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HANNAH MORE

M J CROSSLEY EVANS

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I dedicate this work to those to whom I owe my historical education:

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Cover Illustration: An engraving of Hannah More by Alexander Hogg made in 1786, the year in which her poems *Florio* and *Bas Bleu* were published. From the Fry Picture Collection, in the University of Bristol's Special Collections. (Reproductions by kind permission of the University's Special Collections, and photographed by Foo, Sze-Ern)

HANNAH MORE

Whenever the name of Hannah More is mentioned today, it is usually as a hardened reactionary who oppressed the poor. Proof of this can be given in a letter which appeared in *The Guardian* in 1998. Even towards the end of the nineteenth century her reputation as a writer had fallen to such an extent that Augustine Birrell (1850-1933), in his *Essays about Men, Women and Books* (1895) pp.79-80, stated that 'you may search her nineteen volumes through without lighting upon one original thought, one happy phrase ... not a single expression of genuine piety, of heart-felt emotion, ever escapes her lips.' He goes on to attack her as an example of the 'well-to-do Christian', and in a brilliant parody of her famous novel *Coelebs in Search of a Wife*, which he terms 'as odious as it is absurd', he describes her religion and her book as inhabiting 'snug places in the country', where the hero 'kept an excellent if not dainty, table. The money it saved in the ball-room it spent upon a greenhouse. Its horses were fat, and its coachmen invariably present at family prayers. Its pet virtue was Church twice on Sunday, and its peculiar horrors theatrical entertainments, dancing, and three-penny points. Outside its garden wall lived the poor who, if virtuous, were for ever curtseying to the ground, or wearing neat uniforms, except when expiring upon truckle-beds, beseeching God to bless the young ladies of The Grange or the Manor House, as the case may be.' He goes on to say that she was 'one of the most detestable writers that ever held a pen. She flounders like a huge conger-eel in an ocean of dingy morality'. Birrell tells us in *Hannah More Once More* (1906) that finally, in disgust, he buried all nineteen volumes of her work in the garden. In spite of her literary works being admired by Dr. Johnson, Garrick, Cowper and Sheridan, and being translated into French, German, Dutch, Russian, Icelandic, Persian, Welsh, Mahratta, Tamil and Singhalese, they were reviled, patronised and despised in her life-time by those who claimed the benefit of Enlightenment. The radical Cobbett called her 'that prime

old prelate in petticoats' and 'as artful, as able, and as useful a scribe as ever drew pen in the cause of the system', but her work was enthusiastically championed and supported by committed Christians everywhere. Although she was later viewed as a pillar of the establishment, and a radical upholder of conservatism, her background and family connections were of the most modest kind.

Hannah More was the fourth of the five daughters of Jacob More (1700-1783), who was master of the village school at Stapleton, in Gloucestershire, on the north-east side of Bristol.[1] She was born on 2nd February 1745. Her father taught her Latin and a little Greek, she learnt French from her eldest sister, Mary, and she taught herself Spanish and Italian.[2] Her conversational abilities in French were improved by spending time with French prisoners of war in Frenchay, who were entertained by her father whilst they were on parole during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). In 1758 her eldest sister opened a school for young ladies at 6, Trinity Street, College Green, Bristol, which taught French, reading, writing, arithmetic and needlework. Provision was also made for a dancing-master to attend. The school flourished, and in 1762, her sisters Mary, Elizabeth 'Betty', and Sarah 'Sally' moved to larger and more fashionable premises at 43, Park Street. It was there that the young Hannah More began her teaching career, followed shortly afterwards by her youngest sister Martha 'Patty' More.

Whilst in her late teens, she came to know Dr James Stonhouse (1716-1795), an Anglican clergyman and physician, who subsequently inherited a baronetcy. In *Sketchley's Bristol Directory* (1775), the Misses More and Dr. Stonhouse are noted to have been resident at Nos 10 and 7 Park Street respectively. Stonhouse had been cured of his sceptical religious opinions by one of the leading Nonconformist ministers and writers of the age, Dr. Philip Dodderidge (1702-1751) of Northampton,[3] and he was a friend of Mark Akenside (1721-1770), the poet and physician.[4] Stonhouse had a profound influence upon his young protégée, and Hannah More's love for the writings of both Dodderidge and Akenside owed much to his influence upon her reading. Other important influences upon Hannah More at this time were the Revd Josiah Tucker (1712-1799), successively Rector of All Saints' and St. Stephen's, Bristol, and Dean of Gloucester, who was also one of Dodderidge's correspondents, and Mr Peach, a linen draper in Mary le Port Street, who was a friend of both the philosopher David Hume and the older Sheridan.

Bristol was the second city of the country and had a thriving social and intellectual life, in which the young Hannah's abilities were recognised and widely appreciated. Her knowledge of modern languages

led to her making a number of translations of the works of contemporary authors which she later destroyed, with the exception of a work by the Italian, Metastasio. This was later transformed into *The Inflexible Captive*, which was presented on the stage in Bath in 1774. Her other literary endeavours included translations and imitations of the odes of Horace. Her first acknowledged publication, *The Search after Happiness*, a pastoral drama, written in her seventeenth year, was published in 1773. It is probable that her first publication was the anonymous *Select Moral Tales, translated from the French by a Lady* (1763), printed in Gloucester by Robert Raikes (1735-1811),[5] the future founder of the Sunday School movement, and dedicated to the lady who was to become one of Hannah's champions and fast friends, Mrs Elizabeth Montague (1720-1800).[6] The author of the original was the Frenchman, Marmontel, whose life and work were later strongly disliked by Hannah More. This may account for her failure to own authorship of the translation.[7]

Hannah was an attractive young woman, and captured the affections of an older admirer, Edward Turner of Belmont, in Wraxall, Somerset. He had come to know her through his cousins, who were being educated at the Misses More's school. Mr Turner proposed to her and was accepted. A date was fixed for the wedding, but he later demurred. Between 1767 and 1773 this occurred on no less than three occasions. At last, Dr. Stonhouse intervened on behalf of the injured party, without her knowledge, and secured an annuity of £200 from Mr Turner.[8] This gave her independence and a means of travelling. Hannah remained on good terms with Mr. Turner and was left a bequest of £1,000 in his will.

In the winter of 1773-4 Hannah More made her first trip to London. This visit may have been associated with Thomas Cadell (c.1740-1802), a bookseller, who was born in Stapleton and established himself as a successful printer in London. He later took Hannah under his wing and printed her works.[9] She visited Alexander Pope's house in Twickenham;[10] met Mrs Montague, to whom *Select Moral Tales* had been dedicated, David Garrick (1717-1779), the foremost actor of the age, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), his sister Frances, and Edmund Burke (1729-1797).[11] It was at a gathering at Sir Joshua Reynolds's home in 1774 that Hannah More met the great man of English letters and the compiler of the first English dictionary, Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-1784). Hannah showed herself to be the epitome of the star-struck provincial. Whilst he complimented her by reciting part of a morning hymn which he had written at Dr. Stonhouse's request, she responded by overloading him with enthusiastic praise. According to the novelist Fanny Burney (1752-1840), on this, or another occasion, Dr. Johnson is reported to have rebuked her by saying: 'Madam, before you flatter a

man so grossly to his face, you should consider whether or not your flattery is worth having'. He also asked Miss Reynolds, on another occasion, to request Hannah not to flatter him.[12] Notwithstanding this inauspicious start to their relationship, they soon became good friends, although he retained some reservations about her character. In a conversation with Mrs Thrale in 1778, Dr. Johnson is reported to have praised Hannah More's intelligence, and to have added, 'but she has by no means the elegance of Miss Burney', who was present.[13] Dr. Johnson fell into the habit of flattery and flirtation with Hannah. He told friends that it was 'dangerous to say a word of poetry before her; it is like talking of the art of war before Hannibal'. He also bracketed her with both Mrs Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806), the Greek scholar who translated *The Moral Discourses of Epictetus*, and Fanny Burney, exclaiming 'three such women are not to be found'.[14]

In London Hannah More became an active member of the social and literary life which flourished around Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the female literary group known as 'The Bluestockings',[15] which consisted of Mrs Montague, Mrs Carter, Mrs Frances Boscawen (c.1720-1805),[16] and Mrs Vesey. Under their tutelage Hannah published the verse-tragedy *Sir Eldred of the Bower, and the Bleeding Rock* (1776), which was revised by Dr. Johnson, who wrote one of the stanzas.

Dr. Stonhouse remained an influential friend and adviser to her. He censured her for going to Mrs Montague's on a Sunday, instead of keeping the day quietly as enjoined in the Bible. She called Dr. Stonhouse her conscience in Bristol, and the Garricks her conscience in London. Her acquaintance in London grew rapidly during her annual visits, and included Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), the historian, Mrs Mary Delany (1700-1788), the friend of Dean Swift,[17] and Dr. Charles Burney (1726-1814), the musicologist.

Under the encouragement of Garrick, Hannah More turned her attention to drama. Her tragedy *Percy* (1777) was revised by Garrick, who wrote the prologue and epilogue.[18] She was horrified by the beginning of the American War of Independence, and although she disclaimed writing the play 'with any particular design,' when Lord North, the Prime Minister, attended a performance, she 'trembled when the speech against the wickedness of going to war was spoken', and received an enthusiastic response from the audience. *Percy* was a financial and artistic success. It was subsequently translated into German and performed in Vienna, where it may have been seen by Mozart. By the time that the play was revived to great acclaim in the 1785-1786 season at Drury Lane, with the celebrated Mrs Sarah Siddons in the role of Elwina, Hannah More had adopted the views of the early Christian

church to the theatre and would not allow herself to attend.[19] Charles James Fox (1749-1806) was moved to tears both by the play and by the performance of Mrs Siddons, and Horace Walpole (1717-1797) was in raptures.

The years 1778-1779 saw a transformation in Hannah More's life. Her play *The Fatal Falsehood* was approved by Garrick, but he died before it could be produced.[20] Although the play subsequently appeared without Garrick's guidance, his death, together with a growing Christian seriousness, caused her to renounce the theatre and such 'agreeable and laudable customs' as 'getting tipsy twice a day upon Herefordshire cider' whilst on holiday in Suffolk.

In 1778 Hannah More made the friendship of Dr. Beilby Porteus (1731-1809), successively Bishop of Chester and London.[21] His influence consolidated the work begun by Dr. Stonhouse and turned her thoughts increasingly to religious matters. She became a friend of the Oxford Hebraicist, Dr. Benjamin Kennicott (1718-1783), his wife Ann (c.1745-1830), and Dr. George Horne (1730-1792), President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and later Bishop of Norwich.[22] Mrs Boscawen wrote to her that the only true remedy for human ills was 'the deep sense and real power of the Christian religion', a sentiment she grew to heartily endorse. Soon Hannah More was writing of her hatred for the seasonal greeting 'Merry Christmas' because she felt that the first word was more suited 'for a Bacchanalian than a Christian festival, and seems an apology for idle mirth and injurious excess'. In 1781 she began work on the first of her sacred dramas, *Balshazzar*, which she later published in *Sacred Dramas: Chiefly Intended for Young Persons: the Subjects taken from the Bible* (1782)[23] and dedicated to her friend the Duchess of Beaufort, Mrs Boscawen's daughter. Her religious enthusiasm did not prevent her from writing occasional verse of a secular kind for friends. Her skill led Johnson to call her 'the finest versifatrix in the English language'. For the son of the Duchess of Beaufort, she composed *An Ode on the Marquess of Worcester's Birthday*, and for the daughter of the Bishop of Norwich, *On Sally Horne*. Of an evening spent with her friend William Pepys, she stated that their conviviality was kept up 'on the strength of a little lemonade 'till past eleven without cards, scandal, or politics'.

Hannah More first met James Boswell (1740-1795), Johnson's biographer, in 1776, when she described him as being 'very agreeable and good-natured'. Unfortunately this state of amity between them did not last and in 1781 she mentioned that she was 'heartily disgusted with Mr Boswell, who came upstairs after dinner, much disordered with wine, and addressed me in a manner which drew from me a sharp rebuke, for

which I fancy he will not easily forgive me.' Following Johnson's death, she asked Boswell if 'he would not mitigate some of his asperities' in the forthcoming biography of Johnson, to which Boswell roughly replied that he could not 'cut off his claws, nor make a tiger a cat to please anybody'. The tension in the relationship between Boswell and Hannah More may well account for the paucity of references to her in *The Life*.[24]

Mrs Boscawen continued the work of Dr. Stonhouse as Hannah More's spiritual adviser. She gave her a copy of the Reverend John Newton's published letters of spiritual consolation entitled *Cardiphonia* in 1780, of which Hannah More wrote, 'I like it prodigiously: it is full of vital experimental religion'. Hannah More promptly recommended it to her sister and to Dr. Stonhouse.[25] She became an avid reader of the French seventeenth century Jansenist writers, and was an admirer of Pascal, Fenelon, Nicole, and the Port Royal authors, which, owing to their Roman Catholicism, brought upon her the mock asperity of Dr. Johnson. When Mrs Boscawen died in 1805 she was left about 40 volumes, chiefly by the Port Royal authors, and Hannah More confessed that she scarcely ever looked into another book'.[26]

By 1780 she had already written an essay on education, which she circulated among her women friends. Educational developments in France horrified her. She reported that the 'pedantry and precieuseté of the ladies of Paris ... is quite ridiculous ... (they) run to study philosophy, and neglect their families to be present at lectures in anatomy.'[27] Her campaign to reform the behaviour of those in the upper echelons of society began with the publication of her *Thoughts on the Manners of the Great* (1787), in which she stated that she had dedicated her work and her talents to the service of God. Within a year it had reached a fifth edition. This was followed in 1790 by *An Estimation of the Religion of the Fashionable World*, which attacked the decay in domestic piety and the decline in genuine religion amongst the ruling classes. Both were well received, and the former is reputed to have caused Queen Charlotte to desist from sending for her hairdresser on a Sunday.

Her dislike of non-Christian writers and the Enlightenment became marked. After reading the first three volumes of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, she stated that he was 'a malignant painter (who) magnifies deformities and takes a profane delight in making the picture as hideous as he can', although she felt he had taken pains 'to hide the cloven foot'. Rousseau was 'that great, but corrupt genius'. Her letters in the 1780s became filled with anti-Gallican mots and sallies. When she heard of the death of Gibbon in 1794 she enquired, 'how many souls have his writings polluted?' and exclaimed, 'Lord preserve others from their contagion!'[28]

Other friends that she made at this period were Horace Walpole, who revised some of the lines of her poem, *Bonner's Ghost*; Dr. Shute Barrington (1734-1826), successively Bishop of Llandaff, Salisbury, and Durham;[29] General James Oglethorpe (1696-1785), the foster-brother of the Old Pretender; Dr. George Pretyman Tomline (1750-1827), Pitt the Younger's tutor, who became Bishop of Lincoln and then of Winchester; Mrs Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810), the educationist; Mrs Sarah Siddons (1755-1831), the actress; and Arthur Young (1741-1820), the Christian agriculturalist.[30]

In 1782 she became converted to the cause of the abolition of the slave trade, and subsequently numbered among her closest friends some of its most determined opponents. In 1787 she came to know both the hymn writer John Newton (1725-1807), who had formerly been master of a slave ship,[31] and William Wilberforce (1759-1833).[32] The translation of Bishop Porteus to the bishopric of London in 1787, which brought him ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the West Indies, filled her with joy. In 1788 she attacked 'this infamous traffic', and was busy writing her poem *Slavery*, which she published in time for the opening of Parliament, as her contribution to the debates on the subject. It was warmly commended by her 'two favourite bishops', and Hannah subsequently joined in the movement to boycott sugar, the main product of the West Indies. William Cowper, the poet, upon seeing the advertisement for her poem decided not to persevere in writing something on the subject because she was 'a favourite writer with me, and has more nerve and energy ... than half the rhimers in the kingdom'. Slavery continued to occupy her thoughts, conversation and correspondence. She attempted to convert Horace Walpole to her views. Even after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 she interested herself in such questions as the registration of slaves in the West Indies, which began in 1815. Her friend, Sir Alexander Johnstone, the Chief Justice of Ceylon, effected a partial abolition of slavery on the island in 1816, which she celebrated in a poem *The Feast of Freedom*, which was later set to music by the composer Charles Wesley (1757-1834) and regularly sung in schools on the island.[33]

Her reputation as an author spread as her works were translated into other languages. In 1782 she was elected a member of the Academy of Arts, Sciences, and Belle Lettres in Rouen,[34] and in 1788 Charles de Calonne (1734-1802), the former French Comptroller General of Finances, translated *Percy*, and wished to have it produced in Paris. A copy of the play was found among Mozart's effects (1791), and he may have considered the work as a source for a future libretto.

During her literary triumphs in London she did not forget her native city, spending part of each year at her sisters' school in Park Street and

campaigning with them at election time on behalf of Edmund Burke. It was through her sisters that she came to know Ann Yearsley, a poor milkwoman who had a facility for writing poetry. Her talents were recognised by Hannah More, who taught her grammatical English between 1784 and 1785, and corrected her poems. With the help of Mrs Montague, and the patronage of the Duchesses of Beaufort and Rutland, Hannah More set up a trust, the capital of which was to be applied for Ann Yearsley's benefit. Unfortunately, the sums yielded from an investment of almost £500 did not satisfy Mrs Yearsley, who determined to obtain the whole of the capital sum subscribed for her benefit. The ensuing struggle between Hannah More and her supporters, and those of Mrs Yearsley (more frequently known as Lactilla) were bitter, with claims of bad faith on both sides. Finally, Mrs Montague and Hannah More resigned their trusteeship to Mrs Yearsley's care and washed their hands of her completely, after having brought out a second edition of her poems. There is no doubt that Hannah More was deeply hurt by Mrs Yearsley's bitter slanders and ingratitude, but she continued to show concern for her state of health long after their break in friendship.[35]

Perhaps it was the hostile reception of her good intentions with regard to Mrs Yearsley which confirmed Hannah More in her desire to shake the dust of Bristol from her feet, and to settle in a small cottage in rural Somerset, where she could devote her time to gardening and reading. She moved to the cottage that she had built at Cowslip Green, a hamlet one and a half miles south-east of Wrington, in 1785-6. There, she hoped 'to escape from the world gradually'. Her sisters retired from teaching in 1789, and built themselves a house in Great Pultney Street, Bath, to which they moved in the following year. Hannah and her sisters spent part of each year between December and May in Bath until they finally settled at Barley Wood, Wrington, in 1802.[36]

Hannah More became well known to the Royal Family, particularly to George III's brothers and sisters-in-law, the Dukes and Duchesses of Cumberland and Gloucester, and to the King's son and daughter-in-law, the Duke and Duchess of York. She took great pleasure in George III's recovery from his bouts of illness (1789), and greatly admired the King's piety. The Duchess of Gloucester's[37] praise for Hannah More's poem on *Slavery* gave her great pleasure, and she told Horace Walpole that he could not 'imagine what a bad effect on my morals a little praise has from great people; I swallow it with the most simple and unresisting eagerness in the world'. The Duchess's children, Princess Sophia and Prince William Henry, later became regular visitors to her home at Barley Wood in the 1810s and 1820s.

Hannah More's friendship with Mrs Trimmer, the educationist, deepened;[38] and, encouraged by her example, she became involved in

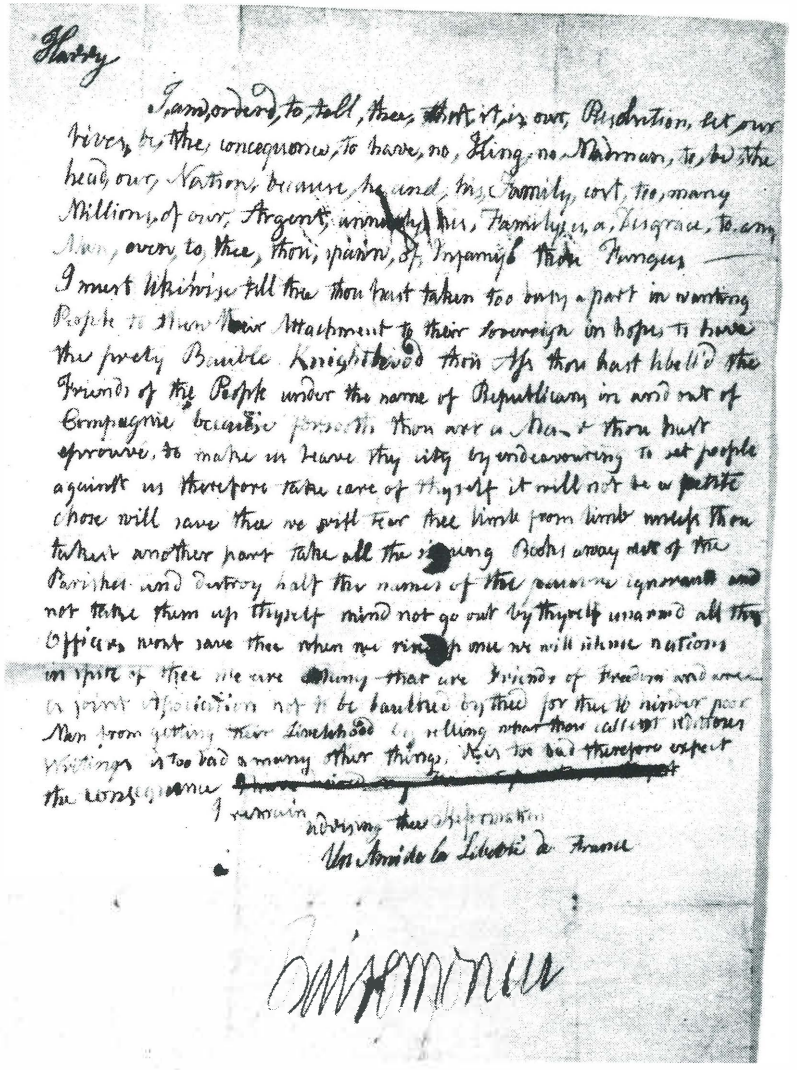
No. 76, Great Pultney Street, Bath. The home of Hannah More and her sisters each winter and spring between 1790 and 1802. (Photographed by Foo, Sze-Ern)

work amongst the poor in Somerset. The area around Cheddar was in a deplorable moral and religious state, with illiterate farm labourers and miners, ignorant farmers and non-resident clergy. In August 1789 the Misses More were visited by William Wilberforce and his sister. Shocked by what he saw at Cheddar, he promised Hannah More that, if she would undertake the work of Christianising the village, he would underwrite her expenses. Undeterred by the hostile reception from many of the farmers, Hannah and Martha More found a good schoolmistress in Bristol, and opened their first Sunday School in October 1789, with 140 children. Their attempts to form an industrial school for the girls, with spinning worsted as a major occupation, were not successful. She began to hold a Sunday School for the children's parents on Sunday afternoon. In September 1790 they opened a Sunday and day school for 140 children in the united parishes of Rowberrow and Shipham, which was followed in 1791 by schools in Sandford, Draycot, Banwell, Congresbury, Yatton, Axbridge, and Nailsea.[39] The latter place Martha More called 'our little Sierra Leone'.[40] The sisters and their schoolmasters laboured among the families of agricultural labourers, and coal mine and glass house workers in a place 'abounding in sin and wickedness'. By December 1791 the sisters claimed to have 1,000 children in their schools, and to have instituted morning and evening prayers in the poorhouses of Wrington, Rowberrow, Churchill and Winscombe. Martha More reported in her journal that there had been spiritual awakenings and conversions among both the farmers and their labourers. The reformation in manners and morals effected by the sisters in the area was such that in 1795 the overseer of the poor and the church wardens of Blagdon approached the sisters to found a Sunday School in the parish. They distributed Bibles and Prayer Books, had Bible readings on weekdays, and instituted clubs for women in Cheddar, Shipham and Rowberrow, where by paying a penny-halfpenny a week the women could receive three shillings per week if sick, and seven and six if lying-in after childbirth. Girls of good moral character were given presents upon their marriage to encourage them to follow the path of virtue before marriage. They instituted an annual anniversary which was attended by the local clergy and gentry.[41] After describing one of these Mendip feasts to Wilberforce, Hannah reported that all those who were present sang 'God Save the King', after which she told them that she 'expected that loyalty should make a part of their religion'. During the week the pupils at her schools were taught 'such coarse works as may fit them for servants'. She informed the Bishop that she allowed 'no writing for the poor. My object is ... to train up the lower classes in the habits of industry and piety', which she did by teaching them spelling, catechism,

psalter, the Book of Common Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, the Psalms, and Dr. Watts's hymns. The work in the Mendips prospered. By 1796 her schools contained between 1,600 and 1,700 pupils in ten parishes, and on a Sunday the sisters often travelled twenty miles between their different schools. Having won over some of the wealthier farmers, she started separate classes for them. The growth, however, did not last. Difficulties and discouragement resulted in the closure of the schools in Sandford (1796), Congresbury (1797), Banwell and Axbridge (1799), and Yatton (1800). The school at Wedmore, founded in 1798, attracted great opposition from the farmers who feared the effects of teaching religion, and petitioned the patron, the Dean of Wells, against the Sunday School. Although the sisters concentrated their efforts on the remaining schools in 1798, it was estimated that their work cost Wilberforce and Henry Thornton £400 p.a. in rent, wages and gratuities, as well as up to £200 which came from other benefactors. In 1800 her work was interrupted by the so-called Blagdon Controversy which resulted in much anguish and spilt ink, when the conduct of the master of her school at Cheddar called into question her own religious principles and attachments to the Church of England.[42] She was vindicated by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and her reputation emerged unscathed. She enjoyed the wholehearted support of the Bishops of London, Durham and Lincoln in this controversy, and made the friendship of a local clerical magnate, the Reverend Sir Abraham Elton of Clevedon Court. The appointment of Dr. Richard Beadon as Bishop of Bath and Wells (1802) finally put a stop to the persecution she had experienced. In October 1808 the sisters celebrated the twentieth anniversary of opening their schools and Hannah was able to tell Wilberforce that in the previous eight or nine years over a hundred of their former pupils from Cheddar alone had been fitted for domestic service. She deeply lamented the death of Henry Thornton (1815), who had supported her schools for twenty-five years. She also received generous financial support from John Harford of Blaise Castle, Sir William Pepys, and others. In 1825 her three remaining schools had 600 children, and her three Clubs had joint savings of almost £2,000. Under the terms of her will the schools were closed six months after her death.

The war years (1793-1815) proved to be difficult ones for Hannah More, and in 1793 she wrote of her feelings of loss and desolation upon the death of so many friends. One of the consolations was her growing friendship with William Wilberforce, who visited her whilst on his honeymoon. She felt the death of Dr. Stonhouse (1795) very deeply, and called him her 'faithful and most attached friend ... my counsellor, physician and divine; who first awakened me to some sense of serious things.'[43]

In common with many people, she welcomed the outbreak of the French Revolution and told Horace Walpole that although she was 'sorry that the lawless rabble are so triumphant, yet I cannot help hoping some good will arise from the sum of human misery, having been so considerably lessened at one blow by the destruction of the Bastille.' Her enthusiasm was short-lived. Within three months she wrote 'these people seem to be tending to the only two deeper evils than those they are involved in; for I can figure to myself no greater mischiefs than despotism and popery, except anarchy and atheism'. By March 1790, she was writing to Wilberforce that she had 'conceived an utter aversion to liberty according to the present idea of it in France'. Bishop Porteus urged her to read Tom Paine's *Life*, because 'the *Life* and the pamphlet are the best antidotes I have seen to the poison of his publication'. During 1792, the circulation of revolutionary opinions among ordinary people led to her friends, and in particular to Bishop Porteus and Mrs Montague, asking her to use her talents to counteract their influence by writing tracts aimed at the labouring and poorer classes. Finally she agreed and wrote *Village Politics by Will Chip* which was greatly admired by Bishop Porteus and the Royal Family, and was widely circulated by the government and by private individuals, and given as Sunday School prizes. After reading *Village Politics* Mrs Piozzi (Dr. Johnson's Mrs Thrale) wrote to a friend that Hannah More's 'conduct in these wicked days soars beyond all panegyrick'. To Horace Walpole she became 'my dear Saint Hannah' and 'dear holy Hannah'. In a reply (1793) she parodied the words of the Litany 'from liberty, equality, and the rights of man, good Lord deliver us'. At this time a famous atheistical speech by Monsieur Dupont in the National Convention so outraged her that she wrote a reply which was published and raised £240 for the emigrant French Roman Catholic clergy, whose cause was close to her heart.[44] In the same year, Bishop Porteus encouraged Hannah More to write a clear account of the evidence of Christianity 'brought down to the level of Will Chip and Jack Anvil'. She refused to read Mary Woolstencroft's *Rights of Women*, telling Horace Walpole that 'so many women are fond of government ... because they are not fit for it. To be unstable and capricious is but too characteristic of our sex', and dismissed all imputation that by expressing such sentiments she was trying to gain the favour of men. The writing of the *Cheap Repository Tracts* was done 'to stem that headlong torrent of vice and that spirit of licentiousness and insurrection.'[45] Her writings were credited with having stopped a riot of miners near Bath. Not content with preaching to the poor, she wrote cheap and economical recipes to help her female readers to practice the arts of domestic economy. In 1794 Bishop Porteus asked



An anonymous and threatening letter received by Alderman Henry Bengough (1738-1818) whilst Mayor of Bristol (1792-93), on 22nd December 1792, and signed 'Pandemonium', using French phrases, and claiming to be written by 'friends of the people'. Hannah More's tracts were designed to counteract the influence of this type of revolutionary and seditious material. (From the author's collection, formerly Phillipp's Cole MS., vol. 16, 23666. Photographed by Foo, Sze-Ern)

her to write a refutation of Tom Paine's *Age of Reason, Part the Second.* She declined, asking him to find someone more able, a challenge later fulfilled by Dr. Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, in his *An Apology for the Bible* (1796), which she admired; though she disliked his treating Paine with respect and selling the book at 4s. because 'a shilling poison, like Paine's, should not have a four shilling antidote'. Her efforts to write every month three tracts, ballads and Sunday readings to fight Paine and his followers 'with their own weapons' were successful. Two million copies were printed in the first year alone, and for three years, with the help of her sisters Sally and Patty and friends, she maintained her output.[46] The fruit of their labours was eventually published in three volumes. Among her unexpected admirers was the young William Cobbett, who ordered large quantities of her tracts whilst resident in Philadelphia. Bishops Porteus and Barrington were keen for her ballads to be set to 'popular, vulgar tunes' to reinforce the acceptance of their messages among the poor.

Hannah More made many enemies during this time and Bishop Porteus reported that they had both been attacked in a pamphlet by Peter Pindar (1799). She was targeted by the *Anti-Jacobin* (1801, 1804) and her works frequently received unfavourable reviews in the *Edinburgh Review.* They were disliked by Jane Austen and Charles Lamb,[47] and lampooned both by William Cobbett, upon his return from America, and by the radicals.[48] The torrent of abuse and scurrility which she incited by her work was counter-balanced by the reviews found in the *Christian Observer* and the *Evangelical Magazine,* and by letters from her supporters such as the one from Revd John Venn, Rector of Clapham (1810), which informed her of the conversion of one of his parishioners through the agency of her tracts. Among the younger generation of poets, she was appreciated by Robert Southey. Coleridge was introduced to her by Joseph Cottle in 1814, and calls her 'undisputedly the first literary female I have ever met with'. De Quincey knew her through his mother, who was one of her friends. He praised her conversation and attacked her philosophy.[49]

Her educational theories were published in *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), which built on her *Essays on Various Subjects: Principally designed for Young Ladies* (1777). The latter was dedicated to Mrs Montague and had been written while she was still resident in Bristol. The former was greatly praised by her friends.[50] George III's daughters, the Princesses Royal, Elizabeth, and Mary, were enthusiastic, and the Bishop of Lincoln stated that it was 'impossible for mothers to read *Strictures* without advantage to themselves and their daughters'. Shortly afterwards she met the heir-

presumptive to the throne, the young Princess Charlotte of Wales, at Carlton House. This meeting resulted in her publishing *Hints towards forming the Character of a Young Princess* (1805), which she dedicated to the Princess's Preceptor, and there was talk that she might have been appointed Sub-Preceptor (a post which was also offered to Mrs Trimmer's daughter). Queen Charlotte was full of praise for the work, although Princess Charlotte was less enthusiastic.[51]

Among the friends that she made in the early years of the nineteenth century were John Harford (1785-1866), of Blaise Castle, Henbury, Gloucestershire, and his wife, upon whom she modelled the idealised hero and heroine of her two-volume *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1809), which was an early, and to many, an unsuccessful attempt to write a religious novel. It enjoyed great success in England and America, but attracted censure from the Pope's Vicar-General for its treatment of Roman Catholicism. The popularity of the work was such that by her own account ten impressions were sold in the first six months. She subsequently sold 21,000 copies of it in the British Isles, and 30,000 in America during her lifetime. In the first year the work made her £2,000.[52] Hannah More's increasingly serious caste of mind is revealed both in *Coelebs* and in her later works. In 1813 she began work on *Christian Morals*, the sequel to *Practical Piety* (Two vols. 1811). She later wrote *An Essay on the Character and Writings of St. Paul* (1815), and revised her *Sacred Dramas* (particularly *The Drama of Moses).* Her last work, *The Spirit of Prayer* (1824) was partly drawn from her previous work. During these years she was an active supporter of the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded an auxiliary branch at Wrington in 1812, and supported Bishop Ryder when he was attacked for his encouragement of the Society.[53]

One of her close friends was Dr. Thomas Burgess (1756-1837), successively Bishop of St. David's and Salisbury, whose work in 'raising the tone of morals, learning and piety' in his Welsh diocese actively engaged the sympathies and financial support of the Misses More. Dr. Burgess became a regular visitor at Barley Wood. Both Hannah and Martha More were involved in his scheme to set up a college for clerical education at Lampeter and in their wills left money to support Bishop Burgess's college there.[54] Hannah More also took interest in Wilberforce's plans to help Henri Christophe, King of Haiti, improve and Christianise his country (1817).[55]

In her retirement she devoted herself to literature. She disliked novels because she felt they 'showed vice with a smiling face'. In this, she may well have had Mme de Stael in mind, whose novel *Allemagne* she attacked for advocating 'that abominable doctrine of human perfectibility'.

Hannah More (1822) by Henry William Pickersgill (1782-1875). This is a copy of the canvas painted for Sir Thomas Acland, and is the model for the portrait of her in the stained glass window in the church at Hinton Charterhouse: note the letter to the sitter's right bears the name Wilberforce. (Reproduced by kind permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London)

Her reading, encouraged by John Newton, embraced the poems of William Cowper (1731-1800), and she wrote (1808) that she was 'the only one of the old school who strongly relished Cowper'. She admired some of the poetry of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), enjoying his *Rokeby* and *The Lady of the Lake*. She read and praised the works of the Revd William Paley (1743-1805), the philosopher, but deplored some of his principles 'which were certainly very unsound'. Her preferred reading remained the sermons and commentaries of the seventeenth century. She took delight in the writings of Richard Baxter, particularly his *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, the works of Richard Hooker, Francis Bacon, Bishops Hall, Reynolds, and Duppa, and the more recent writings of Dodderidge, Bishop Butler and Isaac Milner. She studied and valued writings of the Biblical commentator, the Revd Thomas Scott (1747-1821), whom she often heard preach at the chapel of the Lock Hospital in London.

The devotion among Evangelical clergymen that Hannah More inspired is revealed in a letter to her from the Reverend Alexander Knox, who called her (1802) 'one of the most illustrious females that ever was in the world ... one of the most truly evangelical divines of this whole age, perhaps of almost any not apostolic age'. Although an enthusiastic member of the Church of England, she was not narrowly sectarian in her sympathies, being a friend of the Congregational minister of Argyle Chapel, Bath, the Revd William Jay (1769-1853), and a supporter of the Baptist Missionary Society. Barley Wood became a place of pilgrimage for all professing Christians with the leisure to call. At the end of 1809 she estimated that she had received double the number of visitors in the previous twelve months than she had in 1808. In a letter to her friend Mrs Kennicott (1813) she stated that in one day alone she had received nineteen visitors of whom she did not know six. In 1816 she told Wilberforce that visitors 'come to me as to the Witch of Endor, and I suppose I shall soon be desired to tell fortunes and cast nativities.'[56] In 1818 she wrote to Daniel Wilson (1778-1857), later Bishop of Calcutta, lamenting 'that most of my letters go to persons whom I have never seen, and most of my days are taken up by visitors whom I do not know.'[57] I have been told by a Bristol bookseller that he once sold a volume containing a piece of one of Hannah More's dresses which had been attached to the inside of the volume by a clergyman who had been a regular visitor at her home. Like some relic from a mediaeval saint, after her death the dress had been cut into strips and circulated amongst her Christian friends.[58]

As Hannah More grew older her family circle dwindled with the deaths of her sisters Mary (1813), Elizabeth (1816), Sally (1817) and Patty (1819), until, at the age of seventy-four, she presided over a large

A letter written by Hannah More from Barley Wood, in December 1823, in reply to a request for her patronage in placing a young man in a situation in the East India Company. The Charles Grant (1746-1823) who is mentioned was the champion of Christian missionary work in India. (From the author's collection; photographed by Foo, Sze-Ern)

staff with the help of a lady companion. Her friends were diminished by the deaths of John Venn (1813), Henry Thornton and John Bowdler (1815), Mrs Garrick and Thomas Scott (1821), Sir William Pepys (1825) and Dr. Shute Barrington (1826).[59] She corresponded with the novelist Jane Porter, and counted amongst her more recent friends the venerable Christian author and preacher, Rowland Hill (1744-1833).[60] Her new-found friends, however, could not compensate for the company and correspondence of those friends whose sympathy and affection were engaged in her youth and maturity.

Following the Battle of Waterloo, her latent feelings of francophobia blazed forth, and by 1816 she was writing that she believed 'peace with France to be a worse evil than war'. She felt that a French edition of *Coelebs* (1817) was unlikely to appeal to 'that giddy nation', but was delighted with Madame de Stael's review of the work in the *Constitutionel*, particularly as she had given Madame de Stael's religious views 'rather harsh treatment' in her own essay on *St. Paul*. *Coelebs* was subsequently translated into German and found its way to Sweden and Iceland. At this time, her tracts appeared in Russian, Tamil and Singhalese, and were circulating in Barbados, Jamaica, Sierra Leone, and the USA.

The economic difficulties of the post-war period led to a great deal of unrest in the country. In 1817 she wrote ten new pamphlets for distribution amongst the poor to counteract the writing of the radicals. These included *The Farthing* and *The Delegate* and were well-received by many, including the Duke of Gloucester. The twin evils of the growth of interest in all things French, 'the French mania' as she called it, and industrial unrest, caused her to write *Moral Sketches of Prevailing Opinions, and Manners Foreign and Domestic* (1819), in which she castigated the evils of the time. She was a confirmed Tory, and spoke of Pitt as 'our idol' and 'this incomparable statesman'.[61] Her politics are clearly revealed in lines such as these, from *Will Chip's True Rights of Man*:

> 'what follies, what falsehoods were uttered in vain,
> to disturb our repose by that Jacobin Paine!
> Shall Britons, that traitor who scorned to obey,
> of Cobbett and Hunt now become the vile prey'.

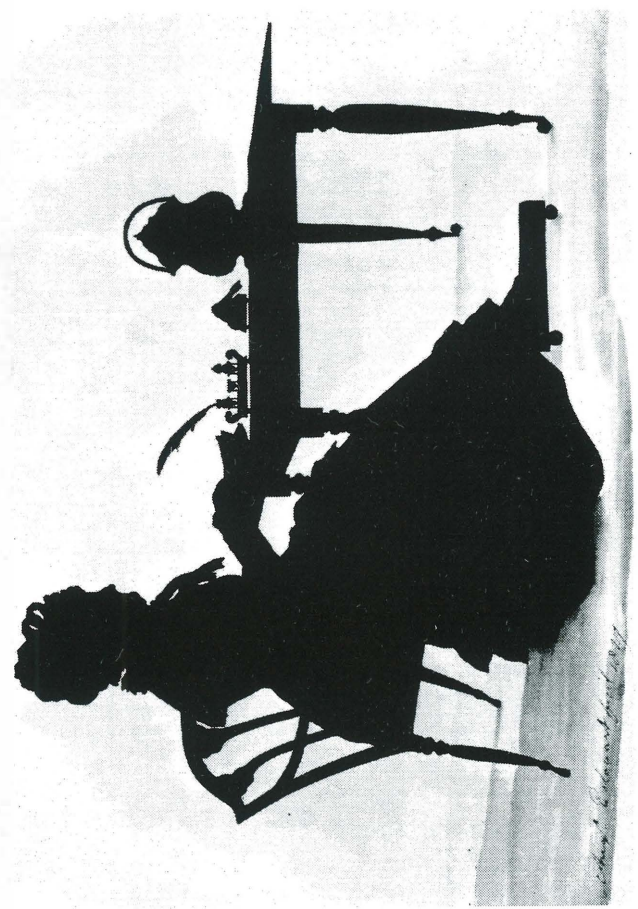
As she grew older her faults became more marked. She wrote with extreme haste and often failed to correct her errors. Although she supported the Greeks in their War of Independence, her pathological conservatism led her to delight in the initial rejection of the Bill for Catholic Emancipation, and flattery from such distinguished people as the Duke of Gloucester and his sister, Princess Sophia, made her difficult for people of opposing views. Joseph Cottle (1770-1853), the crippled

Nonconformist publisher of Wordsworth, Lamb, Coleridge and Southey, and Bristol's leading Baptist minister, the Revd Robert Hall (1764-1831) of Broadmead Chapel, record anecdotes which shew her as being overwhelmed by the flattery of the great, and her determination to shine in company.[62] Although touched when it was proposed that she should become an honorary member of the new Royal Society of Literature, she declined, chiefly because she considered her 'sex alone a disqualification'. Her letters are full of the dangers of music and of light reading, and her earlier enthusiasm for Sir Walter Scott was replaced by a realisation that his works had few maxims 'for the improvement of life and manners'.

Her health was poor for much of her life: nervous headaches were frequent. Chest infections and coughs often confined her to her bedroom or to her house for six months at a time. She also suffered with her teeth. She remained in her bedroom after the death of her sister Patty, and in November 1823 she stated that she had not made a visit for four and a half years. Moments of comparative rest and good health were spent knitting for the numerous bazaars she supported, or writing occasional verses of poetry. She lost the senses of smell and taste after a fever, and it is clear that she spent much of her periods of illness under the influence of opiates. The Revd Canon William Lisle Bowles (1762-1850), in his poem *A Glance from Banwell Hill to the Vale of Wrington* (1828), paints a picture of her old age:

> 'Accomplish'd eloquent and holy More,
> Who now, with slow and gentle decadence,
> In the same Vale, with look uprais'd to Heaven,
> Waits meekly at the gate of Paradise,
> Smiling at Time.'

Her correspondence in the 1820s shows that she had become more and more dependent upon a small group of friends, including Miss Roberts, who was frequently her companion; John Harford, who managed her estate,[63] and the Reverends John Hensman (1780-1864)[64] of Clifton, and Fountain Elwin (1783-1869)[65] of Temple Church, Bristol, who were her spiritual advisers. Finally, in 1827, when she had been living upstairs in her bedroom for more than seven years, her friends actively intervened to alter her life at Barley Wood. For some while she had been spending money at a greater rate than she was earning it,[66] but the cause of her departure was the behaviour of her pampered servants, who had been left with the day-to-day running of the house during her confinement to her room, and betrayed their trust in a number of ways, such as by attending evening parties without her leave.[67] She later said to a confidante, 'like Eve I have been driven from Paradise, but not by



A silhouette by Augustin Edouart (1789-1861), who stated that it was a 'correct likeness of the celebrated Mrs Hannah More, taken from nature in her study at Barley Wood, the 12th June 1827.'
(Reproduced by kind permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London)

LINES.

BY MRS. HANNAH MORE.

What wide extremes together meet,
No interval between;
Two opposites the most complete—
God's mercy and man's sin!

What "passeth knowledge," we must know,
Such oppositions prove;
High mysteries, as strange as true,
Of God's eternal love.

Our shallow views attempt in vain
These truths entire to teach;
An endless line we must obtain,
An endless depth to reach.

The Angels who desire to look
May see, not understand,
The marvels of that wond'rous Book,
By God's own Spirit plann'd.

A soaring faith to *grasp* aspires
What Angels wish to *see*;
Foretastes the glories it desires
Of blest Eternity!

To Christian love, in pressing need,
We make our bold appeal;
Think of the wants for which we plead—
Wants may you never feel!

Yet not to this terrestrial span
The blessings we confine;
Man's love to God—God's love to man—
Is Charity divine!

Hannah More
Barley Wood
Feb. 1827

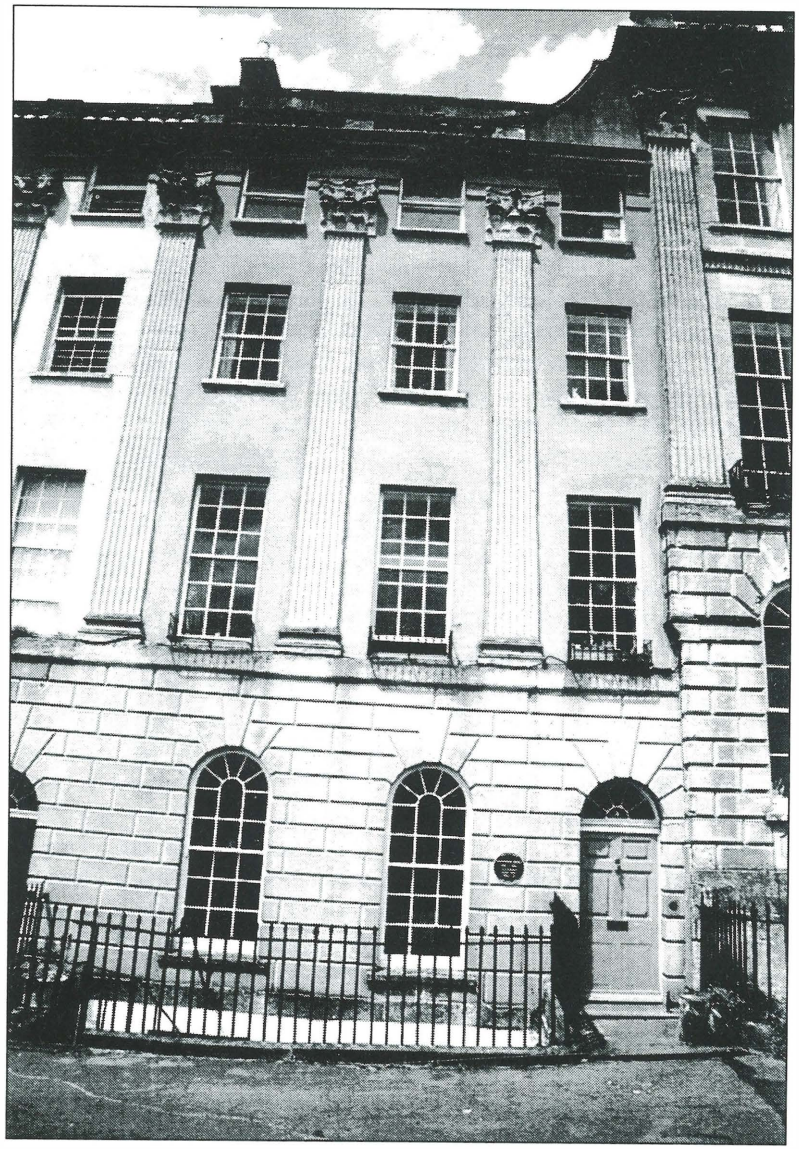
A poem written on one sheet of paper, signed by Hannah More and sold at the Bristol and Clifton Bazaar for the Benefit of the Distressed Manufacturers in April 1827.
(From the author's collection, photographed by Foo, Sze-Ern)

angels'. All her servants were discharged, her carriage, her horses and Barley Wood were sold, and she was installed by her friends in Windsor Terrace, Clifton. 'I really think the shock has hurt my hearing and my memory!' she confessed.

Her memory became very uncertain, but she was still able to take an interest in a letter which told her that Princess Victoria, the heir to the throne, had recently received a gift of her works, and that her mother, the Duchess of Kent, was deeply impressed with their value.[68]

At the close of 1832 her mental and physical powers declined dramatically. She refused food and became touchingly aware of her mental confusion, although her religious sentiments remained firm. She died on the 6th September 1833, in her 89th year, calling with her last breath for her beloved sister 'Patty, Joy!'. She was buried beside her sisters in the churchyard at Wrington. As the cortège left the city of Bristol, all the church bells were ringing to mark her departure to her last resting place.[69]

Hannah More was a woman who upheld practical Christianity and did incalculable good in inculcating Scriptural values at all levels of society. She was the enemy of vanity, debauchery, atheism, and Sabbath-breaking; a tireless worker for her king and country, an upholder of the established social order, an enemy to the philosophy and the literature of the Enlightenment, particularly that which emanated from eighteenth-century France. Her faults were obvious to her and to her own generation, and included a penchant for flattery (given and received), a tendency to egoism and a delight in the company of the great, famous, and titled.[70] The younger generation widely differed in their views of her life and work. Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859) felt that her career had been artificially furthered by the patronage of the Duchess of Beaufort and Mrs Montague. He knew her well, and portrays her as artful and vain; worldly; too affected by rank, public honours, and public opinion; well-read, but lacking philosophical principles; her literary standing, and vast sales owing their origin to her wide circle of friends, who masked the fact that 'this blue stocking manufacturer of sentiment' often wrote works which were 'shallow and superficial'. On the other hand, the young William Gladstone (1809-1898) read her books; the young George Elliot (1819-1880) greatly admired her; and her life and Christian witness were deeply respected by both the novelist Charlotte M. Yonge (1823-1901), who wrote her biography; and by the reforming, philanthropic, Earl of Shaftesbury (1801-1885).[71] Hannah More recognised and fostered great talents, such as those in the historian Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), whom she had known from birth and to whom she promised her library. She later retracted this offer due to 'the weakening



No. 4, Windsor Terrace, Clifton. Hannah More's home between 1827 and her death. (Photographed by Foo, Sze-Ern)

and uncertainty of his religious and political principles', and particularly his support for the Great Reform Bill.[72] Her life and her works make her a woman of great importance nationally, internationally, and in the history of Bristol. Joseph Cottle's *Ode to Lord Byron* (1820) celebrates her importance among 'Names sent embalmed to every age and shore, like Howard, Thornton, Wilberforce, and More'.

Her interest in Christian education, and in the building of Holy Trinity Church in St. Philip & St. Jacob's Outer Parish in Bristol to serve a particularly poor and destitute part of the city, was recognised at her death by a large subscription among her admirers, which was used to endow the parish, and to found the Hannah More Schools to continue her work.[73] These were erected in the 1840s and provided elementary education for boys, girls, and infants, drawn from 'the labouring and operative classes'. Originally the schools had places for almost 700 children, but in due course this number increased until, between January and February 1928, the registers record that the school was educating 987 pupils (379 boys, 293 girls, and 315 infants). The Local Authority inspector noted at this time that 'the building is very unsatisfactory, and on an undesirable site'. In 1943 the Local Authority decided to take all boys and girls over the age of 11 from the school and to transfer them to Barleyfields School, which was to be converted into a senior mixed school under the title of the Hannah More Senior School. The infants' school was turned into a modern primary school in August 1944, but the changing requirements for schools, the old buildings, the constricted site, and the plans to reduce housing density in the area of Lawford's Gate, led, in 1947, to the Chief Education Officer warning that the school would close in 1956. In September 1950 its managers wrote to the Chief Education Officer 'asking that immediate controlled status be applied to Hannah More Primary School in view of the fact that our financial position has deteriorated to such an extent that we are unable to meet our own liabilities, particularly the extensive repairs which are so very necessary'. The necessary instrument of management was issued on 25th May 1951, and the control of the school passed to the Local Authority. In due course, the close link between the church and the school, essential in Hannah More's day, was severed. The work of the schools, however, continues at the Hannah More Primary School in New Kingsley Road, St. Philip's, which educates 160 children between the ages of 4 and 11. It ensures that Hannah More's life and work are known to successive generations of pupils and respected among her fellow citizens.[74]

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The principal works relating to Hannah More and consulted by the author are:

W. Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs Hannah More*, 4 volumes, (1834), abbreviated to *Memoirs*.

H. Thompson, *The Life of Hannah More with Notices of Her Sisters*, (1838), abbreviated to *The Life*.

The above were edited by R. Bickersteth, and published in *The Library of Christian Biography*, VII, (1856), 'The Life of Hannah More with Selections from Her Correspondence'.

M.A. Hopkins, *Hannah More and Her Circle*, (New York, 1947), abbreviated as M.A. Hopkins.

J. & M. Collingwood, *Hannah More, The Woman Who Brought Hope to England's Dark Places*, (1990), abbreviated as Collingwood.

Several of other biographies of Hannah More have been written, but all rely heavily on Roberts and Thompson.

Footnotes

Key: B.R.O. - Bristol Record Office; P.R.O. - Public Record Office

1. The school on Fishponds Green was founded by Mrs Mary Webb for the education of ten poor girls and twenty poor boys. Ralph Bigland, 'Historical Monumental and Genealogical Collections Relative to the County of Gloucester', Part III. Ed. B. Frith, *The Gloucestershire Record Series*, V, (1992), p 1160.
2. For her linguistic abilities see *Memoirs*, I, pp.12, 13, 14, 29.
3. See G. F. Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge DD (1702-1751)*, (1979); M. Deacon, *Philip Doddridge of Northampton 1702-1751*, (1980), pp. 88, 105, 121, 123, 142, 165. Stonhouse was highly regarded as a preacher. For a poem written by one of his auditors at the Octagon Chapel, Bath, see W. J. Jenkins's unpublished Bristol University M.A. thesis entitled, *A History of the Proprietary Chapels of Bath (1948)*, p.32. Hannah More wrote the epitaphs of Stonhouse and his wife, which were formerly in Dowry Chapel, Hotwells. *Memoirs*, I, p.31. She thought of him even at the end of her life, *Memoirs*, IV, p.149. The Revd William Jay paints an unflattering picture of him, G. Redford and J.A. James (eds), *The Autobiography of William Jay*, (1854), pp.340-342.
4. Her views on Akenside changed and in *Coelebs*, I, (2nd Edition, 1809), p.89, she attacks the lack of spiritual dimension in his *Pleasures of Imagination*.
5. Raikes helped Hannah More to champion Lactilla, F. Booth, *Robert Raikes of Gloucester*, (1980), p.127.

6. The source of this information is a pencil note in the copy of this work in the University of Bristol Special Collections. This volume was originally in the library of Hannah More's friends, the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort. She had known the latter since childhood, M.A. Hopkins *Hannah More and Her Circle*, (1947), p.5. The copy subsequently became the property of Dame Monica Wills, whose home, Barley Wood, Wrington, was Hannah More's home between 1802 and 1828. *The Life*, p.21, states she suppressed both her translation of Metastasio's operas and, p.35, her essays on various subjects; J. Kennedy, W.A. Smith, and A.F. Johnson, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* V, (1929), p.215, claims that *Select Moral Tales* was translated by Miss R. Roberts.
7. In later life (1818) she recalled translating a poem in Spanish entitled *Las Lagrimas de San Pedro*, of which we know nothing. For an account of her views of the Enlightenment see M.J. Crossley Evans, 'The English Evangelicals and the Enlightenment: The Case of Hannah More', *Transactions of the Eighth International Congress on the Enlightenment*, 1992, pp.458-461.
8. The sum is quoted in *The Life*, pp.15-19, M.A. Hopkins loc. cit. 35.
9. He was also known to Doddridge, see G.F. Nuttall loc. cit. p.87, and was Dr. Johnson's printer, *Memoirs*, III, p.183.
10. *Memoirs*, I, p.44. On her visit to Pope's house, she stole a pen, a sprig of laurel, and two pieces of spar from his grotto.
11. *Memoirs*, I, pp.44-49. *The Life of Hannah More with Selections from Her Correspondence*, ed. R. Bickersteth, (1856), p.12.
12. W.H. Craig, *Doctor Johnson and the Fair Sex: A Study of Contrasts*, (1895), pp.153-154. A. Hayward, *Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs Piozzi (Thrale)*, I, (1861), p.141.
13. J. Wain, ed., *Fanny Burney's Diary: A Selection from the Diary and Letters*, (1961), p.85.
14. J. Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, (Everyman Edition, 1992), p.1131.
15. For an account of how the term 'Blue Stocking' came about see J. Boswell, op. cit, p.1011.
16. Mrs Boscawen lived at Rosedale, Richmond, once the home of Thomson the poet. One of her daughters married Henry, fifth Duke of Beaufort.
17. R. Hayden, *Mrs Delany: Her Life and her Flowers*, (4th impression, 1988), p.129.
18. *The Life*, p.28 states that she made £600 from *Percy*. *Memoirs*, pp.122, 140.
19. I am indebted to Professor Peter Skrine of the Department of German, of the University of Bristol, for drawing my attention to *Die Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts*, (Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel Nr. 66), (1991), pp.35-36. Mozart's copy of *Percy* was the English edition of 1778, printed by Cadell. Mrs Siddons was a friend of Hannah More's in later life. She first played the role of Elwina at the Theatres Royal in Bath and Bristol during the 1778-1779 season, R. Manvell, *Sarah Siddons: Portrait of an Actress*, (1970), pp.57, 59, 354.

20. For Hannah More as a playwright see M.A. Schofield and C. Macheski (eds), *Curtain Calls: British and American Women and the Theater 1660-1820*, (Ohio, 1991), pp.143-158.

21. For her relationship with Bishop Porteus see *Memoirs*, I, pp.146, 207-208, 214, 223-224, 241, 251, etc.

22. N. Ashton, 'George Horne, Bishop of Norwich 1790-1792', *Norfolk Archaeology*, XLII, Part III, (1996), pp.283-295; Dr. Horne shared her enthusiasm for the writing of the Port Royal fathers, *Memoirs*, I, p.204.

23. Her drama, *King Hezekiah in His Sickness*, was based on a sermon by Dr. Stonhouse, *The Life*, p.48.

24. For her relationship with Boswell, *Memoirs*, I, pp.210-211,403.

25. *Memoirs*, I, p.188, 236. *Cardiphonia* was frequently quoted and recommended by her. For her friendship with Newton, *Memoirs*, II, pp.53, 62-66, etc.

26. *Memoirs*, III, pp.233-234, 238, 283, 304.

27. *Memoirs*, II, pp.16-17.

28. For her views on Gibbon see *Memoirs*, I, pp.183, 236-237; II, pp.52-53, 112, 131-133, 137-138, 175, 415.

29. She found Shute Barrington's conversation 'instructive and delightful', *Memoirs*, I, p.254, and for his wife, p.250.

30. She became part of the group known as 'the Clapham Sect', and was known to one of the founding fathers of Evangelicalism, Charles Simeon, see H.E. Hopkins, *Charles Simeon of Cambridge*, (1977), p.137; A. Pollard and M. Hennel, *Charles Simeon (1759-1836)*, (1959), p.18; E.M. Howse, *Saints in Politics: the 'Clapham Sect' and the Growth of Freedom*, (1953), pp.3, 16, 19, 49, 86f, 95-97, &ff; G.R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* (new edition, 1951), pp.121-123, 131.

31. For her relationship with Newton see B. Martin, *John Newton*, (1950), pp.316-321, &c; see J. Newton, *Collected Letters*, ed. H. Backhouse, (1989); for her enthusiasm for Cowper see *Memoirs*, II, p.10. Her comments on the translation of Porteus to London are to be found in *Memoirs*, II, p.70.

32. For her relationship with Wilberforce see R. Coupland, *Wilberforce*, (2nd Edition, 1945), pp.38, 39, 41, 98, etc.; J. Pollock, *Wilberforce*, (1977), pp.52, 64-65, 88, etc.; R.I. and S. Wilberforce, *The Life of William Wilberforce*, (2nd Edition, 1839), 5 volumes; J.S. Harford, *Recollections of William Wilberforce, Esq., M.P. for the County of York, During Nearly Thirty Years; With Brief Notes of Some of his Personal Friends and Contemporaries*, (2nd Edition, 1865). For a good overview see R. Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement*, (1933).

33. For her views on the slave trade and allied matters see *Memoirs*, II, pp.86, 97, 99, 103, 104-105, 113, 115, 151 &ff, 184,, 222-223, 235, 305, 340, 415; III, pp.247, 445; IV, pp.7, 8, 14-18, 183; and *Coelebs* (2nd Edition, 1809), p.261. Hannah More's friends, Thomas Burgess, later Bishop of St. David's, and Dean Tucker were staunch abolitionists. It is not known if she assisted Thomas Clarkson's work in Bristol. For Porteus's interest in anti-slavery see R. Hodgson, *The Life of The Right Reverend Beilby Porteus, D.D., late Bishop of*

London, (3rd Edition, 1812), pp.85-86, 102-104, 111, 216-217, 223-224, 258, 281. He left his 'excellent friend' Hannah More £200 stock in 3%. For Cowper's views see J. King and C. Ryskamp (eds), *William Cowper: Selected Letters*, (Oxford, 1989), pp.135-136. He did write a number of poems on the subject, including the eloquent and moving 'The Negro's Complaint' and 'Pity for Poor Africans'. Her poem on the abolition in Ceylon is to be found in *The Twelfth of August, or, the Feast of Freedom, or, the Abolition of Domestic Slavery in Ceylon; the vocal parts adapted to music by Charles Wesley Esq ... to which are added several unpublished little pieces by Hannah More* (1827).

34. For her election in 1782, *Memoirs*, I, pp.262-3, 321, 325.

35. J. Cottle, *Early Recollections; Chiefly Relating to the Late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, During his Long Residence in Bristol*, I, (1837), pp.69-77, paints a very balanced picture of the controversy between Lactilla and Hannah More; *Memoirs*, I, pp.320, 361, 387, 383, 387-8; II, pp.15, 80-81, 223.

36. The departure of the Misses Mores from Bath was much regretted, O.G. Knapp (ed), *The Intimate Letters of Hester Piozzi and Penelope Pennington 1788-1821*, (1914), pp.254-255; *Memoirs*, III, p.215, states that the house was sold early in 1804.

37. For the appreciation of the young Duke of Gloucester for her work and character see *Memoirs*, IV, pp.96-97. She dedicated the 7th Edition of her *Moral Sketches* to George III (1820).

38. The value placed on Mrs Trimmer's work can be seen in *Letters from Mrs Elizabeth Carter to Mrs Montague Between the Years 1755 and 1800, Chiefly Upon Literary and Moral Subjects*, III, (1817), p.282; *The Life*, p.89, Mrs Trimmer's school in Brentford was founded in 1786 and was praised by the Queen and Bishop Porteus, *Memoirs*, II, pp.52, 59, 101, 115, 421-423.

39. A. Roberts (ed), *Mendip Annals: or a Narrative of the Charitable Labours of Hannah & Martha More in their Neighbourhood, being the Journal of Martha More*, (1859), pp.12, 22, 23, 24, 29, 33, 34, *The Life*, pp.91-106, *Memoirs*, II, pp.206-209 &ff, 300-306, 308-309 etc.

40. *Mendip Annals*, p.42. Sierra Leone was a country formed for the abode of freed slaves and was, for a while, governed by Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian.

41. The 1791 annual feast had 4,000 people in attendance, and for £15, they all received a large slice of beef, plum pudding, a cake and cider. A close study of *Mendip Annals* etc. shows that Hannah More's account of the number of scholars in her schools, attendance etc., cannot be trusted and is often contradictory.

42. The Curate of Blagdon and his wife appear to have been Hannah More's chief opponents. See *Mendip Annals*, pp.227-239, M. Elton, *The Annals of the Elton Family: Bristol Merchants and Somerset Landowners*, (1994), pp.72, 113-115. Elton was savagely attacked for 'his adulation of Mrs More ...' in the *Anti-Jacobin* of July 1801. The *Mendip Annals* finish in 1801; the story is carried on in *Memoirs*, III, pp.114, 122, 123-139, 140-152, 159, 173, 175.

43. *Memoirs*, III, p.191.

44. *Remarks on the Speech of M. Dupont, made in the National Convention of France, on the Subjects of Religion and Public Education*, (1793). See K. Everest (ed.) *Revolution in Writing: British Literary Responses to the French Revolution*, (1991), pp.27, 64, which puts the work of Hannah More in context, S. Prickett, *England and the French Revolution*, (1989), pp.95 &ff.

45. For an idea of her views about France at this time see *Memoirs*, II, p.170, 186, 224-225, 381-387, etc.; and on Tom Paine, *Memoirs*, II pp.292-294, and on her tracts, *Memoirs* II, pp.346, 347, 348, 349, &ff; in correspondence with Horace Walpole, ibid pp.352-355, 357, 360-361, etc.; on the *Rights of Women*, pp.354-355, 371; and on Dr. Watson's reply to Paine, *Memoirs*, II, p.446.

46. Even Whig parsons admired her tracts, and Sydney Smith, when a young curate at Netheravon in Wiltshire, founded a Sunday School and warmly recommended the tracts to the squire. They could be had for 5/- per 100, G. Bullett, *Sydney Smith: a Biography and a Selection*, (1951), p.26. Johnson's Mrs Thrale was very enthusiastic about them, O.G. Knapp (ed.), *The Intimate Letters of Hester Piozzi and Penelope Pennington, 1788-1821*, (1914), p.174; E.A. and L.D. Bloom, *The Piozzi Letters: Correspondence of Hester Lynch Piozzi, 1784-1821*, (Newark, 1991), pp.102, 242. On the tracts, *Memoirs*, II, pp.424-430, 432-433, 453-459, 468-473; III, p.5 etc. For a later view of the value of tracts in general see H. Mayhew, *Mayhew's Characters Selected from London Labour and the London Poor*, (undated), p.23.

47. E.W. Marrin (Ed), *The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb*, III, (1978), p.14; W.E. Courtney, *Young Charles Lamb 1775-1802*, (New York, 1983), pp.56, 96, 351. P. Honan, *Jane Austen: Her Life*, (New York, 1987), pp.170, 337-338; R.W. Chapman, *Jane Austen's Letters*, (2nd Edition, 1952), pp.256, 259.

48. For Cobbett's views, D. Green, *Great Cobbett, the Noblest Agitator*, (1983), pp.219-220, G.D.H and M. Cole (eds), *The Opinions of William Cobbett*, (1944), pp.133, 219, 293. A. Roberts, *Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay, Esq., Containing Notices of Lord Macaulay's Youth*, (1860), pp.16-17 &n.

49. G. Monkland, *Supplement to 'The Literature and Literatii of Bath', Containing Additional Notes and Emendations*, (Bath, 1855), p.25, for Southey's visit; J. Cottle, *Early Recollections; Chiefly Relating to the Late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, During his Long Residence in Bristol*, I, (1837), I, pp.19, 81-82; II, pp.149, 166-167; D. Masson, *de Quincey's Works*, X, (Edinburgh, 1890), p.440.

50. For an unsympathetic view of her educational aims and aspirations see K.M. Rogers & F.M. Burney, *The World of 'Female Difficulties'*, (1990), pp.76-77, 147-148, 170. For the success of some of her educational ideas amongst the aristocracy see I. Leverson Gower, *A Face Without a Frown: Georgina, Duchess of Devonshire*, (1944), p.217.

51. The Princess stated that this was 'what makes me finde the hours so long'. A. Aspinall (ed.), *The Letters of the Princess Charlotte 1811-1817*, (1949), p.38. For Hannah More's view of the Princess, *Memoirs*, III, p.105. *Memoirs*, IV, p.20, says this was the last book she read before her death, D. Hedley, *Queen Charlotte*, (1975), p.263.

52. For *Coelebs* see *Memoirs*, III, pp.275-288, 318; *The Life*, pp.239-248. Wilberforce wanted her to write a moral religious novel. The work was savaged in a review by Sydney Smith, *Essays Social and Political*, (undated), pp.340-341.

53. Dr. Ryder was an old friend. W.J. Baker, 'Henry Ryder of Gloucester 1815-1824', *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, LXXXIX, (1970), pp.130-145. For an unsympathetic view of his Evangelical sympathies see J. Ayres (ed.), *Paupers and Pig Killers: the Diary of William Holland, a Somerset Parson 1799-1818*, (Gloucester, 1984), pp.297-298.

54. *Memoirs*, III, pp.314-315, 319-320, 439; IV, pp.143-146. D.T.W. Price, *A History of Saint David's University College, Lampeter*, I, (1977), pp.59-60.

55. For her interest in Haiti see *Memoirs*, III, p.181, 441, 494; M.J. Crossley Evans, 'The Curtain Parted: or Four Conversations with Hannah More, 1817-1818', *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, CX, (1992), pp.181-211. See H. Cole, *Christophe: King of Haiti*, (1967).

56. *Memoirs*, III, pp.312, 367, 445; IV, pp.23-25, 27, 34-36, 38-40, 47, 123. J. Cottle, loc. cit. I (1837), pp.80-82, on Hannah More's visitors *The Life*, pp.314-318, A. Roberts, loc. cit., pp.180-183, 190-193.

57. For her letters to Wilson see J. Bateman, *The Life of the Right Reverend Daniel Wilson, D.D.*, I & II, (1860), pp.98, 165, 166, 177, 219.

58. I am indebted to Mr. Maurice Venables for this information.

59. For Hannah More's views on the deaths of her friends see *Memoirs*, II, pp.391-394; III, pp.435, 475; IV, pp.32-34, 233-239.

60. For Hannah More's views on Rowland Hill see *Memoirs*, IV, pp.230, 246-248, 253-254.

61. A. Roberts, op. cit. pp.167-170, on her devotion to the Duke of Wellington when premier.

62. For Cottle's experience see A.B. Cottle, *Joseph Cottle of Bristol*, (Bristol, 1987), p.18, the source is recounted by de Quincey. See R.H. Warren, *The Hall Family*, (Bristol, 1911), pp.91-92, 95. Hall disliked her pride and her conversation because she 'too much sought for point and epigrammatic turns', but admired her writing. She was aware of her conversational defects, see *Memoirs*, III, p.59, and her love of flattery, *Memoirs*, III, pp.55, 62.

63. For Harford's management of her estate see *Memoirs*, IV, pp.256-257.

64. No better account of Hensman can be found than J. Leech, *Rural Rides of the Bristol Churchgoer*, A. Sutton (ed.), (1982), p.23. *Memoirs*, IV, pp.58-59, 255, 293-295; *D.N.B.*

65. *The Bath Chronicle*, 27 May 1869, p.5. *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 29 May 1869, p.7, G. Redford and J. Angell James (eds) *The Autobiography of William Jay*, p.342, mentions four ministers, but not by name.

66. *Memoirs*, IV, p.272, states that for two years, 1824-1826, she had expended £300 more than she had earned.

67. *Memoirs*, IV, pp.279, 293-295. She reduced her servants from eight to four, J. Cottle, loc. cit. I, pp.82-94, on the servant problem.

68. *Memoirs*, IV, pp.297-298.

69. *Memoirs*, IV, pp.290-291, 300, 301, 303, 304, 311. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, CIII, Part II, (1833), pp.372-375.

70. Other faults came from the rapidity with which she wrote. She calls herself 'a careless writer', *Memoirs*, IV, pp.61, 262, 272, 324, 327, 398. She encouraged Jay to write with as much celerity as possible, *The Autobiography of William Jay*, loc. cit., p.127.

71. D. Masson (ed.), *The Collected Writings of Thomas de Quincey*, XIV, (Edinburgh, 1890), pp.94-131. For George Elliot's admiration of her see B. Willey, *Nineteenth Century Studies: Coleridge to Matthew Arnold*, (1950), pp.208, 246; for Gladstone's visit, *The Times*, 20 Sept 1877, p.8, col.a., R. Shannon, *Gladstone*, I, (1982), p.8, and A. Roberts (ed.), op.cit., p.157, and Lord Shaftesbury's praise, G.B.A.M. Finlayson, *The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury 1801-1885*, (1981), p.103.

72. A. Roberts, *Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay, Esq., Containing Notices of Lord Macaulay's Youth*, (1860), p.xiii.

73. J. Cottle, loc. cit., I, (1837), notes that she left in her will £100 to the Bristol Clerical Education Society, £100 to the Baptist Clerical Education Society, £100 to the Liverpool Seaman's Mission Bethel, £1000 to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and £60 to Bristol and Clifton Anti-Slavery Society. She bequeathed £27,000 to 200 legatees. The residue of her estate, estimated at £3,000, went to Holy Trinity Church, St. Philip's. For the will see P.R.O., PROB 11/1822 (1833).

74. The Parish of Holy Trinity, St. Philip's, was joined with the Easton Family Centre in 1975, and closed in 1977. The plans of the Hannah More School are dated 1st January 1846, and bear the name of Thomas Foster and Son, architects (B.R.O. 22938 (12)). Thomas Foster's (1793-1849) work has been called 'routine and somewhat threadbare Tudor', and the design for the school is no exception, A. Gomme, M. Jenner, and B. Little, *Bristol: an Architectural History*, (1979), p.433. Elsewhere we are told that the schools were erected by subscription in 1838-9, J. Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century*, (1887), p.199. For numbers see: G. Pryce, *A Popular History of Bristol: Antiquarian, Topographical and Descriptive* (Bristol, 1861), p.209; B.R.O. P/HT/S/1, Managers' Minutes 1903-1951, and P/HT/S/2, Infants' School Log Book, 1892-1942. I am indebted to Mrs Tooze, the Secretary to the Headmistress of the Hannah More Primary School, and to Mrs G. Robins, Headmistress of the school, for their help.

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