any attempt to base faith upon the possibly subjective grounds of personal experience.¹¹⁶ As he pointed out, the indwelling of the Divine in the human soul was contradictory to personal idealists' belief in the complete independence of individual consciousness. He felt that emphasis on the mystical could be morally dangerous by minimising individual responsibility. Finally, Rashdall had little sympathy for an epistemology based on religious experience; as a Kantian he held that God's existence was postulated by morality.¹¹⁷

The differences were not ones that initially divided the modernist world, focused as it was on the common enemy of orthodoxy. Percy Gardner's review of Rashdall's

visit of the Illingworth's and Royce was memorable enough for Earp to comment on it in her "Selected Letters." She suggests they met for the first time at Cutts End: "One of our earliest visitors was Professor Royce, of Harvard, who was lecturing in Oxford in the Lent Term of 1913, and who here met Mr. Illingworth, the author of *Personality Human and Divine*, at whose house in the neighbouring village of Longworth the group met who had lately written *Foundations*" (p. 234).

¹¹⁵See A.S. Peake to Lily Dougall, May 12, 1913, Gairloch, Freshfield, nr. Liverpool, BL, LDP, 1. He says he does not mind her consulting with Illingworth for her contributions to the Free Church Commission.

¹¹⁶See his letter about Percy Gardner's work on mysticism. Hastings Rashdall to Professor Gardner, The Deanery, Carlisle, July 17, 1923. Cited in P.E. Matheson, *The Life of Hastings Rashdall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), 227. See also pp. 241-244, 251.

¹¹⁷The strength of Rashdall's disavowal of mysticism and the emphasis placed on explaining this by his biographers, P.E. Matheson and the philosopher, C.C.J. Webb, suggest that his was a minority position among modernists. Matheson concludes the biography with a defense of Rashdall's personal faith, arguing: "Suspicious as he was of anything which could be called mysticism he had in reality, along with a strong conviction of the necessity of a rational faith, two qualities which are characteristic of a mystic -- a profound belief in the presence of God in the world and a humility of spirit which enabled him to lose himself in worship and prayer and contemplation of the life of Christ . . ." Matheson, *Rashdall*, 255. Webb contributed a chapter on Rashdall's philosophy and theology to this biography, a chapter that circles around his rejection of mysticism. The division between the mystics and personal idealists is one that warrants further study.

contribution to the liberal manifesto *Contentio Veritatus* (1902) -- published by Dougall in *World Wide* -- reveals the collegial attitude. Gardner praised the book but noted: "Certainly St. Paul makes that appeal [to reason] but the founder of Christianity does not make his appeal to reason, all events not to the philosophic faculty of man. He appeals to the conscience, to feeling, experience . . ." ¹¹⁸ Twenty years later, Rashdall was diplomatic when he commented on Gardner's work:

I have read your new book with great enjoyment [*The Practical Basis for Belief*]. Your actual theological position is one with which I feel myself in complete sympathy . . . Where I begin to differ is where you touch upon the ultimate philosophical grounds of religious belief. Your argument from experience appeals to me little. It seems to me that there is little in religious experience which cannot quite easily be explained on purely psychological grounds without the assumption of any objective reality corresponding to it; any valid argument from religious experience involves, as it appears to me, certain assumptions about the universe which are of a metaphysical character, and which demand some kind of metaphysical proof . . . With your religious (as distinct from your speculative) position, I feel in complete sympathy, and I read this and your other books with immense admiration for the literary skill, historical learning and religious feeling with which you have set before the world a modern Theology. Nobody has done more -- perhaps nobody has done so much -- for the diffusion I must not say of the principles of the Churchman's Union, because we are not supposed to represent a system, but the general attitude towards Christianity which the Union exists to commend. ¹¹⁹

Rashdall's tolerant tone is slightly patronising. His criticisms were incisive, and it appears that the split between the mystics and the personal idealists had widened.

W.R. Inge's relationship with Rashdall also suggests a widening split. Inge had initially been identified as a personal idealist and he paid tribute to Rashdall as an early

¹¹⁸Percy Gardner, "Contentio Veritatus," reprinted from the *Hibbert Journal* in *World Wide* III, 6 (February 7, 1903): 91. The article is a review of *Contentio Veritatus* by Six Oxford Tutors (London: J. Murray, 1902).

¹¹⁹Hastings Rashdall to Professor Gardner, The Deanery, Carlisle, July 17, 1923. Cited in P.E. Matheson *The Life of Hastings Rashdall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), 227. See also 241-244, 251.

reader of *Christian Mysticism* (1899).¹²⁰ He responded with alarm, however, to articles, including Rashdall's, in *Personal Idealism* (1902) and criticised personal idealists with some vehemence in *Personal Idealism and Mysticism* (1907).¹²¹ As he explained in his memoirs, "by over-estimating the separateness of individual personality, they neglected the doctrine of the mystical union with the glorified Christ, which seemed to me at once the most blessed and the most verifiable part of the Christian revelation."¹²²

In *Absente Reo*, Dougall had casually mixed the two approaches, the mystical idea of loss of self, and the personalist emphasis on relationship.

The mystical element in prayer is perhaps constituted by the loss of sense of self in communion, and may perhaps be defined as participation in God's side of man's communion with Him. Consciously and with effort, or unconsciously and

¹²⁰Gardner identified Inge as a personal idealist for his contribution to *Contentio Veritatus* (1910) and accused Inge and Rashdall of creating a "new orthodoxy." Gardner, "Contentio Veritatus," *World Wide*, 92.

¹²¹For W.R. Inge's credit to Rashdall, see *Christian Mysticism*, Preface. His subsequent alarm is apparent in W.R. Inge *Personal Idealism and Mysticism: The Paddock Lectures for 1906 delivered at the General Seminary, New York* (London: Longmans, Green, 1907). "Oxford has produced a band of "Personal Idealists" some of whom proclaim the virtues of pragmatism and subjectivism with an almost blatant persistency and assurance" (p. 120). He is, as he notes later in *Vale*, referring to the authors of *Personal Idealism, Philosophical Essays by Eight Members of the University of Oxford*, ed. Henry Sturt (London: Macmillan, 1902). These authors were G.F. Stout, F.C.S. Schiller, W.R. Boyce Gibson, G.E. Underhill, R.R. Marett, Henry Sturt, F.W. Bussell, and Hastings Rashdall. Not all personal idealists dismissed mysticism. American John W. Buckham, whose history of liberalism has been cited earlier, was the author of a 1915 book *Mysticism* as well as a later book on personal idealism, *The Inner World: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Christianity* (NY: Harper and Bros., 1941), and a biography of personal idealist, G.H. Howison, *George Holmes Howison. A selection from his writings, with a biographical sketch*, edited by John Wright Buckham and George Malcolm Stratton (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1934). John H. Lavelly "Personalism," in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York and London: Collier and Macmillan, 1967-1972) 6: 107-110.

¹²²Inge is apologetic about the polemical nature of this book, but continues the polemics in his explanations. He wrote: "The group to which these philosophers belonged seemed to me to have a needless distrust of the intellectual processes as a means of arriving at divine truth, leading to the sceptical conclusion that, since absolute truth, if there is such a thing, is unattainable by us, we may believe whatever seems to help us . . . Further their doctrine of time compelled them to interpret eternal life as, quite literally, survival in the future, which lands us in great difficulties when we ask when and where a framework for this future existence can be found. My friend, Rashdall, who, though no pragmatist, was associated with this group, was impelled by his combative disposition to always seize a poker by the hot end, and in consequence had a reputation for heresy which he did not deserve."

involuntarily, man's soul often seems to go over the line of its own urgency toward God and become absorbed in God's urgency manward. Of course, when we come to analyse it, this is a common experience of all affection, all friendship; an identification with the other self is involved.¹²³

The language is mystical, with the loss of sense of self, and in the soul's absorption in God's urgency, but, like the personal idealists, she compared the relationship to a friendship.

After she moved into the orbit of the personal idealists, Dougall became more careful to define the limits of mystical experience. The influence of Hastings Rashdall can be traced, even in the titles of her work, and Dougall distinguished clearly between her faith and a mystical pantheism¹²⁴. In *Voluntas Dei* (1912) she emphasised the relationship with, rather than dissolution in, the Divine.

All spiritual activities seem to rise from man's consciousness that when he is most alone, in the sense of having retired within himself from the things of sense, he is in company with another spirit

The self if it finds God, certainly finds Him within, in the sense that it is within that the self speaks to God and God speaks to the self. This belief is not pantheistic; there is no identity of the self with God. Identity would put an end to all communication, for, as we have seen, all true union depends on difference.

As the line of tendency in evolution passes through intelligence to consciousness of God and the immortal hope, it points to a destiny that is union with God Difference, personality, selfhood are necessary to a high degree of unity. We have no conception of real unity that does not depend upon difference.

Communion of God and man may be described as "telepathic." Union of man with God does not mean identity. True union depends on community of kind and difference in identity.¹²⁵

¹²³[Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 274.

¹²⁴In her article, Dougall relied heavily upon the arguments made by Rashdall in *Conscience and Christ*. See "Conscience and Authority," *The Modern Churchman* 6 (1916-1917): 303-319.

¹²⁵[Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, 51, 92, xiii, xiv.

Dougall still understood the height of religious experience to be union with God.¹²⁶ But it is a union that is predicated upon difference, upon the independent and separate identity of the believer. And it is a union grounded in fellowship with other believers.

10.5 A Quaker Fellowship

It appears that after an initial flush of enthusiasm for the vitality of the various metaphysical movements, Dougall became concerned about the irrational directions taken by many of these groups. She turned to the Society of Friends, with their emphasis on the inner light contained within their strong sense of community, as a model for a renewed spiritual fellowship. She had been associating with Quakers since her return to England, and described mysticism as flashing like a silver thread, with a hint of shadow, through the history of the Society of Friends: “I never met an educated Quaker,” she said, “who did not take his stand with the mystics of all ages.”¹²⁷ Their mystical sense of the inner light was combined with a modernist distrust of religious hierarchy and creed, an activist outlook, and a sense of community familiar to evangelicals.

¹²⁶In “Conscience and Authority,” Dougall described two definitions of conscience: Rashdall’s ethical concept and Inge’s emphasis upon “the actual touch with living God.” She argued for a more explicit mysticism: If on the other hand conscience is in any real sense “the voice of God within the individual soul,” we need to make such doctrine comprehensive and welcome by a more liberal doctrine of the Holy Ghost, an explicit conception of the indwelling of God as being as universal to humanity as the moral consciousness is universal.” Lily Dougall, “Conscience and Authority,” manuscript, p.4. BL. LDP. 2. The article was published in 1916/17 in *The Modern Churchman*.

¹²⁷[Dougall], *Absente Reo*, 102.

The Society of Friends emerges frequently in Dougall's intellectual history, from the Quaker underpinnings of Hannah Whitall Smith's holiness to the orientation of F.D. Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ*. Addressed to a Quaker friend, the book functions as an extended argument for Quakers to bring the inner light into the safe confines of a liberalised Anglican Church. Writers on mysticism, even neoPlatonists like Inge, found the Quaker tradition a comfortable one. "When [Hastings Rashdall] was asked whether he approved of my appointment as Dean," Inge wrote in his memoirs, "he replied, 'Why not? Inge is a Buddhist.' Bernard Shaw was nearer the mark when he called me a Quaker."¹²⁸ The American Quaker, Rufus Jones, had been most effective in retrieving the tradition of the inner light, in a series of books on Quaker history.¹²⁹ Jones, who contributed an essay on mysticism to Dougall's *Concerning Prayer* (1916), suggested the power of the Quaker example for students of mysticism in his introduction to *The Beginnings of Quakerism*. He described George Fox as a mystic and a prophet, but noted:

Prophetism is often dreamy, visionary, and seething with ill-directed enthusiasm. Mysticism is frequently self-centred and absorbed with inward gaze. . . . There was, however, in the Quaker movement, a moral earnestness and social intensity which saved it from the easy pitfalls of mystical quests. If these men had their moments of transport when they felt themselves "in the Paradise of God," and perceived that "the whole creation had a new smell," they never lost their hold upon the central purpose of their lives -- to transform this present world and these actual human fellows around them to the end that the will of God might become the will of men and that society here on earth might take on a likeness to the Kingdom of Heaven The Quaker movement is significant, is worth studying, because it shows both strands [the practical and the mystical] woven into one organic whole. . . . it is

¹²⁸Inge, *Vale*, 55. See also Inge, *The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought*, 113: "The Quakers, who of all Christian bodies have remained closest to the teaching of Christ. . . ." For a discussion of the parallel revivals of interest in the Society of Friends and mysticism, and their basis in a widespread immanentism, see Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England, The Ecumenical Century, 1900-1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

¹²⁹See n.14. above, for a listing of his books on mysticism and the Society of Friends.

nevertheless a very real *experiment in religion* and one that is full of lessons for our age and for all Christian communions.¹³⁰

As a reviewer in Dougall's *World Wide* argued, in defense of mysticism: "It is true that a handful of spiritual empiricists, commonly called mystics, have been more or less mixed up with . . . 'queer delusions'; but they have been but units among the millions who have rejoiced and still rejoice in the 'inner light.'"¹³¹

In an interesting article in a Quaker magazine, the *Friend*, Dougall described their organisation as a safe haven:

The quest of the inward light is not safe for the solitary wayfarer. The solitary soul that lies silent, open to spiritual impressions, is open to two kingdoms: from one the sanities and moralities of the religious life come as pedagogues, speaking in tones that are apt to seem harsh and prosaic, from the other the insanities and immoralities of the religious life come as guests, with exciting and interesting arguments. But how sage is this quest within your fold!¹³²

Dougall spent the last years of her life promoting a heightened spirituality within the safe Quaker-like fellowship of such groups as the Student Christian Movement, the Anglican Fellowship, the Guild of Health, and the Cumnor School.

¹³⁰Jones, "Introduction." in Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*. xlii, xlv.

¹³¹Hutton, "The 'Inner Light' Today," in *World Wide*.

¹³²[Lily Dougall] "Reading Summer School, Impressions by Members. By an Onlooker." *The Friend, a Religious, Literary, and Miscellaneous Journal* LIII, 38, (September 19, 1913): 609-610. Copy included in BL, LDP, 1. She concludes: "In your silences there is the telepathic safety of the life of family and community, together consecrating all points of view, and together comparing them with the common vision of truth. Is it not appropriate that you should send out messengers into the highways or hedges of spiritual and quasi-spiritual speculation to bring in the lonely adventurer?" Although Dougall worked with such Quakers as Joan Fry, her work toward a renewed spiritual fellowship took place largely within the Anglican Church. In addition to Dougall's published comments, there are a number of references to Quaker conferences and individuals in her papers. In 1909, Dougall spent some time at the Summer School in Garden City, and published "Summer School at the Cloisters in Letchworth, August 14, 1909" in *The City, A Monthly Magazine Written and Printed in the First Garden City* 1, 9 (1909). The article was published anonymously, without even the usual reference to her as author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, but a letter enclosed with a copy of the magazine in her papers establishes her authorship. BL, LDP, 6. In 1913 Dougall was asked to serve on the Free Church Commission by Joan Mary Fry, a Quaker acquaintance. Joan Fry to Lily Dougall, May 7, 1913, and May 12, 1913, BL, LDP, 1.

Chapter Eleven

The Anglican Fellowship, the Cumnor School and the Student Christian Movement.

“The prophetess of all the prophets, the sibyl of the sages.”
J. Dougall¹

Dougall's emphasis on fellowship found expression in the creation of an intimate conference centre in her home just outside Oxford. She bought a small twelfth-century cottage and turned to rising young Arts and Crafts architect, Clough Williams Ellis, to build a large new wing. The resulting home, called Cutts End, was large enough to accommodate several guests, as well as servants, and was designed to facilitate entertaining and discussions. The six bedrooms allowed for accommodation of a number of guests. One small downstairs room, labelled “business,” could serve as a writing and editing room. The drawing room and parlour were connected to create a forty-two-foot space suitable for entertaining large groups of people. The house was situated on a hill overlooking Oxford, within an easy bicycle ride of the quadrangles of the university, but slightly removed in a beautiful rural setting.²

¹A comment made upon Dougall's work with the Cumnor School and the World Conference for the Consideration of Questions touching on Faith and Order, by John or James Dougall to Sophie Earp, November, 1913. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 237.

²The renovation was in effect an entirely new house attached to the original cottage. The two structures are now independent dwellings. A central component of Lily's plans from the start was a spacious upstairs room with large windows. Local tradition says that the room was designed for prayer meetings and retreats. The first plans, drawn up September 29, 1911, had only this “reading room” and a bedroom on the first floor and a large drawing room on the ground floor. A conservatory joined this new addition to the original cottage which held the other bedrooms, dining room, and kitchen. The final plans called for a much larger addition with four bedrooms and a larger room, labelled the “winter garden.” It may have served as a winter garden; the glass conservatory was lost in the change of plans, and the southwest exposure and large sash windows in this room would have provided a more modest conservatory and

Here she held innumerable discussions and conferences over the next decade for organisations focused on spiritual fellowship such as the Anglican Fellowship, The Guild of Health, the Cumnor group, and the Student Christian Movement. The discussions included intimate gatherings of liberal thinkers, such as B.H. Streeter, Harold Anson, the young philosopher R.G. Collingwood, and the Quaker writer on mysticism Rufus Jones. She also entertained philosophers like the American idealist, Josiah Royce, and the personal idealists, J.R. Illingworth and Hastings Rashdall. As Streeter recalled:

The intense activity maintained throughout her eleven years at Cumnor was mainly devoted, not to individual, but to co-operative work. This was partly manifested in work on committees and in "fellowship" movements, in London and other parts of the country; it was mainly exhibited, however, in making her house, "Cutts End," a centre for conferences and discussion for small groups of people of very various shades of thought and different ranges of experience but united in the desire to find some solution for the religious, moral and social problems of the present day.³

Similarly, modernist bishop, E.W. Barnes, recalled in an obituary of Lily Dougall written for *The Times*:

She best deserves to be remembered, however, for the skill and sympathy with which she gathered in her house at Cumnor, near Oxford, groups of men and women interested in religious problems. These gatherings had a charm peculiar to themselves, because of Miss Dougall's personal charm and religious insight. Frail in physique and a little hesitant in speech, she was none the less the unifying centre of her various conferences. They were stimulating and strenuous, because conversation, argument,

would also have served as a room for group prayer. Louise Armstrong, "A House designed by Clough Williams Ellis in Cumnor, Oxfordshire, 1911 - 1912," A Paper for the Certificate in Historic Conservation, September, 1992. Unpublished. Louise Armstrong was a long-term resident of Cumnor at the time of writing this paper. In 1916 Lily invited the Committee of the Anglican Fellowship to meet in Cumnor. The minutes of the committee meeting read, "Miss Dougall has kindly agreed to let us meet at Cumnor. She can put up 4 members at her house and rooms can be got near by for others, and we can meet and have meals at the house." Anglican Fellowship Minutes of the Committee which met at Annandale, Golders Green, on April 10, 1916, BL, LDP, 8. An obituary in the family review, *World Wide*, notes that Dougall purchased "another residence nearby for the entertainment of those who attended these conferences." There is no other reference to a second home, and it is likely this is a reference to the adjoining original cottage. *World Wide*, October 13, 1923, p.1.

³B.H. Streeter, "Biographical Note," in Lily Dougall, *God's Way With Man. An Exploration of the Method of Divine Working Suggested By the Facts of History and Science*, with an introduction and biographical note by Canon B.H. Streeter (London: Student Christian Movement, 1924), 13.

illustration and repartee went on unceasingly. The gravest issues were discussed with sincerity and frankness; and the hostess was ever ready to prevent over-seriousness or *ennui* by flashes of subacid fun.⁴

The Cumnor years appear to have been the most satisfying for Dougall. Well established in liberal circles, surrounded by like-minded clerics and academics, admired by a coterie of young people, and supported by Sophie Earp and a circle of women friends, Dougall was able to pursue her lifelong interest in a liberal and spiritual fellowship.

11.1 The Anglican Fellowship

The Anglican Fellowship was a small and youthful body, an offshoot of the Student Christian Movement, whose stated aim was the reform of the Anglican Church through fellowship.⁵ It drew upon a Mauricean concept of the inherent and universal fellowship of humanity in a kingdom of Christ, and put this fellowship to the modernist purpose of

⁴Louise Armstrong noted the Arts and Crafts elements: "the cottage shape, the local stone construction, the tall heavy chimney, which with the steep-pitched roof and leaded windows would harmonise well with the regional country style." Armstrong, "A House designed by Clough Williams Ellis," p. 6.

⁴Anonymous [Canon E.W. Barnes], "A Woman Modernist: Lily Dougall," *Times* (London) October 13, 1923, p. 14.

⁵There is no record of the Anglican Fellowship in the Church of England Record Centre or the National Register of Archives. The discussion here is entirely based on the records in Dougall's papers, which consist of an incomplete run of the *Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* from 1913 to 1920, incomplete minutes from 1915 and 1916, and assorted printed documents and lists. Papers of the Anglican Fellowship may be kept at the Student Christian Movement; their records, however, are however unsorted. Dougall described the goal of the members. "Their purpose was increase of friendship among teachers and preachers by means of group thinking and discussion upon the religious need of the world today." Dougall, "English Modernism," 11.

church reform.⁶ The group was set up deliberately to draw people from the dangers of the more bizarre sects and the solitary mystical pursuit.⁷ For several years before and after the Great War, the Fellowship attracted the elite of Anglican youth, men like William Temple, later the Archbishop of Canterbury, Leonard Elliot Binns, later an eminent historian of British theology, and the two most influential women in the church, Maude Royden and Mrs. Creighton. It was described by a member as the “thinking machine” of the church, and was said to exercise considerable influence.⁸ The group was one of a number of similar organisations, liberal in orientation, and aiming for a heightened spirituality through

⁶“The membership of Christians with one another is presented to us as a given fact, inherent in the fact of humanity, and in the relation of humanity to God revealed and made effective in the Incarnation of Christ. It is not constructed on a basis of common interest or personal intimacy, though it finds (or ought to find) expression in common interest and mutual understanding: but the fact or gift of fellowship is prior to any form of expression or occasion for active co-operation. Thus it is not to be regarded as voluntary like friendship or other forms of association. 2. It is universal . . . 3. It is incomplete in any given instance until it is universally realised; but not therefor necessarily imperfect . . . 4. While it is incomplete it needs a special organisation and has a missionary function. . . . *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* III (December, 1914): 15 -17. See F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ, or Hints to a Quaker, respecting the principles, constitution and ordinances of the Catholic Church*, 2d ed., Vol. II, (London: Rivington, 1842), 416-420, for his discussion of Christian fellowship and its appeal to lower classes: He describes the negativity of orthodox schemes of salvation and says “On the other hand, if the new and unwonted proclamation were to go forth, ‘God has cared for you, you are indeed his children, his Son has redeemed you, his Spirit is striving with you; there is a fellowship larger, more irrespective of outward distinctions, more democratical, than any which you can create; but it is a fellowship of mutual love, not mutual selfishness, in which the chief of all is the servant of all. . . .”

⁷Membership in the Anglican Fellowship overlapped with that of the Guild of Health. William Temple, Harold Anson, as well as Lily Dougall were leaders in both groups.

⁸Nan Dearmer’s comments probably reflect the opinion among progressive clerics. Before her marriage, Nan Knowles was assistant secretary of the AF in 1915, and secretary in 1916. Her husband was one of the few older members of the AF, a Christian socialist, and a close friend of Maude Royden and Arthur Clutton-Brock. He attended conferences in 1914 and 1916, and with Nan met with the AF branch in India in 1916. Dearmer, *Percy Dearmer*, 191. A Mrs. Knowles (possibly Nan Knowles’ mother) was a member in 1914 and 1916. The AF gave them a wedding present on their marriage in 1916; she resigned her position because of her marriage.

fellowship: the Group Brotherhood, later the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, and the Methodist Fellowship of the Kingdom.⁹

The Anglican Fellowship was organised by Student Christian Movement (SCM) leader, Tissington Tatlow, and the young A.C. Turner as an Anglican version of Malcolm Spencer's Free Church Fellowship. They called a meeting in April, 1912, with a number of liberal Anglicans, a second larger meeting in October, 1912, and finally organised a conference at Swanwick from July 9-11, 1913.¹⁰ The conference attracted ninety-five people, of whom eighty-five, fifty-eight men and twenty-seven women, joined the fellowship.¹¹ A second conference in June, 1914, attracted an impressive membership of 157 active and progressive Anglicans, with representatives from both the Anglo-Catholic and evangelical camps.¹² Dougall was not on the list of registrants, but many of her

⁹See David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London and Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989; rpt. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1992), 201-202. The Group Brotherhood was formed in 1908, reconstructed and renamed in 1923. A number of members were modernists, although, as the publication, *Liberal Evangelicalism*, revealed, it had an explicitly evangelical agenda. The Fellowship of the Kingdom resulted from a union of a number of smaller groups in a 1920 Swanwick Conference. It promoted eucharistic worship. Fellowship was a popular concept in the 1920s and 1930s: Fellowships included the Industrial Christian Fellowship (a remodelled Christian Social Union), the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship, the Fellowship of Independent Evangelical Churches, and the Fellowship of Evangelical Churchmen. See Chapter Twelve, n. 39, for the attempt to rename the Guild of Health, "The Fellowship of Faith and Health."

¹⁰The organising committee included a number of men who subsequently became Dougall's friends and associates: William Temple and Neville S. Talbot, Anglo-Catholic contributors to *Foundations*, and two men who later contributed to Dougall's group books, E.R. Bevan and A.C. Turner. Talbot is identified in Dougall's guest book at Cutts End, Feb. 1, 1913. B.H. Streeter identified A.C. Turner as "the" founder of the A.F. in his "Biographical Note," in Lily Dougall, *God's Way with Man: An Exploration of the Method of the Divine Working Suggested by the Facts of History and Science* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1924), 14.

¹¹The first organising committee was from men present at this first meeting: Tissington Tatlow, Rev. H.K. Archdall, acting treasurer, E.R. Bevan, H.F. Houlder, J.L. Johnston, T.W.R. Lunt, Rev. N.S. Talbot, Rev. J.R.S. Talbot, Rev. W. Temple, A.C. Turner sec. See the early issues of the *Anglican Fellowship Bulletin*, BL, LDP, 8.

¹²The fellowship appears to have bridged the divide of high and low Anglicanism. The presence of half the members of B.H. Streeter's Oxford group, many of whom took leading roles, as well as five of the six

younger friends and associates were involved. B.H. Streeter was there with his wife, identified in her own right as a member of the Zenana Missionary Society and a study secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) for the Oxford Diocese. W. Cecil Harris, the Honorary Treasurer of the Guild of Health, was present with his wife. H.D.A. Major, leading modernist and editor of *The Modern Churchman* played a role.

The Fellowship drew its methods, purpose, and much of its membership from the Student Christian Movement.¹³ It was an intentionally youthful body. In the opening meeting of the first conference, the *Bulletin* reported: "The problems with which the church is confronted . . . were presented as calling for the special service of churchmen of the younger generation . . . as a body of men and women meeting together."¹⁴ Their initial statement of purpose rings with a kind of youthful defiance, adopted in part from

other contributors to *Foundations*, W.H. Moberly, R.G. Parsons, N.S. Talbot, A.E.J. Rawlinson and W. Temple, as well as G.K.A. Bell indicates the influence of liberal Anglo-Catholics. Five of the twelve contributors to the evangelical equivalent, *Liberal Evangelicalism*, had been members of the Fellowship in 1914: T.G. Rogers, E.A. Burroughs, V.F. Storr, E.S. Woods, and E.W. Barnes. *Liberal Evangelicalism, An Interpretation*, by Members of the Church of England (London: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d.) [Internal evidence indicates the book was published after 1922.] The imbalance between at least nine members of the evangelical Church Missionary Society and only two members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel also suggests that liberal evangelicals had a strong presence. See "The Anglican Fellowship List of Members, June 1914." BL, LDP, 8. Only those members whose affiliation with a mission society was noted on the list are included here. The numbers for both the CMS and the SPG are probably higher.

¹³ Tislington Tatlow described the origins of the Anglican Fellowship in Tislington Tatlow, *The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: SCM Press, 1933), 46463-4, 729-730, 737. Dougall said that the Anglican Fellowship shared the theological outlook of the SCM: "Groups of the Student Christian Movement, proceeding on the same lines, have been doing the same sort of work, and coming to very much the same sort of intellectual positions." Lily Dougall, "English Modernism," 13, manuscript in BL, LDP, 8. "[The SCM point of view] which had been a large part of the impulse which brought us into being." *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* 1 (December, 1913): 10.

¹⁴"The Facts of the Modern Situation," *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* 1 (December, 1913): 10.

modernism, but with a new emphasis on fellowship and moral leadership rather than epistemology or theology.¹⁵

The Anglican Fellowship is a body of men and women, members of the Church of England, who feeling that the Church does not exercise that leadership in the solution of moral problems which rightly belongs to her, are deeply conscious of their own individual responsibility as members of the Church of England, for many of the failures with which she may be charged.

They believe that in all great problems of our developing civilisation it is the business of the church to mould the customs of the world after the mind of Christ, and this not so much by political agitation or the organisation of public opinion, as by inspiring her children to think more sanely, more courageously and more sincerely than others, so that they make speak and act with authority. To this neglected duty of sincere thought the Church should perpetually call us without anxiety as to consequences.

Members of the Fellowship feel that it is only in fellowship with others that they will be able to justly estimate which problems are and which are not of fundamental importance, or courageously face the difficulties which must confront the church whenever she sets herself to their solution or goes beyond the standards of ordinary public opinion.¹⁶

A central committee of about twenty men and women organised an annual summer conference and distributed a newsletter, *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin*, to members.

Unlike the Free Church Fellowship, which initially excluded women, there was and continued to be a relatively large number of women in the membership and on the organising committee. The 1914 list of registrants includes at least thirty-nine women. The organisation was overtly sensitive to women's concerns. As the *Bulletin* reported of the first annual conference:

... it was inevitable in the present circumstances that we should give special attention to the relation of women to the problems before us and of the Church to problems connected with women. So, at the outset, the needs of women and the anomalies of their present position in the church were before us as constituting a

¹⁵"We need first a positive programme for co-operation in moral and spiritual things and then we can face the points of theological unity and difference." *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1913): 26.

¹⁶The statement concludes: "It is their hope that the Fellowship may enable them to fulfil their responsibilities as members of the Church of England in these respects more fully than they have done in the past. Carbon copy titled. "The Anglican Fellowship," 4 p., BL, LDP, 8.

special feature in the situation. The present relations of women to the Church and of the Church to women constitute a danger which it is very difficult, in the present state of affairs, for people to see clearly or discuss reasonably.¹⁷

The presence of women like Maude Royden, a suffrage leader and an activist for women's right to preach, suggests this was more than lip service.¹⁸ Among the founding members in 1914 were a number of women involved in a variety of philanthropic and church organisations.¹⁹ More surprising is the large number of women involved in the new women's colleges.²⁰ The presence of women from St. Hugh's College, the college whose old building Dougall had lived in 1894, was significant. Not only was the head of the college, C.A.E. (Ann) Moberly, and tutors, C.B. Firth, (later vice-principal), C.M. Ady, and, possibly, Miss Toynbee, active in the Fellowship but there were connections to the governing Council of St. Hugh's.²¹ In 1916, the annual conference was held at St.

¹⁷ "The Facts of the Modern Situation." *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* 1 (December, 1913): 10-11.

¹⁸ Mrs. Creighton was one of the most active women in the Anglican Church. See Brian Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930* (New York and Toronto: Clarendon Press, 1988). She was a member of the Fellowship at least until 1916, when her name appears on a list of those attending a retreat at Swanwick from May 9-13. BL, LDP, 8.

¹⁹ Members were affiliated with such women's organisations as the Deaconess movement, the Zenana mission (which employed women specifically to bring Christianity to women), Women's and Girl's Diocesan Associations, the Mother's Union, and the Young Women's Christian Association.

²⁰ Membership included Miss E.M. Almond, assistant lecturer in Latin, University of London, Miss F.R. Shields, assistant lecturer in Philosophy at Bedford College (University of London), and from St. Hugh's College Oxford: Ann (C.A.E.) Moberly the head of the College from its origins, Miss C.M. Ady, History tutor, and Miss C.B. Firth, vice-principal after 1923, and Mrs. Wilmot Brook, from the Ladies' Committee in connection with the Archbishop's Diploma in Theology (for women.)

There were also men involved with advancing women's position in the church, such as B.H. Streeter and Percy Dearmer, and with the education of women, such as Rev. E.A. Burroughs, a tutor at Oxford who was a Member of Council of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. The Anglican Fellowship List of Members, June 1914. BL, LDP, 8.

²¹ See Chapter Six for a discussion of Dougall's first visit to Oxford. The head of St. Hugh's from 1886-1915 was Charlotte Ann Elizabeth (C.A.E.) Moberly (1846-1937), the daughter of a liberal churchman, George Moberly, the Bishop of Salisbury. She was known to be deeply religious. See Penny Griffin, ed., *St. Hugh's: One Hundred Years of Women's Education at Oxford* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 64. With Eleanor Jourdain, a French tutor of St. Hugh's (and the principal after January, 1915), she wrote *An*

Hugh's, and the next year it was held at a sister college, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.²²

Outside observers noted the relatively equal co-operation of women in the Fellowship; women occasionally led discussions and on at least one occasion a woman, Mrs. Streeter, led a devotional meeting.²³ Initially women were specifically recruited for leadership: The first Committee was made up entirely of men, but they then "co-opted" Miss Fairfield, and after the Conference decided to "co-opt" two more women.²⁴ Once the war started, women took a larger role of necessity. At one meeting in 1916, the committee was represented by five women, including Dougall, and one man, A.C. Turner, who was

Adventure, which, like *Foundations*, was satirized by R.A. Knox with Charles R.L. Fletcher in *A Still More Sporting Adventure* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1911).

Cecilia May Ady (1881-1958) was a student at St. Hugh's from 1900-03, and then a tutor from 1909-1923, when she was let go by the principal, in a highly controversial move which divided the College, and resulted in the resignation of several tutors. She was very popular among the students. C.B. Firth found herself, as newly appointed vice-principal, on the opposite side the incident, known as "The Row."

A "Miss Toynbee" offered her home for Fellowship meetings in 1919 and 1920. It is possible, given St. Hugh's involvement in the Fellowship, that this was the Jocelyn Toynbee who was a tutor in Classics at St. Hugh's College, Oxford. Jocelyn Toynbee was close enough to Fellowship member Miss Ady to resign her position as tutor in protest at the College's treatment of Miss Ady in 1923. See Rachel Trickert, "The Row," in Griffin, ed., *St. Hughes*, 52, 56, 60. A "Miss Toynbee" visited Dougall March 19-25, 1917 when Dougall was in the middle of her year on the Fellowship Committee.

Mrs. H.L. Paget, a 1914 A.F. member, was the wife of the Bishop of Stepney, who as Bishop of Oxford was on the Council as the Visitor of St. Hugh's from 1901-1910. Her brother, Cosmo Gordon Lang, was the Chairman of St. Hugh's Council from 1895-188. Her sister-in-law Catharine (nee Paget) (mother of modernist James Matthew Thompson) was closely involved with St. Hugh's from 1891 to her death in 1936. Mrs. H.L. Paget is described in the Fellowship list of members as the wife of the Bishop of Stepney, and vice-president of Women's Diocesan Association, and the Mother's Union, and member of the London Board of Missions, the Diocesan Board of Women's Work, and the Industrial Law Indemnity Committee.

²²The 1916 annual summer conference was held in St. Hugh's College, Oxford, and the 1917 conference was held at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

²³*Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VI (July, 1916). The report of the summer conference to be held at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, July 17-21, 1916, describes Mrs. Streeter leading a devotional meeting.

²⁴Miss B.M. Legge filled one of the positions, the other was left open. *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1913): 38.

subsequently killed in battle.²⁵ Discussions of the Anglican women's movement in the *Bulletin*, however, are rather vague, and, despite the presence of Maude Royden, avoid such controversial questions as the preaching of women.²⁶

Feminist concerns were part of a larger progressive outlook. The first *Bulletin* expressed the concern "especially that we may have and declare the Mind of Christ in relation to the social and labour movements of our day, and the woman's movement."²⁷ The list of members of 1914 was dominated by academics and clerics but included members of progressive organisations such as the Christian Socialist Union, men's and women's university settlements, the deaconess movement, the Young Women's Christian Association, and mission organisations. It was, however, like Fabianism and Christian Socialism, an elitist organisation. Although organisers professed the desire to have working people not just fill the pews but also influence the church, membership in the Fellowship was tightly controlled.

The idea of fellowship was based on the early church. C.A. Anderson Scott wrote one of the best descriptions of this idea of fellowship, "What Happened at Pentecost,"

²⁵ Anglican Fellowship, Minutes of Committee which met at Annandale, Golders Green on March 20, 1916. (Miss Fairfield, (Chair), Miss Dougall, Miss Talbot, Miss E.M. Barton, A.C. Turner, and Miss Knowles.) BL, LDP, 8.

²⁶ A member of the Free Church Fellowship (which had initially excluded women) observed the equal cooperation of men and women at the 1916 conference. *Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VII (January, 1917). See the discussion of "The Church and the Woman's Movement," in *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1913): 18-19. The report of the conference deliberations on the question is vague and avoids taking any position, beyond saying that the Church should "face the situation." For example: "Beyond this what is meant by saying that the Church ought to face the situation? Can the Church take a definite line in advance of the public opinion of its members? One attitude at least is fatal, to wait till public opinion has made up its mind and then to come in like a chorus at the end." This line of thought ends here, and the writer turns to other questions. The preceding discussion of "The Church and Labour" is comparatively pragmatic and conclusive.

²⁷ *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1913): 3.

with Lily Dougall in *The Spirit* (1919). Scott argued that Biblical references to the fellowship of Christ are not simply references to a sense of companionship, but describe a new order, “the fellowship,” or in Greek, “Koinonie,” created at Pentecost. Through the fellowship, he argued, using terms drawn from personal idealism, individual believers came closer to God: “It was in relationship with one another that men continuously realised their relationship to Christ and to God through Him.” Saintliness, he argued, “is a social phenomena.”²⁸ The fellowship, he said, also advanced the modernist pursuit of the truth: “the Fellowship is to have its proper and expected result in the progressive discovery of spiritual truth.”²⁹ The Anglican Fellowship was an attempt to recreate this fellowship, not only for the heightened spiritual experience, but also for the progressive discovery of truth.

The aim of fellowship was not easily defined or achieved, and the Fellowship suffered from lack of clear direction. The group had eschewed programmatic reform, and the first *Bulletin* announced: “We cannot start with a clear-cut scheme or premeditated plan of campaign. These things must grow out of our meetings and our common work and thought.”³⁰ The writer took some naïve pride in the lack of a predefined purpose, and

²⁸C.A. Anderson Scott, “What Happened at Pentecost,” in *The Spirit, God and His Relation to Man Considered from the Standpoint of Philosophy, Psychology and Art* (London: Macmillan, 1919), 142, 153.

²⁹Scott, “Pentecost,” 146. The idealist grounds of this argument appear in the definition of this truth “the living reality, the eternal what lies beyond, and behind the changing phenomena of experience” (p. 147).

³⁰*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1913): 4. Despite the emphasis on prayer and process, and the expressed desire not to compete with existing organisations, a number of commissions were established: Christian Ethics; The Presentation of Christianity; the Recruiting and Training of Clergy; the Gospel of Christ and the Church; Religious Unity; The Position of Lay Men and Women; A Missionary Commission, and the pre-existing commission, The Church and the Workpeople. The first commission, on Christian ethics, was subdivided into 1. The relations between the sexes; 2. Christianity and Property; 3. Christianity and War. Each commission was assigned a chairman, secretary, and up to a maximum of twenty members. The first commission had a particularly interesting body of members: Maude Royden,

noted candidly, “we were a very miscellaneous collection of people, and met very much in the dark as to what we were there for, or what was likely to come out of our meeting.”³¹

Ensuing issues of the *Bulletin* show the organisers grappling with this nebulous purpose.

The 1914 conference revealed some loss of direction, and, as the following comments from the *Bulletin* reveal, some impatience:

Our previous discussions have done more to reveal than to satisfy this need [for common grounds of faith and fellowship]. This was only natural in the first stages, but a condition of mutual bewilderment is not a source of strength if indefinitely prolonged . . . members of the conference themselves began to wonder whether we were really about anything in particular and had not better have stayed home and done our business . . . the question, once raised, was answered on the last evening with an extraordinarily strong conviction that we were there for a very definite and real purpose, even though it might not be easy or even possible at once to define exactly what the purpose was or how it was to be pursued.³²

The 1915 conference held in September in Baslow had only 26 members present, despite a more open membership policy. The War had taken a toll, and the indecision and lack of purpose in previous conferences had probably reduced the numbers.

Lily Dougall’s name first appeared in the Fellowship records when she joined the Fellowship Committee in September 1915; she was active on the committee in 1916, and as a discussion leader until at least 1919.³³ She became part of a close knit group. She wrote to her brother on return from a summer conference:

Zoë Fairfield, William Temple, C.H.S. Matthews were among the fourteen members. The commissions were open ended, as the *Bulletin* noted, “None of the [commissions] are sufficiently advanced to say on what lines their investigations and discussions are likely to emerge” (p. 34).

³¹ *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1913): 6.

³² *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* III (December, 1914): 6, 9.

³³ M.S. Earp does not describe Dougall’s role in the Fellowship in her “Selected Letters.” This may simply reflect the fact that she had left the later years of Dougall’s life up to B.H. Streeter. One letter describes an Anglican Fellowship Conference, and suggests the warmth of the gathering. The presence of copies of the *Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* among her papers to 1920 suggests that she continued to take an interest

It is so nice to see many of the men back from their work at the Front -- so very nice to be greeted by them with warm affection, for they feel the return to the Fellowship is a second home-coming, if not the biggest home-coming that they have. One of the results of these Fellowships is certainly that the tie becomes almost as close as that of kindred, because the outlook of the Group becomes so homogeneous.³⁴

Her prominence in the organisation is a little surprising. Membership was by invitation only and was aimed at youth. At fifty-seven she was far older than most members, and, as the *Bulletin* made clear in 1914 in one of a number of vexed discussions about membership, older people were deliberately excluded: "But it should be remembered that we do not, except for special reasons, invite anyone who cannot definitely be said to belong to the younger generation."³⁵ Dougall had a number of friends involved in the Fellowship from 1914, and was popular with members of the Student Christian Movement. She probably acted as a mentor who could provide the spiritual direction of an older evangelical faith without its doctrinal barriers.³⁶

With Lily on the 1915-1916 Committee were six women, including Maude Royden and Zoë Fairfield, and thirteen men, including such clergy as future Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, the modernist bishop, E.W. Barnes, Percy Dearmer, SCM secretary, Tissington Tatlow (the chair), and A.C. Turner (the secretary).³⁷ They were all

in the organisation at least until this date. The last one, *The Anglican Bulletin* XIII (December, 1920) includes Dougall's *Practice of Christianity* on a short list of twelve recommended works.

³⁴Lily Dougall to John Dougall, June 20 [1916 or 1917-- Earp is unsure of the date]. Earp, "Selected Letters," 250.

³⁵*Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* III (December, 1914): 7.

³⁶Dougall's connections with St. Hugh's may have played a role. Eleanor Jourdain, a French tutor of St. Hugh's, (and the principal after January 1915) was her guest on Thursday, March 13, 1913. (Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1). Subsequently, Miss Firth was a visitor, December 16-18, 1917. B.H. Streeter may also have brought Dougall into the AF. She had met Streeter in June of 1914, and been working with him on the joint book, *Concerning Prayer*. Streeter had been active in the SCM and the Fellowship.

progressives, active in numerous causes. Maude Royden is best known for the confrontational nature of her feminist and pacifist politics, described as “one of the strongest and most influential personalities of all the religious leaders and teachers of the day.”³⁸ She had been active in the campaign for suffrage in England, and then led the fight for the right of women to preach. She had created a controversy when -- forced by the Anglican church to speak in church halls and Sunday school rooms -- she accepted an invitation to regularly preach in the Congregationalist church, City Temple.³⁹ She eventually found a permanent place as a preacher giving interdenominational services at the “Guildhouse” set up by the “Fellowship Guild,” founded with Percy Dearmer. She was known for her pacifism during the Great War. Less well known was Royden’s deep spirituality, her formation in 1914 of a Fellowship of Prayer, within the Church Congress for Women’s Suffrage, and a guild for personal religion in 1919, the “Little Company of Christ.”⁴⁰ Dougall may have met Royden for the first time at the 1915 Conference; her

³⁷The additional women were C.B. Firth, Nan Knowles (who subsequently married Percy Dearmer) and L.C. Talbot. The committee was also included H.K. Archdall, E.R. Bevan, E.C. Dewick, Geoffrey Gordon, J. Hanaghan, H.F. Houlder, J.L. Johnston, and J.H. Kidd.

³⁸F.A. Iremonger cited in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supp. 1951-1960, 856. Royden is included as a modernist in Stephenson’s history of the movement; she spoke at the 1922 Modern Churchman’s Association conference, although her paper was not published, but it is not clear whether her participation extended further. Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 211, 269.

³⁹ The provocation to the Church of England was heightened by City Temple’s prominence as the St. Paul’s of Nonconformism. For background on Royden, see Sheila Fletcher. *Maude Royden* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1989); for insight into her personal life, see Maude Royden, *A Three Fold Cord* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947); for general background on women in the Anglican Church, including Royden, see Brian Heeney, *The Women’s Movement in the Church of England*.

⁴⁰After graduating from Lady Margaret’s Hall at Oxford in 1899, Royden was briefly attracted to Roman Catholicism. She pushed the Church Congress for Women’s Suffrage to take a stronger feminist stand, but she also created a Fellowship of Prayer through the congress in 1914 “to unite in intercession those who believe that prayer is work and that all work should be done in the spirit of prayer.” A daily discipline of prayer informed her activism, and she set aside one room of her house as an oratory. In 1919 she formed “The Little Company of Christ,” described as a modest guild for personal religion, which met initially in her oratory, where members followed a rule for prayer and meditation.

name and address are on Dougall's copy of the *Bulletin*. She subsequently visited at Cutts End.⁴¹

Zoë Fairfield was the less controversial, if equally dynamic, assistant to the secretary-general in the SCM.⁴² Fairfield had supported Royden when she decided to speak at City Temple:

I don't think any of us offer to preach or read Lessons merely as a protest. . . . [But] It is quite clear, I think, and not a mere figure of speech, that Miss Royden is a woman with a real spiritual message, in fact a prophetess, and she cannot refuse to such opportunities as come to her to deliver this message. The cure is for the Church of England to provide her with the opportunity.⁴³

Their interests coincided: Royden spoke for the SCM in the 1920s, and Fairfield was the editor of a book on suffrage, *Some Aspects of the Women's Movement* (1915).⁴⁴

The most influential voice on the 1915-1916 committee was probably that of A.C. Turner. Turner revitalised the floundering Fellowship by orienting it in a clearly spiritual direction.⁴⁵ "What we all want," he said, in an inspirational paper for the August 1915

⁴¹ Among Dougall's papers is an autographed copy of Royden's pamphlet, *Women and the Church of England* (London: George Allen Unsinn Ltd., nd). The book argues, "The churches are still filled (if filled at all) largely with women. But the ladies have gone, or are going, and the young do not come." (p.13.)

⁴² Fairfield was a graduate of Slade School of Art and worked as the Secretary of the Guild of Helpers of the YWCA, from 1907-1909, as the Assistant General Secretary of the SCM from 1909-1929, and the General Secretary of the Auxiliary Movement from 1929. In his history of the SCM, Tatlow repeatedly paid tribute to her intellectual and leadership abilities: "[On her appointment as assistant, people] thought of Miss Fairfield at first as someone who was going to help to bear the burden of day-to-day business in the office, and she certainly bore this burden year after year, but soon people realised that a first-class mind was being brought to bear upon the problems of the Movement." Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 337.

⁴³ Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 154. See also 177, for a reference to Zoë Fairfield's writing on the woman movement in the church, in *Challenge* (November 1, 1918).

⁴⁴ *Some Aspects of the Woman's Movement*, ed. Zoë Fairfield (London: SCM, 1915).

⁴⁵ Tissington Tatlow gave Turner credit for revitalising the AF. See Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 30. The *Bulletin*, which was likely written by Tatlow, also gave Turner credit in 1916: "The Anglican

Bulletin, “can only happen as the fruit of a deep and wide spiritual movement of some kind.”

So it was beginning to become clear to us at our conference that all the things we were talking about only began to acquire meaning and direction as they were illuminated by the impact of the whole fact of the Incarnation of Christ. This was the one positive outcome of the Conference and provides the only basis on which the Fellowship can live and have its being.⁴⁶

Their discussions had been vague, he said, because they had not taken the shortcuts of a narrow reform-oriented approach but had made the deeper commitment to real change. His article was well received. Dougall immediately invited Turner to Cutts End for a week in September, 1915, where, Harold Anson said, she “dragged [A.C. Turner’s contribution to *Concerning Prayer*] from the depths of his singular and persistent reserve.”⁴⁷ She was complimentary in a letter to E.W. Barnes: “He has some great ideas which I think should go towards making the new epoch. He seems to have a real philosophy of Divine omnipotence”⁴⁸

Turner’s emphasis on the Incarnation informed the subsequent discussions in the September conference. Members agreed that “any attempt to crystallise what the

Fellowship as it now is, is very largely the result of his clear and steady thinking.” *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VI (July, 1916): 4. Turner drew up the draft program of the 1916 conference.

Turner’s emphasis on the incarnation was not new to the Fellowship. The December, 1914 *Bulletin* had called for a deeper spiritual life based on the Incarnation: “This is to be distinguished from mere devotionalism and means an effort towards better comprehension of the spiritual realities which are the basis of our common life in all its relations. For us, this basis is found in the fact of the Incarnate presence of Christ; the fact is there: what we have to do is to discover more clearly its implication and make it the common centre of an active faith, expressing itself in a fellowship of thought and action, which is the Church.” *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* III (December, 1914): 12-13.

⁴⁶*Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* IV (August, 1915): 27.

⁴⁷Harold Anson, *Looking Forward* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1938), 201. A.C. Turner signed Dougall’s guest book from September 23-27, 1915, January 17-20, 1916, BL, LDP, 1.

⁴⁸Lily Dougall to E.W. Barnes, [Early October, 1915] Cumnor. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 247.

Fellowship is trying to do in the shape of formulae or statements of policy would be undesirable. It is the spirit that matters.”⁴⁹ The War had focused their thoughts:

We seek less to reform the world piecemeal and more to search out the central spiritual realities and convictions on which particular changes depend at present we have to concentrate on getting a clearer vision of central things, a faith in spiritual values and a live hope of the kingdom of God. . . What we shall have to do next is to try to work it out in terms of service . . . no question of creating a revival or awakening.⁵⁰

The committee followed Turner’s direction: “it was agreed that the Committee should definitely adopt a policy of concentrating on spiritual issues and should not for the present concern itself with ecclesiastical questions but with considerations of the spiritual potentialities of Christianity and the Church in relation to the spiritual needs of the time... ”⁵¹ A short questionnaire, focused on spirituality (and, despite Turner’s intent, emphasising revival), was to send out to members:

1. Do you want a spiritual revival?
2. What would you expect to happen if there was one?
3. What should members of the church do, individually and corporately, to bring it about?⁵²

A series of London meetings, already established under a different theme, was reorganised around these questions, under the title, “The Need of a Spiritual Revival.”

⁴⁹“Anglican Fellowship, Report on Conference, 1915,” p.3, BL, LDP, 8.

⁵⁰ *Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* V (December, 1915): 1. See also, “Anglican Fellowship, Report on Conference, 1915,” p.1, BL, LDP, 8.

⁵¹Present were: Tatlow, (chair), Rev. E.C. David, Miss Fairfield, Miss Firth, Miss Knowles, A.C. Turner. “3. London Meetings In accordance with this resolution it was agreed to drop the present program for the London Meetings and to begin a new series, taking the Committee’s questions, about a ‘spiritual revival’ as a starting point. . .” Anglican Fellowship, Minutes of the Committee, January 12, 1916. BL, LDP, 8. Organizers included Maude Royden, Rev. C.C. Bardsley, Rev. A. Duncan Jones, and Rev. W.S. Evans. *Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VI (July 1916): 5.

⁵²Dougall was present as were Tatlow, Zoë Fairfield, Rev. Geoffrey Gordon, Rev J.H. Kidd, Royden, and A.C. Turner. Four stapled sheets titled “Anglican Fellowship,” section titled Minutes of Committee, October 15, 1915, BL, LDP, 8.

Plans were made for a Fellowship Centre intended to act as a retreat.⁵³ The 1916 Conference featured popular speakers like Arthur Clutton-Brock, G.K. Chesterton, Harold Anson, Maude Royden and William Temple. A retreat was held in Swanwick, a series of weekend conferences were organised (for one of which Dougall offered her home, Cutts End), and a number of local groups were established around England, with leaders including Cyril Emmet, Leonard Elliot Binns, Percy Dearmer, Harold Anson, Dewick and Firth.⁵⁴ Their efforts appear to have been successful; forty to fifty people attended the London meetings, and in 1917 eighty members came to the summer conference.

The Fellowship, as it emerged from this period, was a less activist organisation. Tatlow regretted the loss of young people.⁵⁵ The emphasis was on spirituality within fellowship. This was not understood as mysticism; as C.H.S. Matthews said in the *Bulletin*: “the flight of the alone to the alone is a nightmare. Things are all wrong when there is an absence of the spirit of fellowship”⁵⁶ Yet it drew upon an experiential faith

⁵³Percy Dearmer, “A Picture of the Fellowship,” BL, LDP, 8. This pamphlet appears to have been published by the Fellowship; although there is no date, a notice of back issues of the *Bulletin*, to December 1915, suggests it was published in 1916. Dearmer’s tone is lyrically polemical. He condemns the churches for narrow sectionalism, and describes the fellowship movement as a quiet miracle among young people. One quote will give the flavour of the ten pages: “If the full presentment of Christ is not given by the Churches or the Church today, it is none the less to be found: it exists, scattered in the hearts of men, who when they come together in Christ’s name find him indeed in the midst of them, and seeing glimpses of his fullness, are made ashamed of their own fragmentariness —the obscurity and obscurantism — by the light they discover” (p.7).

⁵⁴“Anglican Fellowship Minutes of the Committee,” October 15, 1915, January 12, March 20, April 10, 1916. *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VI (July 1916). There is no record of a Fellowship meeting in May of 1916 in Dougall’s Visitor Book. BL, LDP, 1.

⁵⁵Although it was still in existence in 1933, when Tatlow wrote his history of the SCM, he wrote that it had done little since A.C. Turner’s death in the War to recruit younger members. Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 730.

⁵⁶*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* XI (December, 1919)

“... its only method is to surrender mind and will in active attendance upon the Spirit of Christ.”⁵⁷ The key word was the Holy Spirit. The retreat in April 1917 focused on “The Holy Spirit and the Church.” A “Memo on the Holy Spirit” called for the creation of a “Fellowship of the Holy Spirit” that would unite all those groups, including those outside the church, like health, women’s, and socialist movements.⁵⁸ The 1919 conference was focused on “The Kingdom of God and the Church of England,” and the 1920 conference was on “The Communion of Saints.”

Dougall’s contribution to this direction is evident in a paper, “Thoughts Preliminary to the ReStatement of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit,” presented to the retreat in April, 1917, and subsequently published in *The Interpreter*.⁵⁹ The copy of the paper among her records suggests she took a leading role in the conference; she begins: “We have come here to confer on the important subject of the Spirit and the Church. This is a large important and sacred subject on which I think we need enlightenment and I look forward to learning more concerning it during the next few days. . . .”⁶⁰ The published article is anecdotal, and gently provocative and modernist. She had recovered some of the sense of humour that characterised her early work: “I once had a weary discussion with a

⁵⁷*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* III (December, 1914): 13. The passage continues “Because this spirit is given in fellowship and because it is the absence of fellowship that has caused and maintained the weakness and incoherence of our methods, we felt bound to adopt this method as that which has in it, as nothing else can have, the promise of better things.” Five years later the ambiguity regarding mysticism continued. Rev. E. S. Woods called for a new way of living: “This personal contact with God is not a thing of moods, nor is it only for mystics What is necessary for all is waiting upon God and a regular and disciplined contact. It is this life with God that tells on other men.” *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* XI (December, 1919): 12-13.

⁵⁸See *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VIII (July, 1917).

⁵⁹L. Dougall, “The Spirit in the Church,” *The Interpreter* 19 (1922): 32-39.

⁶⁰Lily Dougall, “Thoughts Preliminary to a Restatement of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit,” 24 p. manuscript, BL, LDP, 2. A single sheet with the same title is also in this collection.

woman in a hotel who was eager I should admit that a certain Mr. B. was the most spiritual man. Toward the end I discovered that her standard of spirituality was that a man should be very thin and eat little, and have what she called 'liquid eyes.'" Dougall argued for a rethinking of the terms of spirituality. Her argument follows familiar lines. The ideal spirituality is still understood in experiential and mystical terms -- "every Christian soul should train itself to realise the spiritual presence of a personal God and directly offer to Him its thoughts and desires."⁶¹ She asked, using well-worn Carlylean imagery, whether the church had killed the spirit: "whether the warp and woof of what our tradition offers us as the garment of salvation may not be of the stuff that actually extinguishes the Spirit,"⁶² Dougall described the narrow doctrines of the holy spirit held by the Sacramentalist, who would exclude the Quaker, and the Protestant, who would exclude the Christian Scientist. In their place, she argued for Liberal thinkers or "moderns" who take a broad outlook, "ascribing all that is beneficent in human life to the action of the Spirit, and endeavouring to learn from whatever we find to be beneficent something new concerning the spiritual life."⁶³ The Holy Spirit may be manifested outside

⁶¹Dougall, "Thoughts Preliminary," 6. Spirituality is "that which results from the operation of the Spirit of God upon man's higher nature." The Holy Spirit is "God Himself in His present and unceasing relation to the souls of men" (p. 7,13).

⁶²Lily Dougall, "Thoughts Preliminary to a Restatement of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit" 14. BL, LDP, 2. She elaborates in a page appended to this draft: "We must face the fact that the God whom the Church proclaims does not attract the world, and indeed the very children of the church are turning away without knowing how to formulate their discontent. It is surely our business to use all our natural powers, all our spiritual instincts, all our opportunities of prayer and meditation, to discover what at our highest we know to be good; and if our tradition of God contradicts this, it is our business to challenge the tradition, and be at least quite certain that it is based on His revelation of Himself before we allow that He in His relation to the world can be or do what men do not see to be good" (p. 19b).

⁶³Lily Dougall, "The Spirit in the Church," *The Interpreter* 19-20 (1922-24): 36.

the church in science, in art, in the mental science movement, and even possibly in the teachings of those who are non-religious or immoral.

Dougall was not unusual in her liberal understanding of spirituality. Notes on “Individual Prayer” from the 1917 conference were similarly broad: “Prayer in the highest sense is living in constant communion with Holiness, Truth, Beauty and the best of Prayer is the work of the Holy Spirit, evident or not evident, in our lives. Does our prayer lead to more Christ-like action? if so it is real prayer whatever may be the form in which we make it.”⁶⁴ The rapturous report from the 1917 Swanwick retreat on “The Holy Spirit and the Church” suggests that the Fellowship also shared the heightened atmosphere of more unorthodox groups:

We have long suspected the SCM would turn the ecclesiastical world upside down and it looks as if The Day were not very far off – the day of constructive earthquake . . . again we know what happened at Pentecost . . . We settled nothing, except that it is right to be unsettled . . . you can’t formulate an adequate doctrine of the Holy Spirit. You simply can’t get the final abstraction; but you can experience the fellowship of the Holy Spirit. We were bewildered – and yet we were satisfied.⁶⁵

Ties to modernism were strong. At least fifteen founding members of the Fellowship in 1914 were also active in the Churchman’s Union.⁶⁶ These included some of

⁶⁴*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VII (January, 1917). The notes distinguish between those prayers that have their basis in the Immanence of God, through contact with reality, and those which have their basis in the transcendence of God, in meditation, petition, and thanksgiving.

⁶⁵*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VIII (July, 1917).

⁶⁶The following members on the Anglican Fellowship List of Members, August 1914, are identified by Stephenson as modernists: Baron Barclay, editor of *The Challenge*; Rev. E.A. Burroughs, Oxford tutor; L.W. Grensted, vice principal of Egerton Hall, a theological college; H.D.A. Major; Rev. C.H.S. Matthews; Rev. R.G. Parsons; Rev. C.E. Raven, a Cambridge Fellow; Rev. T.G. Rogers; A.M. Royden; Rev. H.R.L. Sheppard; Canon V.F. Storr, a writer on theology; B.H. Streeter; Rev. William Temple; A.C. Turner, and Rev. C.S. Woodward. A.M.G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism* (London: SPCK, 1984).

⁶⁶*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1913): 13-14.

the most prominent modernists: H.D.A. Major, B.H. Streeter, and C.H.S. Matthews, and later, E.W. Barnes, as well as Dougall.⁶⁷ There were other members who were sympathetic to modernism, but not active in the Union, such as Streeter's wife, and others who had contributed to the modernist cause, such as the joint authors of *Foundations*, but who did not join the Union. These modernists were among the most influential members of the Fellowship: A.C. Turner and William Temple served on the committee from 1914, with Dougall, Royden, Dearmer and Barnes from 1915. Most of the editorial staff of the newly founded liberal Anglican newspaper, *The Challenge*, were members of the Fellowship: Baron Barclay, editor, Tissington Tatlow (director of the editorial committee), Miss E.M. Barton, Maude Royden, E.R. Bevan, G.E. Newsom, and A.C. Turner (members of the editorial committee). When Barclay stepped down as editor in 1915, another Fellowship member, William Temple, took his place.⁶⁸

The first *Bulletin* advocated a frank attitude to the "real difficulties" regarding doctrine. It described their own "very ambiguous attitude towards the Bible and the extreme flabbiness of our own beliefs about Heaven and the relation of natural and spiritual life," noted

⁶⁷ C.H.S. Mathews appeared with Dougall on the platform of the Conference of Modern Churchmen on August 21-25, 1916, where he gave a paper on "Christian Ethics and Social Reform." He was the author of *A Parson in the Australian Bush* and *The Faith of an Average Man*.

⁶⁸ *The Challenge* was founded in 1914 at King's College, London, to provide a forum for liberal views. Although it did better under Temple's editorship, the weekly paper eventually failed for lack of subscriptions. Temple's biographer suggests that the newspaper was too far in advance of popular opinion; twenty years later, it might have succeeded. See F.A. Iremonger, *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, His Life and Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948). Another biographer suggested it was too "anti-business." Joseph Fletcher, *William Temple: Twentieth Century Christian* (New York: Seabury Press, 1963), 253.

Most of the members of the editorial committee are included in the 1914 Membership List: Dr. Jane Walker was acting as a hostess for a retreat and a conference in 1916. See "Anglican Fellowship Minutes of the Committee which met at 'Annandale' Golders Green, on April 10, 1916." BL, LDP, 8. Her name appears in Dougall's Visitor Book on August 2-4, 1914 (overlapping with visits from Edith Lloyd and "Miss Phibbs"); March 25-27, 1916 (overlapping with G. & L. Sheldon [probably Dougall's co-author, Gilbert Sheldon]); BL, LDP, 1.

the dangers of a vague pantheism, but still refused to turn to a firm doctrine: "the most fatal defect is that we teach Christianity as a rigid system . . . people are offered doctrines *en bloc* and rightly reject them."⁶⁹ A.C. Turner distinguished in classically modernist terms between the spirit of the past, which must be retained, and the dead legalisms of the church.⁷⁰

Dougall's editing of a manuscript, "English Modernism," suggests that the link to Anglican modernism was a source of some difficulty. She referred to the Anglican and Free Church Fellowship and the Cumnor School, but then played down their connections with modernism:

These fellowships were certainly not organised for the propagation of Modernism . . . There can be no doubt that these groups have had a great influence in steadying and liberalising English religious thought; Their influence, on the whole, has been toward Modernism, but perhaps their influence has been most important in checking those extreme innovations in religious speculation and work that are frequently the *bizarre* result of solitary thought and lack of local sympathy.⁷¹

Her editing of this passage is revealing. After changing the word "modernism" for "liberalism" in the last sentence, she crossed out the entire phrase: "Their influence, on the whole, has been toward Modernism."

⁶⁹*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1913): 13-14.

⁷⁰The following passage of his article was marked in Dougall's copy of the *Bulletin*: "True religion is thus always conservative, because the spirit of the future is also the spirit of its past: but it is always revolutionary because what is true in its past lives only by growing into something more true and more complete. The past, being in the form of the law, tends to bear an aggressive character toward the future, and to demand that the future should be shaped into its mould. But it is always wrong to attribute a legal or compulsive character to the forms of our inheritance from the past. 'The law came that sin might abound.' The past does not contain the future or the lesser loyalty the greater, but that which is eternal in the past is the spirit of divine Love reaching out beyond the particular forms in which it has been clothed to new and complete incarnation. The plan in the kingdom is in Heaven: the method of its building, whether you call it evolution or apocalypse, is the conservation of the part by its transformation from the order of law and of necessity into that of freedom and love." *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* IV (August, 1915):52.

⁷¹ Dougall, *English Modernism*, 11. By January of 1916 broader membership criteria had been established, with the creation of a small groups and a circle of "group leaders." "Minutes of the Committee," January 12, 1916. BL, LDP, 8. For a number of years the *Bulletin* was marked "For private circulation only."

Unlike the modernist Churchman's Union, however, the Fellowship eschewed theological issues for a common spirituality. The solution did not lie in doctrinal or ethical debate -- "the language of religion is become a language of specialists" -- but a renewed spiritual fellowship. "We do not start from but we set out to look for a corporate understanding and experience. For that reason prayer is really the central thing in our method."⁷² An academic tone -- "the decadence of thinking" -- was to be discouraged.⁷³ Groups were told to avoid becoming intellectual forums or book discussions, and to encourage prayer and silence.⁷⁴ Special rules governed the discussions to avoid intellectual sparring. Dougall described them in her manuscript on modernism: "No member is to speak for the sake of contradicting or scoring off another speaker, but to speak freely if he has any positive contribution to make to the subject at hand. When any heat or debate or obvious misunderstanding arises the chairman is to call for a few minutes' silence. Every group meeting must begin with a prayer for mutual inspiration

⁷²*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1914): 12, 5.

⁷³ "This does not mean that we must become versed in the more abstruse problems of philosophy and theology, or need carry on our discussions on those "academic" planes. The problems of religion which worry the ordinary man are the same as those which from the stock-in-trade of the theologian and the philosopher . . . therefore the fellowship of men and women of varied experience is, and always has been, the only atmosphere in which religion on its intellectual as well as on its practical side can attain its real development. One of the most important things we can do is to abolish the gulf which tends to grow between those people and interests which are called "academic" and those which are called practical. *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* III (December, 1914): 14-15. These comments must be seen in the context of a group made up largely of academics and clerics.

⁷⁴ "Inasmuch as the aim of the AF is to discover the mind of Christ, it should be urged that not discussion only but corporate prayer and waiting upon God are essential to the attainment of this end. The Committee wish to emphasise the value of silence and prayer led by laymen and laywomen." "The Anglican Fellowship Notes, March, 1919" p. 2. BL, LDP, 8. See also *the Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* XIII (December, 1920) where Mr. Raven warned against "being unduly swayed by a desire for results and against anything like business methods. A Group reveals and makes possible friendship in spiritual things, it creates an atmosphere where people can be themselves and drop the masks." He recommended informal discussion and suggested that to found the discussion on a book makes it a task.

and mutual charity, such prayer will include a period of silence.”⁷⁵ The emphasis was on process rather than doctrine, the decision to find a method around which to unite, rather than a creed. The avoidance of theology is reminiscent of Dougall’s evangelical youth and the emphasis on process reminiscent of Coleridge’s romantic emphasis on method.

Although a great deal of lip service was paid to the needs of the “common man,” the group was centralised and elitist. Initially local groups were discouraged in order to prevent the wrong kinds of people from joining: “If various kinds of circles were established about the place, they would contain a good many people who ought not to join the Fellowship itself.”⁷⁶ Later the Fellowship overcame this difficulty by creating small groups that were recognised by the Fellowship but excluded from full membership. They encouraged diversity in these small groups, by welcoming participants from different social and academic backgrounds: “The more varied the composition of a Group, the better may its purpose be fulfilled.”⁷⁷ These participants were, however, not accepted for full membership in the Fellowship. Although the groups were recognised as Fellowship groups if they had at least two Fellowship members involved, individual participants were not admitted to the Fellowship unless they were personally selected by the committee. This allowed core members of the Fellowship to reach a wider and more diverse group of people without losing control. In theory, they welcomed free exchange of ideas; in

⁷⁵Lily Dougall “English Modernism,” nd. BL, LDP, 2.

⁷⁶“Anglican Fellowship Report on Conference, 1915,” p. 4. BL, LDP, 8.

⁷⁷“The Anglican Fellowship, Nature and Function,” BL, LDP, 8. This document is undated, but appears from references to the War to be dated about 1919. Another document entitled “The Anglican Fellowship Notes, March 1919,” listed recommendations for the formation of local groups. It was specified that groups were to be formed, irrespective of academic or social qualification (p.2).

practice, they controlled the direction of these ideas.⁷⁸ The Fellowship maintained a level of secrecy -- title pages of the *Bulletin* are marked, "For private circulation only" -- that is puzzling.⁷⁹

The Fellowship avoided controversy. The problem of the War was deliberately avoided, and when Dougall raised questions about the treatment of conscientious objectors, the committee suggested the issue be handled outside the Fellowship. Dougall had written strongly against the barbarity of war in *Christus Futurus* and while she does not appear, like Royden, to have taken a pacifist position, she defended the rights of the conscientious objector. "Miss Dougall said that she feels strongly with Dr. Gillet that a protest ought to be made to the effect that Conscience is too precious a thing to be sneered at, that whether we agree with the conscientious objector or not, we stand as the

⁷⁸The first *Bulletin* proposed limiting membership to those able to attend the annual conference, and considered selecting members to limit it to 150 members. "It is therefore proposed that members should send in nominations of those whom they would like to be invited, and that the Committee should be responsible for selecting and inviting them as far as there is room." *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* I (December, 1913): 36. The demand was clearly less than anticipated and the rules were relaxed: "Hitherto it has been the rule that invitations to join the Fellowship or attend a conference must be sent the Committee. This seems no longer necessary and members will in future be at liberty to invite others on their own responsibility . . . Probably anyone who wants to join after being informed of our general principles and aims and methods is suitable." *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* III (December, 1914). A year later the group was still debating this; the *Bulletin* notes that new members could only join through the committee, and says they were working on more exact definitions of the terms of membership. *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* V (December, 1915): 6. Minutes of the Committee confirm that "It was agreed that for the time being new members would be introduced only by personal invitation from a member of the Committee." It appears that Maude Royden and Percy Dearmer were drawing up the terms of membership. "Minutes of Committee," October 15, 1915. BL, LDP, 8.

⁷⁹Church of England records do not include any reference to the Fellowship. Although William Temple served on the Committee in 1914 and 1915 there is no mention of this in the authorised biography written by Iremonger in 1948. Temple did lead a fairly frenetic life, especially at this time, and his presence on the committee seems to have been more symbolic than real. His name is not included on any of the minutes saved by Dougall. Iremonger may consider Temple's role in the Fellowship as part of his SCM work, work that he covers fairly briefly. Iremonger, *William Temple*, 191.

Church to respect the individual conscience and its rights.”⁸⁰ The committee decided against taking any action as a group but suggested she draft a letter and work with William Temple to gather support of influential people.⁸¹

Over the course of the War, aesthetics appears to have become more important, while reform moved into the background. The writer Arthur Clutton-Brock, who first met Dougall in 1915, spoke on “God in the World” at the summer conference in 1916.⁸² Clutton Brock’s columns in the *Times Literary Supplement* and *The Times* had brought him a national following.⁸³ His popular religious writing during the Great War in books like *The Ultimate Belief* (1916) took up the idealist triumvirate of truth, goodness, and beauty. As Dougall put it in an article in *The Modern Churchman*, citing Clutton-Brock,

⁸⁰~Anglican Fellowship, Minutes of Committee which met at Annandale, Golden Green on March 20, 1916.” p. 2. BL, LDP, 8. For a fictional explication of Dougall’s feelings about war, see Lily Dougall, “The Peace Angel”, unfinished manuscript, 2 p. BL, LDP, 2. An unfinished piece of fiction reveals the nature of Dougall’s Christian pacifism: A soldier tells a “peace angel” he is fighting for peace, and she challenges him as to what peace is. “The Peace Angel,” manuscript, 2p, BL, LDP, 2.

⁸¹The succeeding set of minutes said that she had had success in having the letter signed. The Fellowship had obviously contributed in at least a monetary way; a member queried about whether the typing bill belonged to the Committee or the Fellowship. Royden would have supported her in this endeavour. Temple’s stand on behalf of conscientious objectors is noted by his biographer; whether this preceded or was the result of Dougall’s initiative is hard to tell. Iremonger, *William Temple*.

⁸²For Dougall’s meeting with Clutton-Brock at a Swanwick Conference, see Earp, “Selected Letters,” 243. For the conference, see *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VI (July, 1916). An observer of the 1916 Conference from the Free Church commented on the importance given art and the art of music as a vital part of worship. Reference was made to a related conference convened on Religion and Art. *Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VII (January, 1917): 14-15.

⁸³See Arthur Clutton-Brock, *Thoughts on War* [From the Times Literary Supplement] (London: Methuen and Co., 1914); *More Thoughts on War* (London: Methuen and Co., 1915); *The Ultimate Belief* (London: Constable and Co., 1916); *What is the Kingdom of Heaven* (London: Methuen, 1919); *Essays on Books*, [From the Times Literary Supplement], 2d. ed. (London, Methuen, 1921); *More Essays on Books* [From the Times Literary Supplement] (London, Methuen, 1921); *Essays on Literature and Life* (1927; reprint, Freeport, N.Y., Books for Libraries Press, 1968); *Essays on Religion* with an introduction by B.H. Streeter (London: Methuen, 1926), and *More Essays on Religion*, with an introduction by B.H. Streeter, (London: Methuen, 1927). He was well known as a brilliant conversationalist. After 1909, he was a member of the Fabian Society. See Lily Dougall, “The Theology of Mr. Clutton Brock,” manuscript, BL, LDP, 2. Dougall included a number of Clutton-Brock’s articles in *World Wide*, such as “Edward Burne Jones,” from *Spectator*, London in *World Wide* V, 8 (January 21, 1905): 148-149.

“the love of beauty, the desire for knowledge, and the exercise of skill are evidences of the life of God in the soul.”⁸⁴ The Holy Spirit becomes, in Dougall’s explanation, an idealist channel: “[The Divine Spirit] inspires glimpses of ultimate good, and then follows where the soul beckons, into the fields of truths or the gardens of beauty or the dwellings of love. It answers, giving glimpses of unutterable truth, whenever the soul has the wisdom to question.”

This idealist line of thought provoked a response by the modernist, C.E. Raven, who spoke on Albert Schweitzer at the 1919 Anglican Fellowship conference, arguing that,

nothing is easier today than to return to the Gospel of Hellenism, with its majestic vision of the evolution and unity of things, with its shallow optimism and weak sense of sin; with its avoidance of ideas of sacrifice, redemption and atonement. I too should like to throw over the Hebraic element in Christianity: I am convinced that to do so would be to reject what is vital. Hence I object to this wholesale rejection of the past and this chiding of the Church for assuming that the Gospel of the Kingdom is bound up with the person of the King. I think that the personal attachment of a believer to a personal Jesus, in whom most fully he finds God, is a surer road into the kingdom, a clearer source of right with our Father and His world, than the nebulous ideal which Mr Clutton Brock puts forward.⁸⁵

Raven appears to have been in the minority, if a prescient minority. God was routinely equated with truth, goodness, and beauty.⁸⁶ Harold Anson argued in response to Raven

⁸⁴Dougall, “Conscience and Authority,” 316. Her equation of truth, goodness, and beauty is even more explicit in the following passage about evil. “To desire evil for its own sake — i.e. to desire ugliness recognized as ugliness, or falsehood recognized as falsehood, or injustice under the name of injustice — is something abnormal” (p. 317).

⁸⁵*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* XI (September, 1919): 8-9.

⁸⁶“Prayer in the highest sense is living in constant communion with Holiness, Truth, Beauty” *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VII (January, 1917). A report from the 1916 conference described “a true prayer that a scientist, artist or social reformer could say, that says in part ‘I believe that my nature answers to the moral and rational nature of the universe and that I can co-operate with it. I desire with all my heart to know and reverence that will; I want to advance that rational and moral will in the world....I believe in the rule of the

that there were two routes; to follow truth, goodness, and beauty and find God, or to follow Christ and find truth, goodness, and beauty. Dougall, opening a discussion on "The Transmutation of Earthly Ideals" at the same conference, argued that one attained absolute truth, goodness, and beauty only by following earthly ideals, by "seeking to bring our human instincts and affections to be sanctified rather than oppressed."⁸⁷ The Fellowship as a whole, in their statement of the "Nature and Function of the Anglican Fellowship," took a middle route by giving the Fellowship a firmly Christocentric condition for membership, but describing seekers after truth, goodness, and beauty as fellow seekers.⁸⁸

The question of interdenominationalism also came to the fore. From the start the Fellowship had encouraged interdenominational ties. A 1916 retreat included a Quaker meeting at 8:30 each night, and Nonconformist and Anglican celebrations on different days.⁸⁹ From 1917, Nonconformists were included in the retreats at Swanwick, but the summer conference remained Anglican.⁹⁰ The Fellowship considered inviting Maude Petre,

universe that we shall be delivered from and not delivered up to Evil. God is Goodness and Truth and Beauty For ever and ever," *The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VII (January, 1917): 9-10.

⁸⁷*The Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* XI (September, 1919): 23-24. She was commenting upon a talk on this theme given by Mr. A.W. Pollard. The young wife of Percy Dearmer, another close friend of Clutton-Brock's, noted acerbically, "Percy was more influenced by Arthur Brock than by anyone else at this period, and much that Arthur said and wrote became part of his own teaching. Almost too much so, for he preached the Ultimate Values of Goodness, Truth and Beauty, in and out of season, until some of his hearers longed for a change of theme." Dearmer, *Percy Dearmer*, 228.

⁸⁸The parallel phrasing suggests that these seekers would not be normally seen as religious: "[Members of the Fellowship] desire to share with others the new hope and energy which they have found in their community of prayer and thought. They are eager to bring into friendship with themselves members of other religious bodies, and any seekers after beauty, goodness and truth who may be willing to share with them their difficulties and discoveries." *The Anglican Fellowship, Nature and Function*. BL, LDP, 8.

⁸⁹"Anglican Fellowship Minutes of Committee," April 10, 1916, BL, LDP, 8.

⁹⁰*Anglican Fellowship Bulletin* VIII (July, 1917).

the modernist Roman Catholic writer, to a retreat on unity. Dougall corresponded with her, and the group considered a paper Petre wrote on the subject. It appears that they decided against her attendance.⁹¹ After 1918, the Fellowship began to press the issue by encouraging interdenominational communion. A conference on intercommunion was held in 1919, and the decision was made -- and communicated provocatively to the Bishop -- that the Fellowship would not interfere with any Anglicans wishing to receive communion in a Free Church service or vice versa.⁹²

11.2 Cumnor School

Dougall's most significant contribution to Anglican theology was made through a small and influential group of academics, referred to as the Cumnor School, closely related to

⁹¹Notes appended to abstract by Lily Dougall, of M. Petre, "Religious Union," BL, LDP, 2. Petre was the author of *Modernism: its failure and its fruits* (London: T. C. & E.C. Jack [1918]), and *Catholicism and Independence: being studies in spiritual liberty* (London: Longmans, 1907) and worked with modernist George Tyrrell on a number of books, including his autobiography. Dougall wrote: "I think in the main I agree with you, as far as I understand your meaning with regard to spiritual union. Perhaps I differ slightly in thinking that the spiritual union exists more widely at present than you do, and needs to be manifested, rather than brought into being, in order to draw the world to it." The essential division she felt was not a denominational one, but one of liberalism: "I think perhaps also that I believe the real line of division to be, not any of the more obvious lines, but between those who take a magical view of outward signs and those who regard them only as poetry valuable only for what they mean to express and of personal value in accordance with the interpretation given." Dougall concluded the short letter with a post script inviting Petre to "come to see us sometime." The letter suggests that Petre was not invited to the retreat. Lily Dougall to Maude Petre, Cutts End, Cumnor, February 25, 1918. The British Library, Add. 45744, f.185.

⁹² "Anglican Fellowship, Findings of the Conference on Intercommunion, January 7-9, 1919," BL, LDP, 8.

the Anglican Fellowship.⁹³ As Dougall described it, it consisted of “a few writers who meet at the house of one of their number at Cumnor, near Oxford, to discuss subjects of their theological writings. This group gives three days at a time to a meeting, observes regular hours for discussion, and practises the fellowship rules.” The resulting books, *Concerning Prayer* (1916), *Immortality* (1917), and *The Spirit* (1919), were published in England and United States, distributed as far as Australia, and China (where a Chinese translation was planned), and were well-reviewed and widely read. Streeter said that the influence “exceeded our wildest expectations.” Certainly the Cumnor group came to be widely known among liberal church members, especially the students.

The group was the inspiration of Dougall and Canon B.H. Streeter. They met in November, 1914, and planned a collaborative work, published as *Concerning Prayer* (1916).⁹⁴ They drew heavily upon friends in the Anglican Fellowship for contributions: Seven of the nine Anglican authors were in the Fellowship.⁹⁵ Their third collaborative book, *The Spirit* (1919), was even more closely connected to the Fellowship. In his

⁹³ *In Memoriam Lily Dougall, A Sermon preached at Cumnor Church on Sunday Evening, October 21, 1923* by Canon B.H. Streeter, quotes the *Manchester Guardian*: “the remarkable position given her by her books, which made the gatherings at Cumnor known among Liberal Churchmen throughout the English speaking world.” BL, LDP, 1. Dougall describes the fellowships and the Cumnor School together in *English Modernism*. Tatlow was probably referring to some of these books when he wrote, “Some of the composite books which Canon Streeter has been responsible for editing in later years had their genesis in [the SCM apologetic sub-committee].” This sub-committee included Zoë Fairfield and William Temple. Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 435.

⁹⁴ Earp says they met on January 22, 1915. “Mr. Streeter (Queen’s) came up at 4.30. Stayed till 10. A very long talk on the proposed book on Prayer.” Earp “Selected Letters” 251.

⁹⁵ E.R. Bevan and A.C. Turner served on the Fellowship committee with Dougall. C.H.S. Matthews, B.H. Streeter, and Harold Anson had been members in 1914, and Leonard Hodgson subsequently joined the Fellowship. His new membership is noted in the Anglican Fellowship Minutes of the Committee, April 10, 1916. BL, LDP, 8. Of the other contributors, two were not Anglicans (Rufus Jones was a Quaker, and Reverend Lofthouse was with the Free Church) so that Rev. W. Micklem and philosopher, R.G. Collingwood were the only Anglicans apparently not connected to the fellowship. It is possible that Micklem and Collingwood joined the Fellowship later, like Hodgson.

introduction to *The Spirit*, B.H. Streeter noted that its theme was the subject of the Fellowship retreat of 1917, “at which several of the contributors to this volume were present, and some read papers.” He noted “[*The Spirit*] owes not a little to that discussion, and still more to the insight into the meaning and possibilities of spiritual fellowship gained at this and at similar gatherings.”⁹⁶

The question of the role Dougall played in these collaborations is an interesting one. Streeter gave her credit for inspiring the series: “Though I acted as editor throughout, the initial idea, not only of this, but of each of the subsequent volumes, was due to Miss Dougall; and the spirit which gave its special character to the group discussions out of which each volume was produced was what it was by reason of the ‘atmosphere’ which she created.”⁹⁷ Modernist bishop, E.W. Barnes, described Dougall as the “unifying centre of her various conferences.”⁹⁸ Sophie Earp described Lily as the originator of the volumes and Streeter as her collaborator. “With the help of her friend, Canon Streeter,” she wrote, “[Dougall] assembled the group who came to be known as the Cumnor School.” The “scheme,” she said, was Dougall’s: “the wholehearted way in which [Streeter] entered into Lily’s schemes and helped her to develop the idea of drawing together a group of people who should together think out and individually set down, their

⁹⁶ B.H. Streeter, “Introduction,” in *The Spirit*, xii.

⁹⁷ Streeter, “Biographical Note,” in *God’s Way with Man*, 16.

⁹⁸ The quotation, given in full in the introduction to this chapter, also credits Dougall with organising the conferences: “She best deserves to be remembered, however, for the skill and sympathy with which she gathered in her house at Cumnor, near Oxford, groups of men and women interested in religious problems. These gatherings had a charm peculiar to themselves, because of Miss Dougall’s personal charm and religious insight.” Anonymous [Canon E.W. Barnes] “A Woman Modernist: Lily Dougall,” *Times* (London), October 13, 1923, p. 14.

views, made the friendship then begun the most fruitful factor of her life from then on."⁹⁹ Harold Anson described Dougall's work in encouraging A.C. Turner, and Hilda Oakeley, Dougall's old friend and a reader in philosophy at King's College London, also gives Dougall credit for setting the tone of intellectual co-operation.¹⁰⁰

Dougall's role, however, has been overshadowed by Streeter, who has generally received credit as the editor of the books.¹⁰¹ Streeter wrote the introductions to both *Immortality* and *The Spirit*, though the fact that he wrote them both at Cutts End suggests Dougall was involved.¹⁰² Dr. Dorothy Emmet, a philosophy professor and daughter of Dougall's collaborator, C.W. Emmet, remembers Dougall as a charming woman who played the role of the hostess for a group of learned scholars.¹⁰³ There seems little doubt that Dougall excelled as a hostess. She was renowned for her charm and grace. In the prefaces and introductions of her books there is often a deferential tone. Yet, as the

⁹⁹Earp. "Selected Letters." 237, 251. According to Earp, *Concerning Prayer* was Dougall's idea (p.251). Dougall herself described Streeter as "the chairman" of the group. Lily Dougall to E.W.Barnes [early October, 1915] (p. 247).

¹⁰⁰Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 264. Anson, *Looking Forward*, 201.

¹⁰¹The British Library lists Streeter as the principal author or editor. In fact, Streeter is identified as editor only in *The Spirit*; in the other books all the authors, including Dougall, are listed as co-authors, and no one editor is identified. When Dougall contributed a chapter to *The Interpreter* for early publication, she is identified as a co-editor. (See *The Interpreter* 13,4 (1916-17), p.128.) Streeter wrote the introductions to *Immortality* and *The Spirit*. Dougall wrote the introduction to *Concerning Prayer*.

¹⁰²To each of Streeter's introductions is appended a date, October 1, 1917, and September 9, 1919, and a place, Cutts End, Cumnor.

¹⁰³ Personal section entitled "Minutes of Committee," October 15, 1915. Personal correspondence from Dr. Dorothy Emmet, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, University of Manchester, April 25, 1993 and June 7, 1993. Emmet said that while Dougall fostered the intellectual debate, and made contributions, these were "not very tightly thought –in a way she let her zeal for a liberal loving view of Christianity, take control of her critical judgement. Which is not to say she was not an able writer. . . a sympathetic populariser rather than first-rate thinker."

tributes from Barnes, Anson, Earp, and Oakely suggest, she was not simply a hostess; she was a respected writer and speaker.

As Dougall allowed her anonymity to fall away, and became known as the author *Pro Christo Et Ecclesia* as well as the ensuing books, she had been sought out to act publicly for religious reform. In 1913 she was asked by a Quaker acquaintance, Joan Fry, to act as an Anglican representative on the Free Church Commission.¹⁰⁴ Letters from Rev. W.F. Lofthouse indicate that Dougall contributed comments on the questions about "Public Worship," and then on the issue, "Why don't People Go to Church?" Lofthouse probably met Dougall at Swanwick in May, and he visited Cutts End at least twice that spring, staying for what appears to be a group meeting in late July and early August.¹⁰⁵ Printed material among Dougall's papers suggest that she may have also have been peripherally involved with the World

¹⁰⁴Joan Fry was on the Editorial Board of *Present Day Papers, A Monthly Journal for the Presentation of Vital and Spiritual Christianity*, published in Haverford, Pennsylvania. The editor-in-chief was Rufus M. Jones, and other board members included Dr. Henry Hodgekin. Dougall published a series of articles in *Present Day Papers* in 1914. Dougall took Hodgekin's place in the Free Church Commission, when he left. See Henry Hodgekins to Lily Dougall, 7 Old Park Ridings, Winchmore Hill, N., April 9, 1914, BL, LDP, 1.

Fry explained: "I daresay that you are aware that there is a Free Church Commission to enquire into the present position of thought in the religious denominations in England and several eminent thinkers and workers are now engaged in an enquiry similar in plan to that which preceded the Edinburgh Missionary Conference. It was hoped at the outset that the Church of England would be willing to join in the investigation and Friends were very anxious that she should do so, as they much wanted the enquiry to make for writing, not for discussion. [?] I am sorry to say that this has not seemed possible to the Churchmen approached and the enquiry is therefore confined to those outside her borders." [Joan Fry] to Lily Dougall, May 7, 1913, BL, LDP, 1. The letter is unsigned but the writing is similar to that in the following letter, signed by Fry, in which she thanks Dougall for agreeing to participate. Joan Fry to Lily Dougall, May 12, 1913, BL, LDP, 1. She wrote, "it is particularly gratifying to be able to suggest your name as there are so few who will accept that work who have qualifications for doing it." Dougall had invited her to visit; she was unable, but made the following comments on Dougall's books: "I am afraid I did express very badly what I meant about your books. I am quite aware from my own attempts at authorship that one wonders how they could have been used as they have been. Don't you think that as our obedience to the spiritual becomes more keen, we shall be less afraid to believe that we are truly guided? We shall also, doubtless, be more fully guided."

¹⁰⁵He and his wife came to lunch with Professor Peake, April 15, 1914; they came again for lunch the following day with a Miss Albright, and he came for an extended visit from July 27 to August 3 1914, that overlapped with similar extended visits of Miss Edyth Lloyd, Miss Phibbs[?], and Dr. Jane Walker. Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1. An unsigned letter to Dougall (April 16, 1911) suggests that Mrs. Lofthouse was at Swanwick in May and attended a Guild of Health meeting with Dougall. BL, LDP, 1.

Conference for the Consideration of Questions touching on Faith and Order, whose stated purpose -- "to facilitate mutual understanding by a candid but loving comparison of positive beliefs on the questions which need to be considered in promoting the unity for which the Saviour prayed" -- would have been close to Dougall's ecumenical heart.¹⁰⁶ When she visited Montreal in late 1913 her brother had complained.

She has been compelling one theologian after another into her service in answering hard questions such as the Queen of Sheba put to Solomon -- questions that have come to her from a group organised for the purpose, and also from some other group that submits its essays for criticism. It is great to be the prophetess of all the prophets, the sibyl of the sages.¹⁰⁷

Dougall's role as hostess was more significant than it might first appear because of the collaborative method used in producing the books. The contributors met for several days at a time, discussed a single topic, and then individually wrote chapters for joint books on the topic. They then met at various stages to criticise one another's

¹⁰⁶Her young friend, Tissington Tatlow, of the SCM, was the Church of England representative in 1913. The papers consist of printed booklets tied together marked World Conference on Faith and Order, including: a number of booklets under the title of World Conference on Questions touching on Faith and Order such as several copies of a small booklet, "An official statement by the Joint Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the USA," which starts: "During the past generation the conviction has been growing among Christians that the divided state of Christendom, with the consequent rivalry between Christian organisations and ministries, is contrary to the will of Christ . . . the purpose of this conference being to facilitate mutual understanding by a candid but loving comparison of positive beliefs on the questions which need to be considered in promoting the unity for which the Saviour prayed"; a booklet, *A Manual of Prayer for Unity* (1915); a booklet, *A First Preliminary Conference* (1913); a booklet, *Second Meeting of the Advisory Committee, Report of the Second Deputation to Great Britain, The Call for a Truce of God* (1914); a booklet, *Report of the Joint Commission to the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (1913); a booklet, *Report of the Deputation to Europe and the East* (1919); a booklet, *North American Preparatory Conference Garden City Long Island New York, January 4-6 1916*.

Other material included books from the World Alliance of Churches for Promoting International Friendship, including a paper-bound book, *The Churches and International Friendship, Report of Conference held at Constance 1914* (delegates included Dougall's friend, Miss J.M. Fry); another paper-bound book, *Hand Book of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches* (1920) sent with the Hon. Secretary's compliments; and *Meeting of the International committee held at St. Beatenberg, Switzerland, August 26-28 1920, Minutes*, and two pages on "The Christian Attitude on the War and International Relationships after the War."

¹⁰⁷Either John or James Dougall to Sophie Earp, November, 1913. In Earp, "Selected Letters," 237.

contributions. Other Fellowship members and progressive clergy might contribute to the discussions; Maude Royden, for example, appears to have contributed to *Concerning Prayer*, and several academics and clerics, including the Master of the Temple, E.W. Barnes, contributed to *Immortality*.¹⁰⁸ Occasionally members of the group would stay and work at Cutts End.¹⁰⁹ Anson described the collaborative process: “[*Concerning Prayer*] gradually took shape, as the result of many conferences. We all produced our papers; they were discussed and pulled to pieces during long morning sessions in her house at Cumnor. After luncheon we went for walks, and in the evening resumed our discussions.”¹¹⁰

Streeter described the process in the somewhat self-congratulatory introduction to *Immortality*:

Intellectual co-operation only achieves its greatest possibilities where its basis is enthusiasm for a common cause and personal friendship; and experience shows

¹⁰⁸B.H. Streeter acknowledged the contributions of Barnes, Rev. W.S. Bradley, tutor of Mansfield College, Rev. C.H.S. Mathews, Vicar of St. Peter's, Captain W.H. Moberly, Fellow of Lincoln College, and Sophie Earp to *Immortality*. “Introduction,” *Immortality*, xii. See the clipping of the review of *Immortality* from *Challenge* January 18, 1918. BL, LDP, 6.

¹⁰⁹We can trace some of the meetings for *Concerning Prayer* through Dougall's correspondence and visitor book. Various contributors had stayed individually with Dougall prior to the conference on the book. Harold Anson and B.H. Streeter were regular visitors, both having stayed with Dougall in early March. Collingwood and Anson stayed several nights in late July, and Turner stayed for four days in September, when he was writing his contribution. In early October, various contributors met at Cutts End with other progressive Anglicans to discuss the book. Harold Anson, Maude Royden, and a Miss Campbell appear in Dougall's visitor book. Other contributors, like Streeter and Collingwood may have cycled up from Oxford for the day. Dougall sent Rufus Jones a copy of her manuscript in late October, presumably for his comments. (Lily Dougall, “Spirit and Life,” 10 p. manuscript, BL, LDP, 2. The manuscript is marked, “Duplication sent to Dr. Rufus Jones, October 28, 1915.”) Then in January of 1916 Turner, Campbell, and Streeter stayed several days for an unspecified “conference.” M.S. Earp participated in the conferences and also assisted with the editorial work. As a number of the entries in the Visitor Book are made in the same hand –possibly Earp's – and probably after the event, it is not an entirely reliable record of the visits to Cutts End. There appear to be a number of omissions. Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1. Campbell is probably the May Campbell who stayed in 1916, and the Miss M.E. Campbell acknowledged in *Immortality* for the compilation of the index; she may have played a similar role in *Concerning Prayer*. See also Lily Dougall to E.W. Barnes [Early October, 1915] in Earp “Selected Letters,” 247. She describes Turner's stay in September and mentions plans for a group meeting at her house from October 11-16, 1915.

¹¹⁰Anson, *Looking Forward*, 201.

that the intellectual activity and receptivity of each is raised to the highest pitch when that fellowship is not in work alone and in discussion, but in jest and prayer as well As a result of thorough discussion a degree of unity and unanimity has been arrived at which, in view of the very various tastes, training, and experience of the authors, is remarkable, and which encourages them to believe that the conclusions reached are really sound.¹¹¹

(As one reviewer noted, "The Cumnor school of theologians take themselves very seriously."¹¹²)

This collaborative method became identified with the Cumnor group, but its origin appears to lie in the work of personal idealist, J.R. Illingworth. Illingworth met for several days every year from 1875 to 1914 with a group of friends, a "Fellowship in the devotion to the Truth," or more light-heartedly, the "Holy Party."¹¹³ Their discussions led

¹¹¹*Immortality: An Essay in Discovery Co-ordinating Scientific, Psychical, and Biblical Research* (London: Macmillan, 1917), xi-xiii.

¹¹²The reviewer continued, "They believe in their method of conference and co-authorship . . . which has already borne fruit in two weighty volumes." Clipping of a review of *Immortality* from *The Christian Commonwealth*, March 6, 1918, in BL LDP, 6.

Not everyone agreed about the benefits of group work. The Master of the Temple, E.W. Barnes, suggested that the results were likely to be conservative: "tentative progress can best be made if a small group of followers of Christ, trained to see life from different standpoints and each of ability in some special subject of study, meets together and as a result of active discussion gives to the world a series of essays. The more exhaustive the subject the more likely are the essays to show real unity. *The more likely too will it be that they will affirm rather than deny traditional views.* . . . [The writer had the] privilege to be present at the three day conference in which most of those who contributed to the volume discussed the subject for the first time. He had then realised their earnestness and intensity of belief in a future life. It had been an exceptional pleasure to listen to and to share in conversations where seriousness and humour were not deemed mutually exclusive. Since those joyous and strenuous days at Cumnor other conferences must have taken place and the result is the book before us. . . ." Clipping of the review of *Immortality* from *Challenge*, January 18, 1918, BL, LDP, 6. (Emphasis added.)

¹¹³Dougall's interest in collaborative work also has earlier roots. As she sometimes observed, and Earp's notations on early drafts of *Lovereen* confirm, her early success was at least in part a collaborative one. Friendship had been integral to her theology, in her evangelical youth and later in the interlocking web of relationships of personal idealism. In "*Lovereen*" a higher life preacher, taught that friendship was essential to higher life, for it corrected individual bias and sin. Salvation came to those who "abide in Christ and walk in the closest fellowship with our brothers." "But you will say to me, is not faith in Christ and in the leading and counsel of the Holy Spirit, enough to make a man holy without friendship with other men? . . . I say to you, 'No it is not enough. "*Lovereen*," Vol. III, p. 128.

to the liberal Anglo-Catholic work *Lux Mundi* (1889).¹¹⁴ Illingworth later hosted the meetings that led to *Foundations*. The collaborative process was so well established by 1908 that the editor of *Anglican Liberalism by Twelve Churchmen* felt obliged to note: "The Title of this book indicates among the Writers a general community of aim: but each Contributor is responsible for only his own essay."¹¹⁵ It appears that the Cumnor group adopted the Holy Party's method of group discussion, with the addition of Anglican Fellowship rules. Dougall, however, departed from this precedent by bringing together experts from outside the Anglican and clerical fold, including psychologists, literary critics, and Nonconformist preachers, like her friend from the Free Church Commission, W.F. Lofthouse.¹¹⁶

The first collaborative book, *Concerning Prayer* was published in 1916. The contributions are all modern in orientation, emphasising an immanent God, and critical of the punitive God of the Old Testament. Harold Anson used one chapter to promote the

¹¹⁴ Subsequent meetings at Illingworth's parish took on predictable pattern: "Each day was begun with a celebration of the Holy Communion in the parish church at 8, then after breakfast and Matins at 10, they settled down to two and a half hours of steady discussions of some previously decided subject. The afternoons devoted to walks among Mr. Prince's beautiful roses or elsewhere, and between tea and evensong there was another two and half hours' talk. In the evenings one and another would read aloud to the rest." J. R. Illingworth, *The Life and Work of John Richardson Illingworth, as portrayed by his letters and illustrated by photographs* (London: John Murray, 1917), 156. See also 33-35 for the origins of this group, and the centrality of personal idealism.

¹¹⁵ *Anglican Liberalism*, by Twelve Churchmen (New York: G.P. Putnams, London: Williams and Norgate, 1908). *Liberal Evangelicalism* was also the product of a collaborative process, or, as the authors put it, of "the group mind." (p.v.)

¹¹⁶ See W.F. Lofthouse to Lily Dougall, Endcliffe Cottage, Friary Rd, Handsworth, June 13, 1914; Lily Dougall to Mr. Lofthouse, June 15, 1914, BL, LDP, 1. Another unsigned letter suggests the religious gulf that Dougall was crossing in working with men like Lofthouse. Unknown to Lily Dougall, Links Hotel, April 16, 1914. "I think Mrs. Lofthouse was at Swanwick last month, how is she? Did she not come to our Guild of Health talk in Room 3? I do not remember her. Perhaps we shall cease to be 'fatally churchy' soon, and then all the good, nice people who will be such a strength will come in to help us." Lofthouse visited Cutts End with his wife in early 1914; alone for lunch on April 16, 1914; July 27, 1914, and July 27 to August 3, 1914. Visitor Book, BL, LDP, 1.

Guild of Health in "Prayer and Bodily Health"; in another, "Prayer as Understanding," he distinguished between the Oriental "Sultanic" concept of prayer before an arbitrary God and the scientific reverence of nature. (The chapter led to a rebuke by Archbishop Davidson, who said Anson's teaching would prevent him from offering Anson any responsible position in the church.) In "Prayer and the Mystic Vision," Rufus Jones presented his interpretation of mysticism through a modernist debunking of the old *via negativa*. Bevan took up one of Dougall's interests and defended petitional prayer in "Petition (Some Theoretical Difficulties)." C.H.S. Matthews provided a curious explanation of the eucharist, "a method of approach from the side of life rather than doctrine and tradition," in which he emphasises the dramatic value, explains its sacrificial nature as love, rather than suffering, and argues that the eucharist is not essential for every Anglican. Collingwood explained away the Devil. (Curiously his arguments might be equally convincing if applied to the existence of God.)¹¹⁷ Streeter called for a scientific study of the psychology of worship. Lily Dougall, (still writing anonymously) contributed "Repentance and Hope," and "Prayer for the Dead." *Concerning Prayer* was very successful. H.D.A. Major, the leading modernist and member of the Fellowship, gave the book a glowing review in the modernist journal, *The Modern Churchman*, and the Archbishop of Canterbury sent a complimentary letter.¹¹⁸ After two reprintings, it went into a second edition in 1918, and was still selling in 1938.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷Collingwood's essay was the development of one read before Streeter's Eranos Group in 1908, and it was later reprinted. See R.G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 43; and James Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals, Idealism and Orthodoxy at Oxford, 1901-1945* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985), 87-89.

¹¹⁸H.D.A. Major *The Modern Churchman* VI (1916-1917): 223-225. Randall Canterbury [The Archbishop of Canterbury] to Miss Dougall, Old Palace, Canterbury [no date], BL, LDP, 1: "I have already in the interstices of some overcrowded days read a good many bits of it and I see how valuable a contribution it has made to the

Streeter and Dougall immediately set to work on *Immortality*. She called upon two new friends: the writer, Arthur Clutton-Brock and the modernist biblical critic, Cyril W. Emmet. Emmet took up Dougall's old concern about eternal punishment, proving through linguistic usage that the doctrine was not explicitly taught in the New Testament. Hadfield provided a scientific perspective. E.W. Barnes, the Master of the Temple, W.S. Bradley, C.H.S. Matthews, W.H. Moberly, and M.S. Earp also participated in the preliminary conferences and contributed memoranda on special points. The group finished *Immortality* in October 1917; Dougall noted that "we have been working at it so incessantly and almost violently."¹²⁰ The book sold well to a country devastated by the loss of a generation of young men.¹²¹

Hadfield, Clutton-Brock, and Emmet also contributed to the final volume, *The Spirit*, with philosopher Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison (1856-1931) and C.A. Anderson Scott. The book, inspired by the work of the Anglican Fellowship, was published in 1919 and reprinted in 1920, 1921, 1922, and 1928. The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote a

sober consideration of many large questions. But it is not a book for 'interstices.' (He says he hopes to give it consecutive study.]"

¹¹⁹Harold Anson said the book was still selling in 1938 when he wrote his memoirs. Anson, *Looking Forward*, 201.

¹²⁰Lily Dougall to K.D., J.A.C. and E.B., October 1, 1917, Cutts End, Cumnor. Earp. "Selected Letters," 260. The Visitor Book records a number of visits likely associated with *Immortality*: Mr. and Mrs. Clutton-Brock, August 8-10, 1916; E.W. Barnes and his wife, October 9-12; R.C. Emmet from October 9-13; B.H. Streeter, November 4-6 and 11-13; May [Mary?] Campbell, November 21-22; B.H. Streeter, November 25-27; Mr. and Mrs. J.H. Oldham, December 12-19; Miss C.B. Firth (from the Fellowship), December 16-18, with Miss Graveson; Clutton-Brock, C.H. Matthews, W.R. Bradley, C.W. Emmet, W.H. Moberley, and B.H. Streeter from Monday, January 15, to Friday, January 19, 1917. (There are no records from May, 1917 to 1925)

¹²¹The publisher noted that sales had been good, 2,000 of 3,000 copies having been sold, although, "reviews have, with some exceptions, not been very satisfactory." George Mcmillan to Lily Dougall, March 11, 1918, BL, LDP, 5.

complimentary letter.¹²² It is modern in approach, drawing heavily upon psychology.

Dougall distinguished in her chapter on “God in Action” between vital Christianity, those who are in pursuit of truth, beauty, and moral righteousness, and nominal Christians, who live in “docile obedience to religious rules.” Her vital Christians may include those who deny Christ, but “are one with Him in Spirit.” Hadfield argues that a religion’s value lies in its ability to tap psychic power, and argued that it must be restated to make it “intellectually possible of acceptance” by modern man.¹²³

Dougall’s collaborative works were very popular, especially with students. As an article in *The Modern Churchman* noted:

The student world finds its theology in the writings of men often quite out of touch with Catholic Christianity and in all cases definitely opposed to the position taken up (say) by the Anglo-Catholic Congress. Books like Grove’s *Jesus of History*, Fosdick’s *Manhood of the Master* Gray’s *Christian Adventurer*, and on the more definitely theological side, the works of the [Lily Dougall’s] Cumnor School and of the Dean of Carlisle [Hastings Rashdall] are being very widely read –more so than any other religious writing of the time. . . [The student] is simply asking that the Christian experience of the ages be given to him in a form and in a language he can understand.¹²⁴

The mix of psychology and liberal theology, the choice of writers like R.G. Collingwood and Rufus Jones, and the combination of deep seriousness and a light, slightly provocative tone, in addition to the collaborative method, appealed to a generation bored by theology, impatient with sermons, but still intrigued by questions of faith.

¹²² Archbishop of Canterbury to Miss Dougall, nd. Old Palace. Canterbury, BL, LDP, 1.

¹²³ J.A. Hadfield, “The Psychology of Power,” *Immortality*, 115.

¹²⁴ *The Modern Churchman* XI,1 (April, 1921): 1. These comments need to be understood in light of the polemical cast of the *Modern Churchman*, particularly in regard to Anglo-Catholicism and their claim to represent the progressive cause.

11.3 The Student Christian Movement

The student audience was so receptive that Dougall published her final three books, *God and the Struggle for Existence* (1919), *The Lord of Thought* (1922), and the posthumous *God's Way with Man* (1924) with the Student Christian Movement, and became a mentor for the movement on a more personal level.¹²⁵ Tatlow described her role:

[*Christus Futurus*] was published anonymously at first, but later it became known that the author was Miss Lily Dougall, who published more than one book with the Student Movement and became our friend and benefactor in many ways. She was a woman of learning, with an original and sympathetic mind. She found herself thoroughly at home in the atmosphere of Student Movement conferences and might invariably be seen with a group of students around her, discussing all kinds of theological questions. A memory cherished by Student Movement secretaries in office at the time was a secretaries meeting lasting for several days, held at her beautiful house at Cumnor.¹²⁶

There is little record of this activity among Dougall's papers, apart from a reference to SCM leader, D.S. Cairns visiting her for tea on September 8, 1912. In a private letter to Cairns, however, Dougall described her hopes for a renewed fellowship now being realised within the SCM. It was a spirituality that would take the best of the Anglican and evangelical traditions. Dougall would take the inward spirituality that she earlier described as mysticism, "the inward recollection and concentration of faith -- the realisation of God which is recreative," found in the Anglican Church, and place it within the safe bounds of companionship in prayer found in evangelical prayer meetings. Here again, we find her

¹²⁵Dougall's papers do not reveal the exact nature and extent of her relationship with the SCM. B.H. Streeter had been central to the "Doubts and Difficulties" conference, and it may be through her relationship with him that she became involved with the SCM. The SCM records have not been organised.

¹²⁶Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 435-436.

sense that movements like Christian Science have captured a spiritual force, and that both the Anglican and evangelical churches have failed.

The prayer of fellowship -- "the disciples being of one accord in one place"-- the spiritual at-one-ment with each other, heightened by the sense of material presence, is, I think, of the essence of Christianity, because it is the human condition to which God can best give the realisation of His own power and presence and the inspiration of His truth. Unfortunately, the spiritual realisation has been too often divorced from companionship in prayer. The ordinary Anglican, who has not been through the education of the Student Christian movement, has no conception of fellowship in prayer that is not *formal*. There probably never was anything more informal than Pentecost; but Pentecost is not a living reality to the Anglicans with whom I work. On the other hand, the inward recollection and concentration of faith -- the realisation of God which is re-creative -- has been almost absent from the mind of the frequenter of prayer meetings and from prayer meetings; and those who are re-finding it in Christian Science and kindred movements think they can experience its full power without being "of one accord in one place" with others. I am convinced that only when these two ideals are brought into unity will prayer be fully efficacious.¹²⁷

Like the Society of Friends, the new SCM provided a model for Christian fellowship; Christian Science and related movements revealed the power, and the dangers, of a spirituality outside these bounds.

The SCM, as an organisation, appears to have paralleled Dougall's personal development from an evangelical youth to a liberal adult ecumenicism touched with Anglo-Catholicism. Tissington Tatlow, the General Secretary of the SCM, identified the origins of the student movement with Henry Drummond's revivals at the University of Edinburgh between 1885 and 1895.¹²⁸ Drummond was a protégé of D.L. Moody, but

¹²⁷Earp, "Selected Letters," 255

¹²⁸See Tissington Tatlow *The Student Christian Movement*. Rev. Tissington Tatlow was a key figure in the early SCM, the General Secretary of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union from 1898-1900 and 1903-1929, and the editor of *The Student Movement* from 1900-1902 and 1904-1933. Drummond's work in Edinburgh spread to other Scottish and then English universities, and, with the added impetus of the North American student missionary movements, resulted in the creation of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, and the British College Christian Union, the predecessor of the SCM. Dougall's

even before his premature death in 1894, Moody's evangelical world was beginning to fracture and Drummond's liberal views were viewed with increasing suspicion by the more conservative evangelicals. The SCM continued to evolve in the liberal direction set by Drummond, and by 1900 the movement was broadening into an ecumenical organisation. The spirituality of liberal evangelicals like Henry Drummond, freed from its moorings in the Bible and Calvinist doctrine, had much in common with the heightened spirituality of modernist Anglo-Catholics. In the early twentieth century, Anglo-Catholic speakers became popular in the SCM. "A common complaint," Tissington Tatlow recalled in 1933, "was that the Student Movement was being captured by the High Church party."¹²⁹

The hostility has continued among historians: Steven Bruce has suggested that SCM leaders abandoned evangelical principles in order to appeal to a wider audience and increase their numbers. He argues that this represented the first step on a slippery slope of religious accommodation.¹³⁰ Tatlow recalled, however, that the shift was a response to student demand.

friend D.S. Cairns, an SCM leader, wrote: '[Drummond's] ideal and spirit are working through the country in the Student Christian Movement. This has been reinforced by other streams, but the movement, as a whole, is exactly the kind of thing he would have delighted in and rejoiced to serve.' D.S. Cairns, "Recollections of Henry Drummond" *The North American Student* (November, 1913). Cited in Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 14-15.

For a history of the movement in Canada see Donald L. Kirkey, "'Building the City of God': The Founding of the Student Christian Movement in Canada," M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1983. An earlier, and more politically oriented dissertation, "Pressure Group Politics: The Student Christian Movement," was subsequently published by the SCM: Margaret Beattie, *A Brief History of the Student Christian Movement in Canada*, (Toronto: SCM, 1975). For insight into the impact of the SCM on the spirituality of one woman, see Doris McCarthy, *A Fool in Paradise: An Artist's Early Life* (Toronto: MacFarlane, Walter and Ross, 1990), and *The Good Wine, An Artist Comes of Age* (Toronto: MacFarlane, Walter and Ross, 1991).

¹²⁹Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 387.

¹³⁰Steve Bruce, *A House Divided: Protestantism, Schism and Secularization* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990). Bruce defines Protestant liberalism as "a tendency which regards human reason as paramount and which begins its theologizing from the agenda of the secular world" (p. 102). In contrast,

For a period from 1900 to the outbreak of the war, a series of kindly but very mournful letters were addressed to me by evangelical churchmen who did not like or understand the interdenominational position of the movement. They remembered its origin in evangelical circles in England and wanted it to be a stronghold of evangelicalism. They regarded the progressive broadening of its platform with distress and constantly suggested the inclusion of men representing their point of view as speakers in the programme of the summer conference. I was constantly trying to persuade the student leaders to accept some of these names, but it happened many times that when some man who was urged upon us as suitable for a course of Bible readings or an address at one of the evening meetings, was given a place on the programme suggested for him, he failed to hold the students.¹³¹

There was particular concern, Tatlow noted, at the presence of Anglo-Catholics at the SCM conferences. "Father Kelly's cassock and the appearance of men like Canon Scott Holland and Bishop Gore on the platform caused me no little trouble behind the scenes."¹³²

These Anglo-Catholics were popular partly because they were socially progressive, but they also, it appears, drew the students by their spirituality. Just as Dougall had been attracted by the spirituality of Father Ignatius, progressive students were intrigued by the Anglo-Catholic faith. One commentator, in a review republished in Dougall's *World Wide*, described the Anglo-Catholic presence in the CSU and its congruence with liberal evangelicalism. "We must confess that the evangelical note in many of the sermons has

he argues, "Religion is about certainty. It is about discovering the Archimedean point which allows us to escape the ambiguity and confusion of the mundane world." See Steve Bruce, "A Sociological Account of Liberal Protestantism," *Religious Studies* 20 (1984): 401-415 for a summary of his position. Bruce's antagonism to liberal Protestantism is more apparent in the article. He notes, "There can be very little appeal to the heathen in a gospel that is trying to be as heathen as possible" (p. 412).

Others have described the shift in more positive terms. Kenneth Hylson-Smith referred to the "growing together of the Anglo-Catholic with the SCM thread in Anglican life." Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *High-Churchmanship in the Church of England from the Sixteenth Century to the Late Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1993), 268.

¹³¹Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 387.

¹³²Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 386.

surprised and delighted us. Most of the preachers are High Churchmen, but their fidelity to the evangelical truth would do credit to Dr. Clifford or M.F.B. Meyer.”¹³³ Ties between the SCM and Anglican modernism were particularly strong. In 1912, the *Modern Churchman* published a positive article on the growth of the SCM; a decade later the SCM was advertising book lists in the modernist journal.¹³⁴

Progressive clergymen found students to be a new and appreciative audience. Percy Dearmer’s wife noted: “[W]hereas his work before the war had lain principally with the Christian Social Union and kindred activities, it had now become transferred to students and their needs. It was not that his attitude to social work and service had altered or changed, but I fancy he thought that he had made his contribution and that now this new work claimed him.”¹³⁵

There are intriguing suggestions that the theological liberalism of the SCM originated among the women in the organisation, and it appears that the SCM provided an environment that was particularly supportive of women’s spirituality.¹³⁶ Tatlow repeatedly

¹³³Rev. C. Ensor Walters, “Review of *Preachers from the Pew* (CSU Lectures for Lent)”, *World Wide* IV, 36 (August 5, 1904): 747.

¹³⁴Arthur Mayhew, “The Student Christian Movement Camp 1912,” *The Modern Churchman* II, 6 (September, 1912): 271-275. See *The Modern Churchman* XII, 7 for the SCM advertisement; Dougall’s book, *The Lord of Thought*, is at the top of the list, and was reviewed in this issue.

¹³⁵Nan Dearmer, *The Life of Percy Dearmer* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1941), 239.

¹³⁶In her autobiography, Canadian artist Doris McCarthy described the importance of SCM liberalism and camaraderie in her youth. She described the experience as one of “fellowship with God and my friends;” SCM spirituality was bound up with an intense female culture. The intensity of this female culture was problematic for McCarthy. In her autobiography she discusses with some candour the nature of her relationships with the other young women in the movement, and carefully distinguishes her affection for her friends from the sexual overtures from one woman in the movement. See McCarthy, *A Fool in Paradise*, 58, 147. Similarly Marjorie Agnes Powles (b. 1914) described SCM involvement as “a liberating experience, both intellectually and socially.” She said that “[SCM involvement] was a dimension of my life that made it possible for me to remain a Christian and to have a sense of what the

commented on the critical intellectual interests of women, as compared to men students.

He said it was the women who initiated study circles on apologetics.

The women students were the first among undergraduates to be concerned with intellectual questions. As questions arose among the women they were passed on by them to the men in the co-educational universities It was in the women's colleges that the first study circles on apologetic subjects were started, and women students asked for the first course of apologetic lectures given under the auspices of the Movement.¹³⁷

In his thoughtful M.A. thesis on the origins of the Canadian SCM, Donald Kirkey also argued that it was the women who were the more progressive and adventurous theologically:

While the men marked time, however, the Student YWCA women moved with their church leaders, combined with their own unique experiences, away from traditional orthodoxy and their previous narrow social vision. Both Dr. H.B.Sharman and Professor S.H. Hooke found the men students in the critical studies of the gospels at the conferences and universities superficial, while they praised the women students for their quality and thoroughness The Canadian Student YWCA sponsorship of [Hooke's liberal *Christ and the Kingdom of God*] points to a change in the women that was not yet evident in their American counterpart, in the SVM or in any of the YMCAs.¹³⁸

At the promptings of women students, echoed by male theology students, the British SCM held a conference in 1911, "Doubts and Difficulties." Dougall's role in the SCM can be traced to this conference. B.H. Streeter attended the conference and wrote a report.¹³⁹

church might be." Marjorie Agnes Powles, *To a Strange Land: The Autobiography of Marjorie Agnes Powles* (Dundas: Artemis Enterprises, 1993), 28, 32.

¹³⁷Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 427-428. See also 620, and 213-214, where Tatlow distinguishes between the women's intellectual debates about Christianity at Oxford and Cambridge, compared to the spiritual and moral problems of the men. Men dominated the leadership, and, according to Tatlow, women took a subordinate position until 1909 when Zoë Fairfield became assistant to the general secretary. Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 235-236.

¹³⁸Kirkey, "Building the City of God," 46-50.

¹³⁹B.H. Streeter, *Doubts and Difficulties: a personal impression of the conclusion of a conference of theological teachers and Student Christian Movement leaders, Swanwick, July 4-7, 1911*, printed by the SCM for private distribution.

The apologetic sub-committee of the SCM, strengthened by the conference, made a list of recommended readings, including Dougall's anonymous, *Christus Futurus*.¹⁴⁰

The Cumnor years were Dougall's most fulfilling. She was at the height of her career, working with a group of younger academics and clerics, and finding a ready audience for her work among the critical but religiously inclined members of the SCM. There is, however, an underlying sense of inadequacy that surfaces repeatedly in her work, a deference and hesitancy that undermines her theology. Some of this is deliberate, the careful humility of an unorthodox thinker who knows that her opinions might offend the faithful. Some of it may be read as the vestiges of that feminine charm, the self-deprecating remarks of a woman who was told that firm opinions were offensive in a girl. But much of it appears to be the real insecurity of a woman who is highly aware of the flimsy academic basis on which she has built her intellectual position.

This was most apparent in *Christus Futurus*, when her apologetic preface — "These fragments are only published in the hope that those who have greater opportunity may find in them something to refine and complete"¹⁴¹ — undermined the reception of the book. The handwritten introduction appended to a draft of a later article, "Conscience and Authority," was similarly self-deprecatory, "I am well aware that this paper does not set forth this quarrel in an convincing way. . . . I only hope that some who are so much more able than I to think it

¹⁴⁰The liberal nature of the SCM at this time is apparent in the list of recommended readings: P. Carnegie Simpson, *The Fact of Christ*; Charles H. Robinson, *Studies in the Character of Christ*; William Temple, *The Faith and Modern Thought*; A.S. Peake, *Christianity, its Nature and its Truth*; Sir John Seeley, *Ecce Homo*; R.E. Welsh, *In Relief of Doubt*; Charles Gore, *The Incarnation of the Son of God*, and Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*. Tatlow, *Student Christian Movement*, 435.

¹⁴¹This book is only a series of successive efforts to think what the gospel of Jesus really is. Each line of thought is unfinished, and there is very much in what is said that, in a mature work, would be more carefully guarded from misconstruction. The Author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* [Lily Dougall] *Christus Futurus* (London: Macmillan, 1907), np.

out will track the question to its lair and deal with it.”¹⁴² Subsequent unpublished papers are prefaced with remarks that are almost embarrassing in their apologies. “Mr. Spencer [probably Rev. Malcolm Spencer of the SCM] has bidden me to write a short paper on the purpose of the Church. It is not a subject on which I have reflected and indeed I am peculiarly ignorant about it; but I presume it is the childlike reflections of innocence that he desires”¹⁴³ “I offer the following myth of creation for you only because our chairman has not been fortunate enough to secure an adequate paper”¹⁴⁴ She was also self-effacing in private correspondence, suggesting that her theological contributions might have indirect benefits, as “the effort [of thought] even in a slow mind like mind, may start thought waves that will over flow in the minds of more able thinkers.”¹⁴⁵ The insecurity also surfaces in more subtle ways. She dropped references to friends who were Archbishops and eminent theologians, and displayed her knowledge of ancient languages in the titles of her works.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴²Handwritten note appended to a carbon copy of a manuscript, “Conscience and Authority,” BL, LDP, 2. The note said in full: “I am well aware that this paper does not set forth this quarrel in a convincing way, or give force or clarity to a suggestion of how the quarrel may be healed. The subject was not of my choosing, nor have I had the leisure I expected when I undertook it. But I pray you not to set aside the matter as unimportant because my contention may not be set forth adequately or even with entire cogency. I am convinced that [this?] is something I am trying to get at which is more immediately important than I can even understand. I can only hope that some who are so much more able than I to think it out will track the suggestion to its lair and deal with it.”

¹⁴³Typescript, “The Purpose of the Church,” 5 p., BL, LDP, 2.

¹⁴⁴Typescript, “Creation,” 7p., BL, LDP, 2.

¹⁴⁵Lily Dougall to Griffith Jones, January 6, 1914, 294 Drummond St., Montreal, BL, LDP, 1. Dougall apologised to Dr. Ridgeway, the Bishop of Salisbury: “I am fully aware [*The Christian Doctrine of Health*] has many weaknesses, but it was written in response to a real demand, and had to be produced amid a conflict of duties.” Lily Dougall to the Bishop of Salisbury, November 1916, Cumnor, Oxford. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 256-257.

¹⁴⁶See for example her references to a friend who is Archbishop and to an unnamed ‘distinguished continental theologian’ in her article, “The Meaning of Paul for Today,” BL, LDP, 2.

The collaborative nature of her mature work shielded her from this inadequacy.

After she met Streeter, Dougall never again published a book as a single author. She worked as part of a group of theologians, and published with the authority of their credentials and titles.

She had always consulted with leading academics, from Edward Caird, to William James, but in the collaborative process she was able to discuss her ideas with them, before and after writing her work. The old proscriptions about girls who “talk like a book” still lingered, and Dougall was remembered for her sense of humour and charm rather than her intellectual contributions to the discussions. B.H. Streeter has largely been given credit for the group books, and it has largely been forgotten that it was the charming “hostess” who was mainly responsible for bringing the Cumnor group together, fostering the debates, and ensuring that the books were published.

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UMI[®]

Chapter Twelve:

Body and Soul

“Whatever is true is God’s way of revealing Himself.”
Lily Dougall, 1916

Like most modernists, Lily Dougall was not afraid of the encroachments of science on her faith; science, she argued, was simply another route to God. She had been fascinated by the findings of the Society for Psychical Research:

They are really seeking to discover truth which is always a noble enterprise. We must never forget that God is truth, that all truth is of God and that every scrap of truth that human beings can discover helps to educate their souls for the ultimate enjoyment of God. Among the most notable of those who are seeking to discover what truth may underlie spiritualistic phenomena are the leaders of the Psychical Research Society. I have been a member of this society for the last 25 years. . . .¹

In her early fiction, Dougall provided natural explanations for supernatural phenomena, without abandoning faith in a larger power that worked through the material world. Over time, psychology provided a similar explanation for religious experience. She explained spirituality as a telepathic force acting upon the subconscious mind. This was not a materialist explanation: following such eminent psychologists as W.H.F. Myers and William James, she understood the subconscious not in Freudian terms as a locus for

¹This citation is preceded by a scathing dismissal of spiritualists: “As far as I have come across any of them [spiritualists] they are kindly and well-principled and only harmful to society in the way that great silliness and incredulity are always harmful. They seem to bring no critical faculty at all upon their “messages.” They are not seeking truth; they are satisfied that they have attained truth, and are seeking emotional satisfaction.” Lily Dougall, “The Life Beyond, The Relation of the Mortal to the Immortal Life,” typescript, 16 p., BL, LDP, 2, p.10. The article is subtitled: “Synopsis: Address to the Wesley Deaconesses.” In this paper, Dougall used the idea of the subconscious and telepathy to explain spiritualist phenomena, and said a spiritualist taps the subconscious mind of the client. Things like table rapping do occur, but are natural, if inexplicable, occurrences, really only folly and a waste of time better spent in worship of God. See also her article, “Spiritualism and Science,” *The Modern Churchman* IX, no. 12 (1920): 565-574.

repressed sexuality but in metaphysical terms as a conduit for some form of cosmic energy -- a channel for, in Dougall's terms, the Holy Spirit.

This chapter will be examine the impact of the new science of psychology on religious experience, the "impregnable rock" of Dougall's modernist faith. The first half of the chapter will examine the role psychology played in Dougall's understanding of her chronic health problems. In her work with the Anglican Guild of Health, Dougall argued that spiritual healing could be attained by tapping God's power through the subconscious mind. The second half of the chapter will detail how, in Dougall's mature theology, the subconscious acted as a conduit for the Holy Spirit. After examining how Dougall first applied the psychology of religion in an early piece of historical fiction, *The Mormon Prophet* (1899), the chapter focuses on her understanding of telepathy as a conduit for the Holy Spirit.

12.1 "This Ghostly Lion"

Lily Dougall was plagued throughout her life with asthma and bronchitis: "Anxiety with regard to my health is as innate in me as is the faith in God I have imbibed from my mother, or the love of freedom I derived from my father."² She grew up in an atmosphere

²Lily Dougall to Susan Dougall, Weltham House, Suffolk Road, Cheltenham, October 23, 1887. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 76-78. Friends described her physical weakness in the same breath as they extoll her ability to overcome the frailty of her body. "She was fragile and delicate those two winters in Montreal in which I came to know her, but one was not conscious of this as impeding in any way the exercise of her intellectual and social gifts." Hilda Oakely to Sophie Earp, Earp "Selected Letters," 168

of invalidism, watching one sister die and another spend months at a rest home, and as a young woman lived with her ailing mother in the claustrophobic atmosphere of another rest home. Illness slowed her studies in 1881 in Edinburgh: "I have been missing a good many of my lectures, and I am a good deal discouraged about it." In 1883, she was forced to abandon studies at the Abbott Academy in Andover, and, in 1885, she almost gave up her studies in Ventnor.³

Family members had turned to faith healing to overcome chronic illness. Although they rarely attributed their ill health to a lack of faith, members of her family frequently attributed their recovery to prayer. Elizabeth Dougall wrote her husband:

It may be that the bodily ailments, seemingly incurable in our family have been [?] that we might see that the wonderful loving kindness of our Blessed Lord delivering from the power of the Evil one the earthly bodies as well as the souls of his loved ones giving health to the body and deep spiritual life to the soul. It seems clearly in answer to prayer that I was raised up last year and I believe it was the same this year although not so marked to myself. Perhaps with more perfect faith I might have been raised to perfect health instead of continuing so very weak all summer and ready to be laid down again.⁴

Susan Dougall described a patient who was cured of insanity and feebleness by intensive praying: "I daresay the same wise course would save many and many a one, if their friends

³As she wrote in the autobiographical novel, "Lovereen": "No one pressed her to study for they thought she was not strong enough for regular school work. They saw her idle and were satisfied that she was having the consideration which her health required, while all the time there went on within her a mental travail to which the enforced work of lessons would have been rest and play." "Lovereen," p. 95, BL, LDP, 4. "I have been missing a good many of my lectures, and I am a good deal discouraged about it. I battled against a cold as long as I could, but had to give in. It is nearly gone now, and the pain in my side, which I believe I mentioned, also." Lily Dougall to Susan Dougall, February 12, 1881. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 41. "I do hope that the climate here will strengthen her," Jane Redpath to Elizabeth Dougall, Saturday, November 13, 1880, 130 Gilmore Place, NAC, DFP, 1, 9. Her adult homes were usually chosen for her health: Ventnor was in the southernmost part of England; Cheltenham was well known as a health spa as well as for its ladies college, and Cumnor was on a hill.

⁴Elizabeth (Lizzie) Dougall to John Dougall, April 12, [probably 1882], NAC, DFP, 1, 1.

could only know how.”⁵ Faith healing was an integral part of the holiness movement, and in 1885, Lily Dougall attended the “Faith Healing and Holiness Conference” in London, England for a week and reported the proceedings to her father.⁶ This faith-healing continued into the higher life and Keswick movements, especially in America; Keswick writer, Andrew Murray, for example, published *Divine Healing* in 1900.⁷

Lily Dougall’s eventual breakthrough in the winter of 1885-1886 had, however, little to do with faith. Her account of this experience, in a letter to her sister, Susan, who was similarly struggling with illness while completing a medical degree, reveals the curious mix of spiritual, psychological, and physical elements.

I know of a surety that were I in your case, my *chief difficulty* would be *unreal*. I will explain by giving my experience like a man at a “Methodist class.” When I went to [study in] Ventnor, everyone said I should not be strong enough to study hard, and I believed it devoutly. I went on working against my doubts and “dragging” on, until, in the middle of the second term I was quite ill, having all the symptoms of a “break-down” about me. I was not willing to give in, so I sent for the doctor.

⁵Susan Dougall to John and Elizabeth Dougall. Dansville, June 8, 1879, NAC, DFP, 1, 1. Susan graduated from the New York Medical College, and an obituary of John Dougall described her as pursuing a more advanced course in 1886. *The Northern Messenger and Sabbath School Companion*, September 24, 1886, clipping in BL, LDP, 6. A diploma from the Woman’s Medical College, stating that she has been entered in the Register of Physicians and Surgeons by the Clerk of New York County, is dated 1889. NAC, DFP, 2, 3. Susan’s letters suggest that her own cure involved a certain amount of renewed willpower and determination. She wrote: “This summer I would like to read the magazines you send, crochet a shawl, and learn to be happy in Christ for I think I have been greatly at fault for being restless and uneasy when so many things go right and so much is beautiful.” She said her illness taught her lessons that nothing else could teach. Susan Dougall to John and Elizabeth Dougall, Dansville, March 18, 1879, NAC, DFP 1, 8.

⁶Lily Dougall to John Dougall [her father], June 15, 1885 [year pencilled on original], 36 Beresford Rd., Highbury New Park, London, BL, LDP, 1.

⁷Andrew Murray, *Divine Healing* (New York: Christian Alliance, 1900). See David D. Bundy, *Keswick: a Bibliographic Introduction to the Higher Life Movements* (Wilmore, Kentucky: Asbury Theological Seminary, 1975), 63, for further sources.

Her description of the doctor is interesting: "He was more than an ordinary doctor, for he was a scientific man -- i.e. a man devoted to science." But his influence, apart from a prescription for bromide, was largely psychological:

He told me to go on with my work. After that I resolved I should never worry about my health again. Futile resolve! . . . When I found I could not keep my resolution, I determined I would hand over my health *objectively* to the keeping of a good doctor, and allow it no longer to be a matter of subjective consideration. All that spring he told me to go on working, and when I had a headache or could not sleep peacefully, he gave me bromide. His motto was: "Feed, feed, feed."

Her evangelical female relatives warned her to slow down: "Janet wrote warning me; Aunt Jane wrote warning me; Miss Sutton [?] never ceased to warn me; and worst of all my own conscience warned me every hour of the day." But Dougall persisted: "For it is quite possible to have a false conscience, or one that has been artificially produced. But above it all I felt certain I had done right to trust the doctor and not to my own varying feelings. A few days after the exam I was feeling as well as I had ever done in my life."

Her difficulties, Dougall realised, had not been physical:

I am forced to admit that the lion in the path, which so often nearly turned me out of the right way, was not a *real* lion. He was not only chained, but he was a ghost which my own disordered nerves conjured up to affright me, and I feel small hope but that this ghostly lion will stand in my path as long as I live: for looking back I know he was born with me and filled my earliest years with untold fears.⁸

The letter is revealing. Dougall was pursuing an unusual path and family warnings against her studies probably reflect the sense that academic work, especially the study of maths and Greek, was unsuitable and hence unhealthy for a woman. Dougall needed the strong support of an outside advisor to bolster her own flagging willpower. Curiously, though she tells the story "like a man in a 'Methodist class,'" faith plays no role in this narrative.

⁸Lily Dougall to Susan Dougall, Weltham House, Suffolk Road, Cheltenham, October 23, 1887. Cited in Earp. "Selected Letters," 76-78.

It is Dougall's own willpower that was at stake, and it was a man of science rather than a man of God who supported her. Dougall describes the restrictions of invalidism in the same terms she had earlier used to describe the limiting morality of evangelicalism. Invalidism had produced a "false conscience," an imaginary lion, like the "gruesome spectres" conjured up by evangelicalism.⁹ She turned to masculine science to aid her in resisting the warnings of her evangelical female relatives.

Although Dougall was remarkably productive in the decade after her Ventnor experience, her health problems were not entirely overcome; the "ghostly lion" continued to bar her way at times. When she returned to Canada (and significantly, to her family) in 1897, she found she was unable to spend the spring in Montreal, and travelled to North Carolina in 1897, to England in 1899, and California in 1900.¹⁰ On her return to England in 1903 she hoped to live in Oxford, but, as Earp put it "the asthma intervened." She regained her health in the recuperative quiet of Exmouth with Earp. "Year by year the asthma became less, and though the improvement was slow it was, on the whole, continuous."¹¹ The references to asthma in her later years usually refer to her strength in overcoming this disability. Friends describe her remarkable capacity for work in spite of her health problems.

As she recovered, she became more interested in the interplay of spirituality and health. In 1906, Dougall published her first article on health in the liberal theological

⁹"Evangelicalism had the power to transform into gruesome spectres all the beautiful things of God's creation." Lily Dougall, "Loveleen," p. 102, BL, LDP, 4.

¹⁰"I'll never face the melting of the snow again in Montreal if I can help it," Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, Washington, USA, [April 1898]. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 153. The following spring she spent with Earp in England.

¹¹Earp, "Selected Letters," 191, 192.

journal the *Hibbert Journal*.¹² Once again, she was at the forefront of ecclesiastical debate, two years ahead of the Anglican bishops who debated spiritual healing at the 1908 Lambeth Conference. The article was well received. Personal idealist, J.R. Illingworth, told a friend that there had been a good article published, "on disease not being according to God's will and His consequent readiness to remove it where there is faith -- a line of thought I have dwelt on much on of late."¹³ Illingworth, like Dougall, had struggled with poor health; he left Oxford for a quiet country parish (and married a nurse). Dougall's argument contradicted Illingworth's early work on "The Problem of Pain."¹⁴ He had argued that pain served God's purpose, whereas she argued that pain, like evil, was not part of God's purpose. But he shared her idea that God worked through the physical as well a spiritual world. In *Divine Immanence: An Essay on the Spiritual Significance of Matter* (1898), Illingworth had argued that "Christ was Lord of the material as well as of the spiritual order, and came not merely to teach, but to exercise absolute authority over

¹²[Lily Dougall], "The Salvation of the Body by Faith," *Hibbert Journal* 4, 3 (1906): 606-623. The article was later published in [Lily Dougall] *Christus Futurus* (London: Macmillan, 1907). See also a series of apparently unpublished manuscripts by Dougall in BL, LDP, 2: "Body and Soul," (written after 1914); "The Church and Christian Science"; "The Relation of the Church to Faith Healing," (labelled as a "memorandum submitted [possibly to the Guild of Health] by Miss Dougall, the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*," and "Wanted: A Wholesome Faith," 19 p. (written after 1918).

¹³John R. Illingworth to MCL, May 16, 1906. Cited in J. R. Illingworth, *The Life and Work of John Richardson Illingworth, as portrayed by his letters and illustrated by photographs* (London: John Murray, 1917), 245. He continued: "I think we ought to look on prayer as the normal means of getting healed, whether with or without -- but not of course necessarily without -- other means." And further: "one can only speak from one's own experience, and I myself believe that I have owed very much, and very definite assistance in health to prayer -- and therefore I cannot but recommend it to others . . ." J.R. Illingworth to M.S., December 28, 1909. (p. 253).

¹⁴ "The Problem of Pain," for *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*. Gore, Charles, ed. (London: John Murray, 1889).

the bodies as well as the souls of men.”¹⁵ He may have contacted Dougall; at any rate she was a frequent guest when she moved to nearby Cutts End. Dougall consulted with him on other theological matters, and it is likely that he influenced her ideas on healing.

Spiritual healing was a central component of the message of the “salvation by joy” in *Christus Futurus*, published the following year. Dougall argued again that suffering and pain were not part of God’s plan, that the faithful should expect physical as well as spiritual health in the coming Kingdom of God. “Jesus taught that health was God’s will, that it was an inevitable consequence of right faith.”¹⁶ She departed from the miracle-working faith healers, however, by arguing that the power of spiritual healing was not miraculous or supernatural but, like the newly discovered powers of radium, was part of the natural order. It was simply a matter of time before science could determine the mechanisms by which healers exercised their power. Even the biblical narratives of Christ’s healing powers were not miracles:

they were works as strictly conditioned by the natural sequences of cause and effect as any action of our own, the difference being they were conditioned by sequences of which we have only the slightest knowledge. ...[Christ] could only do

¹⁵He wrote: “Christ emphasizes the connection between sin and disease as two aspects of one disordered personality; and connects His healing of the one with His for giving of the other, as parts of the same redemptive work. He does not appear as the mere pitiful physician of exceptional ability; but as having power on earth to forgive sins, and therefore to remedy their physical effects. He claims to have come to destroy the dominion of evil in the world, by striking once for ever at its spiritual root; and as the sin of the soul has grown incorporate in the flesh He heals diseases, not only in mercy, but in actual manifestation of the change which He is come to effect in the entire personality of man. In other words, while Christ’s acts of physical healing are quite subordinate to His spiritual teaching, and are treated by Him as such, yet they are not merely incidental acts of mercy; they are integral parts of His entire work, an essential element in the total impression which He plainly designed to create, that he was Lord of the material as well as of the spiritual order, and came not merely to teach, but to exercise absolute authority over the bodies as well as the souls of men.” J. R. Illingworth, *Divine Immanence: An Essay on the Spiritual Significance of Matter* (London: Macmillan, 1898), 97, 98.

¹⁶[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, xiii.

them by taking the utmost advantage of the psychic and physical means that the strength of his personality put within his control.¹⁷

The Christian could, on a more limited scale, exercise the same “natural sequences of cause and effect.”

To understand these sequences of cause and effect, Dougall turned to the new science of psychology: first to members of the Society of Psychical Research, (SPR), who were earnestly and scientifically investigating psychic phenomena, and then, as the Great War brought new evidence of mind/body interaction in the form of shell shock, to the new practitioners of neurology and psychotherapy. These scientists had identified, in the “subconscious mind,” a new locus for the action of mind (and spirit) upon the physical body: “a subconscious but perfectly normal life power which can when it can be evoked cure organic disease, control the nerves and muscles as the conscious mind cannot”¹⁸ In *Christus Futurus*, Dougall drew upon the work of Swiss psychotherapist, Paul Dubois, and early neurologist, Alfred Taylor Schofield, to argue that the powers of the unconscious can be applied against illness. Dubois was the author of *The Psychic Treatment of Nervous Disorders*, and Schofield was the author of a curiously schizophrenic series of books on neurology and faith, such as *Nerves, in order and disorder: a plea for mental therapeutics* (1893), *The Knowledge of God: Its Meaning and Power* (1903) and *With Christ in Palestine: four addresses* (1906).¹⁹ The power of

¹⁷[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 268. This passage reflects the highly controversial modernist argument, most closely associated with the work of Hastings Rashdall, for a “degree divinity.” Rashdall argued that Christ’s divinity was a matter of degree, rather than a difference in kind, from humanity.

¹⁸Lily Dougall to Dougall family, May 21, 1908, BL, LDP, 1. She was reporting on the speech of the first woman president of the SPR, Mrs. Sidgwick.

¹⁹[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 217, 223. Paul Dubois, *The Psychic Treatment of Nervous Disorders (The Psychoneuroses and their Moral Treatment)* translated and edited by Smith Ely Jelliffe and William A.

the mind over psychological disturbances, or “functional” disorder, was widely accepted, but Dougall argued with Schofield that these powers must also extend over physical, or “organic” disease.

These arguments took on a familiar modernist tone when she criticised the Church of England for not following Christ’s example as healer, but rather persisting “in wailing that disease is the will of God.”²⁰ A subsequent novel, *Paths of the Righteous* (1908), presented the same ideas in fictional form.²¹ When an artist is injured, his young son runs to the church where a number of bishops are attending a service. He challenges them to follow Christ’s example and heal his father, and although a bishop finally acquiesces he can only sit helpless by the dying man’s side, evidence of the church’s impotence. Finally, an elderly lay evangelical is able to revive the man.

If psychology provided Dougall with a scientific basis for spiritual healing, movements like Mental Science provided practical application of “the new American psychology.” In 1908, Dougall attended Mental Science meetings at the same time as the annual meeting of the SPR, and she observed that the two were part of a single movement. She said that the “learned and (mostly) scientific people” of the SPR were investigating “(under other names) the powers that the mental scientists with all their eccentricity of

White, 7th ed. (1905; New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1909). Dubois argued that he had moved beyond hypnosis and suggestion to a form of persuasion or affirmation in “rational psychotherapeutics” (p. ix). Dougall does not explore these subtleties, but uses his work to affirm the power of the mind over the body.

²⁰[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, xiv. Her arguments are weak ones, if lyrically stated: She argues from the example of the healing practiced by the Christian Alliance, from the stories of Jesus healing in the Bible, and from a simple extension of logic: “To sum up. It is more difficult to believe that while many diseases may be cured by the right mental conditions, there are others over which such mental conditions have no influence, than to believe that all diseases come under the same natural laws, however powerless we may yet be to apply these laws.” [Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 222.

²¹Lily Dougall, *Paths of the Righteous* (London: Macmillan, 1908).

expression and effort were trying to bring into direct use. . . The great problem for the psychologist is how to get it to act. The Mental Scientists say yield it to God, trust God with it, and it will act.”²² She described the mental realisation practised by the Mental Scientists in a letter to her family as a “law of spiritual life,” working through “the mental image in the human mind.”²³ At the time, Dougall was impressed enough at the power of the Mental Science meetings to take up the offer of a friend who was “one of the all-round Christians in the Mental Science Movement” to take her sister, Susan, “into the silence” which, she noted “is their paraphrase for prayer.”²⁴ She was, however, quickly disillusioned by the excesses of the Mental Science movement, as we saw in Chapter Ten. In 1914 she turned to an Anglican alternative, the Guild of Health.

²²Lily Dougall to Dougall family, London, May 21, 1908. BL, LDP, 1. She later referred to the mental science movement as the “New American School of Psychology.” Lily Dougall, “The Spirit in the Church,” *The Interpreter* 19-20 (1922-24): 38-39.

²³[I]t seems to me that there is a definite law of spiritual life indicated by all the history of prayer and at present there is some fair presumption that this law is not altogether mistaken when we describe it as working by or through the mental image in the human mind. As we think of ourselves so we become, as we think of others so they are apt to become. As we think of ourselves so others are apt to think of us, and our thoughts of them are likely to affect their thoughts of themselves. In all this action and inaction of thought in any circle who are habituated follow thoughts of their own physical and mental or nervous power, it requires a tremendous effort of mind and will to look up and realise that in the will of God perfection and power in all ways is already realised for each of us and that just as we by faith unwaveringly make a mental realisation of it it will become real in the visible world.” Lily Dougall to Dougall family, 181 Cromwell St., South Kensington, May 22, 1908, p.7, BL, LDP, 1.

²⁴Lily Dougall to John Dougall, May 16, 1908, BL, LDP, 1. Earp omitted this letter when she compiled Dougall’s letters for publication. She was probably embarrassed by Dougall’s degree of involvement.

12.2 The Guild of Health

The Guild of Health had been organised in 1904 by Percy Dearmer, Conrad Noel, and Rev. B. Lombard to provide an alternative to unorthodox health movements.²⁵ As Noel noted,

The idea was that Christian Science and other health movements outside the Church had been driven into heresy by the Church herself having forgotten to preach spiritual healing and having lost the power to practise it. Hence this revival in the Church of England. I think the Guild of Health was the parent society from which various other mental-healing societies sprang.²⁶

They promoted the idea among progressive members throughout the Commonwealth and drew a membership of 400 to monthly meetings and occasional services in London. In 1905, the movement expanded and spread outside London, making its centre in Dearmer's parish. Harold Anson and G.K. Chesterton spoke at meetings. In 1907 Conrad Noel and then Dearmer left because of differences "on matters of policy," and Rev. F.B. Boyd took on leadership in 1908. Membership declined to 350 by 1913.²⁷

²⁵Mary Baker Eddy had launched Christian Science officially in Britain when she sent the first lecturer in 1897. J.M. Hickson founded the Society of Emmanuel, an evangelical healing group, in 1905, one year after the Guild. See Stuart Mews, "The Revival of Spiritual Healing in the Church of England, 1920-1926," in *The Church and Healing*, ed. W. J. Shiels (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 311. In 1908, the Lambeth conference discussed spiritual healing at the request of American bishops who wanted to co-ordinate their response to Christian Science.

²⁶Cited without attribution, probably from personal correspondence, in Dearmer, *Percy Dearmer*, 187.

²⁷Details on the early organisation are included in the "Letter to the Members of the Guild of Health," printed sheet, June 11, 1918, BL, LDP, 5. A short history is published by the Guild of Health: Geoffrey C. Harding, "The First 75 Years of the Guild of Health," (London: The Guild of Health, 1983). Dearmer's involvement is described in Nan Dearmer, *The Life of Percy Dearmer* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1941). Details differ. The letter describes Lombard as the leader, but Nan Dearmer identifies Percy Dearmer as chairman, Lombard as honorary secretary, and Noel as a third member of the organizing committee (p.187). It is possible that Dougall was a member of this early guild; however Earp makes no mention of any affiliation before 1913.

Dearmer and Anson approached Dougall in June, 1913, at the Swanwick Conference on Social Service, to ask to her assist in the revitalisation of the Guild:

“[T]here were a number of men there who were determined that I should help them to draw up a basis for the new Guild of Health, and we had private confabulations at all hours. I like them very much, especially Mr. [Anson], editor of *The Commonwealth*. We got our minds cleared up on the health subject.”²⁸ She quickly became a key member of the Guild. In 1914, she hosted a conference at Cutts End on “the Relation of Spiritual Health to Bodily Health,” and held a subsequent meeting in July of 1915.²⁹ In 1916, she wrote a book for the Guild, *The Christian Doctrine of Health: A Handbook on the Relation of Bodily to Spiritual and Moral Health*, and invited Anson to write an essay, “Prayer and Bodily Health,” for *Concerning Prayer* (1916).³⁰

²⁸LD to [?], July 5, 1913, Melbourne Derbyshire. Cited in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 234. See also p. 251. Harold Anson was also active in other progressive church movements: the City Temple ministry with Maude Royden, and the Anglican Fellowship. See Harold Anson, *Looking Forward* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1938).

²⁹Participants included Miss Reed, Miss Hewitt, Mme. Maseryk, Mrs. Alexander Whyte, Dr. David Cairns, Rev. Harold Anson, Rev. Maurice Richmond, and Dr. Ash. Dr. Ash is no doubt the Dr. Edwin Ash, formerly of St. Mary’s Hospital, London, and author of *Mental Self Help* and *Dorothy Kernin*, whose assistance is acknowledged in a note in the ensuing handbook, Lily Dougall’s *Christian Doctrine of Health*. Entries in Dougall’s Visitor Book describe one visit, Monday, March 19 to Friday, March 25, with Miss Sturges, Mrs. Barclay, B.H.S.[Streeter], Miss Toynbee, Dr. Gillett, Dr. MacDougall, and a second visit July 28–August 2–4, with Mrs. Whyte, Miss Hill[?] Harrison, Mrs. Hewitt, Miss Reid, Miss Haley, Miss Pattison, Olga Maseryk, Dr. Ash and Dr. Cairns.

³⁰Lily Dougall, *The Christian Doctrine of Health, A Handbook on the Relation of Bodily to Spiritual and Moral Health* (London: Macmillans, 1916; 3d ed. rev. London: Guild of Health, 1921). Citations are from the 1916 edition. She also wrote the Guild’s first pamphlet, “The Functions of the Guild of Health,” as well as promotional articles for liberal journals, such as Lily Dougall, “Christianity and Psychic Healing,” *The Modern Churchman* 9 (1919–1920): 360–368.

In his article Harold Anson called upon religious teachers to co-operate with psychologists and psychotherapists in their researches “without forgetting that religion should aim at something more fundamental than providing a contented and healthy mind.” Anson, “Prayer and Bodily Health,” in *Concerning Prayer* (London: Macmillan, 1916), 332.

The Guild was organised by progressive Christian socialists who aimed to dissociate the "vital truth" that is taught in "certain societies" (such as Mental Science), and reinstate this truth in a Christian setting.³¹ It negotiated its position on spiritual healing within a wider Anglican healing movement that spanned the spectrum from the "miracle-mongering" of the Divine Healing Movement led by J.M. Hickson, to the sacramental use of holy oil by the High Church Guild of St. Raphael.³² Unlike these

fundamental than providing a contented and healthy mind." Anson, "Prayer and Bodily Health," in *Concerning Prayer* (London: Macmillan, 1916), 332.

³¹Dearmer and Anson were both leading Christian socialists. Anson as editor of the *Commonwealth* and Dearmer as secretary of the Christian Social Union, they were involved with Maude Royden in the Guild House and active in the Anglican Fellowship. Maude Royden was a member of the Guild committee in the 1920s. See the endpapers of Dougall, *The Christian Doctrine of Health* (first edition). The centrality of New Thought, and perhaps the slightly mocking attitude toward it, is evident in a remark by Dr. Anson, on being disturbed at night, "He said he got to sleep by repeating that there was no such thing as talking or disturbance in Divine Mind!" D.S. Cairns (David) to Lily Dougall, Aberfoyle, August 4, 1916. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 252. See Lily Dougall, "The Church and Christian Science," Unpublished (?) manuscript. BL. LDP. 2. She argues that the strength of Christian Science is due to "neglect by the Church of one part of the Apostolic Commission."

³²J.M. Hickson founded the Society of Emmanuel, an evangelical healing group, in 1905, one year after the Guild. The phrase, "miracle-mongering," was coined by modernist, W.R. Inge. Mews, "Spiritual Healing," 304, 311. The origin of the Guild of St. Raphael is less clear. Stuart Mews says that it was started by disaffected High Church members of the Anglican Guild of Health *after* that Guild became ecumenical. Mews, "Spiritual Healing," 311. Dougall's records and Guild of Health documents, however, suggest that the High Church group started before this time. A printed letter among Dougall's papers, advocating ecumenicism, and referring to the existence of the Guild of St. Raphael suggests that this organisation already existed, although its membership may have been increased subsequently by disaffected members (see note 39). Geoffrey C. Harding says that the Guild of St. Raphael was started in 1915 by a group of High Churchmen who felt that the Guild did not represent Catholic values. The Guild of Health only became ecumenical three years later.

It is not clear whether the Guild of Health endorsed the Anglican ritual of anointing with oil. Mews says that Harold Anson and the Guild used oil. Mews, "The Revival of Spiritual Healing," 324, and Robert Mullin says that Dearmer used it. Robert Bruce Mullin, "The Debate over Religion and Healing in the Episcopal Church: 1870-1930," *Anglican Episcopal History*, 60, 2 (1991): 228. Dougall, however, explained at length in a letter why the Guild did not endorse it. See Lily Dougall to the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Ridgeway, November, 1916. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 256-259.

In 1922, John Maillard, who had taken over the work of J.M. Hickson in the Spiritual Healing Fellowship, suggested that the Guild unite with his organisation and the Guild of St. Raphael. The Guild of St. Raphael refused. For Anson's description of the differences between the Guild of Health and the other movements, see *Looking Forward*, 177.

See Mullin, "Religion and Healing," for a sensitive discussion of the theological differences between the healing movements in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. Closest theologically to the Anglican Guild of Health was the American Emmanuel Movement led by Elwood Worcestor and the Oxford-educated cleric, Samuel McComb. McComb contributed to the British debate through his article, "Christianity as Healing Power," *Hibbert Journal* 8 (1909): 10-27. Mullin says that

groups, both of which emphasised the miraculous nature of the cure and the role of a lay healer or priest, the Guild eschewed dramatic public healing for a gradual and personal improvement in health. The Guild, Anson explained, "aims at not merely removing physical symptoms, but at reconstructing the spiritual basis of life." As Dougall argued: "it is a poor thing to base merely faith in occasional miracles of healing upon the conviction of God's love. . . ." ³³ Rather than appeal to miracles, Guild workers like Dougall appealed to the authority of science. In the *Christian Doctrine of Health*, she cited William James and a number of lesser known psychologists and acknowledged in a prominent note the assistance of Dr. Edwin Ash, "formerly of St. Mary's Hospital, London, author of *Mental Self-Help* etc.," and Dr. Jane Walker, a fellow member of the Guild. Perhaps most telling, she cites the British Medical Journal, side by side with the Bible, on the title page. ³⁴

The medical profession was positive, while many members of the Anglican Church were suspicious of the Guild. ³⁵ Although the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Worcester acted as patrons, Bishop Gore's response to a copy of Dougall's *Christian*

the Emmanuel Movement was succeeded by the American Guild of Health, presumably an offshoot of the British Guild of Health. Mullin, "Religion and Healing," 220-221.

³³[Dougall], *Christian Doctrine of Health*, 196.

³⁴[Dougall], *Christian Doctrine of Health*, 54, n.1; 74, n.1, 92. Psychologists include Edwin L. Ash, Hudson, author of *The Law of Mental Medicine*, and Bernard Hart, author of *The Psychology of Insanity*. Jane Walker, who was born one year after Dougall, in 1859, was a specialist in tuberculosis, and was one of the members of the Guild who met at Dougall's home. At this time, she had started the East Anglian Sanatorium where she pioneered an open-air treatment of tuberculosis. She was the founder of the Medical Women's Federation. Walker had studied at the London School of Medicine for Women, and in Vienna, and was in general practice until 1901, when she founded the East Anglian Sanatorium. She expanded the sanatorium to include a department for the working class in 1904, for children in 1912, for soldiers in 1916, and for officers in 1919. She wrote *A Book for Every Woman* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1895-97), and *The Modern Nursing of Consumption*, 2nd ed. (London: Scientific Press, 1904;1924). She died in 1938. See *Who was Who, 1929-40*, Vol. III (London: A.& C. Black, 1941).

Doctrine of Health was guarded.³⁶ This was in part because of the combative modernist terms in which its positions were expressed: a heading in one of Dougall's articles read, "How the Church Came to Neglect our Lord's Commission to the Sick."³⁷ In 1918, at Lily Dougall's urging, the Guild of Health became ecumenical.³⁸ The Guild appears to have struggled at this time with attempts to set up study circles (like those in the Anglican

³⁵Many of the Anglican clergy, and the more "saintly" of the lay people were sceptical, she reported to her brother, but the hitherto irreligious, and the medical profession, were responsive. Lily Dougall to John R. Dougall, Cumnor, Oxford, July 27, 1915. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 243.

³⁶Bishop Gore wrote, somewhat dismissively, in response to a copy of Dougall's book. "I agree with you in the main. At times I doubt. I seem myself to be able (or to conceive easily that I should be more able) to triumph over some ailments by faith and not over others. Of these others some can be attributed to Satan but not all. Are not these God's work of judgement? Please don't trouble to reply. I agree as to the Church's duty to *fight* disease. Yours very truly. C Oxon." January 16, 1917, Cuddesdon, Wheatley. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 259.

³⁷See also two apparently unpublished articles: Lily Dougall, "Wanted: A Wholesome Faith," 19 p. manuscript, BL, LDP, 2. In this article, she suggests that the church was losing its more progressive members by neglecting bodily healing. Lily Dougall "The Relation of the Church to Faith Healing" BL, LDP, 2. This paper is described as "a memorandum submitted by Miss Dougall, author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*." It is not clear to whom it was submitted.

³⁸Harold Anson gives Dougall credit for the change. Anson, *Looking Forward*, 206. A printed letter among Dougall's papers, probably written by Dougall, or with her assistance, presents the arguments for becoming ecumenical, for a coming annual meeting: "We know that we can bring to over-strained nerves and crippled bodies the Christian message that health is of God, and that in the Gospel of Christ there is salvation for mind and body as well as for soul, but if we would so proclaim this message as to serve the national emergency we must make our work truly national by making it one of those inter-denominational activities which the authorities of our own church are advising." The letter cites the examples of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 and the Student Christian Movement, to prove that interdenominational does not mean undenominational. It says that Nonconformists would welcome the Guild, and argues that the work needs broadening, but the Anglican clergy too busy, and inclined to turn to Guild of St. Raphael "which can afford a centre for all who wish to work on a strictly church basis." The idea was endorsed by the Bishop of Winchester, Mr. Cecil Harris, Mr. Noel Buxton, Dr. Dearmer, the present chair and two secretaries, Rev. Lensood of the London Missionary Society and four Nonconformist ministers. In a toughly worded conclusion, the letter warns of the potential loss of progressive members if the Guild did not change.

This proposal was implemented, as Dougall put it, and the guild "once merely Anglican, [is] now nondenominational." Lily Dougall, "Wanted: A Wholesome Faith," 19 p. manuscript, BL, LDP, 2. But an additional suggestion in this letter, that the name be changed to The Fellowship of Faith and Health to avoid confusion with Guild of Help, was not acted upon.

For Anson's description of the differences between the Guild of Health and the other movements, see *Looking Forward*, 177.

Fellowship) and “frequent reversals of policy.”³⁹ It was still closely affiliated with the Anglican Church, and when the Lambeth Conference appointed a committee to look into spiritual healing, a number of Dougall’s associates were involved: J.A. Hadfield, B.H. Streeter, Harold Anson, and Dr. Jane Walker. The committee was divided and only reported in 1924.⁴⁰

Dougall’s handbook on spiritual healing, *Christian Doctrine of Health*, was probably one of her most influential books. It was published in Britain and the United States and widely distributed to Guild of Health Study Groups. Unfortunately, it was one of her weakest. It was both a promotional manual, convincing readers of the rational basis of spiritual healing, and a practical guide, with advice, including a chapter on “Child Training,” about how to pray for health. The book showed signs of having been written for a committee, and lacked the humour and iconoclastic spirit of her early work. It was earnest, pretentious in its laying out of propositions (propositions whose logic is questionable to say the least), pedantic in some of its phrasing, and replete with overwrought sentimentality.⁴¹ Dougall was aware of this, apologising to Dr. Ridgeway,

³⁹Earp’s comments were made as part of an argument for a new British edition of *The Christian Doctrine of Health*: “The Guild paid for an edition which had been printed and sold it out very quickly and a good profit. The Guild is not a publishing house it prints privately and is managed by a large committee with frequent reversals of policy. It decided to organise Study Circles everywhere hence the breaking up of my book into pamphlet form. It then gave up the plan of study circles and thus had no interest in publishing the pamphlet. It has no capital and finds the outlay for larger book difficult. It is quite possible that there is not further demand for this or any book of its kind in England. I have no means of knowing that. But certainly there is no proof in what has occurred that the book will not sell.” Sophie Earp to W.H. Murray, July 12, 1923, BL, LDP, 6.

⁴⁰See Mews, “Spiritual Healing,” for a discussion of the operations of the committee and its findings. For a good contemporary discussion of the issues, see, the Bishop of Durham, “Spiritual Healing,” *Hibbert Journal* 24 (1925): 385-401, and the response by Harold Anson, “Spiritual Healing – What is it? A Reply to the Bishop of Durham,” *Hibbert Journal* 24 (1925): 101-111.

⁴¹Dougall followed the practice of academic and theological texts by prefacing each chapter with an outline of the argument of the chapter. One of her more illogical summaries, on what is a central point in her argument, is as follows:

the Bishop of Salisbury: "I am fully aware it has many weaknesses, but it was written in response to a real demand, and had to be produced amid a conflict of duties."⁴² The year 1916 was a busy one, which also saw her first paper delivered at a modernist conference, as well as the production of her first collaborative book, *Concerning Prayer*.

Sales of the book seem to have reflected the public interest in the issue. A letter from George Macmillan indicates that the book sold 1,050 copies by 1917. He noted in this and a subsequent letter, that later sales were disappointing.⁴³ When spiritual healing became controversial again in the 1920's, with a new Lambeth committee appointed and further faith healing rallies by Hickson, the Guild of Health published a third revised edition. A revised American edition came out in 1923. At the same time Dearmer published a new American edition of his 1909 book, *Body and Soul*, and Anson wrote *Spiritual Healing: A Discussion of the Religious Element in Physical Health*.⁴⁴

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1. We must assume health to be always in accordance with God's will, because:
 - a. It would be impossible to write a hymn in honour of God's creation and describe the object as diseased and producing diseased progeny after their kind.
 - b. It is our duty to devote our whole powers --heart, mind, strength etc. -- to the love of God and to bringing about His righteousness on earth, and disease impairs these powers.
 - c. All sick people have to be constantly served, and the Christian is not in this world to be served, but to serve.
 - d. So many forms of sickness are known to be the result, if not of individual, of racial sin; there is therefore a strong presumption on this ground that all blights and diseases have this origin.
 - e. Jesus taught that Disease was Satanic in its origin.
- Dougall, *Christian Doctrine of Health*, 120.

⁴²LD to Bishop of Salisbury, November, 1916, Cumnor, Oxford. Earp, "Selected Letters," 256-257.

⁴³George Macmillan to Lily Dougall, February 10, 1917, and February 11, 1918, BL, LDP, 6.

⁴⁴W.H. Murray, Religious Books Dept., Macmillan Publishing, New York to Lily Dougall, July 11, 1923; and Sophie Earp to W.H. Murray, July 12, 1923, BL, LDP, 6. He refers to plans to publish a revised American edition. She had evidently pressed for a revised British edition as well. Percy Dearmer, *Body and Soul, An Enquiry into the Effects of Religion on Health with a Description of Christian Works of Healing from the New Testament to the Present Day* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1909; New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1923). Harold Anson, *Spiritual Healing: A Discussion of the Religious Element in Physical Health* (London: University Press, 1923). Percy Dearmer also contributed several

The Christian Doctrine of Health appealed to the authority of science and the Bible. In chapters called, "What is Health?" "What is Disease?" and "What is Mental Health?" Dougall cited William James and a number of lesser known psychologists.⁴⁵ She referred to early Gospel stories of healing. Her practical advice for spiritual healing, however, is couched in terms drawn from the Mental Science movement. She described God as a creative power welling up and informing from within. "Upon this splendid foundation we ought to ground a belief in the constant outflow of His power to usward, which will be exhibited in our moral and physical health" Her description of prayer, while it is informed by her evangelical childhood and Anglican faith, includes elements of the realisation or appropriation that is typical of New Thought.⁴⁶ "The convinced soul must resolutely live according to his conviction. The bodily state must cease to be an anxiety; the trouble must be cast entirely upon God."⁴⁷ The book was, however, a pale reflection of the powerful affirmations of the Mental Science movement.

pamphlets: "Christian Science and Spiritual Healing," "The Inner Health Movement," and "The Thorn in the Flesh."

⁴⁵[Dougall], *Christian Doctrine of Health*, 54, n.1; 74, n.1, 92. Psychologists include Edwin L. Ash, (see note 81), Hudson, *The Law of Mental Medicine*, and Bernard Hart, *The Psychology of Insanity*.

⁴⁶[Dougall], *Christian Doctrine of Health*, 142.

⁴⁷[Dougall], *Christian Doctrine of Health*, 173. See also p. 142.

She reiterated these ideas in a promotional article for *The Modern Churchman* in 1919: "The faith that God is the God of health, that the indwelling Spirit can, and will, enhance the bodily and mental powers in response to faith, makes all work easier, makes all leisure more delightful. As the religion of Christ teaches that God's will for man is health, physical and psychic, the Christian, if he trains himself to look to the Holy Spirit for health and ability, will by experience understand what is meant by our Lord's formula, 'Your faith has made you whole.' . . . The condition which the psycho-therapist desires to induce in the soul of the patient ought to be the moral outcome of Christian faith. What is this condition? With regard to the past, it is freedom from all burden of sin or shame or horror. With regard to the present, it is an outlook of security and well-being, of harmony with the seen and unseen elements in life; and, with regard to the future, a cheerful and absorbing purpose to be pursued with courage and hope. All this the Christian faith, rightly apprehended and ardently practised, supplies." The article was intended to recruit members. She describes the Guild as a society "endeavouring to form study circles for the devout consideration of this whole subject," and calls upon readers to join, or at least apply the teachings to their

A private letter written to her childhood friend, Katie Drummond, in 1912, reveals the personal experience behind the public statements:

I find all the health I have comes to me from the belief that health is the will of God, that it is ours as we take it from Him in faith, but I do not always or ever perfectly live up to my privileges. . . . I am quite sure that the relief is there for us all, just in so far as we can grasp it. It does not depend on anything more God does for us; it depends on us putting our roots deeper into the Source of our being, as flowers send their roots into his earth and bring up what they need.⁴⁸

The letter suggests (and further research into the Guild may confirm) that the group drew upon the mystical teaching so popular at this time. It appears that the Guild had a strongly contemplative element: the mystic Evelyn Underhill was a member, and Baron Von Hugel was cited as an authority in Guild documents.⁴⁹

A letter from Dougall to Presbyterian theologian David S. Cairns, written after one of the Guild of Health conferences at Cumnor, suggests the importance of this contemplative element, and her sense of responsibility in this regard.⁵⁰ She told Cairns that she had been disappointed by the conference, and that despite the successes, an inner vision reminded her of the urgency of the work to be done. She concluded that they failed to meet the ideal mix of inward contemplation and spiritual fellowship in their conference.

I failed to do this in our little conference, and I take the entire blame onto myself. I had not thought it out, or torn myself from other things to make adequate preparation for the event. I am writing this to you when it seems to me I ought to be writing something else because I want to impart, if I

lives. Lily Dougall, "Christianity and Psychic Healing," *The Modern Churchman* 9 (1919-1920): 360-368.

⁴⁸Lily Dougall to Katie Drummond, The Church House, Melbourne, Derby, January 7, 1912, cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 226.

⁴⁹See Harding, "The Guild of Health," unpaginated.

⁵⁰David S. Cairns, of Aberdeen University, was a frequent speaker in the Student Christian Movement. See Tissington Tatlow, *The Story of the Student Christian Movement* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1933), passim.

can, my conviction that just beyond our present grasp -- not far off in time or in processes of thought -- there is something much great and deeper.⁵¹

It was only after Lily Dougall's death that her work came to fruition. J.M. Hickson's mass spiritual healing meetings in 1924 raised the ire of the Bishop of Durham, Hensley Henson, and the modernist Dean of St. Paul's, W.R. Inge, and galvanized the church. William Temple, the liberal Archbishop of Canterbury, promoted the Guild's work and it reached its greatest influence in the 1930s.⁵² Even as the Guild expanded, however, the grounds upon which Dougall had based her work, the underlying religious basis of early psychology, were slipping away.

12.1 The Society for Psychical Research

To understand Dougall's fascination with psychology, we need to return to her early years in England when she became involved with the new science in its early stages in the form of the British Society for Psychical Research (SPR).⁵³ The Society was more compatible with her religious interests than its name might suggest. Under the presidency of

⁵¹Earp, "Selected Letters," 255.

⁵² The Guild continued to operate in 1996 from its base in Edward Wilson House, 26 Queen St., London., W1M 9LB, off Harley St.

⁵³ Dougall said she had been a member for over 25 years. Although this remark is not dated, it places her membership in the late 1890's at the earliest. See Lily Dougall, "The Life Beyond, The Relation of the Mortal to the Immortal Life," typescript, 16 p., BL, LDP, 2, p.10. Her meetings with Myers, described below, suggest she was a well-established member by 1895. Dougall's papers originally included broken sets of the Proceedings (1900-1923) and the Journal (1899-1919) of the Society of Psychical Research. The frequent inclusion of articles about SPR or by Oliver Lodge in *World Wide* also reflect Dougall's interest in the organisation.

Dougall's literary advisor, the highly respected Henry Sidgwick, the SPR attracted an illustrious membership, including eminent academics, rising politicians, numerous writers, and, more surprisingly, many Anglican curates, vicars, deans, canons, and even bishops.⁵⁴ Modernists and personal idealists were well represented: personal idealist A.J. Balfour was president of the SPR from 1893, and the Bishop of Ripon, William Boyd Carpenter, founder of the modernist Ripon College, became the president in 1912 after he retired. As Janet Oppenheim has argued in *The Other World*, the SPR had at base a religious purpose; many members of the SPR conducted research into psychic phenomena to provide an empirical base for a renewed universal faith. Although they spoke as scientists, their underlying goal was to prove the inadequacy of materialism. Oppenheim notes:

[R]eligion was at the root of their enquiries, for religious yearnings -- sometimes no more than a vague spiritual malaise -- had played a role in bringing them together in the study of psychical phenomena Although repudiating orthodox Christianity, they longed to find some other basis for the ethical precepts they cherished and some reassurance that all human suffering was not utterly devoid of purpose. Implicitly they sought to use science to disclose the inadequacies of a materialist world view and to suggest how much of cosmic significance scientific materialism failed to explain.⁵⁵

Dougall certainly had a religious basis for her interest in the SPR, but it differed subtly from that described by Oppenheim. She assumed that that the material and spiritual

⁵⁴Sidgwick, who had resigned his fellowship at Cambridge because he could no longer believe the Apostles Creed, spent the rest of his life examining telepathy and similar phenomena in order to find new evidence of a spiritual world and a new basis for religious belief and ethical conduct. Oppenheim describes the eminence of the membership and leadership of the SPR which included, for example, in 1887, Gladstone, Ruskin, and Lord Tennyson among its honorary members. Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World, Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 135.

⁵⁵Oppenheim, *The Other World*, 52.

worlds were, ultimately, compatible. As she had said, “every scrap of truth that human beings can discover helps to educate their souls for the ultimate enjoyment of God. . . .”⁵⁶

Dougall’s interest in psychic phenomena, however, was not purely the high-minded pursuit of truth. She had enjoyed the titillation of the supernatural since her adolescence. Letters describe the thrill of nights in a haunted house and her early experiments in table tapping. The researches of the SPR allowed her to indulge in this interest for irreproachable scientific purposes. We can observe the same ambiguity at work in her novels. The novels make full melodramatic use of supernatural devices – mermaids, ghosts, flickering lights, corpses rising from coffins – but then claim a serious purpose. *The Mermaid* (1895) was a provocative story, laced with the supernatural, and seductive, appearance of the mermaid, but it fell flat on the last pages when it was revealed that the mermaid was Madame Le Maître swimming in costume. The underlying message, that Le Maître was a saintly woman whose life pointed more surely to the supernatural than any mermaid, only annoyed her readers.

In the spring of 1895, Dougall’s fascination with psychic phenomena took a more serious turn. Interested in further integrating the findings of the Society into her writing, she sought an interview with a leading member of the SPR, Mr. W.H.F. Myers. Myers was best known for developing the concept of telepathy and his theory of the “subliminal self.”⁵⁷ Myers told Dougall he had enjoyed *Beggars All* (1891) and *What*

⁵⁶ Lily Dougall, “The Life Beyond, The Relation of the Mortal to the Immortal Life,” typescript, 16 p., BL, LDP, 2, p.10.

⁵⁷For an introduction to Myers’ work, see Oppenheim, *The Other World*, and F.M. Turner, *Between Science and Religion: The Reaction to Scientific Naturalism in late Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

Necessity Knows (1893), in spite of his usual dislike of psychical novels, and he encouraged her to write “such an one as was really wanted.”⁵⁸ He provided her with a list of readings. A year later she found the ideal subject for such a novel, Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, whose career, Dougall argued, revealed the necessity for “able and unprejudiced research” along the lines conducted by the SPR.⁵⁹ The resulting book took nearly three years to complete, and is one of Dougall’s most interesting pieces of work.

The plot of *The Mormon Prophet* is centred on a young woman, Susannah, who leaves an orthodox adoptive home (Dougall describes it as Calvinism tempered by waves of Methodist revivalism) to join the Mormons.⁶⁰ Susannah marries a Quaker convert to Mormonism, the aptly named Angel Halsey, who brings a genuine, if naive, faith into the sect. He dies in the routing of the Mormons, and Susannah suffers under the subsequent persecution of the sect. She stays with the Mormons until they establish themselves in what is described as cheap splendour in Navoo, where, persistently courted by Smith as a second wife, and threatened by his followers, she makes a dramatic escape.

In *The Mormon Prophet*, Dougall invokes the new concepts of the emerging science of psychology to explain supernatural phenomena. She suggests that Joseph Smith’s power over people was the result of magnetism.⁶¹ Susannah was hypnotised by Smith: “[Susannah] had never heard of crystal-gazing; the phrase “mental automatism”

⁵⁸Letter quoted in Earp, “Selected Letters,” 142. (No addressee, or date.) She visited Myers on April 18, 1895, Diary, BL, LDP, 1.

⁵⁹L. Dougall, *Mormon Prophet* (London: A.C. Black, 1899), ix.

⁶⁰Dougall, *Prophet*, 4.

⁶¹Dougall, *Prophet*, 153.

had not then been invented by psychologists; still less could she suspect that she herself might have come partially under the influence of hypnotic suggestion.” Without knowledge of psychology, Susannah is vulnerable to Smith’s powers:

Her gentle intelligence was puzzled, as all the candid historians of this man have since been puzzled. Then, tired of the puzzle, she fell again to contemplating scraps of his speech, which, having a Scriptural sound, suggested piety. . . . How strange if, impossible as it might seem, these words had come to her -- to her -- direct from the mind of the Almighty! ⁶²

At the end of the novel, hard experience has taught her to make the distinction between the mind of the Almighty and Smith’s delusions and misrepresentations. When he insists that they marry she tells Smith: “It is not enough for me that you say the Lord has spoken.”⁶³

Dougall is also critical of cheap psychological trips employed by sectarian leaders. Susannah’s Mormon husband, Angel Halsey, who had been a Quaker, also appeals to the nervous susceptibilities of his audience. The holiness revivalist, Charles Grandison Finney, makes a guest appearance, and sets off sectarian violence, including the tarring and feathering of Susannah’s husband, through his sincere but misguided religious agitation.⁶⁴ When Susannah attends one of Finney’s revivals, she is struck by the similarities to Halsey’s preaching as a Mormon. “Accustomed as she was to excitement in the meetings of the Saints, her mind easily resisted the infectious influence. Finney’s teaching had not

⁶²Dougall, *Prophet*, 49.

⁶³Dougall, *Prophet*, 361.

⁶⁴“Of all the human beings she had ever met, this remarkable evangelist [Finney] most impressed her as a man who had intimate dealing, awful yet friendly, with an unseen power.” Dougall, *Prophet*, 158. Finney is defended against his orthodox critics “who, thinking that a man’s change of mind must needs be so slow a thing, some of them, gray haired, had not, as yet produced this change in a single sinner” (p.184) For Halsey’s spirituality, see pp. 74, 133.

differed in any respect from the doctrine which she had heard from her husband daily, a doctrine which she knew by experience did not save men from delusion and rancour.” When a man falls prostrate, Susannah, accustomed to the nervous affections among Mormons, is indifferent.⁶⁵

Yet Dougall did not dismiss all religious experience as psychological delusion. Halsey and Finney are both seen to have genuine access to the divine; their weakness lies in taking advantage of the susceptibilities of their audience. More significantly, in the dramatic conclusion of the novel, God speaks directly to Susannah: “She felt pressed upon by a spiritual life external to her own. Within her soul from some unknown depth the word arose distinctly as if spoken, ‘Pray, You cannot save yourself. Pray.’” She resists.

Susannah had come to class all search for definite and material answer to prayer as one of the superstitions of false religion. In this category stood also the hearing of voices and obedience to monitions from the unseen. Now she reproached herself because she could not immediately silence this fancy of disturbed nerves.⁶⁶

She challenges the unseen power to prove itself by saving her. The following morning, in response to an irresistible directive, she makes a miraculous escape. She realises that God had directed her: “beyond and beneath all this confusion of pain there was for her and for all men an eternal and beneficent purpose.”⁶⁷ We can see here Dougall toying with a psychological interpretation of religious phenomena, but then backing away. On the one hand, she brings psychology to bear upon the visions and illusions of the Mormons, and the enthusiasms of revivalists; but on the other, she acknowledges the eternal and

⁶⁵Dougall, *Prophet*, 169-171.

⁶⁶Dougall, *Prophet*, 391.

⁶⁷Dougall, *Prophet*, 406.

beneficent purpose that informed Finney and Halsey's faith, and provided supernatural guidance in Susannah's escape.

Psychology served to explain religious delusion; its science might be applied to Mormonism without controversy. As Henry Sidgwick said in a complimentary letter: "I have no doubt that [Dougall] is right in thinking that the investigations of the SPR are likely to throw light on the psychological problems presented by the characters and actions of the founders of false religions [T]he story has the distinction of style and delicacy of spiritual insight which characterise Miss Dougall's other works."⁶⁸ Sidgwick did not speculate about the application of these investigations to religions that are not false, but it is a question that hangs unanswered in the conclusion to the novel. What is there to distinguish between the answer to Susannah's final prayer, and the answers Joseph Smith receives in his visions?

Letters suggest that writing *The Mormon Prophet* caused Dougall some trouble. After writing a few chapters she was unable to continue.⁶⁹ She was tackling more complex issues than she had in earlier works and it may be that it was difficult to reconcile psychology and faith. Just as she had turned to Edward Caird and William Wallace to work out the idealism informing *The Zeit Geist*, she now turned to the father of the psychology of religion, William James. James had served as president of the SPR from 1894-1895 and accepted many of Myers' theories about telepathy and the workings of the

⁶⁸Henry Sidgwick to Sophie Earp. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 165.

⁶⁹Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, October 12, 1896, Ivy Montreal. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 144. The difficulties were prolonged. She put the novel aside as she nursed her aunt until her death in August 1897. Dougall continued to struggle with depression and ill health, before revising the manuscript in June, 1898, and finally publishing it in 1899. See the discussion of her loss in confidence in Chapter Five.

subliminal mind. He agreed with Dougall about the psychological basis of Smith's visions and illusions, although he was sceptical about her reliance on telepathy as an explanatory device for levitation. She told Earp:

He was quite clear that visions that come in answer to prayer -- such as the vision of the gold plates to the three witnesses-- were the result of "self-suggestion." But when I tried to make him say that "levitation" -- of which there is a good case in the Mormon annals -- was the result of one man's delusion conveyed by telepathy to a dozen or more spectators, he would not agree. He said twice over, "I think I'd treat that as a miracle; it is simpler." He evidently was not prepared to deny its possibility. When we got on to the subject of Joseph's "revelations," and also the "speaking with tongues," he stood in the middle of the room and imitated a man whom he had known who spoke in an "unknown tongue" like the Irvingites. That, he said, was evidently a clear case of physical automatism.⁷⁰

When they discussed the basis of these phenomena, however, they parted company. As we saw in Chapter Ten, James' idea of a reservoir made her think only of frogs. Dougall said that his idea of the reservoir touched on the methods rather than the essentials of religion, and suggested his method could produce the worst as well as the best. He agreed and argued that the value of a religious insight must be judged by the content rather than the method, which, as she acerbically noted, "makes the critical powers the standard." Her solution, that the true religion proved itself by progress in righteousness, met only a laugh from James. In *The Mormon Prophet*, however, this seems the conclusion she draws. Susannah is only saved when she abandons rational critical thought to follow an inner directive.⁷¹ We can only know the source of the directive by the outcome: Joseph

⁷⁰L. Dougall to M.S. Earp, November 14, 1896, Cambridge, Mass. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 147-148.

⁷¹Rationality by itself was limited; it had saved Susannah from Mormon delusion, but as Smith pointed out to Susannah in a dramatic final scene, it brought her little wisdom or love. She lived alone and faithless in the Mormon city. In the end, it is the irrational that saves her. She defends monogamy to Smith, on irrational grounds, and subsequently escapes through an irrational reliance on divine guidance. She muses on "the history of her inward life" after her escape: "With what strong protest against the obvious evils attendant upon unreasoning faith had she resisted through many years the infectious influences of belief in an interfering spiritual world. Now she had defied Smith with a faith in the ideal

Smith's visions result in the cheap splendour and immoral polygamy of his community, whereas Ephraim and Susannah's liberal faith leads them to a quiet and learned restraint, the progress in righteousness that Dougall judges the sign of religious truth.

12.4 A Telepathic Holy Spirit

After writing *The Mormon Prophet*, Dougall drew upon the findings of the British Society for Psychical Research in her religious writing. "The main progress of this Society," Dougall reported to her family, "as also in modern psychology, has been in the discovery of the curious and apparently superior powers of the unconscious mind -- you may call it the "subliminal self" or the "subconscious mind" or the "back of your mind" or whatever you like."⁷² Myers' ideas about the subconscious were powerful because they incorporated pre-existing notions of the soul, the voice of conscience, and the work of the Holy Spirit with the methods and language of science. The idea of telepathy was particularly powerful. Myers argued that the subliminal consciousness could receive information through channels, such as telepathy or clairvoyance, inaccessible to the

marriage unsupported by any conscious reason, and when she had looked to the interference of Providence, not even in meekness, but in desperate challenge, she had strong impression of being encompassed by invisible power and protection." (Dougall, *Prophet*, 406.) The experience of Divine, as with human, love was pre-rational.

Similarly, Susannah's cousin Ephraim was a scholar, yet even he found religion through a knowledge that was "past belief," but was also past rational argument: "he knew God with a knowledge that passed belief. He could argue no more, but he *knew*. This I think is the sort of knowledge which guides unerringly." (Dougall, *Prophet*, 267.)

⁷²Lily Dougall to Dougall family, May 21, 1908, BL, LDP, 1. She was reporting on the speech of the first woman president of the SPR, Mrs. Sidgwick.

“supraliminal self,” and then transmit them to the supraliminal self through such psychic phenomena as table rapping, automatic speech, hallucinations, crystal visions, and dreams.⁷³ His ideas were well received, and although members of the SPR were sceptical about the physical manifestations of spiritualism, they often considered telepathy to be an established fact.⁷⁴ “What seems to be abundantly proved,” Dougall stated with confidence, “is that the minds of ordinary people on earth have a certain non-sensuous intercourse with one another.”⁷⁵

The idea had resonance for a woman like Lily Dougall who had grown up with a strong sense of the living presence of the Holy Spirit. Not only did evangelicals like the Dougalls feel an ever-present “voice of God within the soul,” but they felt this Spirit provided a kind of spiritual conduit among believers. John Dougall had understood himself to be in contact with Lily’s mother through the Spirit: “I have nothing special to write but am writing as the only way I can hold intercourse with you except in Spirit and in prayer.”⁷⁶ In 1883, shortly after the death of her mother, and probably long before she

⁷³See Oppenheim, *The Other World*, 253-264, for a discussion of the influence of this theory on psychology.

⁷⁴See Oppenheim, *The Other World*, especially p. 249, and R. Laurence Moore, *In Search of White Crows, Spiritualism, Parapsychology and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), Chapter Five, for a discussion of the wide acceptance of telepathy. As Edward S. Reed has noted, historians of psychology rarely acknowledge the contributions of psychic phenomena and the occult to their science. Edward S. Reed, *From Soul to Mind, The Emergence of Psychology from Erasmus Darwin to William James* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). See also Percy Gardner, *The Interpretation of Religious Experience* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1931), Chapter IX, “Thought Transference.”

⁷⁵[Lily Dougall] “The Quick and the Dead, Part II,” *The Interpreter* 14, 1 (1917-1918), 63. In 1908, she wrote: “Whatever be the truth of any theory of intelligible vibrations in the ether set agoing by the motion of thought in the brain, it is certain that one man’s force of thought and feeling knocks at the door of another man’s brain in many ways that are not perceptible to conscious sense.” L. Dougall, *Paths of the Righteous* (London: Macmillan 1908), 429.

⁷⁶John Dougall to Elizabeth Dougall, n.d., DFP, NAC 1.1.

came into contact with Myers or his ideas, Dougall wrote to her old friend, Janie Couper:

“There is at least one medium through which absent souls may touch one another. That medium is God. Is not this an endless speculation? Think of it for a moment. How near or how far, may two souls be, both coming to God in prayer for the other?”⁷⁷

Myers had speculated on the religious implications of telepathy: “that same direct influence of mind upon mind *in minimus* would, if supposed operative *in maximus*, be a form of stating the efficacy of prayer, the communion of saints, or even of the operation of a Divine Spirit.”⁷⁸ Myers went further than most members of the SPR in these speculations, and Dougall took his line of reasoning one step further. Not only is our subconscious mind capable of receiving impressions from other minds in the form of

⁷⁷Lily Dougall to J.A.C. [Janie Couper], December 16, 1883. Cited in Earp, *Selected Letters*, 57. Oppenheim says that Myers first coined the word telepathy in 1882. (Oppenheim, *The Other World*, 142) so it is possible, but unlikely that Dougall knew of the theory. Although the SPR *Proceedings* had published from 1882, the first pioneering work on mental telepathy, *Phantasms of the Living*, by Myers, Edmund Gurney and Frank Podmore, was only published in 1886. Oppenheim, *The Other World*, 141.

⁷⁸F.W.H. Myers, “Science and a Future Life,” in *Science and a Future Life, with Other Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1893), 40. Cited in Oppenheim, *The Other World*, 154. As Janet Oppenheim has observed, these ideas served an essentially religious purpose: “Indeed it would not be an exaggeration to say that the early leaders of the SPR zealously explored the terra incognita of telepathy with the aim, whether purposeful or subconscious, of providing new, unassailable foundations for religious beliefs. If it were true, after all, that men were capable of communicating in ways far beyond the range of normal sensory powers, then there was surely more to this world than the materialists could fathom, including possibly an active role for soul or spirit.” Oppenheim, *The Other World*, 111.

The essentially religious purpose of Myers’ work is demonstrated in his somewhat contradictory attempts to prove personal immortality; his posthumous magnum opus, *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death* (1903), was an attempt to prove the continuation of the integrated personality after death. (Ironically, as Oppenheim observes, Myers’ proof of immortality through the concepts of telepathy had involved the disintegration of the unitary personality into multiple shifting components. His final work emphasised the integration of this personality.) Toward the end of his life, when the interest in mysticism was growing, Myers explored the idea of a universal oneness, an *anima mundi* or world soul, but like the personal idealists, he resisted the implications of this for the dissolution of a unitary personality. Dougall included a review of this book in the review she edited, *World Wide*; the reviewer noted that, Myer’s “special sense was that mystic’s sixth sense, the vivid consciousness of supersensuous realities.” “Survival of Bodily Death,” excerpted from *Christian World*, London in *World Wide* III, 9 (February 28, 1902): 139.

“thought transference” or telepathy, but, she argued, it receives impressions from the spiritual world. Her argument was tentative in 1912:

And all spiritual activities seem to arise from man's consciousness that when he is most alone, in the sense of having retired within himself from the things of sense, he is in company with another spirit and can have distinct dealings with that other, dealings which we may describe by the new word “telepathic” for that is the only word that expresses the communion of two intelligences without sensuous medium.⁷⁹

By 1913, in *The Practice of Christianity*, Dougall described prayer using an odd mix of theological and psychological language: “Prayer is the desire of the whole man, thought, will, feeling, receptivity, and activity, turned Godward in expectation. To have faith is to have the conscious, semi-conscious, and sub-conscious states of mind soaked in the sense of God's goodness, resourcefulness, and power.”⁸⁰

By 1917, she was more definite:

We have then, in what is now commonly called the sub-conscious mind, an organism which, on this hypothesis, is receiving impressions all the time from three sources -- from the senses, from the minds of other men, and from the Holy Spirit -- perhaps also from evil spirits; and is moreover, assimilating and interpreting these impressions all unknown to us. When, however, we can withdraw our attention from external objects, or internal images, or voluntary trains of thought, here comes a quiet, a lull, a resting place in our mental life. In this state, if we are arrested by no external suggestion, the subconscious mind, in its own slow, quiet, orderly way, puts forward something for our attention, and often puts it forward as such an apparent breach of continuity with the things previously occupying our attention that it seems to come from a source quite external to the self.⁸¹

The key to the experience, Dougall argues, is the preparation. “If the soul is seeking God, what comes to it in such hours will truly be what the understanding has distilled from the presence of the Spirit of God; and thus it will truly be, as far as that soul can understand,

⁷⁹[Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, 92.

⁸⁰[Dougall], *The Practice of Christianity*, 228.

⁸¹[Dougall], “The Quick and the Dead, Part II,” 60.

the voice of God.”⁸² Alternately the seeker after evil will receive evil counsel, and the seeker after money will learn to make money.

By 1917, then, Dougall had managed to accommodate psychology into a coherent theory of religious experience.⁸³ She invited prominent neurologist James Arthur Hadfield from the Ashhurst Neurological War Hospital to collaborate on a work on *Immortality*.⁸⁴ The contributions of the modern science were advertised in the subtitles of this and subsequent books: *Immortality, An Essay in Discovery Coordinating Scientific, Psychical, and Biblical Research* (1917); *The Spirit: God and His Relation to Man Considered from the Standpoint of Philosophy, Psychology and Art* (1919), Lily Dougall, *God's Way with Man: An Exploration of the Method of the Divine Working Suggested by the Facts of History and Science*.⁸⁵ Hadfield's essays, written in consultation with Dougall and other members of the Cumnor group, use case studies and medical research

⁸²[Dougall], “The Quick and the Dead, Part II.” 60.

⁸³The question of the veracity of the inner vision was more easily resolved. Dougall argued that we gain knowledge either through sensuous perception, through discursive reasoning or through intuitive knowledge, “by communion with God, ie by the direct vision of some truth which was just beyond the reach of either logical process or experience — analogous to that experience that in science is called ‘the fetch of genius.’” Truths arrived at by this last method may be false, and must be tested against other minds and the other methods before being accepted: “truth within each individual mind is tested consciously or not, by the three-fold method of understanding: it must be seen as true in inner vision; it must bear the scrutiny of reason: it must work.” “The Quick and the Dead, Part II.” 57. The earlier article (“The Quick and the Dead,” *The Interpreter* 13, 4 (1916-1917), 128-136) established, from historical interpretation of the New Testament, that “the spirits of the dead are not separated from this earth either in space or interest or influence, and that we do right to expect a progressive revelation concerning them” (p. 134). Part II seems to represent a slight retraction from this assertion.

⁸⁴See *Who's Who in British Science* (London: L. Hill, 1953). By this date Hadfield was a lecturer in Psychopathological and Mental Hygiene at London University, and a consultant in psychological medicine on Harley St. His publications include, in addition to the numerous editions of *Psychology and Morals* (London: Methuen and Co., 1923; 1964); *Psychology and Mental Health* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1950), and *Introduction to Psychotherapy, Its History and Modern Schools* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967). For his early career as a minister, see Stuart Mews, “Spiritual Healing, 318.

⁸⁵Lily Dougall, *God's Way with Man: An Exploration of the Method of the Divine Working Suggested by the Facts of History and Science* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1924).

to argue essentially theological points.⁸⁶ In the first, “The Mind and the Brain, A Discussion of Immortality from the Standpoint of Science,” he distinguishes between the physiological attributes of the brain and the psychological attributes of the mind, and uses the distinction to suggest the possibility of immortality.⁸⁷ In the second, “The Psychology of Power,” he describes patients who drew upon extraordinary powers under conditions of wartime stress or subsequently under hypnosis, and then makes the leap to suggest that these powers reveal hidden channels of energy. “Whether we are to look upon this impulse as cosmic energy, as a life force, or what may be its relation to the Divine immanence in Nature, it is for other investigators to say.”⁸⁸ In case his readers miss the point, however, Hadfield goes on to draw the connections with the power of the Holy Spirit in the Pentecost.⁸⁹ Hadfield understood his work to be effecting a reconciliation between science and religion: “the reinterpretation of some of the fundamental beliefs as

⁸⁶J.A. Hadfield, “The Mind and the Brain,” in *Immortality*; “The Psychology of Power,” in *The Spirit*. The second essay was also published separately as a pamphlet, *The Psychology of Power* (London: Macmillan, 1933).

⁸⁷Immortality, he concludes, “is not only not contradictory to science but . . . science points to this supremacy and liberation of the mind as the goal to which nature is pointing.” J.A. Hadfield, “The Mind and the Brain,” 71. “. . . [W]e have now crossed the great gulf between the physiological and the psychological, and have set our feet firmly on that shore where the higher faculties of the mind, reason and abstract thought, are subsequently developed. These higher powers serve only to point us further along the road that delivers us from bondage to the flesh, and leads us to anticipate the complete emancipation of the mind from the body. The mind may henceforth become indifferent to the disasters which in the course of nature are bound to overtake the body, and may hope to survive its destruction and decay – and perhaps thereafter to find or create for itself a “spiritual body” adapted to a different sphere of existence and to other modes of life” (p.70).

⁸⁸Hadfield, “The Psychology of Power,” 112.

⁸⁹A series of lectures delivered in Oxford in 1920 were published in his most widely read work, *Psychology and Morals*, which purpose was to argue that the “new Psychology” was consistent with moral principles. See the “Preface to the Sixteenth Edition” *Psychology and Morals, An Analysis of Character* (1923; London: Methuen and Co., 1964), vii.

would make them intellectually possible of acceptance to the modern man.”⁹⁰ His claim, however, of effecting a reconciliation, is questionable. It might be better understood in terms of a transfer of cultural authority. Hadfield had abandoned the clergy for psychology, and he defined his new role as a psychotherapist, as the “physician of the soul.”

Dougall had earlier used psychology to explain away Mormon beliefs, and in this volume she turned the method on modern unorthodoxies. Dougall makes no mention of the developments of New Thought, but the excesses of this movement are clearly in her mind. She does apply her analysis to Theosophy and Spiritualism. Of Theosophy she argues, “when such claims are honestly put forth they probably owed their origin to the suggestive dreams which occur in any hypnoidal condition and in trance sleep, which after some practice can be easily self-induced and remembered.”⁹¹ Spiritualism is also the product of self-hypnosis, in combination with telepathy. The sincere medium is able in a trance to tap the ideas of other people and communicate them as a message from the dead.

Dougall does not entirely rule out communication with the dead. She concluded a 1917 article on the theme of immortality, a vexed subject at that date in the Great War, by holding out some hope for the thousands of bereaved families of soldiers in 1917. She argued that, while it is impossible to receive direct communication, it is entirely possible for the bereaved to feel the presence of the dead. In a passage that is reminiscent of liberal evangelist Henry Drummond in its use of scientific analogy, and more evangelical in terminology than preceding arguments, she writes:

⁹⁰Hadfield, “The Psychology of Power,” 113.

⁹¹[Dougall], “The Quick and the Dead, Part II,” 62.

As what the scientists call ether is believed to interpenetrate all things in our universe and is the medium of light between star to star, so the Holy Spirit interpenetrates the universe of living spirits and mediates love between those whose earthly bodies are quick and those we call the dead.⁹²

We saw in Chapter Ten that Dougall felt she had seen her sister Janet after her death, and argued that Christ's resurrection was the highest example of the telepathic communication of the dead. As Streeter recalled after her death, "She believed that the souls of the righteous are never far away from those they had loved on earth, and are still able to assist and inspire them by actual personal contact, but not a contact that shows itself through voices and visions."⁹³

This idea is related to Dougall's eccentric interpretation of the afterlife. Liberal Congregationalists in the 1880's had attempted to mitigate the doctrine of hell with the idea of probationary salvation. Under this scheme, individuals had the opportunity to improve their lot after death. This teaching appears in odd ways in Dougall's work, where it is often at odds with her Anglican liberalism. She suggested in 1912 that evil individuals continue to exert an influence upon humanity after their death, in effect creating a new concept of the devil.

Thus we may think of individual man on earth as under the attraction, not only of divine Love, but of all those human spirits, in this life and beyond, that have gravitated as it were toward divine Love, and also under the influence of all those spirits which, in this life and beyond, in defiance of divine Love, are sweeping backwards to lose themselves again where the river of life flows in its more elemental condition, and in their sweep exercising their own power of attraction, their own infernal telepathic suction, upon the sons of earth and, for aught we know, upon the immortal whole of humanity.⁹⁴

⁹²[Dougall], "The Quick and the Dead, Part II," 64.

⁹³Streeter, "Biographical Note," in *God's Way*, 23.

⁹⁴[Dougall], *Voluntas Dei*, 112.

Dougall gave melodramatic fictional expression to this idea of the “infernal telepathic suction” of the dead in several unpublished stories.⁹⁵ One story describes the penalty exacted upon immoral politicians who are required to observe, as ghosts, the effects of their immorality after their death, when they are unable to change anything. “The point about these disembodied [?] is that they began the next life with precisely the same degree of moral insight or blindness as those with which they leave this life and there is only a suggestion of possible progress to good or evil given.” The idea was a strange one, and she was probably fortunate that publishers refused these stories.⁹⁶

Dougall developed the psychological interpretation of religious experience along more rational lines in an essay, “God in Action,” included in her next collaborative work, *The Spirit*. She described religious experience in terms familiar to mystical accounts:

Under the head of “illumination” I would class all experience of vivid enlightenment which comes to seeking souls, whether as to the nature of sin and holiness or as to the nature of God’s personal attitude to the self or to the world. There can be no question as to the extraordinary reality and productiveness of this experience, nor can any believer in God question that, when increased knowledge of truth or of vital virtue is attained in this way, the enlightenment comes from God. On the threshold of the religious life such enlightenment often takes the form of a vivid sense of God’s presence, which perhaps for the first time, brings the conviction of His existence to the sceptical or the careless. The conviction of sin, of forgiveness, of vocation, of guidance in perplexity, often comes suddenly as the apparent result of what is figuratively expressed as a flash of light abolishing obscurity. Moments of illumination may become habitual in private prayer, or in participation in the Eucharist or in confession and absolution, or in the pursuit of beauty and truth.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ See the unpublished manuscripts, “The Success of Francis Vane” (643 p.), and “Corchestor of the Future, A Phantasy,” (497 p.) in BL, LDP, 3, and “The Editor and the Angel, Myths of the After Life I,” in BL, LDP, 2. See outline of plot of in “Sketch of Evelyn Vane,” in BL, LDP, 4.

⁹⁶ “Got Corchestor off to Macmillans July 15; Macmillans refused Corchestor July 30, 1909”. BL, LDP, 1.

⁹⁷ Lily Dougall, “God in Action,” in *The Spirit: God and His Relation to Man Considered from the Standpoint of Philosophy, Psychology and Art* (London: Macmillan, 1919), 36.

Her explanations, however, are couched in the language of psychology. Citing William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, she argued that God worked through nature or psychological law. She described the theories of the subconscious mind, and the power of mental suggestion on the subconscious mind, and then argued that the Spirit works through these channels: "the faculties revealed in suggestible condition, which may be, and are, used by men both for good and evil, are used by the Spirit in the exercise of His beneficent power."⁹⁸ Thus the "Creative Spirit" influences the subconscious of the person who appeals to Him in prayer. The apparent miracles that occur as a result of inspiration are, she explains, the result of telepathy. The person thus inspired by the Spirit is, like the evangelist of old, inspired to save the world, not necessarily along the narrow lines of piety but by the broad pursuit of truth, beauty, or righteousness. In a revealing sentence Dougall argues, "this is not missionary cant, but a psychological fact."⁹⁹

A second essay, "The Language of the Soul: Some Reflections on the Christian Sacraments," explained the psychological power of the sacraments of the Eucharist and baptism. Dougall had earlier explained the necessity for religious observances in terms of the "life mind" or "unconscious mind" in *Christus Futurus*:

It is worth while to pause and reflect upon those powers about which we are all learning to talk so glibly --the unconscious mind or life-mind which manages us and ours, and our occasional power and frequent powerlessness to direct it. . . . by directing the attention to this or that the conscious will can do very much to control the unconscious mind for good or evil. We must, then attribute to the conscience an increased responsibility, not only for the actions it can directly control, but for the whole well-being and atmosphere in which it places that far

⁹⁸Lily Dougall, "God in Action," 42.

⁹⁹Lily Dougall, "God in Action," 58. Dougall continued to draw upon psychology. An article published the year before her death discussed the impact of Emile Coué's work on the interaction of psychology and religion. Lily Dougall, "God and the Subconscious Mind," *The Road, A Quarterly Journal* 3, 9 (1922): 325.

subtler and stronger power, the life-mind. Devotional books have made us familiar with the idea, but only as applied to the abstraction of the soul. . . . It thus becomes evident that the voluntary observance of religious acts has a more far-reaching power over him who performs them than he can be consciously aware of The same is true of the outward observance of any sentiment or principle, such as happy acts, loyal acts, and acts of faith in man or in God. His life mind . . . will eventually become saturated with the sentiments he acts up to . even if at first he experiences almost nothing of the sentiment, and the unconscious life thus acted upon will become a force much greater than the conscious mind, and will accomplish what that could not accomplish.¹⁰⁰

In this chapter, she argued that adult baptism has no supernatural effect, but has a transformative effect because it involves the acceptance of Christian standards worked into the inner consciousness by a suggestive rite.¹⁰¹ Such an explanation, she argued, does not negate the religious import of the rite: "It is such transforming force that is the mark of the Spirit's working." Similarly, the ceremonies and beauty of the Eucharist are suited to bring about a quiescent state of mind, receptive to the working of suggestion. Dougall had little patience, however, with "extreme sacramentarians"; once again she used psychology to undermine religious beliefs that she did not share.¹⁰² As she had told Maud Petre, in 1918: "I believe the real lines of division to be, not any of the more obvious lines, but between those who take a magical view of the sacraments and those who regard them only as poetry, valuable only for what they mean to express and of personal value in accordance with the interpretation given."¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰[Dougall], *Christus Futurus*, 224.

¹⁰¹For another application of this example and this argument, see the manuscript: "Definition of Religion and Godliness," typescript, BL, LDP, 2.

¹⁰²See Dougall, "English Modernism," 9. Dougall recognises the value of the sacraments in appealing to the "child that is in us all" the "racial subconsciousness," but condemns the denial of reason in the emotional dependence upon sacraments of the "extreme sacramentarians" in the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches.

¹⁰³Lily Dougall to Maud Petre, February 25, 1918, Cutts End, Cumnor. The British Library, London, AD 45,744.

Psychology was a double-edged weapon, however, and the arguments that explained away the delusions of Joseph Smith, the claims of theosophists, and the excesses of sacramentarians might also be turned upon Dougall's own experiential faith. Dougall did not see this: she told Earp that her investigations of psychology did not touch the "essentials of religion": "It was a question merely of the methods of the spiritual life, not of the fact" ¹⁰⁴ Besides, as she argued in *The Spirit*, "Whatever is true is God's way of revealing Himself, we may fearlessly seek the fullest knowledge of that way." ¹⁰⁵ She defended a psychological interpretation further in a paper, comparing the impact of psychology to the medieval discover of gravity:

We must recognise, however, that just as the knowledge of the laws of gravitation was wholly unwelcome to the medieval church because they necessitated a change in outlook which upset many traditional assumptions, so the knowledge of psychological law is today unwelcome to a large class of religious people who desire mystery . . . it is open to us to either welcome the knowledge they bring in the sure faith that truth, of whatever sort, must always help us in our aspiration toward true Godliness, and that what it may cause us to discard can be no true help in the service or worship of God. Or we can reject such knowledge and endeavour to go on blindly a little longer until we are more rudely awakened. ¹⁰⁶

But she was on the defensive by this time; the issue was clearly a troubling one, for Dougall discussed it further in an article published in 1922, "God and the Subconscious Mind." She referred, as usual, to the scientific findings of a male psychologist, Emile Coué. She described the unconscious mind as an instrument, that may be used for good or evil, by the atheist or the believer, and concludes: "We must traffic with it for God."

¹⁰⁴ Lily Dougall to Sophie Earp, November 14, 1896. Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 146.

¹⁰⁵ Dougall, "God in Action," 28.

¹⁰⁶ "Definition of Religion and Godliness," np, [page numbers are omitted in the manuscript after page 20. This is in the section titled, "Psychological Knowledge and Tradition."] BL, LDP, 2.

Psychology did undermine the experience of faith, in a way that Biblical criticism had not. In an early work, Dougall's protagonist had echoed Coleridge's bold assertion of the religious claim to truth, "Just try it."

I believe the Bible . . . not because the Church says it is true, nor because it declares itself to be true, but because it teaches of God what I know to be true. There is not a human soul on the surface of the earth that cannot prove for itself its teaching by experiment. I do not say that one soul can prove it to another, but that each soul can prove it to itself: God thus becomes part of our experience, and *no sane man doubts his own experience*. (Emphasis added.)¹⁰⁷

Psychology provided the means by which believers might doubt their own experience. The telepathic messages of the Holy Spirit could be as easily dismissed as the spiritualist messages of the dead or the insights of theosophical adepts. In a novel published in 1908 Dougall suggested this possibility when she described a conversion with a curious mixture of psychological and mystical language:

At the meeting that afternoon Oriane felt that she learned a secret which lifted her heart to a new level, from which this life wore a different aspect. She was aware that such a sense of change is a common psychical phenomena and was therefore not certain that it might not be a mere fancy; while going out she hugged the new experience, fearing it might not last . . . she had a curious experience of realising what she had gained—she knew not what it was — made her feel more at home in the common-place of the world¹⁰⁸

The language is revealing. A conversion that might only be a "common psychical phenomena," a "mere fancy," cannot be trusted. Even conversion, the centre of a religious life, can be undermined by the new science. As Dougall herself observed, in an undated typescript,

Religious experiences are now described in psychological terms, religious values are largely psychological values. There is a gain in learning more precisely what

¹⁰⁷Cited in Earp, "Selected Letters," 66.

¹⁰⁸Dougall, *Paths*, 268. The expression "she knew not what" is a common mystical one, originating in the work of St. John of the Cross.

we have to do and the material with which we have to work, and there is a great danger in failing to recognise that subconscious processes are caused by objective experiences, not only the experiences of the earthly and human environment but of the direct touch of God upon the soul.¹⁰⁹

Dougall, herself, never failed to recognise the subconscious promptings as the "direct touch of God upon the soul."¹¹⁰ Her religion was built upon the experience of God, and her psychology was simply an investigation into the mechanics of that experience. But the reduction of religion to a matter of religious experience, and the explanation of this experience as a natural phenomena, prepared the ground for a materialist explanation. What if the unconscious were not simply the conduit for objective experiences but the final ground of those experiences? What if the action of spiritual healing was the product of the subconscious mind, acting alone?

¹⁰⁹Lily Dougall, "Nature of Religion," undated ts., p. 8, BL, LDP, 1.

¹¹⁰Even William James retained a belief in some form of "cosmic consciousness" -- the kind of consciousness named and explored by Canadian psychologist and mystic, R.M. Bucke. James, while he said he had never experienced it, believed it was possible for the individual to have some sort of communion with the supernatural. But this attenuated form of communion was a far cry from the direct personal relationship that Dougall felt with a personal God.

Conclusion

Lily Dougall died of heart failure on October 9, 1923 at the age 65. She died at the height of her career, in the midst of numerous speaking engagements, with several articles underway.¹ Leading Oxford clerics attended her funeral, and a commemorative plaque was placed in her parish church. B.H. Streeter edited her unfinished work for a posthumous volume, *God's Way with Man* (1924), and made plans with Sophie Earp to compile a book of selected letters.² Streeter was a busy man, however, and he died before completing his contribution. Apart from the occasional tribute in her friends' memoirs, Dougall was quickly forgotten.

How do we assess her legacy today? Dougall was not an original thinker. She was, as this study has shown, the lyrical exponent of a controversial modernist theology, and we need to judge her as part of a larger movement. Harold Anson observed in 1938:

I have heard people say that the influence of [the Cunnor Group] upon the Church today is very small. If that be true, is it not possibly because the Church has come to accept as axiomatic many of the truths for which that group fought twenty years ago, and which did appear to be new and revolutionary at that time? It may be the best tribute to a movement that no one wants it any more. Its work is done, because its message has been incorporated into the general life of the Church.³

¹ *World Wide*, October 13, 1923, p.1.

² B.H. Streeter, *God's Way With Man, An Exploration of the Method of Divine Working Suggested By the Facts of History and Science*, with an introduction and biographical note by Canon B.H. Streeter (London: Student Christian Movement, 1924). He and Earp attempted one more Cunnor group book, *Adventure: The Science of Faith and the Faith of Science* (London: Macmillan, 1928).

³ Harold Anson, *Looking Forward* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1938), 202-203.

Dougall's message was undoubtedly incorporated into the church as her young friends gradually moved up the ecclesiastical ranks. William Temple attained the highest position in the church as Archbishop of Canterbury, and while he, like others, may have muted his liberalism, he promoted causes like the Guild of Health. Young collaborators in the Cumnor Group, including R.G. Collingwood and Leonard Hodgson, became important scholars, and Fellowship member Leonard Elliot Binns gave a liberal cast to theological history. Tangible evidence of the influence of modernist debates came in 1938 when the Commission on Doctrine of the Church of England, appointed after the controversial Girton Conference of 1921 (and chaired after 1925 by William Temple), finally reported. Their carefully worded findings vindicated the modernist critique of church doctrine: they suggested neither miracles nor the Virgin Birth were necessary to faith.⁴

The theological tide, however, had begun to turn. Dougall's optimistic immanent theology sounded naïve as the grim reality of the Great War sank in, and the neo-orthodox idea of a sinful humanity presided over by an inscrutable, transcendent God appeared a more fitting theological response. Her posthumous work reveals that she was fighting a rear-guard action against newly popular ideas of transcendence, miracles, and a vengeful God.⁵

⁴See Alan M.G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism*. The Hulsean Lectures 1979-80 (London: SPCK, 1984), 155-160. On miracles, Temple wrote: "On the question of whether or not events occur which are strictly miraculous, the Commission is divided; but the reluctance of some to admit miraculous events, or the strictly miraculous character of events admitted, is based on the supposition, not that God *could* not do such works, but that he *would* not." On the Virgin Birth, the report concluded: "There are, however, some among us who hold that a full belief in the historical Incarnation is more consistent with the supposition that Our Lord's birth took place under the normal conditions of human generation. In their minds the notion of a Virgin Birth tends to mar the completeness of the belief that in the Incarnation God revealed Himself at every point in and through human nature."

⁵Essay I, "Providence and Miracle," incorporates a transcendent God. Yet her language is still that of the immanent God who works through nature, rather than miracle, and "should be universally invading the universe everywhere, at all times, with the constant pressure of his inspiration." In "Forgiveness," "The Worship of Wrath" and "Beyond Justice" she preaches against punitive settlements against the Germans.

Even members of the Student Christian Movement, like Cyril Emmet's young daughter, Dorothy Emmet, began to find Dougall's benevolent God inadequate.⁶ Her preaching grated on twentieth-century ears. B.H. Streeter's introduction to her 1924 book started on an apologetic note: he explained her essays as the "glimpses of truth seen by the flashing insight of a free and original mind."⁷ In one of a growing number of attacks upon modernism, *Defense of the Faith* (1927), Charles Gardiner suggested that Dougall's clerical friends "attach an importance to her utterances which I think must be attributed to their hearts rather than their heads."⁸

The argument has been made that Dougall's generation had a purely negative impact, that they succeeded in destroying the orthodoxy of earlier generations without constructing an adequate alternative to take its place. As the satirical rhyme went: "Help us all by thy grace,/To teach the whole race,/ We know nothing whatever about thee."⁹ This argument, however, misses the point. Dougall's generation had never intended to build a new creed. Religion was a sense of longing satisfied by the experience of God, and they

Finally an essay on Emmet provides an opportunity to reiterate a theology of religious experience. Dougall, *God's Way with Man*.

⁶ See the description of the early twentieth-century theological reversal toward a distant God and a sinful humanity in Chapter One. Dorothy Emmet recalled the theological shift among SCM members during her youth. Interview with Author. October 6, 1993. Cambridge, England.

⁷B.H. Streeter, "Introduction," in *God's Way With Man*, 7. "Miss Dougall had a rare faculty for seeing things religious from a point of view quiet different from that which strikes the ordinary mind. Critics said this made her do insufficient justice to accepted views. Perhaps it sometimes did. But for accepted views in religion there is never any lack of doughty advocates; the case for them runs no risk of going by default. Hence, if her essays are read, not as presenting "the conclusion of the whole matter," but as glimpses of truth seen by flashing insight of a free and original mind, Orthodox and Modernist alike will find in them valuable food for reflection."

⁸Cited in *A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. I, Charles D.G. Roberts and Arthur L. Tunnell, ed. (Toronto: TransCanada Press, 1934) 157.

⁹Prayer written by Ronald Knox. Cited in Stephenson, *English Modernism*, 3-4.

needed a new method rather than a new set of doctrines. At the time of her death, Dougall was working toward a new way of incorporating this faith through small groups and fellowship with others. This was the method of the Cumnor Group, of the Anglican Fellowship and of the Student Christian Movement.

Dougall's ideas were, by the measure of many historians of religion, essentially secular. She did not, after all, find it necessary to believe in miracles, even central Christian miracles of the virgin birth and the physical resurrection. She was active in all of the movements identified with secularisation -- Biblical criticism, social reform, idealism, and modernism. The study of Dougall's life, however, suggests that spirituality survived these developments. For Dougall, the loss of the supernatural did not result in a secular world. The absence of miracles did not mean the absence of God, but rather meant God's presence was felt in the natural world. Biblical criticism did not destroy the Bible, but revitalised it: her knowledge of Greek allowed Dougall to read the Calvinist eschatology out of the Christian past. The realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth apparently deepened its mystical dimension: "Thy Kingdom be," Dougall prayed, "*within and around us*."¹⁰ Nor did idealism remove God from her world. Dougall rediscovered the God of her childhood, "the friend close beside me," in the relational world of personal idealism. Even her modernism was more spiritually charged than it appears in most historical accounts. Lily Dougall's was a Catholic modernism based on the mystical presence of the Holy Spirit within the living church.

We might explain this religiosity as a vestigial piety. Steve Bruce has argued that the Student Christian movement lived on the reserve of faith banked by an earlier generation, even

¹⁰[Dougall], *Christus Futurus* (London: Macmillan, 1907), 57.

as they destroyed the credal basis for that faith.¹¹ The argument could be applied to Dougall: we might explain her recourse to religious experience as another ironic trajectory toward secularisation. Was the experiential core — W.R. Inge's "impregnable rock" — just another unstable transitional idea? Was it, like Ramsay Cook's Kingdom of God, religious by association but inherently secular? Chapter Twelve suggests one possible dénouement of experiential faith — the descent from the mystic route to God through a spiritualised psychic research.. God was removed from the picture, with a sudden sleight of hand, as psychic research became the science of psychology and the twentieth century was left with the endless subjectivity of the modern subconscious. The modernist pursuit of a "common core" of mystic experience followed a similar course into academia, as we have seen, and wound up chasing its own experiential tail.

This interpretation is convincing, initially, but it ultimately leads only to new metaphysical debates based on the rather dubious science of the unconscious. Rather than trying to trace the elusive dividing line between the "secular" and the "sacred," it would be more fruitful to chart the continuities through the twentieth century. As we have seen in Chapter Twelve, the modern idea of the unconscious developed in part from the experiential faith of Dougall's generation (and the evangelical holiness of her parents' generation). Similarly the academic pursuit of mysticism is a product of religious modernism. And feminist theology has many parallels with spiritual explorations of turn-of-the-century women.

¹¹ Bruce argues that liberalism was "parasitic" on evangelicalism: "I will argue that the appeal of liberalism was that of a release from a conservative strait-jacket, and that it was the years in the strait-jacket which gave liberalism its shape and delayed its collapse." *A House Divided: Protestantism, Schism and Secularization* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 110. This argument is based on his thesis:

Steve Bruce, "The Student Christian Movement and the Inter-Varsity Fellowship: A Sociological Analysis of the Two Student Movements," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stirling University, 1980).

This analysis of Edwardian experiential theology suggests the need for more nuanced historical/contextual assessments of experiential faith. We need to move beyond the idea of a single ahistorical spirituality. Proponents of the “feminisation thesis” have condemned a feminine, sentimental piety; feminist theologians tend to celebrate experiential faith. But experiential faith admits of many variations, from the paradoxical radicalism of quietist mysticism, to the romantic narrative of Evelyn Underhill’s mysticism, to practical prayerfulness of the Quaker inner light. We have seen how Lily Dougall made a difficult transition from the submissive holiness piety of her evangelical childhood to the affirming individualist theology of personal idealism.

We must not take modern experiential faith at its own estimation. Dougall’s faith did not arise solely from the depths of her religious experience. The very idea of a *sui generis* faith was a liberal conceit, each individual, “alone in the world with his ideas,” breaking from the suffocating embrace of traditional culture. We have seen how Dougall built her experiential faith from novels, from her idealist mentors, and from the contemplative elements of her family’s holiness faith, even as her fictional characters found faith in swamps, sunsets and mountains.

Finally, we must be alert to the gendering of this faith. Feminist theologians, in particular, need to look more critically at their immediate past before building a theology based upon the “life of the Spirit.” The liberal experiential is deeply and fundamentally gendered. This gendering has, in ways that we have only begun to explore, distorted women’s understanding of their own spirituality. We have seen how Dougall hid her rational and her metaphysical interests when she wrote her autobiographical novel, how conflicted she felt about feminine scepticism and doubt. We have also seen the lengths to which she went to hide

her identity when she wrote theology, and how a sense of inadequacy undermined her career. The gendered understanding of the experiential has silenced as well as empowered women.

This study of Lily Dougall began by observing that she was quintessentially modern. The two quotations in her parish church, one to religious longing and the other to truth, summed up the two underlying themes in religious modernity. The examination of her life has revealed a persistent disjuncture between her experience of faith and her pursuit of truth. This may be explained in part as the difficulties of expressing a female spirituality in terms established in a theological world dominated by men, and it may suggest larger difficulties between experience and interpretation. Canon B.H. Streeter wrote a revealing anecdote about a dream:

My literary collaborator, the late Miss Lily Dougall, was once arranging for a small conference of philosophers and theologians to thresh out a problem to which for many years she had given considerable thought, and on which she had decided and somewhat original opinions. One of the philosophers sent her beforehand a memorandum he had prepared on the question. She was delighted to find that this maintained what was virtually her own position, but did so with a command of corroboration or refutation from other philosophers which she admired but could not emulate. On rereading it, however, a misgiving came into her mind as to whether, like as his position was to hers, he had really got what seemed to her to be the true view.

She dreamt that her philosopher friend was showing her round a new house which he had just built. It was of stone of exactly the same kind and colour as her own house at Cumnor; but, whereas this is built on two sides of a square, his formed a quadrangle and was altogether on a grander scale. They went inside; but here although the appointments and conveniences were in general quite to her taste, she yet felt that somehow it would not be so comfortable to live in as her own home.¹²

As Streeter observed, the quadrangle house of the philosopher represented Oxford learning: of the same colour and kind as her education but “altogether on a grander

¹²B.H. Streeter, *Reality, A New Correlation of Science and Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1927), 322.

scale.” Dougall’s Arts and Crafts home, like her command of Greek, was not lacking in sophistication. It was only in comparison with the academic quadrangles below that it, like her learning, was diminished. She appeared to fit neatly into the iconoclastic world of Anglican modernism. Her work was widely accepted and praised. Yet, as she found in her dream about the Oxford quadrangle, the fit was never perfect: “although the appointments and conveniences were in general quite to her taste, yet she felt it would not be so comfortable to live in as her own home.” There was as Streeter observed, “a subtle inward disagreement.”¹³ This study is, in large part, an exploration of this “disagreement.” It is an examination not only of the difficulties Dougall encountered as she worked along the borders of a masculine theological world, but also of the larger and quintessentially modern difficulty encountered in trying to reconcile the pursuit of “truth” with the sense of religious longing.

¹³Streeter, *Reality*, 322.

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Books and Articles by Lily Dougall

Lily Dougall's work was published in multiple revised editions in Britain, United States and Canada. This list identifies the first edition of her works. Later editions are identified only in cases where the page references in the text refer to those editions. Eight of her novels are currently available online through Early Canadiana Online, a collaborative project of the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions (CIHM), the National Library of Canada, Laval University Library, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, and the University of Toronto Library at www.canadiana.org. Further works are available on microfiche through the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions., and (CIHM) microfiche numbers are included.

Lily Dougall published some of her short fiction under a pseudonym, Earnest Duns, her novels as L. Dougall, and most of her religious writing anonymously; from 1900 her books and articles are attributed to "the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*." With the publication of *Immortality* in 1917 she is also identified by name. This list does not include the numerous short stories published in periodicals, nor is it necessarily a comprehensive listing of her religious writing.

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