

THE CASE OF MRS. HANNAH MORE
A STUDY IN MENTAL HYGIENE

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE TEXAS STATE COLLEGE
FOR WOMEN IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY

CORIN HUMPHRIES

DENTON, TEXAS

August, 1932

TEXAS STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

COLLEGE OF INDUSTRIAL ARTS

DENTON, TEXAS

August 30 1932

I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared
under my supervision by Corin Humphries
entitled THE CASE OF MRS. HANNAH MORE:
A STUDY IN MENTAL HYGIENE

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts.

L. M. Ellison

In Charge of Thesis

L. M. Ellison

Director of Department

Accepted:

W. H. Slack

Chairman, Committee on Graduate Study

THE CASE OF MRS. HANNAH MORE
A STUDY IN MENTAL HYGIENE

PREFACE

The purpose of this study is stated in the introductory chapter. The final choice of subject matter, the method and manner of treatment are the result of an ever increasing wonder at the slow but steady evolution of the mind of the race, recorded in the page of literature and shown in the progress of scientific knowledge; and an expression of the wish that the scientific study of mind may lead to conservation of human potentialities and the resultant healthy attainment of happiness.

For direction given, and light received in my studies of English and Chemistry with the related interpretation and analysis and appreciation of some of Life's phenomena I thank my teachers, Dr. L. M. Ellison and Dr. W. H. Clark.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1. Introduction

1. Purpose of Study: discovery and understanding of mental abnormality in Hannah More	1-3
2. Order of Procedure.....	3
3. Definition of terms.....	3
4. The laboratory method in mental diagnosis increases interest in any human being.....	3-4
5. Additional reason for clinic study of Hannah More.....	4-5
6. Ultimate reason for investigation.....	5
7. The field of psychiatry.....	5-6
8. Hannah More's understanding of mental law..	6-7
9. Prerequisites for Study.....	7
10. The attitude of present investigator.....	8
11. Prevailing opinion of Hannah More's Life...	8
12. Biographical Sketch from New International Encyclopedia.....	8-9
13. Personality Traits; Cambridge History of English Literature.....	9-10
14. Information from Encyclopedia Britannica...	10
15. Motives of present study differ from those of writers quoted.....	10-11
16. Further Requisite for Study.....	11
17. Character of Eighteenth Century.....	11-12

18.	Radical Nature of Period.....	12
19.	Women begin to Interpret World Issues.....	12
20.	The Eighteenth Century the Historic Back- ground of Hannah More's Life.....	13
21.	Complete personal history of Hannah More's Life Sought.....	13
22.	Outline of Diagnostic Study.....	13

Chapter 11. The Clinic Examination: Hannah More a Subject for Psychopathic Diagnosis

1.	The basis of the Examination: phenomena and method.....	14-15
2.	Case One	15-16
3.	Analysis of Case One; the law of opposites in operation.....	16-17
4.	The Nature of Psychopathic Psychoses.....	17
5.	Definition of Insanity.....	18
6.	Comparison and Classification of Symptoms.	18
7.	The Law of the Unconscious in Operation...	19
8.	Further Symptoms of Abnormality: Suggesti- bility and Religiosity.....	19-20
9.	Religious Emotionalism pathological.....	20-21
10.	Types of Religious Pathology.....	21
11.	The cycle of activity of Hannah More's Psychosis.....	21-22
12.	Tentative Classification of the cycle; Cyclo- thymia.....	22

13.	Reasons for deferring permanent judgment of periodic mania.....	23
14.	A case adjudged Psychopathic.....	23
15.	Characteristics of the Case.....	23-24
16.	Hannah More's Case compared with the above case.....	24
17.	General Law of Psychiatry covering Both Cases.....	24-25
18.	Evidence sought for Specific Classification.....	25
19.	Elements in Evidence Sought.....	25-26
20.	Second Case Study.....	26
21.	Characteristics of Case.....	26-27
22.	Analysis of Case.....	27-29
23.	Nature of Patient's Reaction.....	29
24.	Points of differentiation of second and first cases.....	29-30
25.	Points of Similarity in first and second cases.....	30-31
26.	Second Case illustrates Manic-Depressive Psychosis.....	31-32
27.	Extended Investigation Undertaken.....	33
28.	Case Three.....	33-34
29.	Excitation; Religiosity; Depression.....	34-35
30.	Impelling Force in Excitation.....	35
31.	Four elements of Psychosis less defined in case three.....	35

32.	Case Four.....	35-36
33.	Self-condemnation.....	36
34.	Effect of Excitation on Health.....	36
35.	Eighteenth Century Ignorance of Psy- chiatry.....	36-37
36.	Case Five.....	37-39
37.	Case Six.....	39
38.	Case Seven.....	39
39.	Case Eight.....	40
40.	Case Nine.....	40
41.	Delusive and Hallucinatory Mentality....	40-41
42.	Case Ten.....	41-42
43.	Marked Evidences of Psychopathy.....	42-43
44.	Case Eleven.....	43
45.	Eleven Cycles of Activity Conform to a Type.....	43-44
46.	Religious Obsessions.....	44-45
47.	Definite judgement of periodic psychosis, manic-depressive.....	45-46
48.	Last months of life spent in Delirium...	46
49.	Summary of Chapter Two; Brief Re-state- ment of Examination.....	46-47
50.	Method and Material.....	48
51.	Science's explanation.....	48
52.	The next question.....	48

Chapter 111. The Life Pattern:

1. Hannah More's Psychopathic Tendencies the Result of Early Environment Preponderously Religious; the Pattern of Abnormality Intensified in Formative Years by Education, Rigid and Circumscribed
 1. Diagnosis based on deep-lying causes of disease..... 49
 2. Causes of Hannah More's Abnormality..... 49-50
 3. Hereditary and Early Environmental Pre-disposition versus Later Suggestion..... 50-53
 4. The Reason for Religiosity in Hannah More's Personality..... 53
 5. The Law of the Life Pattern..... 53-56
 6. History of First Twelve Years..... 56-57
 7. Family Traits..... 57-58
 8. Early Precocity..... 58
 9. Evidence of Religious Bias..... 59
 10. Constitutional Sensitiveness..... 59-60
 11. Pattern of later abnormality found in first years..... 60
 12. Training accentuated psychopathic tendencies..... 60
 13. Father and Sister first teachers..... 60-61
 14. Education from 12 to 20 continuation of earlier lessons..... 61
 15. Native versatility restricted..... 61-64

16.	Destiny thwarted.....	64
17.	Constitutional Reaction to Mental Stimuli.....	64-65
18.	Summary of Chapter: Life Pattern of Fifth Year the Same as that of Sixtieth	65-66
19.	Illustration of the Personality Pattern	66
20.	Law of the Personality Pattern.....	66-67

Chapter 1V. The Psychic Conflict: the Struggle Between
Conscious and Unconscious Factors of Person-
ality in Attempt to Establish the Identity
of the Psyche

1.	The Conscious and Unconscious Processes of Hannah More's Mind, between the ages of Twenty and Forty.....	68
2.	Intrinsic and Relative Significance of Personality Characteristics.....	68-69
3.	Opinions expressing Belief that Psyche of this Period contrasted with earlier and later Personality.....	69-71
4.	Examination revealing the Original Life Pattern beneath varying Manifestations.	71
5.	Evidences of a Markedly Different Personality.....	71-72
6.	Evidences of Presence of original Life Pattern.....	72-74
7.	Increased Tendency to Religiosity from thirtieth to fortieth year.....	74

8.	Writing of Secular Dramas of this Period unattended by Illness.....	74-75
9.	Explanation of Apparent Normal Expres- sion and Deliberate Forsaking it.....	75-76
10.	Psychiatric Definition of Term <u>Flight into Reality</u>	76
11.	Rationalization for an Experience Sought through <u>Flight into Reality</u>	76-77
12.	Facts of the Experience.....	77-78
13.	Outcome of the Experience.....	78
14.	Resolution to Avoid any Recurrence of the Experience.....	78-79
15.	Principles injurious to Mental Health inherent in Resolution.....	79-80
16.	Experience Unrelated to Earlier Psycho- pathic Tendencies becomes a Medium for them.....	80-81
17.	Unconscious Forces Win in Psychic Conflict and Reestablishment of Early Life Pattern	81-82

Chapter V. Hannah More's Personality Revealed Through her Works

1.	Evidence of Personality Pattern sought in Hannah More's Works.....	83
2.	Works Deal with Issues of the Day Demand- ing Reform.....	84
3.	Religious Dramas written for Didactic	

Purpose.....	85-86
4. Three Tragedies only Major works of Secular Nature.....	86-87
5. Former Enthusiasm for Theatre is changed to Complete Aversion.....	87-88
6. Characteristics of Hannah More's Poetry..	88-89
7. <u>Bas Bleu</u> , a Defense of Learned Conversa- tion.....	89
8. <u>Florio</u> , an Exhortation to Youth.....	89
9. Deterioration in Quality of Later Poetic Works.....	89-90
10. Subject Matter of Hannah More's Miscel- laneous Writings and Long Prose Articles	90
11. Political Papers adapted to comprehension of the Middle Classes.....	90-92
12. <u>Village Politics</u> , written in Opposition to Thos. Paine's Revolutionary doctrines...	92-94
13. Bulk of writing relates to customs and religion adapted to different classes of society.....	94-95
14. <u>Coelebs in Search of a Wife</u> ; a didactic novel.....	95-96
15. Comprehensive criticism of life by Coelebs.....	96
16. Desirable Traits and Place of a Wife.....	96-97
17. Some Social and Religious Topics Dis- cussed in <u>Coelebs</u>	97-98

18.	Biased Temperament Expressed in Didacticism of <u>Coelebs</u>	98
19.	Other works showing Religious Correct- ness desirable to Manners and Customs..	98-99
20.	Abnormal Personality Manifestations in Purely Religious Works.....	99
21.	Nature, length, and intensity of Works showing Extreme Religiosity.....	100-101
22.	Every activity and Force of Life to Find Sublimation in Religious Fervor.....	101-102
23.	Personality Revealed in Hannah More's Works the Same as found in Personal Letters.....	102
24.	Inevitable operation of Mental Law Shown in Hannah More's Literary Activities.....	102-103

Chapter VI. Conclusion

1.	Hannah More's Case Reviewed Briefly.....	104-106
2.	The Significance of the Diagnosis: Present and Future Application of Conclusion.....	106
3.	Personality thwarted and Genius wasted through Educator's Ignorance of Laws of Mental Hygiene.....	106-108
4.	As an Agent of Truth Genius attains Immortality.....	108
5.	The Law of Nature in regard to Genius....	108-110

6.	Modern Efforts at Personality Standardization and Lack of Human Nature.....	110
7.	The Scientist's Greatest Challenge.....	110

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to establish scientifically the fact that Hannah More was a case for psychopathic diagnosis. It will be shown that the most probable cause for such a condition was the force of early environment, preponderantly religious. The power of this influence upon an intelligence, by nature highly responsive but yet immature, and upon a physical constitution extremely sensitive to such external stimuli, produced a bias that persisted and in later life amounted to abnormality. It will be seen that the condition existed from very early childhood; and that it was intensified during the formative years by training circumscribed and notable for rigid principles and discipline. Again, it will appear that between the ages of twenty and thirty years the psyche probably tried to break away from this early character pattern and express a different and perhaps more normal personality, but was unable to do so, because of the reassertion of the earlier influences, due to three reasons: the attempt or opportunity for change came too late; a wish un-

realized sought sublimation through the channel so afforded; a mentality requiring an outlet responded to suggestions of moral and social responsibility in harmony with the opinion of influential associates whose opinions conformed to the character of the early pattern. The early tendency so enforced became ascendant over any other and reached proportions of abnormality. The following means will be used to show that her life presents a series of manifestations of a psychopathic nature. Evidence will be taken from her own work written between the ages of twenty-eight and eighty-eight. For the period preceding this, lack of other sources makes it necessary to have recourse to biographical notes prepared by a Mr. Roberts immediately after Hannah More's death. That this material furnishes proof of abnormality will be shown by comparing it with the laws governing mental hygiene found in the authority of present-day psychiatrists, who will be studied for two purposes: first, to understand the normal characteristics and tendencies of mind; second, to discover and observe variations and deviations from the normal. An Introduction to the Study of the Mind and Outlines of Psychiatry by William A. White with Understanding Human Nature and Education of Children by Alfred Adler will be the references used. Through these books a scientific comprehension of laws governing early shaping of the personality pattern will be sought in conjunction with an analysis

and explanation of the mentality behind the words and acts of maturity.

If the attempt to show that the life expression of Hannah More's personality was psychopathic and outside the channel of the normal is successful, the last chapter of this investigation will include speculation as to what the normal expression of that life might have been. The basis of this phase of the study will be the natural laws of creative art as stated by Szukalski, modern Polish architect, and Thomas Munro, writer on the scientific method in aesthetics, and, in addition, the works of the psychologists already referred to, Wm. A. White and Alfred Adler.

At this point of procedure a clear meaning of the terms psychoanalysis and psychopathic is essential. A New English Dictionary defines the term psychopathic in this way: subject to or affected with mental disease, mentally deranged. Psychoanalysis is that scientific process by means of which the end products of mind whether normal or diseased are traced through a sequence of origins of symptoms and manifestations to their psychic source.¹

The application of the laboratory method to the understanding of mind has enlarged the field of interest in any human being. Under analysis, - a reducing to cause and

¹ White, Outlines of Psychiatry, p. 67.

effect of words and actions, - the uninteresting human being does not exist. The challenge to probe into the reason back of the expression is voiced in the statement, "man remains the greatest mystery to man". Beneath the mask of personality reside the warring and harmonious constituents peculiar to each participant in the play of life, which drama - tragedy, comedy, or farce - uncounted years of racial culture and accumulated heredities have made inevitable for the individual, and for which one's own age, the present time, provides the stage; custom, manners, public opinion, supply the properties, and for which the world's need or demand at this hour, draws the curtain. Against such a background, accompanied by these externalities, every actor stands. Thus each act is conditioned by environment, is determined by the actor's control and organization of the forces within him, is pronounced success or failure by an audience, whose mood may be tempered with judgement. And so Hannah More, if regarded as an ordinary person, would be a subject worthy of study, simply as one of the human species.

But there are other reasons why Hannah More's life provokes examination. It is as one who easily gained and held pre-eminence in her own day - a period embracing the last half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth - a period during the first of which she revealed indication of an unusual talent and inclination toward crea-

tive art in the field of pure literature; a period, however, the greater part of which was devoted to writing, didactic in nature, and in fearless defense of those issues and principles in which she believed. Keeness of mind, power of will, unselfishness of service she manifested through out a long life, to an observing public composed of critical as well as appreciative elements.

The ultimate reason, however, for a study of Hannah More's life comes from the gradually forming but unescapable impression as one reads her letters and voluminous other writings that her sincerity is too conscious. "Methinks the lady doth protest too much." The unvarying consistency of her opinion expressed repeatedly throughout a half century suggests a powerful mental pressure that invites investigation. Are there grounds for a judgment of abnormality in this fervor; or rather proof for complete vindication of the accused? What of the secret processes of a mind that apparently offers no variation to a pattern early formed and forever afterward followed? Why no irregularities? Why complete absence of the exception that proves the rule? Why never an exhibition of mental curiosity or daring that goes beyond its mark and in so doing defeats and disappoints itself momentarily but withal restores a saner self estimate, shakes from vision the cobwebs of hallucination, and evaluates more truly immediate and remote goals?

When Alexander Pope, literary potentate of the eigh-

teenth century, said "The proper study of mankind is man" he plagiarized the Greek platitude "know thyself" as surely as he reverted to the classic model in his thought and style. When he spoke of his life as a "long disease", he was challenging the then unknown science of psychiatry. Though man is the focal point of world evolution, he has remained in greater ignorance of himself - the psychic self - than of the many forces acting upon him and upon which his little understood personality reacts. His acquaintance with others of his kind has been equally superficial. When the disciple said of Christ, "He knew what was in man" he charged him with an insight and understanding that no other has claimed. This penetration, coupled with the appellation "the great physician", indicates the field of the latest branch of scientific research - a research with health its object; made possible of attainment through analysis and understanding, and adjustment of motives back of physical manifestation.

Hannah More, in her writings, makes repeated reference to the importance of understanding human nature, mind, and man. These writings are significant with evidence of her grasp on the affairs of her day. Her interpretation of men and events clearly indicate a discernment of unusual depth. Do her writings, in connection with the facts of her life, reveal to us Hannah More's knowledge of herself - her own mind? Do they convince that healthy normality actuated her attainments, or do they indicate a condition and reaction

that are in a degree psychopathic? Is there the suggestion of a personality that might have expressed itself differently while living and projected itself permanently into the future had the laws of mental hygiene been understood by her parents, herself, or the worthy doctors whose attentions are recorded in her memoirs? "The study of the mind is the study of man himself and that means the whole story of civilization, of scientific and cultural progress." "This is the method of science. First to collect and describe the phenomena and then to try to explain them."

In this study some knowledge of the eighteenth century will be essential, some conditions characterizing it should be understood; that chapter in race history of which it marks a page, or perhaps only a paragraph, must be appreciated. A survey must be made of Hannah More's works to learn what she did and to search for reasons, both conscious and unconscious, lying back of her words and actions. "But no matter how far the explanations are carried, each explanation in turn must be explained, and so science progresses, further and further but without ever reaching the end. The final explanation always escapes us. This is the way in which the mind, like all other natural phenomena, must also be studied. As each new fact is obvious the moment we look deeper it becomes² elusive."

² William A. White, Introduction to the Study of the Mind, p. 10.

Because this study is to present a phase of Hannah More's life and work heretofore undiscussed - namely psychopathic tendencies - because the attitude of the investigator differs from that of others who have written of her, justice requires that in the beginning of this study the reader be made acquainted with information from sources of accepted authenticity. This information makes no mention of the abnormality of personality, which in this study is to be traced in the same letters, the same memoirs, in the same literature of Hannah More, which were accessible to the authorities quoted below.

The reader will be given a knowledge of the generally accepted and prevailing opinion of Hannah More's life that he may be enabled to follow with greater acuteness of observation the details of the investigation made. In addition to this the fuller understanding will assist him to more intelligently accept or reject the evidence this study will give.

The first statement is taken from the New International Encyclopedia.

More, Hannah (1745-1833) An English author, born at Stapleton, near Bristol, February 2, 1745. She was well educated; scribbled essays and verse as a girl, and wrote a pastoral drama (1762). She became acquainted with Garrick, Burke, Reynolds, and Dr. Johnson, and was encouraged by Garrick to write two tragedies, Percy (1777) and The Fatal Falsehood, both of which met with some success. About 1780 she withdrew from society, built a cottage at Cowslip Green, ten miles from Bristol, and began writing moral and religious works ---- Sacred Dramas (1702),

Thoughts on the Manners of the Great (1788). With the aid of her sisters she established Sunday Schools in the neighboring districts. A successful tract called Village Politics (1793) led to the famous Cheap Repository Tracts (1795-98) of which two million were circulated the first year. Her religious novel Coelebs in Search of a Wife (1809) ran through eight editions the first year and was still more popular in the U. S. She died at Clifton, September 7, 1833.³

The next statement is a longer one but should be included by reason of fuller details of personality. It is taken from The Cambridge History of English Literature.

Hannah More's life was a remarkable one, and her fame as an author, at one time considerable, was kept alive until near the middle of the nineteenth century. It is at present nearly dead and is not likely to revive but her correspondence is most undeservedly neglected, for she was a good letter-writer, and her accounts of the doings of the intellectual world are of great interest, and worthy to be read after Fanny Burney and Mrs. Thrale. We have full information respecting the doings of Johnson's circle from different points of view but there is much fresh information in Hannah More's letters. Boswell was offended with the young lady and is often spiteful in his remarks about her. ----- There is plenty of evidence that Johnson highly esteemed the character of Hannah More ----- The triumphant entrance into the great London world by Hannah More, a young Bristol schoolmistress, is difficult to account for except on the grounds of her remarkable abilities. An agreeable young lady of seven and twenty, fresh from the provinces, who gained at once the cordial friendship not only of Garrick, Reynolds, Johnson and Horace Walpole, but of Mrs. Montagu and the literary ladies of the day, and who became herself one of the leaders of the Blue Stockings, must have been a woman very much out of the common. When Hannah More first came to London, she visited Reynolds, whose sister promised to introduce her to Johnson. She then met Garrick, who was first interested in her because of some intelligent criticism of his acting which he had seen. He and his wife became Hannah's dearest friends,

³ The New International Encyclopedia, Vol. XVI, p. 242.

and, on hearing of Mrs. Garrick's death, Hannah More wrote to a friend (21 October, 1822): 'I spent above twenty winters under her roof, and gratefully remember not only their personal kindness, but my first introduction thru them into a society remarkable for rank, literature, and talents.'

She kept up her correspondence with her distinguished London friends; but most of them had died before she had arrived at middle age. We then notice a considerable change in the subjects of her correspondence, and her letters are occupied with the progress of some of the great movements in which she was interested. Wilberforce was a constant correspondent, and he found her a warm helper in the anti-slavery cause. When she and her sisters gave up their school at Bristol and retired on a competence, she devoted all her time to philanthropic purposes. This is not the place for dealing with the subjects of her voluminous writings, and they are only referred to here as an indication of the more serious character of the later correspondence.⁴

An article in the Encyclopedia Britannica includes the information of the two quotations given with a more specified statement of her works. This article also divides her life into three sections: the first characterized by the writing of clever and witty verses; the second, by the writing of religious papers; the third, by deeds of philanthropy. This article refers to her in her latter days as an aimable old lady who retained full use of her faculties until the last two years of her life.

The purpose of this study is not to contradict, but in going to sources for evidence to sustain the assertion that Hannah More's life and works show a mental bias amounting to abnormality, it is apparent that the commentators refer-

⁴ The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. X, pp. 303-305.

red to had no other objective than to report from a survey of the outward appearance, while this study seeks within the hidden recesses of Hannah More's mind, a knowledge of origins of the externally obvious.

Such an acquaintance as the above facts give is the first requisite for a deeper study, for it suggests something of environment and immediate influences. The second requisite, would be some knowledge of the entire period of which the above incidents were a part. No one can be separated from his age and any penetrating study of an individual must visualize him as the product of remote influences which have determined the character of the times, as well as the expression of the more immediate influences.

The latter part of the eighteenth century is characterized by a cataclysm beside which the earlier years seem a great calm. But the doctrines and policies to culminate in the French Revolution and a new order of things in the world, were being voiced throughout the period, and their liberating principles were gripping and stirring the minds that were to control the masses. It was a time of moving convictions, of fierce contentions, of deep personal, religious, and national hatreds. Silence was ominous, utterance dynamic. Hobbes in an earlier century, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Paine in the eighteenth, were declaring new doctrines to a world primed for explosion. Milton, Isaac Newton, and John Locke of seventeenth century England were still important person-

ages through the continuation of their influence on world thought and humanity as a whole.

The converging of diverse powerful convictions and emotions marked revolutions that shook the world until civilization for a time seemed to stand still as institutions of the centuries toppled. New thought, new freedom, new needs called for new methods and new institutions which the three great revolutions of the eighteenth century, the Industrial, the American, and the French - revolutions as significant to the world as to the countries in which they occurred - made possible. Out of the ruins of the old arose the new. The later eighteenth century was a period of extremes, of radicalism. Men were affected fearfully, whether to deny or to affirm. The violence of the revolutionist was matched by the defensive positiveness of the conservative. Hannah More writing from Barley Wood, March 1st, 1811 said, "We live in an age, when as Mr. Pope observed of that in which he wrote,
5
it is criminal to be moderate."

World issues, until this time, undisturbed by the voiced opinion of women, were bringing forth interpretations and protests from a few of them. But it was essentially a man's world, where women were beginning to be conceded a minor though more dignified and authoritative place in religion, education, and society. The time was one to move the

5 The Works of Hannah More, Vol. 1, p. 416.

minds of thoughtful men and women.

It is against this historic background that Hannah More should be seen; it is the influences of this period on her parents, her associates, herself that are to be remembered, as this study proceeds with a closer examination of her personality and work.

The attempt will here be made to subject Hannah More to a laboratory test, a clinic examination, in order to obtain the most complete personal history possible, to see if there may be sufficient related evidence to justify a conclusion of a psychopathic mind.

This study will be made under the chapters designated below:

- I. Introduction
- II. The Clinic Examination: Hannah More a Subject for Psychopathic Diagnosis
- III. The Life Pattern
 1. Hannah More's Psychopathic Tendencies the Result of Early Environment Preponderously Religious
 - 2 The Pattern of Abnormality Intensified in Formative Years by Education, Rigid and Circumscribed
- IV. The Psychic Conflict: the Struggle between Conscious and Unconscious Forces in Attempt to Establish the Identity of the Psyche.
- V. Hannah More's Personality Revealed through Examination of her Works
- VI. Summary of the Study of Hannah More's Case

Chapter 11

THE CLINIC EXAMINATION:

HANNAH MORE A SUBJECT FOR PSYCHOPATHIC DIAGNOSIS

The assertion has been made in the introduction that this study will seek to establish scientifically the fact that Hannah More was a case for psychopathic diagnosis. That diagnosis is the purpose of this chapter. The examination cannot follow the precise method used in the clinic due to the substitution of the testimony of the biographer and the letters of the patient for the patient herself. This data must provide the material for examination. Upon this phenomena the judgment must be based. To establish the case clearly in the reader's mind the portion of her life, chosen for first analysis is that part which represents an unbroken series of recurring symptoms that plainly show abnormality. This time constitutes the last forty years of her life, extending from her forty-eighth year until her death at eighty-eight. The examination will take as starting point an incident in Hannah More's life occurring in year 1793, of which she writes to her friend Mrs. Boscawen. It must be observed that no effort is being made to convict

Hannah More of violent mental aberrations or criminal intentions based on insanity, but it is to be remembered that specific manifestations of her personality recorded in her letters and memoirs have indicated psychopathic tendencies and a degree of abnormality in response to life situations that warrants investigation for insight into their nature. "The important thing to remember is that no mental fact is fortuitous; it has its adequate mental explanation."¹ In addition to this the psychiatrist, while not primarily interested in the condition of the several organs, knows that certain illnesses of the body produce most profound mental symptoms, and it has been shown that mental states influence² bodily functions. Through observation of this inter-reaction of mind and body to stimuli, described incidentally and all too inadequately in the authentic records extant, this study of personality will proceed.

Case One

Excerpt from a letter written by Hannah More to Mrs. Boscawen chosen for study because it presents symptoms.

----- As soon as I came to Bath, our dear Bishop of London came to me with a dismal countenance, and told me that I should repent it on my death-bed, if I, who knew so much of the habits and sentiment of the lower order of people, did not write some little thing tending to open their eyes under their present wild impressions of liberty and equality. It must be something level to their apprehensions, or it would be of no use. In an evil hour against my will and judgment,

¹ Wm. A. White, Outlines of Psychiatry, p. 18.

² Outlines, p. 15.

on one sick day, I scribbled a little pamphlet called 'Village Politics, by Will Chip'. It is as vulgar as heart can wish; but it is only designed for the most vulgar class of readers. I heartily hope I shall not be discovered; as it is a sort of writing repugnant to my nature³

Her letter is concluded with a statement of extreme nerves; her biographer states a severe illness to have immediately followed the completion of this work, and her letters during subsequent months express hopes for improved health. Her letters also show that she first declined to write as Bishop Porteus had requested, but later complied. In this reluctance and subsequent performance, with the later dissatisfaction the letter reveals, is shown a conflict the effects of which are not conducive to mental health.⁴ The action involved a repression of the real psyche; there is also shown an unnecessary response to suggestion; there is the manifestation of the law of opposites in action; a decided distaste for an act - one directly opposite to desire - performed nevertheless through self compulsion or external influence in the belief that the result is desirable. There is no pleasure in the performance, and the accounts of reaction of the personality are unfavorable. Here is a show of social feeling, that factor that is the strongest evidence of mental maturity and in practice, of mental health,⁵ which, however, is not actually

³ Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More: by Wm. Roberts, Esq. III, 345.

⁴ White, Outlines of Psychiatry, p. 10.

⁵ Alfred Adler, Education of Children, pp.11,21.

present. Hannah More's repeated reaction to similar occasions arouses the question as to whether or not this law of opposites - the law which establishes the fact that two extremes such as love and hate, are in closer relation of idea one to the other and stronger in power to impel action, than the intermediate stages, - did not operate continuously, and detrimentally throughout her life.⁶

One must bear constantly in mind that psychopathic tendencies may prevail in the greatest variety of forms and degrees. Therefore, before continuing the study of symptoms relating to Hannah More's personality at this time, the opinion of diagnosis held by psychiatrists should be known. William A. White in his Outlines of Psychiatry says: "As a matter of fact our knowledge of the psychoses is altogether too limited at present to justify the expectation that the problem of classification can be solved. Any attempt at grouping mental disorders under separate heads must now, as always, be but tentative and incomplete."⁷ He says further: "These groups, these so-called clinical types are not clean-cut entities, but are only groups of symptoms which either seem to occur more frequently in combination, or else have been more clearly seen because of the nature of that combination. In fact classical types as such may be said to be in the minority. The great mass of cases seen are combinations more or less intermediate in character."⁸

⁶ White, Outlines, p. 51.

⁷ White, Outlines, p. 25.

⁸ Ibid., p. 26.

"Insanity is not a disease; it is rather a symptom grouping for a large number of different mental diseases which tend to arrange themselves with greater or less distinctness into circumscribed groups of reaction trends.⁹"

In continuing the diagnosis of Hannah More's case, symptoms are to be observed, and explained when possible, by comparison with other cases or symptoms described or classified by psychiatrists, or psychologists.

Beside the law of opposites discussed above, the incident of Hannah More's writing Will Chip¹⁰ illustrates the operation of the unconscious in her action. From early years she had crowded certain feelings into the unconscious; a highly developed sense of religious duty made possible a repression, with inherent properties of tremendous power since it constituted a part of the historical past of the psyche.¹¹ Still further, the diary and letters of this period show marked evidences of depression, a quality cited by White and French¹² as an attendant characteristic of many kinds of psychopathy. This depression takes the form of self-reproach, as almost every letter and diary entry testify. A letter to the Reverend John Newton seems hardly to be credited to a person well-balanced at the time it was written.

⁹ Outlines, p. 27.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 10.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., pp. 158-159.

I am certainly happier here (Cowslip Green) than in the agitation of the world, but I do not find myself one bit better; with full leisure to rectify my heart and affections, the disposition unluckily does not come. I have the mortification to find that petty and (as they are called) innocent employments, can detain my heart from heaven as much as the tumultuous pleasures. If to the pure all things are pure, the reverse must also be true, when I can continue to make so harmless an employment as the cultivation of flowers stand in the room of a vice, by the great portion of time I give to it, and by the entire dominion it has over my mind. You will tell me that if the affections be so estranged from their proper object it signifies not much whether a bunch of roses or a pack of cards affect it. I pass my life in intending to get the better of this, but life is passing away, and the reform never begins. It is a very significant saying, though a very old one, of one of the Puritans, that hell is paved with good intentions. I sometimes tremble to think how large a square my procrastination alone may furnish to this tessellated pavement.¹³

In this excerpt is material for naming several symptoms. The first is that of suggestibility, and its selection is occasioned by the fact of this letter having been written to the Reverend John Newton. Among those people whose influence was powerful with Hannah More, surely none exerted an influence more extreme than that of Newton and Bishop Porteus. Though Hannah More's response to the impressions and suggestions derived from them differed in detail from the instances cited by White,¹⁴ the principle is identical; and so unfailing is her response to impressions from them that one wonders whether her reaction would have been less sure had their suggestion been for other than asceticism and pious literature. Another symptom to be derived from this letter is that termed by Adler¹⁵ religiosity. In this symptom, as in most of the others noted,

¹³ Memoirs, Vol. 11, p. 88.

¹⁴ Outlines, p. 100.

¹⁵ Alfred Adler, Understanding Human Nature, p. 263.

one finds in Hannah More's case a degree of variation from the type used as illustration, yet one feels that it has a place under this head in the diagnosis; for though it might if manifested in only a few instances, lack sufficient significance to be classed as abnormal, its repetition to the point of being an habitual mind quality, of coloring and controlling the entire personality - in fact of really attaining the stage of personification, justifies its being placed tentatively among the excesses, extremes, and irregularities of mental conditions. Adler tells of a young girl whose case has much in common with Hannah More's.¹⁶ The girl, industrious, religious, conscientious, ambitious, reviled herself with a vehemence that brought her sanity into question. He does not tell whether or not this case was continued to the point of establishing a judgment of insanity. But he considers it such a mentally abnormal conception of religion that he believes "There is so much heresy in this type of religious worship that if the old days of Inquisition were to return, these very religious fanatics would probably be the first to be burned." He explains it as being an illustration of "how ambition breaks into religious problems, and how vanity makes its bearer a judge over virtue, vice, purity, corruption, good, and evil."¹⁷

In The Psychology of the Religious Awakening, by Clark one finds this statement: "Certain psychologists and psychiatrists assert that the state of nervous health is involved in

¹⁶ Adler, Understanding Human Nature, p. 264.

¹⁷ Ibid.

certain elements of religious emotionalism and that they are pathological in character."¹⁸

He refers to the pathological elements in John Bunyan's case.¹⁹ MacDougall has pointed out the pathological character of the sin complex in persons suffering the conventional conviction for sin, which he attributes to an exaggeration of the instinct of self-abasement.²⁰ One sees in this a different reason for the condition from that stated above by Adler, but sees also that though attributing different reasons, both regard the effect abnormal. James describes Bunyan as a "typical case of psychopathic temperament, sensitive of conscience to a diseased degree."²¹ This symptom is identical with that indigenous to Hannah More's personality and clearly expressed in her personal writing. Dr. Schon says that it is "a psychiatric law that depression is followed by exaltation, or that melancholia turns to mania."²² Repeatedly throughout a great period of Hannah More's life her periods of illness and self reproach are followed by renewed and excessive efforts manifested in writing, and projects for educating and converting others.

Having observed the more apparent symptoms of one limited period of Hannah More's experience, we find a reduction to simplest terms of the factors involved in the cycle of activity to be necessary for classification of the condition they deter-

¹⁸ Clark, Religious Awakening, p. 125.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ MacDougall, Social Psychology, p. 68.

²¹ James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 157.

²² Schon: Religious and Morbid Mental States, trans. into English by W. Wooster, M. A. & pub. by Century Co. N. Y. 1926.

mine. Necessarily, there are the stimuli and recipient of those stimuli; these are called by White the predisposing cause, and the exciting cause, the predisposing cause being in this instance Hannah More's personality, her constitutional condition, and the exciting cause the force of Bishop Porteus' request upon it. The reaction was twofold in nature, representing the law of opposites, first negative in wish, then positive in performance, or depressive and exultant, expressed in refusal, then acquiescence to do, followed by a marked depression characterized by physical illness and mental morbidity.

These characteristics place this single case in the class
²³of manic-depressive psychosis. White would call a single attack
²⁴in mild form clyclothymia, and advises that one get a history over a sufficiently long period in order to see if the classification manic-depressive is correct, and to determine if it belongs to the more specific psychoses described as recurrent mania, periodic mania, recurrent melancholia, insanity of double form, alternating insanity.

Before making the survey of many years of Hannah More's life to find repetitions of this attack or lack of such repetitions, one further instance will be cited to show that the one attack reveals symptoms that justify a judgement of abnormality if proof can be given that these symptoms indicate a continuously or periodically habitual condition. Then again,

²³ White, Outlines, p. 155.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 157.

before searching out these phenomena a further study of the characteristics of the manic-depressive periodical psychoses will be made.

25

The instance offered for comparison is given by White. It is of an intelligent woman of charm, wit, industry, ability, who was fifty-eight years old before she or her family realized that she needed institutional care. The diagnosis made of her case brought a judgement of insanity. She herself records all the details of her condition. In brief these are the details and symptoms:

Life-long periods of excitements and depression. Very mild in childhood and youth, growing more severe with advancing years. Excitements never led to acts of violence but to the undertaking and performance of almost Herculean tasks, and sometimes excessive talking and letter-writing. The depressions in early life were as mild as the excitements. There came the disinclination for society. An apathy and feeling of mental dulness occurs. "After each depression, I suffer from intense pain in my back, side, shoulder, and arms. This is dull and aching in character, and remains with me for weeks after the depression has disappeared." The similarities as well as differences between this case and Hannah More's are seen: the similarities most notable are seen in the desire for activity, for performance in the period

of excitement, and in the desire for isolation; the differences are shown through Hannah More's periods of depression presenting more severe elements; again, the woman cited as a type by White obtained the seclusion she wanted at the times she felt it essential, while Hannah More never did, though she moved to the country for that purpose; likewise, the one woman after a time recognized in herself something abnormal, while neither Hannah More, nor her friends, nor family, ever became conscious of the significance of her condition.

The information given, the authorities cited, the comparisons made, comprise an evidence not lacking in qualities that show in Hannah More psychopathic tendencies comparable to those of the woman whose case is cited by White. The more closely the elements of this one attack are examined, the more convincing they become of an unhealthy mind and body reacting on each other. A final judgment, however, should be withheld until investigation has disclosed the life-history of her personality. That a fuller understanding of a psychopathic nature may be had, attention is now called to some characteristics of the periodical psychoses. For accepted authority and greater clarity in study the following paragraph is quoted.

All of these mental disturbances are merely different manifestations of the manic-depressive psychosis, the manic and depressive stages being represented in various relations, often separated by a quiescent period. Thus recurrent mania

would consist of recurrent attacks of a manic phase separated by quiescent periods, similarly for recurrent melancholia, while the alternating type would consist of manic and depressive attacks, each followed by a quiescent period; circular types on the other hand, being cycles of manic and depressive stages without intervals of separation, while a manic-depressive psychosis of double form would consist of cycles of excitation and depression, each cycle followed by a quiescent period. Other varieties might be described, but it suffices to say that the three stages - manic, depressive, and quiescent periods - may be combined in any possible way, and that further in a given case any degree of the manic or depressive stage may occur.²⁶

Remembering these statements, one will not expect an exact repetition of details in each attack, but will expect a similarity sufficient to permit classification under the general caption given the attack already studied - periodic psychoses, manic-depressive type. With this in mind, a survey of Hannah More's life will follow, and a resume of personality reaction will be made for as many periods as evidence can be obtained for.

The case next to be presented is based on an event following the first case cited, and it occurred in the year 1798. Two other cases intervened but this is chosen here as a better illustration of principles. In this case as in all to follow, if the reader will look for four things - not however forgetting White's statement that many variations in combination may be expected, - he will be able to follow these case studies with more interest and be enabled more easily to

²⁶ White, Outlines of Psychiatry, p. 155.

make comparisons. The four things are: predisposing cause, exciting cause, period and nature of depression, and excitation, or mania.

Second Case Study

On August 15, 1798 Mrs. More wrote a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, of which the following is a part.

I was attacked with one of my violent spasms in my head on the Saturday night, so that I could not go with the Dykes the Sunday round (this refers to the customary visits she made to her Sunday Schools) but Patty did. This pain continued almost intolerable during two days and nights and left my nerves in a high state of irritation. On Monday, being alone, I fell down from the place where I had been sitting, in a fainting fit. I dashed my face against the corner of a stone wall, and lay a very long time without giving any signs of life. My sisters found me in a posture which must have soon suffocated me - with my face frightfully disfigured and the floor sprinkled with blood. There was a strong contest between life and death, but it pleased my merciful God to raise me up. I was a good while before I had any clear ideas but felt a sort of stupid serenity; no emotion, but a general feeling that I had not done enough for God; and what would poor Patty (her sister) do by herself? I am so disfigured you would scarcely know me; but I am full of gratitude; for though my eyes make me look a perfect Mrs. Mendoza, yet the sight is safe, and had not my face received the bruises my skull must have been fractured. You will be glad to hear that my mind has been very calm and that I felt this visitation was in mercy. I write this two or three lines at a time and cannot see to read it but the bruises though very bad are nothing; they will in time disappear but I must try to get my nerves in a better way. I have a dull pain in my head that is very unpleasant. I must tell you that we have kept possession of the pulpit at Wedmore (where she had established a school) ever since and sent one of our own clergy every Sunday to keep up the attention to our plan.

The physical injury mentioned in this attack could easily take one's attention from the real cause of the fall, which was

one of her "fainting away fits", or spasms in her head. Also the lucidity of her memory in describing the occurrence seems contradictory to any accusation of derangement. This quality, however, is to be remembered as a characteristic of the type of insanity represented by the woman whom White has used as an illustration.²⁸ To this characteristic White refers in another place, saying it is characterized by clear logic, contact with reality, taking its origin from actual occurrences. After recovery from the psychosis the patient cannot be made to understand the delusional character of any experience - he²⁹ lacks insight.

The letter quoted above gives no intimation of the exciting cause for the attack; one would conclude from its effect that her constitutional condition, the predisposing cause, was very low; there is indicated also the depression of mind³⁰ expressed in a mild benignity which White also associates with this type of affection and a self-effacing religiosity; as likewise an excitation takes place in the thought of "one of our own clergy holding the pulpit." In looking for the exciting cause one has no evidence of a wound on the head received in previous attacks which White considers important³¹ in diagnosis; there is proof of former illness, as we know, which, according to White, may have bearing but in looking

²⁸ White, Outlines, p. 88.

²⁹ Outlines, p. 88.

³⁰ Outlines, p. 161.

³¹ Outlines, p. 365.

for a more immediate exciting cause one finds that Bishop Porteus has again written urgently requesting that Mrs.
 More write something on the order of Will Chip³²; he is very firm, saying he believes she may, in so doing, be the means of saving her country - "under Providence". This letter was received a very short time, almost immediately in fact, before the "visitation"³³. We find next in her letters and the biographer's record mention of "pious meditations, holy resolutions, earnest supplications for inward strength", and self-abasing avowals of conscious weakness"³⁴. In 1799 there issued from her pen in compliance with Bishop Porteus' request a publication. At almost the same time an enormous volume entitled The Strictures on Female Education, appeared, having been suggested by Sir William Pepys, who had asked, at about the same time of Bishop Porteus' request, that she write something showing the responsibility of young women for their
 influence on the opposite sex.³⁵ The biographer describes this work as "one of the most powerful pieces of her artillery, from whose calibre were sent those bolts which shattered the
 towers and arsenals of fashionable abuses and follies"³⁶. Her Herculean performance reminds one again of the woman whose propensity was for unbelievable performances, excessive talking and intemperate letter-writing during periods of excita-

³² Memoirs, Vol. III, pp. 32-35.

³³ Ibid., p. 41.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 53.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 38-40.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 65.

tion. Hannah More records of the time preceding the writing of this work, a severe headache of two weeks' duration that deprives her of the exercise of clear thought, and gives an involuntary gloom and depression to her spirits. She fears this to be from a habit of not sufficiently watching over her thoughts at other times. "It is a grievous truth that I am least religious when sick." And apparently with remorse comes renewed resolution; for this publication, Strictures on Female Education, appears soon after this entry for December 23, 1798 in her diary: "I'll above a week with a violent cough - by the grace of God I am resigned to pain - but my thoughts which ought always at such times to be devoted to heavenly things are not always in my power. They wander amidst the vanities and cares of this world."

Following the publication of the Strictures, Mrs. Kennicott writes, "I am grieved at the return of your illness." The biographer now tells of an illness of seven months, characterized by severe ague and sinking sensation. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester writes inquiringly to Mrs. Martha More, a sister, because she has heard "that Hannah More is very ill."

This case differs from the one first cited in having additional stress for stimuli: the two letters from Bishop

³⁷ Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 61.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 62.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 82.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 122.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 158.

Porteus and Sir William Pepys, either of which must have required as great a degree of self discipline to comply with, and produced equally severe strain to perform, as the creation of Will Chip, for the Strictures is most excruciatingly painful reading. The latter part of this same year witnessed the first stages of the persecution by Mr. Bere, in whose parish she had established a school at his repeated request. A decided melancholia attended her recovery from this seven months' illness, an illustration of which is a letter to Mr. Wilberforce in 1802, which she writes from Barley Wood, a place a few miles from her little country home Cowslip Green. "I have had many relapses and am still very poorly. The fever has in a good measure subsided, but has left something of the old complaint; I was promised to be quite well when I got to this elevated situation but have been confined to my room ever since I came to it. It puts me in mind of the old remark, that the first spot of earth of which Abraham took possession in the land of promise was a grave. It is a⁴² salutary reflection."

In making a general survey of the year of this sickness one sees on a larger scale the same elements that were presented in the details of the stroke that in a way is the initial point of the episode. They are the exciting causes represented by the two letters, the predisposing cause repre-

⁴² Memoirs of Hannah More, Vol. III, p. 180.

sented by her constitutional condition, the first period of depression represented by her morbidity, and fainting away and illness ----- within which cycle one finds a smaller cycle of reaction reminding one of what White has said of the combinations, repetitions, variations to be expected ----- then follows a period of excitation represented by the forceful and abnormal determination to perform; which performance accomplished is followed by another long and serious period of depression. The constitutional condition is shown to be very unstable or the exciting cause could not have produced
⁴³
a reaction so violent. Both Adler and White state that any severe and unpleasant stress, mental or physical, may be responsible for a conflict.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Roberts saw fit to exclude many letters, and that his statements regarding these periods to which he refers as "serious illnesses", "suspensions of mental activity", "periods of pain and suffering", time of "morbid sensibility of constitution"; and of which Hannah More speaks of as "visitations", "fainting fits", "spasms in my head", etc, are so parsimonious of the information that a medical diagnostician of that day may have given. Such facts would be of inestimable value in studying her case and perhaps in reaching a much more narrowed and specific diagnosis through application of Mr. White's principles of psychiatry. Without more intimate facts one does not feel

⁴³ White, Studies of the Mind.

justified in making any other judgment than that tentatively stated following the examination of the illness of 1793 - that it also represents a type of manic-depressive psychopathy belonging to periodic psychoses. This second study, which disclosed a more severe case though partaking of the same form as the first, strengthens the conviction that the judgment following the previous diagnosis was probably an accurate one, and also recalls White's statement that "every illness is a danger point" which should be sought to be avoided." Furthermore, "It must not be forgotten, that all acute psychoses⁴⁴ tend to recur." The individual having once suffered from mental disease has thereby a diminished resistance which shows itself in future attacks. Though desiring an analysis that is impossible of attainment because of lack of diagnostic minutae; and while thinking the temporary judgment passed on these two rather clear cut cases might very well be accepted by many as a permanent one, an investigator would be loathe to do so in the face of White's statement previously quoted: that the history over a long period is needed to classify that psychosis, a single attack of which is called cyclothymia. Such a history for Hannah More is obtainable. The presentation of a number of cases will constitute the remainder of the present chapter. And while proof is being sought either for confirming or refuting the accusation, that if confirming it will furnish data that will assist in classifying her case,

⁴⁴ Outlines, p. 163.

"the important thing is an understanding of the patient, not a labeling of the psychosis. To this end a comprehension of the character make-up, the nature of the etiological factors, and the mechanism of the reaction must be known. So much we must know and then whether we give one name or another to our resulting conception, or no name at all, matters little."⁴⁵

Etiological factors will be discussed under another chapter head. In the case study immediately following, something of character make-up, and reaction may be seen, which will identify these studies with the two already made.

Case Three

Between the cases identified by the years 1787 and 1799 lay two periods of great activity for Hannah More, with quiescent lapses due to bad health. One of the constitutional weaknesses listed by White as a predisposing cause for mental sickness is visceral trouble, one specification being made of diseased lungs, or tuberculosis. Hannah More's long life is an argument against the suspicion of a severe type of affection of this kind - yet the innumerable references to virulent coughs at least arouse curiosity in this particular. In her Memoirs, Volume 11, page 222, she wrote her sister from London, "I have had such a succession of coughs that I yielded to the importunity of Mrs. Boscawen and sent for Dr. Pitcairn. I told him I did not send for him to cure a cold,

⁴⁵ White, Classification of Mental Disorders, pp. 29-30.

but to have a conversation with him about my general health."

In the next paragraph the Memoirs tell of her completion of a book "An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World." It was a philipic on prevailing customs, on the decay of domestic piety, and especially on the absence of religion from the education of the higher classes." Tracing the want of moral restraint to its true source - the prevailing indifference to vital religion, she brought her charges so home to the experience and conviction of her readers, as to make many a Felix tremble, and to touch the consciences of many who were sitting at their ease in self-righteous complacency. The contents of her letters following the publication of this work are of the same kind as those already observed. She writes to Reverend John Newton: "I have been confined for some weeks with a severe cough to which I am subject. I know I ought to reckon this among my blessings and I trust that in some degree I do so. I am fully persuaded that all things work together for good to them that love God; my only fear is that I do not love him cordially, effectually,⁴⁵ entirely." The Reverend John Newton replies: "If I could relieve you of your cough through an act of mine, you would soon be well.----- But He does not.----- the continuance of it must be for the best."⁴⁶ Her letters have generally an

⁴⁵ Memoirs, Vol. 111, p. 222.

⁴⁶ Memoirs, Vol. 11, p. 232.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 239.

account of depressed mind and unfavorable condition of health.

"I recommend myself to your prayers, of which I never stood
⁴⁸
 more in need," she writes.

So far as the records show, the impelling force in the writing of this work was the approval with which another work, An Estimate on the Manners of the Great, was received and the insistence for a continuation of the lessons it contained. At a much later time Hannah More makes a slightly petulant statement implying that if others had done their duty, or part in saving a sinful world, she would not have
⁴⁹
 had to work so hard.

The four factors - exciting cause, predisposing cause, periods of depression and excitation, are not so clearly defined in this case, though no element is in contradiction to the type. In the cases now to be cited little comment will be made, for adequate explanation already given has made it possible for the reader to note the traits, kindred or foreign, to the conditions characteristic of the periodic mania.

Case Four

The tracts of Tom Paine were creating so revolutionary a spirit among the middle classes that Mrs. More determined to counteract their effects with monthly publications - called the Cheap Repository Tracts. She assumes this under-

⁴⁸ Memoirs, Vol. 11, p. 253.

⁴⁹ Memoirs, Vol. 111, p. 203.

taking though scarcely recovered from the ill-effects succeeding the Strictures. In writing to Mr. Wilberforce she thanks him for his attention to her spiritual wants, saying that spiritual lack is her disease. "I thank God I feel somewhat less this distress, but I fear it is because my animal spirits are somewhat less depressed and not because my heart is more right. I trust my faith is sound, but it is not lively; I have not a full and vigorous confidence in those promises, which I, however fully believe; and I am sure there must be something amiss in my heart, which I do not know of (though I know so much of its defects) because I have little sensible
50
joy."

A little later she speaks of a cough and headache as a just punishment for her sinfulness, in having suffered her thoughts to roam too much in easier and happier hours. "I am now deprived of the consolations of pious reflections in those moments of keen suffering when nothing else can support
51
the soul under the pains of the body."

Mr. Roberts, her biographer, says that she undermined her health in thought and work required on the Tracts. In her diary for 1795 she writes: I have been so ill that my friends have sent Dr. Warren to me --- I have consulted all
52
physicians that are eminent."

One must regret that the science of mental hygiene was

50 Memoirs, Vol. 11, p. 406.

51 Ibid., p. 406.

52 Ibid., p. 424.

without the knowledge of the doctors of her day; also that it was wholly unknown to Bishop Porteus, who replies to her expressed desire to retire from some activity: "I do not relish the idea of your withdrawing yourself from the world."⁵³ In 1796 she writes the Reverend John Newton - "I cannot express to you how much I stand in need of every support. Weak health, weak spirits, weak faith sometimes concur in saying 'Ye take too much upon you' and yet I seem to be carried through difficulties."⁵⁴ Repeated selections would accentuate the proof of this mental depression throughout the years 1795-1796. At last one reads an entry written at Bath, "have so entirely lost my cough as to be able to drink the waters."⁵⁵ This dated 1797, is followed by expressions of much greater optimism, until after only a short time, 1798, Bishop Porteus sends his request. The details of this have been noted.

Case Five

The next cycle for observation has for its point of excitation the writing and publishing of an extensive work called Hints towards forming the character of a young Princess.⁵⁶ More than two years of recurring illness had preceded an improved condition in 1804.⁵⁷ She enters again a period of meditation and self-condemnation both for lack of spirituality and for pleasure experienced in the growth and

⁵³ Memoirs, Vol. 11, p. 431.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 467. See Vol. 11, pp. 442, 452, 470, 475, 478.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Vol. 111, p. 11.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Vol. 111, p. 223.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 196-198.

58
 beauty of her garden. She writes: "Indisposition of body
 59
 and mind prevent my writing." Again, "My nerves are far
 from being sufficiently strong for me to write. I have
 acquired such a dislike for it that I procrastinate for
 60
 days." Three entries in her diary are:

January 14. "I call myself to account for my late dead-
 61
 ness and hardness, and worldliness." - - - "I was tempted to
 a piece of levity, of which I have rarely been guilty; in
 writing a loyal paper I had approached too near to a parody
 62
 on the church catechism."

January 22. "My mind has somewhat recovered its tone of
 devout prayer in the night."

For February 27, she records a prayer that a compliment
 63
 she has received may not cause in her a foolish vanity.

March 7. "The idea has been suggested to me by a Bishop
 in the church to write a pamphlet on the education of a cer-
 tain royal person. I am unequal to it, yet they tell me it
 is a duty to attempt it. I feel reluctant but no irksomeness
 in the task should prevent me if I dared hope I could do any
 64
 good." When the book appeared she kept the authorship secret
 at first, as had been her practice with past works and contin-
 ued to be with most future works. Her condition following

58 Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 201.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid., p. 215.

61 Ibid., p. 217.

63 Ibid., p. 220.

63 Ibid., p. 219.

64 Ibid., p. 222.

this event is briefly as follows: At first not well but
⁶⁵
 nerves not so bad as formerly; later, she writes of recov-
⁶⁶
 ering from a severe illness; of the winter 1805-1806, "with-
⁶⁷
 in the last month I have had several alarming attacks;" for
 the year 1806, a dangerous and tedious illness; nearly a year
 before her pulse could be reduced; nearly two years before
 her recovery was sufficiently established to enable her to
⁶⁸
 turn her thoughts towards any literary object. This time,
 before her body recovered her mind was busy with a plan of
 presenting Christian duties and principles in narrative.

Case Six

⁶⁹
 Early in the year of 1809 Bishop Porteus died. From that
 time her conscience became her whip, standing in his stead.
 December of that year witnessed the appearance of Coelebs in
Search of a Wife, published anonymously. There are subse-
⁷⁰
 quent accounts of sickness and suffering. Bishop of Lincoln
 writes "I am very sorry that you complain of ill health."

Case Seven

In 1811 Practical Piety, consisting of two large volumes,
⁷¹
 was written, she said, in constant pain.

65 Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 226.

66 Ibid., p. 239.

67 Ibid., p. 248.

68 Ibid., p. 250.

69 Ibid., p. 278.

70 Ibid., p. 333.

71 Ibid., p. 347.

Case Eight

Mrs. More began to feel, 1812, that she had "not discharged her mind fully in Practical Piety, and so she wrote a sequel entitled Christian Morals." After this performance she writes of great languor of frame; first confined five weeks with severe cough; and again of six months out of eight having been spent in bed. Later she suffers a paroxysm little short of delirium for twenty-four hours. On a visit to Lady Olivia Sparrow she "had a seizure which unfitted her for society the greater part of the month she was there." "I literally have not had one quarter of an hour unoccupied by sickness", is her account.

Case Nine

The Essay on the Character and Writings of Saint Paul was her next demonstration of mental excitation. It appeared in 1814. Her spirits and feelings experienced great agitation and affliction, at the time of its publication, according to Mr. Roberts. There was then a time when her piety increased: "the natural consequence of a frame suffering under much ability and nervous distemperature." A following improvement of condition arouses the customary self-rebuke.

"I feel" she writes, "even at my age that I stand in need

72 Memoirs, 111, 376.

73 Ibid., p. 380.

74 Ibid., p. 374.

75 Ibid., p. 111, 409.

76 Ibid., p. 426.

77 Ibid., p. 446.

78 Ibid., p. 446.

of reiterated correction. My temper is naturally gay. This gaiety, even time and sickness have not much impaired. I have carried too much sail --- Nothing but the grace of God and frequent attacks of very severe sickness could have kept me in tolerable order. If I am no better with⁷⁹ all these visitations what should I have been without them?" In addition to the pathos in this statement, the mental unhealthiness of it suggests a delusive and hallucinatory quality of conception.

Case Ten

80

In 1818 Mrs. More was visited with an alarming illness - a shivering fit of many hours' duration, accompanied with fever. She recalls former illnesses after this attack. "My whole life from early youth has been a successive scene of visitation and restoration. I think I could enumerate twenty mortal diseases from which I have been raised up - that of ten years ago and lasting two years being the worst. Though at one time I seldom closed my eyes in sleep for forty days and nights I never had one hours' failure of reason, though always very liable to agitation." This statement reminds one again of Mr. White's statement of a mental disease characteristic - the patient's observation and memory of phenomena but complete lack of understanding its significance. However, in this

⁷⁹ Memoirs, III, p. 462.

⁸⁰ Memoirs, IV, p. 80.

statement Hannah More appears to have forgotten the numerous entries she herself has made of impaired mental functioning at those times, referred to by Mr. Roberts as "suspensions of mental activity."

Following this last named illness her biographer tells⁸¹ that she enjoyed a leisure and repose unusual for her. She resolved to make every interval of renewed health show her⁸² feeling of obligation to make it answer a beneficial end. The book intended for a pamphlet grew in a few months to a thick volume which reached the public as Moral Sketches of Prevailing Opinions and Manners; Foreign and Domestic; with Reflections on Prayer.⁸³ Of it, she says: "Mine is a book which will bring me no small discredit, as well with the grave as the gay." Also, "my health has been very bad. Neither body nor mind has yet made much progress."⁸⁴ She speaks again of the weakness of her chest.⁸⁵ Her health now appeared to be rapidly sinking. There was a succession of alarming attacks of illness until at length, in the month of August, she experienced a violent⁸⁶ "seizure." Her statements recorded as having been made during this illness indicate hallucination, while those she makes⁸⁷ following show extreme religiosity. A particularly religious

⁸¹ Memoirs, Vol. IV, p. 83.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 86.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 106.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 103.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 124.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 190.

discourse of one day is followed by a considerable increase in illness the next.

Case Eleven

Mrs. More's last writing for publication was entitled Moral Sketches. It appeared in 1820, her seventy-fifty year.
 Of which she says it is the only one no part of which was
 88
 spent in bed. One next reads of fever, high pulse, headaches, dartings through the brain.

There have now been listed eleven specific periods in Mrs. More's life that conform in a marked degree to a type. There are three other cases that conform just as definitely to the pattern, which, however, are not included. The characterizing features are similar in these cycles: the stimuli, the excitation, the results. The personality of the patient is unvaryingly expressive of abnormal self-compulsion, self-condemnation, and religiosity. There are more than 300 entries of the kind included in the case studies above; one reads of her desire to withdraw from contact with people and the world, but sees her complete inability to execute this desire; one reads of her spiritual fears and her unceasing resolutions to perform - as if in so doing she might purchase peace for her so guilty soul - or rescue a world which without her efforts was woefully lost. Her endeavors in many instances seem well described by James. "In psychopathic persons, mortifications

may be entered on by a sort of obsession or fixed idea which comes as a challenge and must be worked off, because only thus does the subject get his interior consciousness feeling right again.⁸⁹ She renounces almost everything that might afford pleasure, and bitterly condemns herself for the pleasure she has in anything other than in meditation, abnegation, and exhortation. Yet she frankly says that she gets little joy from these.

A few statements that are ~~an~~ index to this religious obsession which more and more preyed on her mind are here given:

January 1, 1798. Resolved not to let a day pass without some thought of death.⁹⁰ I am grieved to find on this Sunday that though I have leisure, I have not the right relish for serious objects.⁹¹ I feel that in finishing my garden I have too much anxiety to make it beautiful. --- I have too great a passion for scenery and landscape gardening.⁹² As early as 1794 she writes that she has given up all human studies five or six years ago.⁹³ She does not read any pagan author. In music and light reading she finds two great evils.⁹⁴ In Sir Walter Scott's novels she sees "rather absence of much evil than presence of much good."⁹⁵ In all this one sees the melan-

89 The Varieties of Religious Experiences, p. 297.

90 Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 54.

91 Ibid., p. 196.

92 Ibid., p. 198.

93 Ibid., p. 418.

94 Ibid., p. 208.

95 Ibid., p. 209.

choly sight of a soul striving for its destiny, in ignorance of the simplest laws of mental health. "I have endeavored to check my own spirit by placing death before my eyes - and carefully reading Doddridge's last chapter, the dying scene."⁹⁶ "I have fogged hard at good old Bishop Reynolds; a fat folio; of near twelve hundred pages, which I have almost got through. Such solid Christianity and such deep views of sinful man, and as to tediousness, I rather like it. I can never pick up any sustenance out of your short scanty book. As to new books⁹⁷ I know nothing." "Man remains the greatest mystery to man", but of none to whom Hannah More preached was she more ignorant than of herself. Her complete life is an amazing illustration of that.

The eleven case studies cover the last forty-seven years of her life - but what of the period preceding? This period will be discussed later. It represents some striking contrasts to the later period, and yet throughout these years, too, is that single dominant influence that eventually led to the psychopathy of her latter days, if it did not virtually declare its presence throughout the greater part of her eighty-eight years. Do not the personality traits reveal the symptoms of psychoses - nervousness, depression, excitation, restlessness, desire for seclusion, lack of strength to execute the desire, suggestibility? And do not the similarity of the cycles found in eleven periodical cases - the similarity

⁹⁶ Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 220.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 178.

identified in predisposing cause, exciting cause, depression, and excitation, place this form with that type spoken of by White as recurrent or periodic psychoses, manic-depressive?

Of the twelve remaining years of Hannah More's life Mr. Roberts says: "Her great and brilliant talents descended to the level of more ordinary persons; the grand and vigorous qualities of her mind submitted to decay;⁹⁸ and for sometime previous to her departure she was unfit though unconscious of her unfitness to receive the visits of homage, respect, or curiosity which continued to flow in upon her."⁹⁹ The last ten months of her life were spent in a mild delirium.

Summary of this chapter

The purpose of the chapter was to establish scientific grounds for the accusation that Mrs. Hannah More is a psychopathic case. The procedure has been this: a single limited instance of experience was examined and found to reveal unmistakable manic-depressive qualities. Accepting White's principle that a single attack of this kind, called cyclothymia, would not justify its being classified as one of the numerous types of mental disease known as periodic, recurring intermittent mania, recurrent melancholia, or alternating insanity; but that the repetition of this cycle over a long period of time would justify this classification, an examina-

98 Memoirs, Vol. 1V, p. 348.

99 Memoirs, Vol. 1V, p. 536.

tion was made of forty-seven years of Hannah More's history. During thirty-five consecutive years of this time there were found eleven definite cycles resembling in a marked degree the instance chosen as a type. This type case was chosen as the pattern because its characteristics were manifestly those of a case cited by White as an illustration of that mental abnormality known as manic-depressive periodic psychosis. The remaining years of this period strengthen the accuracy of this diagnosis. The outstanding personality trait throughout the entire period and dominant in each cycle of experience was religiosity. The last ten years of Hannah More's life according to her biographer, represented a general decay, of which he says she was unconscious, except on the theme of religion, on which subject it seemed to gain force, and fervor, as if all her intellect was diverted to this idea. Here is seen only the still greater intensifying of the characteristic of her mental condition during the previous thirty-five years observed; only now in its extreme enlargement the result is plainly abnormal and the mentality is recognized by the biographer, though he defends the excitation as a glorious Christian testimony, as being in a state of dissolution,¹⁰⁰ White says the personality works as a whole - if one is extremely abnormal in one particular, it is evidence of a psychopathic condition.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Memoirs, Vol. IV, p. 346.

¹⁰¹ White, Outlines of Psychiatry, pp. 28-30.

The mind is so intricate a piece of machinery that it is not easy to take it apart. "Nature makes the experiment
¹⁰²
 for us in the phenomena of mental disease." By applying the method of science the tentative conclusion was established. Nature's process at the last (when the personality broke up through acknowledged presence of disease) confirmed the decision and established as truth the accusation that Hannah More was a case for psychopathic diagnosis.

"But no matter how far the explanations are carried, each explanation must be explained, and so science progresses,
¹⁰³
 further and further without ever reaching the end."

The next question that arises is one suggested in the introduction: Why was Hannah More psychopathic; why did her abnormality take the form of religiosity? These two questions will be answered in part in the next chapter.

¹⁰² White, An Introduction to the Study of the Mind, p. 25.

¹⁰³ White, Outlines, p. 10.

Chapter 111

THE LIFE PATTERN:

Hannah More's Psychopathic Tendencies the Result of Early Environment Preponderously Religious; the Pattern of Abnormality Intensified in Formative Years by Education, Rigid and Circumscribed

The primary purpose in diagnosis is that the patient through the assistance of scientific understanding and direction may acquire a more perfect adaptability to his environment, and to the demands that life makes upon his personality. Though a decision as to the nature of behavior and reaction to the stimuli may be had by an examination of the patient in action or, as has been done in the examination of Hannah More, by a survey of a long period of her life and comparison of phenomena revealed therein, the understanding that is to be constructive and the direction that may assist in orientation must arise from the knowledge of the deep-lying causes of the irregularity. It may here be argued that causes of Hannah More's abnormality have been stated in the preceding chapter - an unstable constitution, a responsiveness to suggestion, a deeply religious temperament. And this argument, founded as it is on statements that are the result of serious investigation, must be answered by the scientist.

"In ascribing these causes what has been done is simply

this: The particular set of conditions which happened to prevail at the time the patient was attacked have been tabulated as the causes of that attack. While they may have had to do with the outbreak of the attack and thus operated as exciting causes, the much more important condition was the unstable make-up of the individual that made it possible for such events to operate as causes at all.¹ This part of the study will show that the reason for psychopathic manifestations in the last forty years of Hannah More's life were not due solely to the obvious forces of that period which acted as exciting causes, but to a life pattern established in the very earliest formative years of her life. So the investigation turns from that extended period of maturity wherein abnormality has been seen to operate, to the period of infancy and childhood wherein the first cause of abnormality is found. With the acceptance of this law quoted above the investigator finds himself again in an empty room, the door closed on the results of his late endeavors; his having established the fact that Hannah More was psychopathic is no longer the paramount issue, but the matter now pre-eminent lies in the answer to questions that arise from this conclusion. Why a constitution so unstable that certain stresses always played on this defect and discovered in it, symptoms?

Opinions have varied as to the origin of this constitutional condition that is the predisposing cause in psychosis. "An

¹ White, Outlines of Psychiatry, p. 36.

inherited predisposition to mental disorder is found in from thirty to ninety per cent of cases, according to different authorities, while the average for all conditions has been estimated at from sixty to seventy per cent. But anyone who is at all familiar with the collecting of statistics must know how impossible it is for them to fully represent the facts in such a matter.² White affirms that a great deal of what has previously been regarded as hereditary is now regarded by the psychoanalysts as quite possibly individual and due to causes which are preventable. He thinks further that the presence of unconscious complexes causes reactions that appear hereditary or constitutional because their real causes are buried from sight.³ He further affirms that even an average mind does not become deranged from other than the extreme degrees of exhaustion, the operation of traumatism and toxemia, and not even then with anything like the facility of the mind predisposed to disease by bad heredity or unconscious complexes.⁴ The information already presented has shown by the mere fact of her enormous literary output and the acclaim with which her productions were received a mind much above the average; it has likewise shown extreme exhaustion to have been Hannah More's chronic condition physically during the latter half of her life. While this condition doubtless augmented her psychopathic tendencies, it can-

² White, Outlines of Psychiatry, pp. 34-35.

³ Ibid., p. 36.

⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

not be named as their cause if the seat of this abnormality is found in a time preceding that of the case studies. The answer to this question, "Why a constitution so unstable that certain stresses always played on this defect and discovered in it symptoms?" will be continued later in this chapter in conjunction with that of two other questions, the next of which relates to her responsiveness to suggestion. This question is: What does the extreme sensitiveness to suggestibility which her actions show during forty-five years of maturity signify? One has in mind the apparent remarkable influence of friends, notably Bishop Porteus, the Reverend John Newton, and Sir William Pepys, and, as has been shown in part and will later be more absolutely established, the reaction of conscience to the demands of the day - educational, political and religious; remembering in connection that though truly social consciousness indicates mental maturity and sanity, the intensity of its force in Hannah More's life and her equally intense reaction, defined a lack of balance and a contradiction to the normal state. In regard to such a manifestation of the power of suggestion White says:

The conception appears to be general that psychotherapy is summed up and included in suggestion. Aside from the fact that no one seems to have a very clear idea of just what suggestion really is, this conception ignores the recent work that has been done along these lines. Suggestion really plays on the surface. The fundamental, underlying conditions are not reached by suggestion. These underlying conditions which produce the symptomatology are often the same conditions that make suggestion possible. The accepted

suggestion may be quite as much a pathological product as the various symptoms themselves.⁵

This consideration, while lessening in a measure the responsibility of certain persons and issues that were the factors of the immediate exciting causes in later life; while further entrenching an early inference - that the science of psychiatry formed no part of the education of physicians or friends of Hannah More, in no way exposes the specific underlying cause of Hannah More's responsiveness to suggestion. The third question, forming with the two just given a sequence for study, is: How did it happen that religiosity was in every instance the determining agent in Hannah More's life?

In the answer to this question, in its explanation and proof, is found also the answer, if not completely, at least in part to the preceding questions concerning her constitutional condition, and the force of suggestion; for the presence of religiosity in Hannah More's temperament, the abnormally religious conformation of her personality, was not a thing of chance; it in no wise merely happened. It was the result of incontrovertible law operating toward its inevitable effect. An understanding of this law becomes now the immediate objective of this study, that its principles may be applied to details of Hannah More's experience.

The law referred to is that which concerns the formation of what Alfred Adler calls the life pattern. While William A.

⁵ Outlines, p. 67.

See also Ibid., p. 100, p. 216.

White gives it a different phraseology, both he and Adler agree upon the nature of its origin and its effect upon the psyche, or, more emphatically, its expression through, its inseparableness from, its identity and unity with, the psyche. Our study so far has made possible the deduction of a cycle of behavior or reaction, periodically recurring throughout the last forty-five years of Hannah More's life with a regularity that permitted classification as a particular type of psychoses. But what of that preceding period of nearly forty-five years of which no observation has been made and nothing said? If there were no information available for this period, what justification could be made for any endeavor to define the personality during these years? In replying to this question the authorities engaged are psychiatrists whose principles are based on research both biological and psychological in nature and an array of data of many cases. Adler says, "The most important determinants of the structure of the soul life are generated in the earliest days of childhood"; and goes on to say that this is no remarkable discovery in itself, students of all times having made similar findings; but that the fact of importance is that the childhood experiences, impressions, and attitudes, so far as determination of them has been possible, have been found to be joined in one "incontrovertible and continuous pattern" with the later phenomena

⁷
 of soul life. He, says that the childhood attitude is identical with the subject's attitude in maturity. "In short it was proven with astonishing clarity that, from the standpoint of psychic movements, no change had taken place."⁸ White speaks of this personality pattern as the "personal unconscious"; bases its contents upon actual past experiences, often a very early age - the first five years - or connects it with the repressed material of that infantile period.⁹ Basing the assumption on the correctness of these statements, one concludes that Hannah More's life pattern at age five or eight years showed those same fundamentals so markedly observable at sixty years; namely, a highly sensitive constitution, an unusual susceptibility to suggestion, a temperament fervent in its acceptance of and subjection to the authority of the unexplainable in religion; an inner self craving in a high degree self-expression. Adler says that when "we hear the most vivid recollections of a patient's childhood and know how to interpret these recollections correctly, we can reconstruct with great accuracy the pattern of his present character."¹⁰ If it is true, as he says, that an individual can deviate from the pattern into which he has grown in childhood only with great difficulty, that very few individuals have ever been able to change the behavior pattern of their childhood, a specula-

⁷ Understanding Human Nature, p. 5.

⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁹ Outlines of Psychiatry, p. 93.

¹⁰ Understanding Human Nature, p. 6.

tion as to the nature of Hannah More's psyche at a very early age drawn from our knowledge of her mature life is justified, and the life pattern resulting approaches accuracy. It is, however, unnecessary to leave the study with this degree of uncertainty, for facts of Hannah More's childhood, incomplete though they may be, are accessible and of such a nature that their evidence must weaken or strengthen this theory of the life-pattern. The reader is now asked to compare the experiences and attitudes of the earliest childhood days of Hannah More, related in the history immediately following, with the experiences and attitudes of later life with which he is already acquainted.

The period of childhood up to the twelfth year will be observed and experiences related. The available details of Hannah More's early years and education are very few, yet these few are of such a nature as to give one a definite picture of a particular little girl and a clear-cut idea of the system under which her formative years were spent. If the picture is wrong, suggestive evidence, nevertheless, results. "The psychiatrist is in a position to remind us of the chemist or the astronomer. If there is a hiatus in the logical connections of the different steps in a psychosis, like the chemist he can with confidence look for an element to fill the ¹¹ space." For the incidents that might make a more accurate portrait are missing, and the omission in itself suggests much

¹¹ White, Outlines, p. 21.

of the character of her day, those things then considered important, and the forces affecting her most impressionable years. Later in her own works we find no revealing description of child nature, and certainly the incidents related of her own infancy are those of a too serious, too conscious, too proper and responsible person, without the spontaneous childishness that is natural. She was born in 1745. A few years before, Richardson had combined sentimentalism and character interpretation in his didactic novel Pamela. Hannah was born of respectable English parents and reared in a home where education and religion held an honored place. Her father had been prepared for the Church of England, and was given a classical education; unable to realize his early expectations of becoming a minister, he had founded a school. Hannah's mother was a woman of plain education, but like Hannah's father, endowed with a vigorous intellect. "To the soundness of her judgment in the culture and regulation of her children, the credit and success which attended them has¹² in great part been deservedly attributed."

Strong convictions, character, and will were family traits. Her father, a staunch Tory, was attached to the established church but others of the family had been Presbyterians. Hannah's first impressions were of the worth of piety, and the need of discipline. She was told of two great uncles who had

¹² Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More, Vol. 1, p. 6.

been captains in Cromwell's army; she heard of the days of persecution when gospel privileges - unrestricted, though not unrestricting, for Hannah and her sisters - were possible only at midnight "while their great grandfather with a¹³ drawn sword" guarded the door. This was a favorite and oft repeated story of the grandmother whose courage and fortitude enabled her to perform for herself, the operation of bleeding when the sudden seizures to which she was subject¹⁴ made such an operation necessary.

The following quotations and incidents show unfailingly the natural precocity of the child and her responsiveness to early contacts, and training. She possessed "great quickness of perception, retention of memory and a thirst after knowledge;" we read that she had memorized her catechism before her fourth year; at eight was interested in and studying the classics and mathematics with a proficiency that alarmed her father, whose distaste for "female pedantry" made him fearful of the consequences. His consent for her to continue¹⁵ required the appeal of both mother and daughter. It is said also that as early as her third year the precarious health which "exercised her piety and virtue by so many trials in¹⁶ the course of her long life" began to appear.

¹³ Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 7.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

Again, one reads: "In her infancy when she could possess herself of a scrap of paper, her delight was to scribble on it some essay or poem, with some well directed moral on it." ¹⁷ "Among the characteristic sports of Hannah's childhood she was wont to make a carriage of a chair and then to call her sisters to ride with her to London to see the bishops and the booksellers." - - - - "The greatest wish imagination would frame - - - - was that she might one day be rich enough to have a whole quire of paper to herself. And when by her mother's indulgence the prize was attained, it was soon filled with supposititious letters to depraved characters to reclaim them from their errors, and letters in return expressive of contrition and resolutions of amendment." ¹⁸

Whether or not this precarious health which the biographer says manifested itself at the age of three, was due to hereditary tendencies, or to very early environmental conditions, cannot be known. Adler says an illness is always a dangerous corner psychologically, and is to be avoided as much as possible. ¹⁹ It is to be remembered the grandmother was subject to seizures, and that the comparison is made by the biographer of this early illness of Hannah's with that almost continuous throughout her life. There is not sufficient information on this point to establish its worth as

¹⁷ Memoirs, p. 13.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁹ The Education of Children, p. 192.

evidence. There is, however, certainly proof of a high degree of sensitiveness to stimuli, and evidence that these stimuli were almost purely religious, as her reaction to the stimuli shows.

The similarity of the pattern to be made from these first years' experience is almost identical with the one seen to have operated in her life forty, fifty, sixty years later; and the result from the beginning so abnormal that it seems that effort would have been made to produce a change.

The business of transforming a human being is not a simple process; besides those very evidences of psychopathy were regarded by those in a position to effect the change as the will of God and a much to be desired piety. If even today the science of human nature finds itself in the condition that chemistry occupied in the days of alchemy, and contemporary education still unsuited to give us a valid knowledge of the human soul, it is not surprizing that Hannah More's training sought to emphasize and intensify those very tendencies being formed from earliest influences that were believed to be desirable, instead of modifying or eliminating them through alteration of those influences.

Until Hannah was twelve years of age her formal educa-

20 Adler, Understanding Human Nature, p. 11.

21 Ibid., p. 12.

tion was with her father and the oldest of her sisters. The parents wished to prepare their five daughters to establish and conduct a boarding school. For this purpose the oldest girl attended a French school at Bristol, returning home at the end of each week to instruct the younger girls. Because of her perfect command of the French language, Hannah was chosen as interpreter when French officers "of cultivated minds and polished manners were frequent guests at Mr. More's table." When Hannah was twelve years old her sister opened her school in Bristol. From this time she continued²² her studies in her sister's school.

Hannah's education from twelve to twenty was simply a continuation of and enlargement of the system to which she had been accustomed. Here at Bristol she applied herself with characteristic earnestness to the mastery of the modern languages. The religious training of their parents' home was emphasized in the conduct of the institution, the older sister maintaining a high standard for morals, conduct, and solid information in keeping with religious principles. A point for rigid observance with the father had been the sanctity of the Sabbath, and this became a lesson to the daughters to be remembered and practiced.

In the enlarging of Hannah's sphere of knowledge, as was seen above, a study of modern languages was added to earlier

²² Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 5.

acquaintance with the Scripture and the classics. One now reads of the period between her twelfth and sixteenth years: "Among the books now brought within her reach, the Spectator was the first to engross her attention; which if not of solidity enough to furnish to the young mind the sound elements of just thinking and pure taste, was at least calculated to inspire a relish for improving studies and reciprocal duties of social intercourse." ²³ This statement indicates again the nature of the measuring rod used in determining the value of even casual reading and the purpose of bending every employment of time and mind to serve the serious phases of living; and one is reminded sorrowfully of the later time when her recreation is found in the dull, tediousness of Doddridge's twelve-hundred-page volume, the reading of all "pagan books" having been discontinued. It was during these early years that she heard Sheridan lecture, and as a result, was inspired to write verses of such merit that the lecturer upon hearing them sought her acquaintance, "impressed by her dawning genius." "A friendship with Ferguson, the popular astronomer", was an enriching experience, giving her the advantage of discussion of topics connected with science. These two incidents show an ability and an interest that might have been developed into broad and unbiased fields. But her very positive urge to create usually found expression in morali-

²³ Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 15

zations or exhortations, which - limited as one is in information to that which her memoirs afford - would be the natural response to the forces uppermost in her environment and most likely to be the stimuli. Thus at seventeen she wrote a pastoral drama, The Search after Happiness, to counteract or take the place of plays "not always sound in principle or pure in tendency."²⁴ Another entry in the memoirs, shows at the same time a similarity and a difference in the quality of her mind at this period and much later. One reads: "At the age of twenty, having access to the best libraries in the neighborhood, she cultivated with assiduity the Italian, Latin, and Spanish languages, exercising her genius and style in translations and imitations."²⁵ Her desire for excellence was so keen and critical that she destroyed these early compositions except one which was later rewritten as The Inflexible Captive. The similarity is in that mental energy that grappled with stupendous undertakings; the difference is in the contrast between her regard for quality at that time and²⁶ later, shown in the deterioration of her literary style and expressed in her own words: "Though rather a careless writer myself, owing to extreme and blameable rapidity, I yet think purity of style of no little importance; as far as concerns perspicuity it is one of the great charms of composition: further than this I am not fastidious. Style is a garnish,

²⁴ Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 15.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

²⁶ Memoirs, Vol. IV, pp. 303-304.

but it is not of itself substantial food."²⁷

There are so many suggestions even in the meagre data of these early years to indicate subtly a potentiality, a promise that eighty-eight years of strenuous didactic expression did not fulfill, that one contemplates with regret Adler's statement that the misinterpretations (represented by unconsciously mistaken education) made in early childhood may so unrelentingly affect the entire life;²⁸ while the re-pressed material of that infantile period is never lost,²⁹ and, though unconsciously present, may effect conflicts that forever prohibit harmonious adaptation to the environment. The life pattern, fashioned by environmental factors, so irradicably fits itself into the personality at the time of earliest consciousness, that growth and development are in conformation with its outlines,³⁰ so that the manifested psyche may be a distorted and disguised counterpart of the real soul, unconscious of the tragic fact that "The route we pursue in time is strewn with the remains of all that we began to be and of all that we might have become."³¹

These items from Hannah More's childhood history, though few and less adequate than one would like, are yet noteworthy in their similarity of nature and in the only inference they permit: they point to a sensitive nature, responding to its

27 Memoirs, Vol. IV, p. 308.

28 Education of Children, p. 5.

29 White, Outlines, p. 93.

30 White, Mechanisms of Character Formation, p. 59.

31 Bergson, quoted by White, Mechanisms of Character Formation, p. 100.

environment through a superior intellectual capacity seeking to say something - to create - in reaction to the stimuli of books, occasions, people. The accounts of illness interspersed in the most incidental manner by the biographer are significant to the investigator. The life pattern assumes the shape of its later manifestations. Two biographical entries are significant: the one tells of a serious illness at the age³² of sixteen, about the time the verses to Sheridan were written, the other following the statement of the success of the drama, The Search after Happiness, written when she was seventeen, is this: "She appears at this period of her life as at all others, to have suffered much from a morbid sensibility of constitution, which exposed her to severe suspensions of her³³ mental activities."

A brief summary of this chapter shows the cycle of the periodic mania of Hannah More's later years to have been the replica of the life pattern formed by her fifth year and manifested in her early years by characteristic reaction to the stimuli her environment afforded. It shows a constitutional condition - the predisposing cause; the stimuli of suggestion - the exciting cause; the tendency to depression; the urge of excitation, of the later years to be the reiteration of this early childhood expression, which was the result of an unvaryingly rigid, disciplined, authoritative, relig-

³² Memoirs, I, p. 15.

³³ Memoirs, I. p. 17.

ious environment on a personality, mentally and physically sensitive and susceptible to all stimuli. This pattern is repeated in later childhood and youth, with occasional variations that indicate a struggle or conflict in a direction less biased and more normal. In the latter years, however, one sees the pattern of response repeated with the increasing frequency, force, and lack of variation, that bespeaks standardization of type.

Adler's and White's theory, or rather law, of the personality pattern seems to have found a perfect illustration in the study of the first twenty and last forty-five years of Hannah More's life. Any psychic alternative would have been scientifically impossible, for it is evident that environment, family, friends, sentiment through influence, authority, and ignorance, strengthened the boundaries and prohibited escape.

Could a pattern of action so well-defined at both the beginning and end of life have permitted deviations in the intervening period? Adler thinks that there is fundamentally very little change; that the human being always employs his experiences to the same end; trying to make them fit into the mosaic of his life's pattern; for Adler believes "the hardest thing for human beings to do is to know themselves and to change themselves." It was said in the beginning of this chapter that an understanding of human nature and appre-

ciation of the laws underlying character formation and development were essential before any assistance in orientation or adaptation can be given the patient. Without this scientific knowledge there is every possibility of deception - deception of self and deception to society; - unconscious deception due to the power of equally unconscious complexes in the psyche's historic past. This, like the submerged nine-tenths of the ice-berg, is unseen, yet powerful to thwart the direction set by the prevailing winds. Herein lie very great dangers, an understanding of which necessitates a knowledge of the laws controlling this phase of psychopathy. The years of Hannah More's life not yet surveyed - those lying between the very early period of the life pattern's formation and the later time of its numerous repetitions - afford ample data for analytical study through comparison with these laws. These data also give the opportunity to determine to what degree the life pattern operated - whether it was entirely lost or simply obscured by the variety and complexity of stimuli characterizing these years of Hannah More's experience.

³⁵ Stanley Hall, quoted by White, Mechanisms of Character Formation, p. 39.

Chapter 1V

THE PSYCHIC CONFLICT: the Struggle Between Conscious and Unconscious Factors of Personality in Attempt to Establish the Identity of the Psyche

That period of Hannah More's life between the ages of twenty and forty years must now be subjected to clinic examination. The introduction to this complete study formulated questions that will be found peculiarly applicable to this period. "What of the secret processes of a mind that apparently offers no variation to a pattern early formed and forever afterward followed? Why no irregularities? Why complete absence of the exception that proves the rule? Why never an exhibition of mental daring that goes beyond its mark and in so doing defeats and disappoints itself momentarily, but withal restores a saner self-estimate, shakes from vision the cobwebs of hallucination and evaluates more truly immediate and remote ¹ goals?"

Were these years considered without relation to those preceding or following, one might conceive a Hannah More of marked contradictory personality to that presented by the life pattern of preceding and later years' manifestations; for her interests, activities, and reactions of the interven-

¹ Supra., p.5.

ing years present delightful irregularities. However, it is not only intrinsically but relatively that we must observe the phenomena of this time, "mindful of the fact that we must have a complete whole in view before we can draw any conclusions about its parts."² With this perspective it will be seen that the symptoms of psychopathy, or perhaps more accurately, the condition upon which the play of adequate stimuli might produce symptoms of, or tendencies toward, abnormality, was never lacking. Furthermore it may be seen that the very absence, to appearances, of the extreme condition was evidence of a repression, a storing up of forces, that augmented later unfavorable reactions; and that the carefree gaiety of this period was what White terms a "flight into reality"³ chosen as means of escape from consciousness of an unfulfilled wish, which, failing to produce a satisfactorily harmonious adaptation of the personality, found rationalization through a subjection to authority, and sublimation in extreme religiosity. These results, it is known from the study of the life pattern, were in nature similar to it and show that the conflict directed the psyche again into the well-worn grooves, set by early experiences, from which it had sought escape.

The idea that her life divided itself into two contrasting periods due to a difference in her contemporary mental

² Adler, Understanding Human Nature, p. 9.

³ Outlines, p. 24.

attitudes is the belief of two commentators. One of these, Robert Bracey, speaking of a certain phase of her life says:

Her life divides itself into two sections as distinct from each other as if separated into water-tight compartments. In the first, her early womanhood, she was the spoilt pet of Johnson and the brilliant men who circled round him - a witty talker, a letter-writer who could rival Horace Walpole himself, an author of clever verses and impromptu squibs. - - - But the later and longer portion of her career makes a different appeal. She had now been converted, and in the Puritan sense of the word. Her letters lose their brilliance, and become heavy as lead, and eschewing polite assemblies and the company of authors and wits, she enters on a life of great usefulness and untiring benevolences.⁴

Another writer of this time speaks of the seasons of "decorous gaiety in town", preceding the life at "Cowslip Green,⁵ busy with schools, tracts, and parish visiting." Her biographer, Mr. Roberts, makes no further concession to a life of gaiety than is afforded in this statement: "If to know the great and to hear the wise was the ambition of her early days, let it be remembered that in the maturity of her age, to gain the good was her single concern.- - - She possessed that hidden strength which in the various bustle of resort kept⁶ her from vanity and vacillations." That she herself considers a certain part of her life to have shown a type of indifference to more worthy concerns, is indicated in her statement made concerning a friendship of thirty-five years with Dr. Stonehouse: "My faithful and most attached friend, Sir James, my

4 Bracey, Eighteenth Century Studies, p. 14.

5 Amy Cruse, The Englishman and His Books, p. 30.

6 Memoirs, Vol. 1, pp. 37-38.

counsellor, physician and divine; who first awakened me to some sense of serious things.⁷"

To the present day examiner of her letters, a belief in a pronounced and definite period of religious indifference is very difficult; for in the gayest of her letters there is apparent the vestige of schoolteacher and reformer to counteract unleashed exuberance, youthful and natural.

Excerpts from these earlier London letters will show what is meant. She writes with enthusiasm of the "bustle, dissipation and nonsensical flutter of town life."⁸ In speaking of Garrick, who has not been well enough to play or see company: "if he does not get well enough to act soon, I shall break my heart."⁹ Of a delightful visit through Twickenham, she writes: "I couldn't be honest for the life of me; from the grotto I stole two bits of stone - from the garden a sprig of laurel, and from one of the bed-chambers, a pen; because the house had been Pope's and because Sir William, whose pen it was, was brother to Lord Chesterfield."¹⁰ She tells of a famous chair made from a cherry tree "which really grew in the garden of Shakespeare at Stratford. - - - I sat in it but caught no ray of inspiration." In one letter she says: "Keeping bad company leads to all other bad things. I have got

⁷ Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 30.

⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

⁹ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 46.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 72.

the headache today, by raking out so late with that gay
¹¹libertine Johnson." Again: "Every day this week is destined
 for pleasure."

These extracts, so in keeping with the Hannah More whose
¹²personality Robert Bracey ascribes to the first period of life
 referred to, are found in the same letters, or others con-
 temporary with them in date, that contain the following state-
 ments: "I tell him (Sir Joshua Reynolds) that I hope the
 poets and painters will at last bring the Bible into fashion,
 and that people will get to like it from taste, though they
 are insensible to its spirit, and afraid of its doctrines.
 I love this great genius, for not being ashamed to take his
¹³subjects from the most unfashionable of all books." Also:
 "Again I am annoyed by the foolish absurdity of the present
 mode of dress. - - - Nothing can be conceived so absurd, ex-
 travagant, fantastical, as the present mode of dressing the
 head. Simplicity and modesty are things so much exploded
¹⁴that the very names are no longer remembered." One is shock-
 ed at her satisfaction and lack of charity in telling of the
 trial of a woman, and her regret that the extreme penalty is
 not inflicted. - - - "Calling herself duchess-dowager of
 Kingston. She was this afternoon undignified and unduchessed,
¹⁵and very narrowly escaped being burned in the hand." "Pleasure",

¹¹ Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 72.

¹² Eighteenth Century Studies, p. 18.

¹³ Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 72.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Hannah More says, "is by much the most laborious trade I
 16 know." Her dislike for music, opera, and dancing is already evident, for she writes to one of her sisters in 1775:

'Bear me, some God,
 O quickly bear me hence
 To wholesome solitude the nurse of ---'

This apostrophe broke from me on coming from the opera, the first I ever did, the last, I trust, I ever shall go to. - - - Going to opera, like getting drunk is a sin that carries its own punishment with it, and that a severe one. Thank my dear Dr. S - for his kind and seasonable admonitions on my last Sunday's engagement at Mrs. Montagu's. Conscience had done its office before; nay was busy at the time; and if it did not dash the cup of pleasure to the ground, infused at least a tincture of wormwood into it. I did think of the alarming call 'What doest thou here, Elijah?' and I thought of it tonight at opera.¹⁷

This apology, written on a Sunday in 1775 when Hannah More was thirty years old, bears more similarity than difference to her writings of thirty years later. It was followed the next Sunday night with a word of defence and justification including a criticism of what she believes to be abuse of the Sabbath.

Perhaps you will say I ought to have thought of it (Dr. S---'s advice) again today when I tell you I have dined abroad; but it is a day on which I reflect without, those uneasy sensations one has when one is conscious it has been spent in trifling company. I have been at Mrs. Boscawens'. Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Chapone, and myself only were admitted. We spent the time, not as wits, but as reasonable creatures; better characters I trow. The conversation was sprightly but serious. - - - I have not enjoyed an afternoon so much since

16 Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 162.

17 Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 56.

I have been in town. There was much sterling sense, and they are all ladies of high character for piety, of which, however, I do not think their visiting on Sunday's any proof; for though their conversation is edifying, the example is bad.¹⁸

Probably this date, 1775, when Hannah More was thirty years old, marks the peak of the first period which had been her season of "decorous gaiety"; for to the spontaneity and gaiety and ease that some letters of this time indicate there is added from this time the inclination to the pedantic, the circumscribed, the ascetic. To this type she had fully subscribed by 1785. She writes from London at this later date: "You know I have often told you, that Sunday is not only my day of rest but of enjoyment. I go twice to churches where I expect the best preaching. - - - It was very considerate in Mrs. Garrick to decline asking company on Sunday on my account, so that I might enjoy the day to myself. I swallow no small portion of theology of different discriptions. - - - I have attacked South, Atterbury, and Warburton. - - - I think it right to mix their learned labors with the devout effusions of more spiritual writers; Baxter, Doddridge, Hall, Hopkins, Jeremy Taylor (the Shakespeare of divinity). - - - In the evening I read a sermon and prayers to the family."²⁰

And thus is seen no absence of religiosity in the time between thirty and forty, but a strengthening of its influence as the time of Bishop Porteus' request is approached,

¹⁸ Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 57.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 400.

²⁰ Ibid.

marking the beginning of those cycles of reaction typically psychopathic. One thing worthy of note is the fact of fewer entries of "visitation" during this period; whether the biographer fails to record them, whether her constitutional condition was much stronger at this period than previously or later, or whether the stimuli - of whose presence later there is no doubt - that produced such violent and detrimental reaction were missing, is unknown. But further significance attaches to the fact that her writing at this time more nearly approaches pure literature than at any other. Poetry and clever squibs, writings with some wit and color as well as style, may not have produced the psychic conflict that her later long and enforced didactic appeals did. There is no account of illness given in connection with the writing of Percy, her secular drama, nor of "suspension of mental activity" immediately following its production.

Yet, not long after its successful run there is evidenced in her a declining interest in the arts, the theatre, literature other than Scriptural and theological (excepting Shakespeare), except as they offered subjects for moralizing and refuting. It seems that deliberately she forsook the road that might have meant preservation of sanity and expression of genius. And this apparent volition is, according to both White and Adler, a manifested operation of law, wherein the patient, ignorant of his psychic nature, is the setting of an uncon-

scious conflict, in which, due to his unawareness of what it signifies and the fact that the struggle comes so late in the history of the personality - due to these, the life pattern so early established must almost inevitably win.²¹

In this period there was unmistakably greater diversity of interests, less asperity of convictions, than in the later period when every thought is narrowed to religious pragmatism and every act conditioned by it. To what extent this gaiety this keen interest in all life, was augmented by an occurrence of the first years of maturity is another item on which information is almost too meagre for a conclusion; and yet White's theory of the "flight into reality" and his principle that the psychiatrist, as the chemist, supplies tentatively the matter lacking in the existing phenomena, points to and justifies a conclusion.

The "flight into reality" is that form of escape offered the psyche, following an unpleasant or disintegrating conflict, by everything and every person that touches his life in any way that can afford him interest.²³

It is that period of life of which the biographer says least that may have been a very crucial one in Hannah More's experience. It is possible that this "flight into reality" was conditioned by a repressed wish which, being thwarted,

21 Adler, Understanding Human Nature, pp. 5,6,11,12.
 White, Outlines, pp. 10, 20.
 White, An Introduction to the Study of the Mind, pp. 52, 56, 93.
 22 White, Outlines, p. 24.
 23 Ibid.

sought rationalization.

The facts of this occurrence are mentioned with apparent reluctance by the biographer, in answer to one whom he calls an "unmanly" critic.²⁵ This study, however is concerned solely with the event itself, which stated briefly was the making and nullification of an engagement for marriage with a Mr. Turner, a man twenty years her senior. She was twenty-two years old at the time. Extracts from the letters of a friend of Miss More's, written after her death, relate the essentials. The friend writes:

I knew the late Mrs. More for nearly sixty-four years, I may say most intimately; for during my ten years' residence with her sisters I was received and treated, not as a scholar, but as a child of their own, in a confidential and affectionate manner; and ever since the first commencement of our acquaintance the same friendly intercourse was kept up by letters and visiting. I was living at her sister's when Mr. Turner paid his addresses to her; for it was owing to my cousin Turner (whom my father had placed at their school) that she became acquainted with Mr. Turner. He always had his cousins, the two Miss Turners, to spend their holidays with him, as a most respectable worthy lady managed and kept his house. His residence at Belmont was beautifully situated, and he had carriages and horses, and everything to make a visit to Belmont agreeable. He permitted his cousins to ask any young persons at the school to spend their vacations with them. Their governesses being nearly of their own age, they made choice of the two youngest of the sisters, - Hannah and Patty More. The consequence was natural. She was very clever and fascinating, and he was generous and sensible; he became attached, and made his offer, which was accepted. He was a man of large fortune, and she was young and dependent. She quitted her interest in the concern of the school, and was at great expense in preparing and fitting herself out to be the wife of a man of that condition. The day was fixed more than

²⁴ White, An Introduction to the Study of the Mind, pp. 80-83.

²⁵ Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 18.

once for the marriage; and Mr. Turner each time postponed it. Her sisters and friends interfered, and would not permit her to be so treated, and trifled with. He continued in the wish to marry her; but her friends, after his former conduct, and on other accounts, persevered in keeping up her determination not to renew the engagement.²⁶

To these statements Mr. Roberts, the biographer, adds²⁷ the following, taken from "the same authentic source."

At their last conversation together, Mr. Turner proposed to settle an annuity upon her, a proposal which was with dignity and firmness **rejected**, and the intercourse appeared to be absolutely at an end. Let it be recorded, however, in justice to the memory of this gentleman that his mind was ill at ease till an interview was obtained with Dr. Stonehouse, to whom he declared his intention to secure to Miss More, with whom he had considered his union as certain, an annual sum which might enable her to devote herself to her literary pursuits and compensate, in some degree, for the robbery he had committed upon her time. Dr. Stonehouse consulted with the friends of the parties, and the consultation terminated in a common opinion that, all things considered, a part of the sum proposed might be accepted without the sacrifice of delicacy or propriety, and the settlement was made without the knowledge of the lady, Dr. Stonehouse consenting to become the agent and trustee. It was not, however, till some time after the affair had been thus concluded, that the consent of Miss More could be obtained by the importunity of her friends.²⁸

Of this unpleasant experience and Miss More's reaction to it, Mr. Roberts remarks: "Her correct and tender mind which did not come out from these embarrassments without a certain degree of distress and disturbance, seemed to seek relief in the resolution which she formed and kept, of avoiding a similar entanglement. Nor did her resolution want its trial and testimony. Not long afterwards her hand was again

²⁶ Memoirs, Vol. 1, pp. 31-33.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 33.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 35.

solicited and refused." Mr. Roberts concludes this account by saying that the highmindedness and moral strength of a Christian character are shown by her intercourse and correspondence; but the letters themselves are not included in the collection prepared for the public. Of the period of six or seven years following, until the time she is seen in London enjoying the association and favor of the learned and elite, there is no information save that afforded by a few letters from a Dr. Langhorne. The contents of these imply that she was a person of charm, intellectuality, considerable fame, unusual vivacity and wit.

In this experience one witnesses the operation of many principles detrimental to mental health. They are briefly: the wish - which scientifically comprehended is not a conscious desire in the "ordinary sense, but a tendency in any direction whatever, no matter how much opposed to the individual's desires as he knows them in his own consciousness, no matter if it be not in the field of consciousness at all." This wish is here the mental acceptance of the idea of marriage. The second principle shown is that of the path of opposites or the law of relativity, shown in the swing of the pendulum; and by the swing of thought from one idea to its opposite; and seen with especial force in Hannah More's deter-

29 Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 34.

30 Ibid., pp. 19-23.

31 White, An Introduction to the Study of the Mind, p. 57.

mination to deny consideration to any future idea of marriage.³² This determination assigned this product of mentality to the realms of the unconscious in mind; and was followed by the flight into reality,³³ as a means of escape from the disregarded unconscious.³⁴ The flight into reality led first through a process of rationalization to a later more extreme form of sublimation, which procedure brought Hannah More to a renewed expression of the original life pattern with her susceptibility to suggestion and authority, her religiosity, her violent reactions intensified through the increased complexity of her mental processes. "In the efforts at adjustment the mental functions develop many ways of reacting. They defend the individual from disagreeable experiences by thrusting them into the unconscious. For certain experiences that cannot be adequately adjusted to, certain compensatory reactions are evolved. The young woman disappointed in love is compensated by a life devoted to the service of others,³⁵ - - - etc."

And so it is seen that this experience which in its elementary stage bore no direct relation to the earlier psychopathic tendencies, became a medium for expressing them. The variety of activity, the interest in contrasting kinds of stimuli and the response made, the evident complexities and contradictions of Hannah More's personality at this period

³² White, Outlines, p. 52.

³³ Ibid., p. 24.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

verify White's statement that, "Every mental state is a synthesis and like a chemical compound may bear little relation in its qualities to the qualities of its constituent elements. Every mental state, too, reaches back through an immeasurable line of other mental states to the very dawn of our consciousness." ³⁶ Bergson puts it thus: "Doubtless we think with only a small part of our past, but it is with our entire past, including the original bent of our soul, that ³⁷ we desire, will, and act."

This statement of Bergson summarizes the thought of the chapter and defines Hannah More's personality for this period of her life. In other words, her thinking was of the one time, but her actions represented the repressed material of the earliest infantile period, the original bent of the ³⁸ soul; not only that but they represented the life pattern which had resulted from early environmental forces acting upon her constitution; and beside these elements representing nine-tenths of the ice-berg below the water, that unconscious because submerged, but powerful because never missing, part of the personality conditioning every action, - beside these there was the conscious volition and its attendant action. The result of this psychic conflict in Hannah More's life was the renewing and strengthening of those character-

³⁶ White, Outlines, p. 19.

³⁷ Creative Evolution, p. 120.

³⁸ White, Outlines, p. 19.

tics of the life pattern. This result one can readily see is logically almost inevitable, aside from the authority of White and Adler. The reasons are obvious: the characteristics of the life pattern were more fixed, due to exercise over a long enough period to have established the grooves of habitual action; the effort at change which may have represented a protest of the very "original bent of the soul" as well as "a flight into reality" came too late. The personality of the life pattern ascendant, the indication of early bias or abnormality, is more apparent, and one sees from now on with little if any variation a mentality, requiring an outlet, psychopathically responsive to suggestions of moral and social obligations coming from associates and public issues.

Chapter V

HANNAH MORE'S PERSONALITY REVEALED THROUGH HER WORKS

The three chapters immediately preceding this have presented a clinic study of Hannah More's life. In chapter Two the diagnosis determined her personality to have shown decided and continuous evidence of psychopathic tendencies. These tendencies were found to prevail throughout the entire latter half of her life - a period of more than forty years which was the time of her greatest literary output. Chapter Three traced the cause of this abnormality to factors conditioning development in very early childhood. Chapter Four followed the operation of this habit pattern through early maturity; and showed it re-inforced by the repression and rationalization resulting from a disturbing experience of womanhood. These chapters have shown the personality of Hannah More to be abnormal in the way so clearly stated by White; that is, not in differentiation of elements from the psychic elements of a healthy-minded person, but in the measure of these elements and in the intensity of their expression. Of her undue responsiveness to suggestion, of her extreme religiosity, proof has been given; of the nature of the response, which in periods of excitation - often in spite of physical unfitness - took the form of prodigious writings

of didacticism, mention has been made. The present chapter will present a cursory survey of some of her major works, which in their content show the turn of her mind. From this survey it can be seen whether or not manifestations of Hannah More's life pattern are to be found in her literary works. This study cannot be comprehensive enough to analyze all psychological manifestations, but one will certainly be alert to see that her personality revealed in her major works is in no way contradictory to the personality pattern revealed by the clinic examination of her life through her letters and Memoirs.

These works of Hannah More will be seen to deal with those issues of the day which in her judgment demanded reform. Though there remain no fragments of those earliest childhood-letters written to reclaim the depraved, practically everything preserved from her pen contains a moral or an exhortation. The exception to this statement is found in three of her dramas. Hannah More had a strong dramatic instinct which is shown in her earlier writing and her one time predilection for the theatre. Her works will be examined in this order: drama, non-dramatic poetry, and prose.

The Search After Happiness¹ is the drama written when she was seventeen. It shows not only a familiarity with the structure of the dramatic form, but a pleasing grace of style and imagery suggestive of certain early Elizabethans. How-

¹ Hannah More's Works, Vol. 1, pp. 110-119.

ever, the purposefulness of the play with the apostrophes to Solitude, Virtue, and Piety, together with the regular insertion of moralizing couplets, destroys its artistic freedom and stamp it with the mark of sentimentalism. It was written to supply the place of more dangerous amusements; to promote regard for religion and virtue in the minds of young people.² The Sacred Dramas³ are four in number. They⁴ are Moses in the Bulrushes;⁵ David and Goliath; Belshazzar; and Daniel.⁶ They are well written and are interesting reading. Though adhering closely to the Biblical text and showing a predominant and limited conception of justice, quite dogmatic in places, the general treatment is on a scale sufficiently grand and sustained to arouse admiration; while her manipulation of metrical forms is good. That her aim is not artistic merit is shown in her statement included in the preface to the dramas. "I reflected, with awe, that the place whereon I stood was holy ground."⁷ She says the addition of Saul's daughter in David and Goliath would have added to the effect of the piece; that to do so would have assisted the intrigue, making it more complicated and amusing, but that her object was solely that the interest might be useful.⁸ Miss

² Hannah More's Works, Vol. 1, p.11.

³ Ibid., pp. 77-81.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 82-92.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 92-101.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 101-109.

⁷ Ibid., p. 76.

⁸ Ibid.

More's aversion to things theatrical had not yet reached its greatest measure; but that her discrimination was becoming most exacting is shown in a letter written at the time of the completion of the Biblical Dramas. "The word sacred in the title is a damper to the dramas. It is tying a millstone about the neck of sensibility, which will drown them both together. - - - Bishop Lowth has just finished the Dramas and sent me word that he likes the whole book more than he can say. But the Bishop of Chester's compliment was most solid. He said he thought it would do a vast deal of good; and that is the praise best worth having."¹⁰

The three tragedies, Percy, The Inflexible Captive, and The Fatal Falsehood, give more promise of a career of creative literature than any other of her writing; and they are her only major works of a purely secular nature.¹¹ Percy, it is true, has much of the melodramatic and a weak plot; it was, nevertheless, popular with London audiences and had a successful run at Covent Garden with David Garrick in the leading role. The Inflexible Captive reminds one of Shakespeare's Coriolanus. It is referred to in the Memoirs as belonging to that period of study and translations at the age of twenty, when a very high standard for attainment led Hannah More to destroy all her writing except a study of the Attilio Regalo of Metastasio, which she later converted into

⁹ Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 235.

¹⁰ Memoirs, Vol. 1, pp. 236.

¹¹ Works of Hannah More, Vol. 1, pp. 530-544.

The Inflexible Captive. It was acted in the Theatre Royal at Bath, 1774. The Fatal Falsehood presents less artistic and structural strength than the two preceding tragedies. It was acted in 1779 at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden.

The writing of these plays and the production of Percy took place during the life of David Garrick, one of her most esteemed friends. After his death, her former enthusiasm for the theatre declined to the degree of aversion, as a preface¹² to her complete works affirms. She has then reached the stage when she would abolish the theatre. She would destroy all dramatic art, not only because some dramas are corrupt, but because she has learned that complete abstinence is easier¹³ than temperance. She even declares her purpose of not attacking bad plays but of pointing out the dangerous effects which come under the description of good plays. She believes worldly honor to be the "very soul, and spirit, and life giving principle of the drama"; and she believes this worldly honor to be in direct opposition to the standard of Christianity. She writes that she would suppress the re-publication of all her dramas, but that the "suppression would be thought disingenuous; and had I not been also desirous of grounding on¹⁴ the publication my sentiments on the drama." She would not forbid the reading of moral plays, but believes that in dramatic action the moral is helpless to counteract the "poi-

¹² Works of Hannah More, Vol. 11, pp. 502-510.

¹³ Ibid., p. 504.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 502.

son". "For one stroke of feeling, one natural expression of the passions, be the principle right or wrong, carries away the affections of the auditor beyond any of the poet's force of reasoning to control. And they know little of the power of the dramatic art, or of the conformation of the human mind, who do not know that the heart of the feeling spectator is always at the command of the passions in the hand of a true
¹⁵ poet." She believes the more delicate, refined, artistic, subtle the expression, the greater the danger; and fears the work of the imagination, and fancy, considering them the source of some of the most fatal disorders in the female
¹⁶ character. Having reached this conviction Hannah More wrote no more plays.

A brief review of Hannah More's complete works is a presumptuous undertaking. A hurried reading is an impossibility. The voluminous nature and interest-fatiguing detail of her writing make analysis and criticism difficult. One finds her poetry, other than the three dramas mentioned, almost wholly didactic. The Bas Blue, frequently spoken of in the Memoirs, was written in defense of, and to enthrone conversation of the Blue Stocking type.

¹⁵ Works of Hannah More, Vol. 11, p. 502.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 507.

Hail, Conversation, heavenly fair,
 Thou bliss of life and balm of care;
 Still may thy gentle reign extend.
 And taste with wit and science blend,
 Soft polisher of rugged man!
 Refiner of the social plant!
 For thee, best solace of his toil,
 The sage consumes his midnight oil,
 And keeps late vigils to produce
 Materials for thy future use.
 Calls forth the else neglected knowledge
 Of school, of travel, and of college.¹⁷

Social reform or religious exhortation is the motive of her poetry. Florio presents the reformation of a young gentleman.

Floria escap'd from Fashion's school
 His heart and conduct learns to rule;
 Conscience his useful life approves;
 He serves his God, his country loves;
 Reveres her laws, protects her rights,
 And for her interests, pleads or fights.
 Reviews with scorn his former life,
 And, for his rescue, thanks his wife.¹⁸

In some of the earlier poems one finds evidence of wit, an illustration being Bishop Bonner's Ghost. The poems belonging to this period, though circumscribed in scope of imagery and style by the restricted subject-matter, are superior to those of later years. This is seen in a comparison of The
²⁰ Slave Trade; ²¹ Sensibility; ²² Sir Eldred of the Bower; The Bleeding
²³ Rock, all written before Hannah More was forty, with Bible

¹⁷ Works, Vol. 1, p. 15.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 19-27.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 18.

²¹ Ibid., p. 27.

²² Ibid., p. 32.

²³ Ibid., p. 36.

24

25

Rhymes, and an Ode to a Dead Pig, written at a much later date. The Bible Rhymes written for very young readers is unsuitable to children by reason of style, vocabulary, and treatment. The author offers an apology for the measure used, which she believes cramps and contracts the thought; and for the brevity of the whole poem, due she says to poor health and unfavorable circumstances. Hannah More's loss of desire for stylistic excellence is succeeded by a proneness to amplification and repetition of thought, and by a regrettable deterioration of judgment in matters pertaining to humor. The Ode to the Pig, intended to be funny, is at once ludicrous in both text and content.

In addition to the poems mentioned there are many hymns, odes, epitaphs, and rhymes. She writes on patriotism, thrift, and honesty; she writes to order and in behalf of some urgent need. But by far the greater part of Hannah More's work consists of long and serious articles in prose. These articles are written for the purpose of teaching; patriotism, manners, religion, are the general subject under which these prose writings come.

The French Revolution and the literature connected with it; the reiterations of Voltaire's sentiments, variously applied; the theories of Rousseau; particularly the writings of Thomas Paine, brought from her pen a series of political papers, adapted to the comprehension of the middle classes.

24 Works, pp. 64-75.

25 Memoirs, Vol. 1V, pp. 303-304.

These tracts were of the most practical nature. They aimed at fanning the flame of loyalty and at instilling principles of thrift and contentment. They consisted of pamphlets and monthly tracts, the success of which led to the organization of the Religious Tract Society in 1799.²⁶ A tract, The Way to Plenty, was one of many written for the purpose of relieving economic distress. "Its object", she wrote the Duchess of Gloucester, "is to convince the common people that their extreme poverty is caused rather by their own total want of economy than by the badness of the times."²⁷ The writings of this Revolutionary period give explicit directions for daily living, and include recipes for food, and prescriptions for safe thinking. They proclaim the authority of the established order of things; the safety in conformity; the undesirability of the middle classes aspiring to a voice in government; the reward of contentment; the danger and vice in radicalism. She does this with a fervor that is not conservative. The Riot, or Half a Loaf is Better than no Bread, "written in ninety-five, a year of scarcity and alarm" expresses this sentiment through the words of Jack Anvil in reply to Tom Hod, who is determined to raise a riot in protest to taxes.

But if we're not quiet, then let us not wonder,
 If things grow much worse by our riot and plunder;
 And let us remember, whenever we meet,
 The more ale we drink, boys, the less we shall eat;

²⁶ Cruse, The Englishman and His Books, p. 68.

²⁷ Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 476.

On those days spent in riot, no bread you brought home,
 Had you spent them in labour you must have had some.
 A dinner of herbs, says the wise man, with quiet,
 Is better than beef amid discord and riot.
 If the thing could be helped I'm a foe to all strife,
 And I pray for a peace ev'ry night of my life;
 But in matters of state not an inch will I budge,
 Because I conceive I'm no very good judge.²⁸

The classic of this literature is Village Politics addressed to all the mechanics, journeymen, and laborers in Great Britain, by Will Chip, a Country Carpenter written early in the French Revolution. The conversation presents the dissatisfaction of Tom Hod, who has read Paine's The Rights of Man. Tom Hod is clamoring for a constitution, organization, equalization, and fraternization, such as is to be had in France. Jack Anvil's retort is that The Whole
 29
Duty of Man would be more desirable reading.

Tom. What then dost thou take French liberty to be?

Jack. To murder more men in one night than ever their poor king did in his whole life.

Tom. And what dost thou take a democrat to be?

Jack. One who lives to be governed by a thousand tyrants, and yet can't bear a king.

Tom. What is equality?

Jack. For every man to pull down every one that is above him; while instead of raising those below him, to his own level, he only makes use of them as steps to raise himself to the place of those he has tumbled down.

Tom. What is the new Rights of Man?

²⁸ Works, Vol. 1, p. 49.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 58.

Jack. Battle, murder, and sudden death.

Tom. What is it to be an enlightened people?

Jack. To put out the light of the Gospel, confound right and wrong, and grope about in pitch darkness.

Tom. What is philosophy?

Jack. To believe that there's neither God, nor devil, nor heaven, nor hell; to dig up a wicked old fellows (Voltaire) rotten bones, whose books have been the ruin of thousands; and to set his figure up in a church and worship him.

Tom. And what is a patriot according to the new school?

Jack. A man who loves every other country better than his own, and France best of all.³⁰

This conversation continues in the same vein until Jack wins Tom to his viewpoint in the following speech: "I'll tell thee how we are ruined. We have a king so loving, that he would not hurt the people if he could; and so kept in, that he could not hurt the people if he would. We have so much liberty as can make us happy, and more trade and riches than allows us to be good. We have the best laws in the world if they were more strictly enforced; and the best religion in the world if it was but better followed. While old England is safe, I'll glory in her, and pray for her, and when she is in danger, I'll fight for her and die for her." Tom resolves to
³¹
 go home and burn Paine's book. It was in this manner that Hannah More produced, monthly, three Cheap Repository Tracts

³⁰ Works, Vol. 1, p. 62.

³¹ Ibid.

during several years between 1792 and 1799. There is no lack of fluency, resourcefulness, or figures in these patriotic and political papers appealing to the lower classes. She says, however, that it is a type of writing repugnant to her nature.

The bulk of Hannah More's writing relates to customs - social manners and educational practices - and religion. A rapid survey of her works on customs or manners will now be made. On this subject more plainly than anywhere else is shown Hannah More's belief in class distinctions; and a belief in a difference of manners and customs and education appropriate to the particular class. She recommends an education that will better fit one for his present position than one designed to raise him out of it. The classic examples for exemplary education and conduct in women are given in The Two Wealthy Farmers, or The History of Mr. Bragwell, in which the type is set for middleclass perfection in the daughter of Mr. Allworthy; while in Coelebs in Search of a Wife,³² the standard is presented for young women of the higher social class in the person of Lucilla.³³ The transparency of the moralizing, and the patent labelling of every thought with the avowed purpose of showing the superiority of Mr. Allworthy's system of living and of educating his daughters in comparison with Mr. Bragwell's system, results in a mental ennui to the

³² Works, Vol. 1, pp. 129-162.

³³ Works, Vol. 11, pp. 304-436.

the reader. The fatigue is lessened somewhat and the interest heightened when one sees displayed Hannah More's aptitude for unvarying and rigid didacticism; to see unfailing the reward of the righteous, the humiliation of the unorthodox; the charity of the exalted and the final conversion of the erring to righteousness, or his utter destruction. What might be sound sense of certain passages is weakened by a continued repetition of the idea which in time discredits the reader of
 34
 any intelligence. The idea contained in the following paragraph relating to the education of Mr. Bragwell's daughters is prolonged through tedious discourse of more than thirty-seven thousand words.

It was a misfortune that at the school at which they had been bred, and at some others, there was no system of education which had any immediate reference to the station of life to which the girls chiefly belonged. As persons in the middle line, for want of that acquaintance with books and with life and with manners, which the great possess, do not always see the connection between remote consequences and their causes, the evils of a corrupt and inappropriate system of education do not strike them so forcibly; and provided they can pay for it, which is made the grand criterion between the fit and the unfit, they are too little disposed to consider the value, or rather the worthlessness, of the thing which is paid for: but literally go on to give their money for that which is not bread.³⁵

Coelebs in Search of a Wife makes the nearest approach to the novel in idea and structure of any of Hannah More's works. Horace Walpole said to Hannah More concerning it that it was

³⁴ Works, Vol. 1, p. 131.

³⁵ Ibid.

a work of which anyone might be proud, which opinion shows there is no more accounting for ambitions than for tastes. He thinks her prose style superior to any writing since Dr. Johnson, which reference will suggest something of the growing ponderousness of her sentence structure, which did not, however, reach its zenith in this work.

Coelebs is a notable work. One reads in it descriptions of many types of marriages, felicitous and unfortunate. Coelebs, the hero, describes the customs of city and country life, and analyzes the causes of successful living, and gives the reasons for many types of matrimonial failure. He penetrates deeply into the recesses of female personality and prescribes appropriate education for each type. The nature of religion, its technicalities, its place in everyday life, is exhausted by Coelebs. Coelebs reveals himself the self-appointed perfect man in search of the perfect woman whose perfection is
36
dependent wholly upon his judgment.

"Her notions are too just to allow her to be satisfied with mediocrity in many things, and for perfection in anything, she thinks life is too short, and its duties too
37
various and important." He believes in a place for woman, which one can only appreciate and understand through a reading
38
of his extended description of Lucilla. He believes that the

36 Works, Vo. 11, p. 334.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., pp. 334-375.

predominance of musical talent is responsible for the want of companionableness in women as wives.

"The excellence of musical performance is a decorated screen, behind which all defects in domestic knowledge, in taste, judgment, and literature, and the talents which make³⁹ an elegant companion, are credibly concealed." He condemns Sterne as a writer of corrupt works and the mischievous found-⁴⁰er of the school of sentiment. Chapter thirty-two of this work gives an incident that might have been taken from Hannah's⁴¹ own childhood. It shows the complete ignorance of child psychology and the force of the unvarying conception of right and wrong according to Scripture as the criterion for discipline. In Coelebs the men concede that women in their course⁴² of action describe a smaller circle than men; and reflect that the cares of a man of sense will be much relieved if he choose⁴³ a wife who can do all for him. There is scarcely a topic that is not dealt with and disposed of in Coelebs. Constantly there is evidence that this world of the eighteenth century is a man's world. There is a debate between certain characters in the story as to whether or not Dean Swift's practice of praying in his attic was due to his abhorrence of ostentation, or, as Coelebs thinks the more probable grounds, because

³⁹ Works, Vol. II, p. 358.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 375.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 382-383.

⁴² Ibid., p. 396.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 396.

of his being ashamed of his religion. Coelebs contains the statements concerning the Catholic church which brought forth the protest of the Reverend Mr. Berington of that faith. Her ⁴⁴Memoirs contain the letters exchanged, while the Eighteenth Century Studies by Bracey, has a chapter devoted to this subject.

In no work could one trace more phases of a peculiar, fanatically inclined temperament than in Coelebs. As in most of Hannah More's works, but here in a noticeably exaggerated degree, one sees the bending of every idea toward that of religion. In the correspondence with Mr. Berington, arising from her statements on Catholicism in this work, one sees Hannah More's refusal to go beyond certain arbitrary boundaries in her reasoning and investigations. One sees her superstitious acceptation of the Church of England's dogmas and doctrines as the highest authority. One sees in the priority of deference ascribed to masculine opinion, the thing ⁴⁵which Adler says has been so detrimental to harmony of life; and in the insipid descriptions of desirable womanly qualities and qualifications a psychopathy more poignant than that which her letters reveal. The story of Coelebs in Search of a Wife contains evidence too extensive for the limitations of this study.

Besides these two works - Mr. Braggwell, and Coelebs -

⁴⁴ Works, Vol. III, pp. 280, 286, 293.

⁴⁵ Adler, Understanding Human Nature, p. 129.

which treat in a typical way of manners and customs, there are numerous others on the same subject. There are a number of allegories: The Strait Gate and the Broad Way; The Valley of Tears; 'Tis all for the Best; - these and many others are for the common people. There is Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education, for one class; and Hints for the Forming the Character of a Young Princess for Royalty. In these and in Thoughts on the Manners of the Great, the contents relate to customs and manners interpreted from the viewpoint of religious correctness; the works of this division, can hardly be separated from those purely religious in nature that comprise more than half of her writing.

It is as a writer on religious subjects that Hannah More shows that too conscious sincerity spoken of in the first chapter. Her fervor is too intense; her opinions too determined. The intensity of her devotion reminds one of White's statement of the law of opposites; and one can only imagine the resultant state of her personality had the pendulum of her mind swung correspondingly far in the opposite direction. There is, however, no variation in its motion. A will that appears almost superhuman maintains her soul in that strained, oblique attitude of extreme religiosity. She expounded and defended the doctrines of the Church of England with an evangelical spirit sometimes questioned by the more conservatively orthodox as being too enthusiastic; but they questioned without realization that the condition behind the action was an abnormal one.

The length of the religious papers, together with the nerve-racking minuteness of treatment employed by Hannah More, makes a detailed exposition impossible, unless the study be extensive and devoted solely to this phase of her work. Examples of this meticulous method are Practical Piety, and The Influence of the Religion of the Heart on the Conduct of Life. The completeness with which she analyzes every phase of a Christian's profession of faith, prescribes for him verifying works, devises schemes, and projects by which he may exercise his belief is astonishing. Written to show the duties of a Christian and his love for humanity, these religious papers show in some of their tenets a pronounced lack of trust in humanity, a misanthropic attitude. There is sometimes a cleverness in phraseology as "The Christian will find out the cheapest way of being good as well as of doing good. If he cannot give money, he may exercise a more difficult virtue; he may forgive injuries. Forgiveness is the economy of the heart. A Christian will find it cheaper to pardon than ⁴⁶to resent." But such utilitarianism, despite its ingenuousness, becomes unbearable when continued through unending paragraphs. A measure of her piety might be salutary, but the enormity of her expression of it seems of a maniacal source, and capable of deranging results on the mentality of the reader. Everything, whether it be action, quality, or desire, is

⁴⁶ Works, Vol. 11, p. 424.

discredited save in its absolute conformity to her conception of religious truth. After a period of reading, the frantic in her thought becomes monotonous through sheer repetitions, and it thuds heavily on the benumbed sensibility of the reader's mind. Typical chapter headings - showing the thoroughness of her manner - are: Christianity an internal principle; Christianity a practical principle; Mistakes in Religion; Periodical Religion; Prayer; Cultivation of a Devotional Spirit; The Hand of God to be acknowledged in the daily circumstances of Life; Self-Examination; Self-love; On the propriety of Introducing Religion in General Conversation; True and False Zeal; Happy Deaths. This work alone contains twenty-one extremely long chapters on such topics. There are three other works of great length similar to Practical Piety. They are: An Essay on the Character and Practical Writings of St. Paul; Reflections on Prayer; and The Spirit of Prayer. These all exhibit the same qualities; excessive religiosity, with an increasing deterioration in style, shown by constant repetition, ponderous sentence structure, and increasing redundancy and verbosity.

There is a striking logic in her arguments, if one grants her premise that every activity and force of life must find sublimation in a religious fervor. Though her Memoirs record that she no longer reads anything of a pagan author, she quotes⁴⁷ Voltaire,⁴⁸ Rousseau,⁴⁹ and even Byron, to condemn. One finds

⁴⁷ Works, p. 477.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 472.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 474.

repeated in her religious documents incidents previously read in her letters; one illustration being that of Dr. Johnson's reproof of her for quoting from Tom Jones. It was "a book, he said, which if a modest lady had done so improper a thing as to read, she should not do so immodest a thing as to avow."⁵⁰

Throughout Hannah More's works is revealed that same personality discovered in the perusal of her personal letters. One sees the reflection of the same personality pattern with its characteristics of religiosity; susceptibility to suggestion, tendency to great excitement. The variation from a regular habit of action consistent with this pattern, is so slight that one must look carefully for indications of a possible "original bent of the soul"; which bent of the soul if permitted development, would have had a different manifestation from that of the psyche expressing itself in religious literature. Though slight, the indications of a different personality are present.

A summary of this chapter shows Hannah More's literary activities to have been in the field of both poetry and prose, with prose composing much the greater part. While there are evidences of a taste and talent for pure literature, her work is almost entirely didactic and of a noticeably religious bias. The nature of her writing shows her

⁵⁰ Works, Vol. 11, p. 472.
Memoirs, Vol. 1.

temperament one of great responsiveness to stimuli which her time afforded in its social, political, economic, and educational issues. There is not found in these works a contradiction to the diagnosis of her personality which was based on her personal letters, and the Memoirs. There is found an affirmation of the life pattern whose characteristics are described in Chapter Three. Hannah More's literary works show the inevitable operation of this pattern - the outstanding characteristics of which are religiosity, sensitiveness to stimuli, a self-condemning conscience, and a mentality demanding self-expression - when the mentality has been turned from the field of creative life or art by this extreme religiosity and sensitiveness to environmental stimuli.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

Hannah More's case may be reviewed briefly. Hannah More is seen to have been a person of sensitive constitution, both mental and physical. This constitutional condition may have been the result of hereditary tendencies or of early environmental influences. Hers was a mental faculty highly responsive to stimuli and desirous above the average for self-expression. The remote influences afforded by the character of her time, and the immediate influence of her home, parents, education, associates, public issues, both restrained and impelled her in a way too severe for her best development. She was restrained from normal self-expression by a fixed, artificial conception of religion; and impelled through this great religiosity to a feeling of personal responsibility for reform. She responded to the dictates of those self-appointed emissaries of God's will and interpreters of what constituted fitting praise, in deciding what the proper expression of her innate powers should be. This conviction so controlled and directed the early years that the "original bent of the soul", whatever it may have been, is never clearly seen, but shadows as a ghost the manifested pattern of life until the years of maturity. At this time an additional conflict further complicates the psyche, and is assigned to the unconscious regions of mind, where under repression it gathers force. To

escape conscious conflict with these repressed phenomena, the psyche took a "flight into reality", which outwardly suggests a fight of "the original bent of the soul" for assertion and gives a promise of healthy self-expression; it loses, however, against the insidious power of the hushed but not inactive unconscious. With the ascendancy of this repressed consciousness the bias produced by early environmental forces becomes obvious, and manifests itself in a series of manic-repressive cycles throughout a period of years, constituting more than half the patient's life. This periodic psychosis shows all the character traits of the psyche's earlier expression - but in combinations and intensity of expression too accentuated for normality. In Hannah More's case the causes of psychopathic tendencies are ascribed to these earliest environmental forces and educational methods. Those people in a position to modify these were wholly ignorant of the significance of individual constitutional differences and of the possibilities of environmental stimuli. One realizes with regret the truth in Adler's and White's comments. White says: "We know that unless a camera is correctly used, if it is tilted this way or that, or is out of focus, it may give us a very much distorted picture. Is it not worth while to see if the mind may not also give distorted results if used wrongly and if it is not possible to learn how to use it rightly?"¹

¹ White, Introduction to Study of Mind, p. 121.

Adler says: "Our examinations of nervous diseases prove that the psychic anomalies, complexes, mistakes, which are found in nervous diseases are fundamentally not different from the activity of normal individuals. The same elements, the same premises, the same movements, are under consideration. The sole difference is that in the nervous patient they appear more marked, and are more easily recognized. The advantage of this discovery is that we can learn from the abnormal cases, and sharpen our eye for the discovery of related movements and characteristics in the normal psychic life. It is solely a question of that training, ardor, and patience which are required by any profession."

Any clinic examination is for the purpose of assisting the patient to a more complete adjustment to life. Due to the very nature of this investigation, based on written data more than a hundred years old, instead of observation of a living patient, it has no significance or worth unless the study has led to a conclusion applicable to present conditions and helpful to future endeavors.

Hannah More was strait-jacketed from infancy, even pre-natally, by a subservience to the established order. The eighteenth century was the century of extremes. The swing of the pendulum of thought defined extremes: classicism and romanticism; super-conservatism and revolution; extreme con-

² Adler, Understanding Human Nature, p. 5.

formity and atheism. Hannah More's capacities were unusual; her activities and accomplishments were stupendous; her judgment was at fault in its estimate of relative values. "The social hypocrisy of the eighteenth century as it relates to woman, was due to the failure as yet to place the sex in correct adjustment with the times."³ Hannah More had no understanding of her own psychic nature, and no opportunity for a normal expression of her mental powers. "If an individual can hold and defend, often ably, a belief for reasons other than he sets forth, if he can in fact, hold a belief for reasons other than he thinks he does, it must surely be a matter of supreme importance for man's knowledge of himself and of his fellows."⁴ The distaste she expressed for the reform tracts she wrote; her insistence that everything published be anonymous; her physical reaction; her self-compulsion; her lack of peace, declare a conflict of mental energies. Her ceaseless activities may have served her own generation, but it is to be wondered if the genius, the energy, the creative urge united in a free soul's expression of one unfettered truth, would not have served posterity more, and her own day as much. Some commentators commend her as the greatest woman of the eighteenth century. Another writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, speaking of her attack on Schiller, made thirty years

³ James, Woman in All Ages and All Countries, p. 324.

⁴ White, Introduction to a Study of the Mind, p. 83.

before in Strictures on Female Education, for the damage to morals done by his dramas, says "And yet, as we perceive, civilized society still stands in its place; and the public taste, as well as the public virtue, live on."⁵ Lack of perspective makes ambitious and too conscientious souls endeavor to hasten the hands of Time's clock - but in the big scheme of things the pulsation continues regular and slow. "The individual means little. He is but the receptacle of the life force for the moment. The race means all and the function of the individual of paramount importance is to pass it on."⁶

A saner education and a more propitious age might have liberated the faculties Hannah More possessed for creative literature. She aimed at immortality, but through a perversion of the true psyche, she substituted creeds for truth and failed to project herself into the future.

The following statements from Szukalski, modern Polish architect, are especially interesting after a study of Hannah More's life and an observation of White's and Adler's theories. "It is contrary to the laws of nature for a superior mental institution, such as talent or genius, to choose detrimental alternatives if it is left to itself. - - - A man will evolve many superior abilities once his mentality is set on the right track, for his aims will reach higher, and his skill

⁵ Taylor in The Edinburgh Review, For March-June, 1831. Vol. 53, p. 152.

⁶ White, Introduction, p. 79.

become sharper and wider, and he will surpass his native endowments. The stupid will say of him 'a born genius'.⁷ Spending of energy is multiplying it." Hannah More, under the stress of religiosity, wrote faster and harder with advancing years, but there was a deterioration, instead of greater perfection, in her work. White explains: "The mind can make mistakes."⁸ Szukalski continues: "Multiplied ability makes man braver in planning his own destiny, and therefore in making the destiny of others."⁹ White replies: "But the mind set on the wrong track expends itself ultimately to futile purpose."¹⁰ Szukalski: "I wish only to propose and to assist in unravelling out of the ever-tightening Laocoonian strait-jacket thrown over us by fallacious and unnecessary education the native instinct to be creative that is in every human being."¹¹ - - - - We have killed genius and now we betray our impotence by the very effort of trying to create through learning. I do not speak of the exact sciences but of ethics and aesthetics."¹² - - - - After all, do not the worthy man and a paranoic spring from the same source?"¹³ Another writer says of the methods of education that there is an increasing emphasis on the Rousseau tradition of freedom and on Schiller's doctrine of the connection between art and play.¹⁴

⁷ Szukalski, Projects in Design, p. 35.

⁸ White, Introduction, p. 96.

⁹ Szukalski, Projects, p. 35.

¹⁰ Introduction, p. 96.

¹¹ Projects, p. 27.

¹² Projects, p. 42.

¹³ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁴ Munro, Scientific Method in Aesthetics, p. 65.

"Any approach to aesthetic psychology should be extremely hesitant about affirming universal regularities, and sensitive to subtle variations from person to person and moment to moment."¹⁵

In conclusion, it may be said that the only significance of this study is in the realization that education today, though advanced beyond the ignorant methods of the eighteenth century, is still working for standardization of the individual. Life from earliest infancy may not be circumscribed by an artificial conception of religion - but ignorance of human nature as predisposing cause and of environment as exciting cause declares a great need for increased knowledge of individual psychology. "In the course of our education we acquire too little knowledge of human nature - and much of what we learn is incorrect, because contemporary education is still unsuited to give us a valid knowledge of the human soul. - - - There is no tradition for the acquisition of a true knowledge of the human soul. - - - The science of human nature finds itself today in the condition that chemistry¹⁶ occupied in the days of alchemy."

It is this frontier, the unexplored and boundless areas of mind, that challenge the scientist of today and tomorrow.

¹⁵ Munro, Scientific Method, p. 65.

¹⁶ Adler, Understanding Human Nature, p. 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, Alfred. Understanding Human Nature. Translated by Walter Beran Wolfe, Garden City Publishing Co. Inc., Garden City, New York, 1927.
- Adler, Alfred. Education of Children, Greenberg, Publisher, New York, 1930.
- More, Hannah. The Works of Hannah More: First Complete American Edition, 2 vols., Published by Harper and Brothers, New York, 1843.
- Roberts, William. Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More, Third Edition, 4 vols., Published by R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside; and sold by L. B. Seeley and Sons, Fleet Street, London, 1835.
- White, William Alanson. An Introduction to the Study of the Mind. Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., Washington, D. C., 1924.
- White, Wm. A. Mechanisms of Character Formation, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1918.
- White, Wm. A. Outlines of Psychiatry, Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., Washington, D. C., 1929.
- Bracey, Robert. Eighteenth Century Studies, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1925.
- Clark, Elmer T. The Psychology of the Religious Awakening, The MacMillan Co., 1929.
- Cruse, Amy. The Englishman and His Books in the Early Nineteenth Century, George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., London, 1930.
- Cruse, Amy. The Shaping of English Literature and the Readers' Share in the Development of Its Forms, Thomas T. Crowell Co., Publishers, New York. n.d.
- French and English Philosophers: Voltaire, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes, P. F. Collier and Son, New York, 1910.
- Kempf, E. J. Some Studies in the Psychopathology of Acute Dissociation of the Personality, The Psychopathic Review, Vol. 11, no. 4, Oct. 1915.

James, Bartlett Burleigh, Woman In All Ages and All Countries: The Women of the Eighteenth Century, The Rittenhouse Press, Philadelphia, 1908.

James, William. The Varieties of Religious Experience, Longmans, Green, and Co., New York, 1925.

Munro, Thomas. The Scientific Method in Aesthetics, W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., New York, 1928.

Paine, Thomas, The Complete Religious and Theological Works, Vol. 1; The Complete Political Works, Vol. II, Peter Eckler Publishing Co., 1922.

Psychologies of 1930, Edited by Carl Murchison, Clark University Press, Worcester, Mass., 1930.

The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. X, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; University Press, Cambridge, England, 1913.

The Edinburgh Review, Vol. 53, printed by Ballantyne and Co., 1831.

The Encyclopedia Britannica, Fourteenth Edition, Vol. XV, The Encyclopedia Britannica Co. Inc., New York, 1929.

The New International Encyclopedia, Second Edition, Vol. XVI, Dodd, Mead, and Co., New York, 1916.

A New English Dictionary, Vol VII, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1909.

Szukalski, Stanilaus. Projects in Design, The University of Chicago Press, 1929.