

THE TRANSCRIPTION AND NOTATION OF ELIZABETH FRY'S JOURNAL 1780 -1845.

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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September 2005

Abstract: Brunel University, Uxbridge; Brunel Business School Group, Politics and History;
Mary Bruin;

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This thesis proposes to explain the production of Fry's journal and make available to researchers a full transcription of the autobiographical journal of Elizabeth Fry. This journal tells Fry's life story in an episodic diary format that encapsulates the last forty-eight years of her life.

The justification for the production of the transcription and the motivation behind it:

The thesis will investigate the importance of Fry's Journal in the evolution of the diary genre. It will justify the huge undertaking entailed in making a full transcription of Fry's journal and will discuss the condition of the journal books and their different locations. How these factors contributed to the delay in producing a transcription earlier will be considered. What motivated Fry to write her journal and what influenced her to continue the process unabated for all her adult life? The reasons Fry had originally given for her journal production changed as her journal evolved and her life priorities changed. I will investigate the destruction of Fry's early journal books and her reasoning behind such editorial interference and her motivation for keeping others. Finally this section will close with an analysis of Fry's journal in order to establish what class within the diary genre it belongs.

Dyslexia and its effect on Fry's journal text and the editorial procedures adopted:

This part of this thesis discusses the indicators of dyslexia within the journal text and their effect on the journal's production. I explain the resulting methodology adopted to alleviate the destructive effect that dyslexia had on the journal text. I have limited the editorial interventions undertaken when producing the transcription as I wished to maintain the integrity of Fry's journal. The final part of the thesis evaluates Fry's journal by making a comparison with a contemporary journal. The journal I used for comparison was written by Deborah Darby, a woman who shared many of Fry's life experiences. This thesis will establish Fry's journal as belonging to that elite group of great diarists that includes Pepys.

The appendices: these consist of a short biography of Fry with a published work explaining her role in the founding of modern nursing. A glossary of Quakers and the Gurney family terminology and finally a bibliography and the first two books' from Fry's journal with notes.

This thesis is dedicated to R.G.Huntsman

Acknowledgments:

I wish to acknowledge the assistance and support given to me by the following persons and organisations that made this project possible. I wish to express my gratitude to them for all the work and time they have freely given as I endeavoured to get Elizabeth Fry's journal transcribed. Their names are in no particular order and any I have omitted I beg their pardon for the oversight. I accept all responsibility for any errors that appear within this thesis.

T.Burnard original supervisor, now The University of Sussex

S.J. Kleinberg supervisor, Brunel University

R.G.Huntsman

T.F.Burchell

D.Holttum

P.Elkerton, Hillingdon Council

R.Turner, Committee, Hillingdon Council

J.Keith and the staff at The Library of the Religious Society of Friends London.

The staff at Johnson Matthey Precious Metal Company London.

A.Ellis

Uxbridge Library [Home Delivery Service]

The Staff of: British Library,

- House of Lords Library

- Norwich Library

- Norfolk Record Office

- Corporation of London Collage Library

The Public Relation Dept. at Friends Provident

Alec Davison [the Leaveners]

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The Transcription and Notation of the Journal of Elizabeth Fry 1780 - 1845

The 160th anniversary of Elizabeth Fry's death took place on 13 October 2005. A local doctor from Ramsgate where Fry was staying recorded the causes of this remarkable woman's death. He verified the causes as "Serious Effusion in the Brain 26 Hours, Partial Paralysis 1 1/2 years' Certified." Her son-in-law, Francis Cresswell, registered her death on 15 October 1845. [1] The achievements of Fry were extraordinary when we consider how well she succeeded in the predominately male preserve of nineteenth-century public life. [2] Fry bequeathed to her heirs a remarkable personal journal comprising forty-eight books. These books date from 1797 - 1845 and chronicle Fry's private life and public careers as both a Quaker minister and a social reformer. In a continuous record Fry's journal contains her life from the age of sixteen until her death in 1845. This thesis has produced a transcription of all of Fry's journal books for academic research and for the public.

Fry used the term journal to describe the daily record of her 'life story'. [3] The appellation diary and journal derive from the Latin source denoting 'daily', which suggests they are interchangeable. Nevertheless, the title 'journal' has come to signify a work designated for greater public recognition than the privacy that the word 'diary' implies. If we consider Samuel Pepys' format, it contained letters, meditations and occasional essays and is considered by most people as the standard by which they judge all diaries [4] For the purposes of continuity and because Fry used the term to describe her text, I will be using the appellation journal throughout this thesis when referring to Fry's work.

It seems strange that the journal of such a remarkable historical figure as Fry should be preserved for so long but not transcribed. The public's curiosity about Elizabeth Fry and her career did not diminish over the years. The fact that the many biographies and plays about Fry, have been published since her death attest to her continuing prominence in the public mind.[5]

[1] Certified Copy of an entry of Death, 15 October 1845, General Register Office, [W004297] [Merseyside, PO.Box 2, Pr8 2JD]

[2] Joan Perkin, Victorian Women, [London: John Murray, 1993] 1-3; [3] Robert Fothergill, Private Chronicles, A Study of English Diaries, [London: Oxford University Press, 1974] 153 ; [4] *Ibid* 7 ;

[5] Alex Davidson and Peter Jones, Elizabeth of Newgate, [Exeter, Phoenix, 2001]

A book list on Fry published in the last twenty-five years in English is available after the bibliography at the end of this thesis. One of the most recent publications on Fry was a book examining her role in penal reform by Dennis Bardens in 2004 called Elizabeth Fry, Britain's Second Lady on A Five-Pound Note.^[6] The title of this book refers to the step taken by the Bank of England to place a representation of Fry on the British five-pound note, a position normally reserved for Elizabeth II. They have honoured other famous historical figures in this way on different denominations of British bank notes. For example, Florence Nightingale's portrait was on the ten-pound note. The denomination of the note according to the Public Relations Department of the Bank of England has no significance. It was Fry's importance as a major historical figure and her abiding relevance that earned her this honour.

The continual public interest shown in Fry is only one reason that a transcription of this important journal should be made. Although they have written numerous books on Fry's life and career, the majority of writers used the same scant prime sources. The primary books consulted by biographers, as recorded in their bibliographies, were Katharine Fry and Rachel Cresswell's two volume: A Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry and Augustus Hare's, The Gurneys of Earlham.^[7] Such recent biographers as June Rose, and Dennis Bardens also cited Katharine Fry's journal as a principal source.^[8] Nevertheless, the books by Fry's daughters and Hare are by far the most popular and often quoted primary source among chroniclers of Fry's life.^[8]

This dearth of *primary* research material has meant that many of the books published about Fry or her works have been rehashes of existing knowledge. They often speculate on Fry's motivation using inadequate sources obtained from nineteenth-century works.^[9]

Very little new material with additional information about Fry had been published until

[6] Dennis Bardens, Elizabeth Fry, Britains Second Lady On The Five-Pound Note, [London Canadian Publications Ltd., 2004]

[7] Katharine Fry and Rachel Cresswell, A Memoir of The Life of Elizabeth Fry, [Montclair New Jersey Patterson Smith, 1974]
Augustus Hare, The Gurneys of Earlham, [London George Allen, 1895]

[8] June Rose, Elizabeth Fry, A Biography [London Macmillan Publishers Ltd. 1980]

Katharine Fry, Diary, London, British Library, [1882] Mss: Add.47456 ; Add.47457

[9] Annemieke van Drenth and Francisca de Haan, Rise of Caring Power: Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler In Britain and the Netherlands: [Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1999]

recently. [10] A major discovery that made a significant contribution to our knowledge of Fry was the recognition that she had dyslexia. [11] Dyslexia was a contributory factor in the decline of Fry's relationships with her family. Fry had recorded a review of her early life on 21 May 1798, "I was thought and called very stupid & obstinate--I certainly did not like learning nor did I, I believe attend my lessons." [12] Fry's sister Catherine Gurney recorded in her own journal, that Fry "had a natural aversion to learning." [13] This transcription contains many indicators of Fry's dyslexia and I will discuss these when I investigate the production of her journal. The part Fry played in penal reform has been well documented. However, many of her biographers have ignored the vital contribution Fry made to the establishment of other much needed organisations. Fry's journal only inadequately alluded to many of the organisations that Fry involved herself in. [14]

Fry's contribution to reform was not always as an instigator. She would often advance a cause already addressed by others. [15] Many organisations and reformers in such diverse charities as lending libraries and providential saving clubs benefited from Fry's ministrations. Her biographers have generally overlooked the organisations that Fry established. One was to have a major impact on modern society was nursing. A fuller discussion of Fry's contribution to the foundation of modern nursing is found in a work by Richard Huntsman, Mary Bruin and Deborah Holttum. We published it in 2002 and it is part of the appendices of this thesis. [16] The publication of the transcription of Fry's journal will not only add to our knowledge of the world Fry inhabited but will also aid our understanding of how Fry's life affected that world. A transcription of Fry's journal is of interest for those researchers who wish to study the philanthropic societies that were so prevalent in the Georgian and Victorian world. Elizabeth Stanford, a clergyman's wife, wrote in Female Improvement 1836, "Women, as well as men, have high and holy duties. They have much to learn, suffer, and to do." [17]

[10] Richard Huntsman, Mary Bruin and Deborah Holttum, "Twix Candle and Lamp: The Contribution of Elizabeth Fry and the Institute of Nursing Sisters to Nursing Reform" Medical History, 46 [2002], 351-380

[11] T.R.Miles and Richard Huntsman, "The stupidity of Elizabeth Fry-was it Dyslexia?" British Journal of General Practice [2002]1042/3

[12] Elizabeth Fry, 23 August 1828, Journal, London, Friends House Library, Ms. Vol.S 267.

[13] Hare, The Gurneys 37; [14] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 208,505

[15] Ibid. 228,233 ; [16] Huntsman, Bruin and Holttum, "Twix Candle and Lamp", 351-380

[17] Perkin, Victorian Women.202

A transcription of Fry's journal provides an insight into the methodology that facilitated her success in her various reforms, when others of equal 'celebrity' failed. [18] Researchers into the Dissenting religious societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth century should also benefit from a full transcription of Fry's journal. [19] Fry, as a leading Quaker Minister and public figure, was involved in the many changes and various schisms that took place in the 1820s. Of particular interest to those who study comparative religion is the influence on Fry and her local meeting of the schisms that took place in America.[20] Fry's brother, Joseph John Gurney, was by the 1830's one of the leading protagonists in this schism.

Many other disciplines would benefit from the availability of a transcription of Elizabeth Fry's journal. Nevertheless, it is its value to the diary genre that this introduction will investigate. Fry's achievement as a journal writer was more than the longevity and quality of her continuous text. Fry's journal will add to our knowledge of the evolution of the diary format. This thesis will show how Fry's journal bridges the gap between the diary of conscience and the sentimental and self analysing diaries. The most prolific diarists were the Puritans and other dissenting groups. These were the prime source of the conscience diary and "continued to feed a major tributary stream right through the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth." [21] The sentimental and self analytical diarist of the Victorian era closely followed these diarists. Fry managed to produce a hybrid that contained elements of all three genres and as a result raised the standard for the autobiographic journal. Many journals have a specific focus such as travel. They may be the records of a period in a diarist's life or a diarist's wish to record for their own personal pleasure and not for publication. Other journal writers write their life story for posterity. This type of diary is characterised as an autobiographical diary / journal. According to Robert Fothergill these diaries are the most prestigious and important of the genre. [21] For Fothergill the autobiographical diary is one of the few classes of journals that lend themselves to a "marvellous richness and vitality." [22]

[18] Richard Huntsman, Mary Bruin and Carolyn Gibbon, "A School For Nurses Founded In Liverpool In 1829" ,Liverpool, 'Medical Historian'14 [2003] 44-61

[19] Gerald Parsons, Religion In Victorian Britain: Traditions, [Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1899] 67

[20] E. Fry, 6 July 1833,Journal 1830-1836, London, Johnson Matthey Precious Metal Company.

[21] Fothergill, Private Chronicles 21-23 [22] Ibid, 2

The advantage the autobiographical journal has over the other genre of journals is its inclusiveness. The journal of 'self' can and does encapsulate many characteristics of the other journal genres. A visit to a city could follow a period of self-examination, that resulted in an invitation to attend an important public function. This happened to Fry on 22 January 1842, when she attended a Mansion House dinner in honour of Prince Albert . This entry addressed two of the three classes of the genre the first was the conscience journal. Fry had to decide if attending the Mansion House was right as they were holding the dinner on a Sunday. The second class addressed was the public journal. Fry records in her journal her conversations with Prince Albert and other dignitaries. The following year 22 April 1842 Fry addressed the third class of journal when she made another visit to the Continent and from Paris describes "the hotel oppressive; the noise of the streets so great." It is the intention of this thesis to prove that Fry's journal is a serial autobiography, a story of 'self'. I intend to justify her inclusion into the elite group of major diarists as Pepys and Boswell.

This investigation into why Fry's journal has not been transcribed previously will discuss in particular the journal's physical condition and the reasons for its production. Once Fry's journal has been classified, the thesis will then evaluate the journal and its place within the genre. The question of what Fry's journal adds to the evolution of diaries will also be discussed. To evaluate Fry's journal, a comparison with a similar project will be made. I will use a journal produced by a contemporary of Fry's, Deborah Derby. [23] Deborah Darby's journal was chosen for a comparison with Fry's as her life mirrored Fry's in their experiences. They met and recorded their meetings in their journals, so that a direct comparison of style and content can be made. The failure of the many biographers of Fry to make a transcription of Fry's journal suggests that there were difficulties in its production. One obvious difficulty for potential transcribers is the size of the journal. The number of words contained in the journals held in the Friends House Library has been estimated at 651,000 by Rose in her Fry biography. If the two journal books held by Norfolk Record Office and the Johnson Matthey book are added, the total I estimate is more than 700,000 words.

[23] Rachel Labouchere, Deborah Darby of Coalbrookdale 1754-1810, [York, William Sessions Limited. 1993]

Another difficulty is the journal book's dispersion to three different locations. The Religious Society of Friends holds forty-five of Elizabeth Fry's journal books at the Friends House Library in London. They keep it under the manuscript references of Vol. Ms.S.255-S.273. These journal books were placed in the Library's care in 1950 by Mary T. Fry, the great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Fry. Mary T. Fry wrote a letter with her gift that expresses her regret at not having all the journal books; "I regret they are not complete and I do not know in whose possession the missing ones are." [24] Since Mary Fry wrote her letter, it has been ascertained that the missing part of the journal she mentioned related to the years 1830-1836. Fry had contained these entries in one volume of the journal that is now in the keeping of Johnson Matthey, the Precious Metal Company in London. This book will be called the Johnson Matthey book and this will enable researchers to access the years it covers.[25] Many respected Fry biographers are still unaware of its existence. [26] The Norfolk and Norwich Record Office hold two other journals' books under the manuscript numbers [Mss.] 21281,21282. These books contain the journal entries for 9 November 1816 - 6. August 1818 and 29 June 1821 - 7 November 1822.

To clarify where each book that constitutes Fry's journal is located the following list will assist any researcher wishing to view the originals. The volumes kept by the Religious Society of Friends' Library in London encompass the majority of Fry's journals from 1797-1845. The Friends' Library does not hold three of the journal books. Norfolk and Norwich Record Office hold the first two. The first book deals with the years 1816 -1818 and held under the manuscript number, Ms. 21281. The second book has entries for 1821 - 1822 and held under the manuscript number, Ms. 21282. The last book as stated above is held by Johnson Matthey and has entries for 1830 - 1836. There is public access to the library and Record Office by arrangement, but access to these fragile journal books is limited.

[24] Mary T.Fry, 1841 various / family Letters, Ms. vols.S.273, London,The Library, Friends House, [1950]

[25] As the Friends' library does not keep the journal book for 1830-1836 consequently it does not have a manuscript number. It has therefore been decided to call it the Johnson Matthey book. This will assist recognition as the Friends' Library holds another journal book of entries for 1830 - 1833 and this could cause confusion. Fry often wrote in more than one journal usually because she was travelling and did not wish to take a large book with her. This was the case with the Johnson Matthey book.

[26] The British Library Catalogues still list the Fry "journals from the period from Oct.1833-Jan 1837 as "apparently no longer extant."This quotation was taken from the British Library Catalogue in 2005 and shows that the British Library is still unaware of the existence of the journal book for the years 1830-1836 held by Johnson Matthey.

Knowing where the journal books were kept and having permission to transcribe them was only the beginning of this project. To make a transcription of such a vast chronicle a viable proposition, a means of getting the complete journal in one place for a sustained period was essential. As I am housebound the continual travel to the different locations that a transcription on site would require was impossible for me. The other barrier to transcribing the journal *in situ*, would apply to any would-be transcribers. The inherent disruption that would ensue from the frequent visits that such an undertaking required particularly in a private company make *in situ* transcription an improbable project. Therefore it was not surprising that commercial biographers would have found such a project prohibitive.

Although the original journal books were dispersed in three different locations, copies of all the journal books were available on micro film. [27] World Microfilms Publications had filmed the journal books in the 1970's for The Library of The Society of Friends, who hold the copyright to the journals. [28] A private benefactor had provided the money to film all the journal books and other Fry-related memorabilia. It was a means of preserving all of Elizabeth Fry's recorded life in an accessible form. The microfilm contains not only all of Elizabeth Fry's journal books but Joseph Fry's journal and many Gurney and Fry family letters. [28] Joseph Fry's diary and the family's letters were to prove very useful as primary source material for the annotation and notation of Fry's journal. There are copies of this film, other than the one held at the Society of Friends Library in London, and these are available from commercial companies and academic establishments. [29] The Religious Society of Friends was generous in their offers of assistance with the production of this transcription. They were prepared to provide their film of Fry's journal for photocopying. Unfortunately the cost of photocopying more than 700,000 words was prohibitive. This problem was solved when Prof. Richard G.Huntsman provided photocopies of the complete Fry journal and arranged to have them sent to me from Canada.[30]

[27] The title of the Microfilm is: The Diaries of Elizabeth Fry 1797-1845, London, World Microfilms Publications Ltd. September [1978]

[28] Joseph Fry, Diary, 1833-1855, London, Friends House Library, Ms.272 and Letters, Ms. 273 ; [29] World Microfilms Publications Ltd.,

[London, 62 Queens Grove, N.W.8 England] ;[30] Richard G. Huntsman, Elizabeth Fry, Quaker and Prison Reformer, [Norfolk, Larks Press

1998] R.Huntsman, [see attached paper] has provided literature on Fry. Huntsman and Bruin have been cooperating on different aspects of Fry's life. Four papers have been published or accepted for printing. Two have been used as footnotes Huntsman, Bruin and Hottum, "Twix Candle and Lamp". Huntsman, Bruin and Gibbon, "A school for nurses founded in liverpool 1829". See bibliography for others. A book on Fry is in progress.

Once I could evaluate the photocopies, the reason that a transcription had not been undertaken previously became obvious. I had already looked at some original books of Fry's journal and realised the difficulties that Fry's dyslexia would pose in the production of a transcription.^[31] The condition of the text and the standard of Fry's script in some originals also generated problems. This was particularly true of the text where the ink had faded or a pencil had been used, neither of which reproduce well in photocopies. ^[32]In examining the photocopies of the film, I realised that the film had degraded in quality over time and that the resulting copies were often poor. The photocopied text had other problems. Where the original ink was faint or yellowed with age, it failed to replicate the text. To compensate for the faint ink and the poor quality of some text, it was decided to darken the photocopies in the hope of enhancing the faint script. This, regrettably often resulted in obscuring the text that had previously been clear. There are always problems when dealing with an original script of such an age, particularly when not using the original text but when relying on photocopies. These problems were surmountable. Where the photocopies failed to reproduce the text clearly, we had the originals available for comparison. Acting as authenticators for the accuracy of transcribed text, Deborah Holtum and Tom Burchell also checked the transcription for ambiguous words, indicated on the transcription text for clarification. The transcription text's credibility was paramount for this project. Any doubt to the accuracy of the text created by the copying process, was then subjected to a line by line comparison with the originals. ^[33]

The original journal books varied in quality and condition. Some journal books, like the volumes held by Johnson Matthey, were in excellent condition and were given to Fry as a gift. Nevertheless, Fry was reluctant to use such a gift for journal keeping. She wrote at the beginning of the Johnson Matthey book dated "Preston 12 July 1830; "Although this is far too good a book to write my journal in yet as I have it and no other use for it I have made up my mind to begin in it -- it may be useful to some at least my most beloved children

[31] Miles and Huntsman, 1042-1043; [32] E. Fry, 24 May 1798, Journal Fds Hse. Lib., Ms.vol.S256. This entry is an example of the poor quality of the text and photocopies.;

[33] The transcription was checked against the original journal books kept at the Library Friends House Mss.255 -271 and Katharine Fry's Journal at the British Library Mss Add. 47456 and 47457.

children's children and then I need not regret the value of the book." The Johnson Matthey book is large and beautifully bound, Fry took exceptional care of it and utilised every inch of space available on a page. The result was an extremely difficult script to decipher and I required a magnifying glass on many occasions.

'Richards Universal Remembrancer' was a bound book for the year 1821 and was also given as a present to Fry. The benefactor this time was her sister Rachel Gurney and it is one of the journal books housed in the Norfolk Record Office. The Religious Society of Friends' Library holds the second journal book Fry wrote for the year 1821 where it is filed under the Ms.S.267. The Richards Universal Remembrancer was a preprinted diary purchased by Rachel Gurney for Fry which she gave to her in June 1821. Fry had already begun her journal for 1821, so she used the diaries in tandem until the end of 1821. Then Fry continued to use the preprinted remembrancer until the following November 1822.

Fry was particularly careful with her writing and parsimonious with the space allocated in any of the expensive bound books she received. The Johnson Matthey book is a good example of Fry forgoing her normal style for a very small neat script. Fry did not assign the dates of the text entries separate lines as in the other journal books, which distinguish the dates easily from the main script. In Johnson Matthey, the dates of entries were part of the main text and were often written in the margin. Fry in the Richards' Remembrancer used the same small script, as the allocation of daily space was insufficient for her needs. A record of Priscilla Gurney's illness and death on 25 March 1821 required more space than the Remembrancer provided. Fry had given an account of her sister's death and placed it in the journal book held at Friends' House Library for 1821, [Ms. S264]. Fry kept close watch on her accounts and aware of the expense of bound books and she often made her own when commercially produced ones were unavailable. [34] On the 4 October 1798 she wrote "I have been waiting for my book a day or two as I cannot get it I have made myself a small one." On 3 August 1801 she commented "I was first writing my Journal-& making a new book." Fry continued the practice of making her own books, if commercial ones were not available.[34]

[34] E.Fry, 29. May 1798 and 17 January 1821, Journal, Fds. Hse. Lib. Ms.vol.S.256, 264

Class, Motivation and Production:

The question should be asked of the suitability of Fry's journal for inclusion in the diary genre. What criteria must be fulfilled before a journal can be included within the genre and does Fry's journal deserve membership? Fothergill suggests four main classes of diary in his book Private Chronicles: the travel journal, the public, the conscience and the personal or serial autobiography. He selects the 'serial autobiography' as superior to the others as it "achieves a marvellous richness and vitality". [35] The task of this thesis is to justify Fry's inclusion into the class of major journals and to ascertain into which category it belongs. Next we must investigate our original proposition that Fry produced a major example of an autobiographical journal. First we must have clarification of the word 'journal' and investigate what we understand by the term. [36]

There is a popular belief that suggests good personal diaries are written on a day-to-day basis. This excludes any premeditation and preparation by the writer such as the use of notes. [37] There is evidence that Fry used literary devices in the production of her journal.

Will the evidence of premeditation and literary language exclude Fry from the genre?

The evidence of premeditation by Fry in the production of her journal appears in the first entry of her surviving journal books. Fry had written on 21 April 1798 that she had destroyed her earlier journal books and wrote a synopsis of her childhood under that date.

Nevertheless, the entries that remain were not the ones originally written but were a facsimile made by Fry later. The proof for this is in the introduction to her journal book Ms.255 in which she uses her married initials. It was certainly after her marriage and probably from 1810 onwards when Fry rewrote her journal, since that was the date given for the other editorial intervention that appears in the journal text.

In the first entry of Fry's surviving Journal book Fry wrote, "Extracts from E.Gurney's written June 1797 - with some small alterations of small word & Living at the time with little if any religious belief. EF". The first and most obvious indication of editing on Fry's part were the use of the initial's E.F. signifying Elizabeth Fry, a name that Elizabeth Gurney did not use until her marriage to Joseph Fry on 19 August 1800. Another indication of premeditation

[35] Fothergill, Private Chronicles, 2; [36] *Ibid.* 19-20; [37] Kate O'Brien, English Diaries and Journals, [London, Collins, 1942] 7-8

was the neatly written text that appeared in some commercial bound books, which stood in sharp contrast to Fry's normal haphazard and untidy scripts found in her 'rough books'. This was particularly evident when the script was describing a harrowing experience, like the death or serious illness of family members. The Johnson Matthey book recorded many such entries but the text still maintained its neat small script. A comparison with the journal book of 1808, which recorded the birth of her daughter Richenda demonstrates the difference. Fry in this entry described her experience in an unbound book. Her script was haphazard and untidy [38]

The inclusion of content pages in most of the bound journal books was another indication of premeditation in Fry's journal production. The Johnson Matthey book had four content pages that were continuous and there was no evidence that these pages were added later. [39] Does a lack of spontaneity or the immediacy of a day-to-day personal record in the journals production suggests insincerity on behalf of Fry as a journaliser? If that is the case and Fry's journal is disqualified, can a new sub-genre be created to accommodate Pepys and Boswell?

The popular definition of a good journal or diary has been the fiction that they were written as a result of the spontaneous daily renderings of a dedicated scribe. This definition is one endorsed by such critics as Arthur Ponsonby and Kate O'Brien. [40] Their conclusion has been correct for many diaries and journals produced over the centuries, but not for the 'great' diaries. The criteria often expounded for a true journal or diary by Ponsonby and O'Brien were the diarists' lack of literary devices resulting in seemingly untutored work. [41] Both Ponsonby and O'Brien argued that any literary value a diary or journal may have, should be inadvertent. [42] Two of the greatest exponents of the genre, Samuel Pepys and James Boswell, are both mistakenly applauded by Ponsonby as the embodiment of the ingenuous diarists, but O'Brien finds Pepys 'pedestrian'. [43] The editors of their diaries have shown both Samuel Pepys and James Boswell, to have employed their phenomenal literary talents to the

[38] E.Fry, 24 February 1808, Journal, Fds Hse Lib. Ms.vol.S261

[39] E.Fry, Journal, Johnson Matthey, 1830-1836, 1-4

[40] Arthur Ponsonby, British Diaries, [London, Benn, 1930] 1,82 ; O'Brien, 7-8

[41] Fothergill, Private Chronicles, 38 ; [42] Ibid. 39: [43] Ibid. 40

full in the production of their work. [44] Can an accusation of insincerity be levelled against Pepys or Boswell for using their literary talents to enhance their 'life story'? Both demonstrated the extraordinary skill needed to produce a 'major' example of the genre.

What criteria must be fulfilled to change a piece of prose into a journal? Does a consciousness by the writer of keeping a record of 'life' as a single entity and not part of any other literary endeavour qualify? Is it sufficient validation for a work to be considered for the diary genre, if the statement "I am writing my journal" is the only criterion applied? The question is a difficult one to answer as each diarist has a perception of what a diary should be. Nevertheless, whether the statement 'I am writing my journal' will initiate a work of literary invention and scholarship can only be judged later. Fashions change and journals that were once thought of little value and to use O'Brien's word, 'pedestrian', can now find favour with a modern audience, for the very minutiae that once caused disdain. The era when a journal was produced is also important. A pre-Freudian journal would not contain the same elements of self analysis that are often to be found in post-Freudian journals. [45] According to Fothergill the components that produce a 'major example' of the genre are more often found in the 'serial autobiography' than in the other three categories.[46]

The predominant factor in the production of a 'serial biography' is a writer's sense of 'self', their understanding of their personal sphere of influence and their place in the world. This allows the writer of a 'life story' to diligently to record the minutiae of life that many others would ignore. Diarists' need to write in their journals would often take priority over other occupations. Pepys only discontinued keeping his journal himself when he believed he was going blind. He continued to write his journal as long as he could dictate his words to an amanuensis, which prevented him from recording the more scandalous events in his life. Boswell recorded on 16 July 1763 "O my journal! Art though not highly dignified shall thou not flourish tenfold? No former solicitations or censures could tempt me to lay thee aside."

[44] Robert Latham and William Matthews, Diary of Samuel Pepys 1660-1669, [London, Bell 1973] 1civ. Frederick.A.Pottle (ed), James Boswell's London Journal [1762-1763] [Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1991] 3;

[45] Fothergill, Private Chronicles, 90-92;

[46] *Ibid.* 14

Fry also felt she could not set aside her journal. On 16 July 1798 Fry's father Joseph Gurney decided to take seven of his family on a holiday. On 18 July 1798 Fry records in the evening "I fear for myself a little this journey--do not loose my time but employ it as well as I can read attend to & keep a journal of what I see." On Sunday morning 21 July 1798 Fry is writing; "I am very sorry to say I am to leave this journal book behind me for I think if I took it it would be a sort of support to me in doing right but I must continue as well as I can without it." Finally on 26 July 1798 "This little book is quite a little friend to my heart; it is next to communicating my feelings to another person. I would not but write in it for something." Fry disobeyed a direct order from her father to leave her journal behind but like Pepys and Boswell she was not prepared to give it up. [47]

This thesis has so far established that Fry was a dedicated and prolific journal writer who maintained a continual record of her life for more than forty-eight years. Fry, like her siblings, had been encouraged to keep a journal from a young age. The eldest Gurney sister, Catherine known as Kitty, had become a surrogate mother to the family on the death of their mother Catherine Gurney, nee Bell in 1792. Catherine Gurney by 15 October 1796 became concerned by her siblings ever increasing dependence and commitment to their journals. 'Kitty' instructed the children to limit their writing in their journals, Louisa Gurney, Fry's younger sister, complained in her journal for 15 October 1796 "Kitty has forbidden us now to write more than six lines in our Journals--her plan to treat us like babies." [48] It was too late to try to limit Fry's commitment to her journal.

Fry's dependance on her journal was expressed in the journal entry for 4 October 1798. There had been a delay in her obtaining a book for her journal and Fry decided to make one rather than wait a day or two "just to express my ideas in, for my mind is full & wants relief." After her marriage on 19 August 1800 Fry records on the 23 August 1800 "it is odd to me to be so closely united to a person & to have one so constantly with me for we are together almost all the 24 hours, it seems as if I had hardly any thing alone not even my mind." [49]

[47] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir. 52

[48] Hare, The Gurneys, 59 [49] E.Fry, 23 August 1800, Journal, Fds. Hse. Lib. Ms.vol.S256

Fry was using her journal as a 'friend' and confidant as she had recorded doing on 26 July 1798, it had become a refuge for her feelings. This attribute of journal keeping was one of the most powerful motivations for people to keep them. [50] Virginia Woolf asked "I wonder why I do it--to put a brake on Times, winged chariot?" [51] James Boswell was certain of his reasons for keeping a journal, "I should live no more than I can record--There is a waste of good if it cannot be preserved." [52] Finally Anais Nin was perhaps closer to Fry's situation than the others when she wrote, "The period without the diary remains an ordeal. Every evening I want my diary as one wants opium." [53]

Fry had a bond with her old journals and they retained a value for her. In her journal dated 3 August 1801 she comments "I was looking over some old papers of mine of my own writing that I felt at a loss what to do with, they were & are rather interesting to myself but that is no reason they should be so to others & yet it required [courage] to destroy them, however my husband came in-- & particularly begged I would not burn them." Fry could not destroy the journals she had written after the age of sixteen but she did destroy all her childhood journals. Fry does not explain why she destroyed her earlier journals. She records under the date 21 April 1798 'My Dream exact copy' a comment on her eclectic religious beliefs that does suggest a reason. This entry contains Fry's recollection of her state of mind at the age of fourteen and may give us the first clue about why her early journals had been destroyed.

Fry does not specify a particular day and only gives July 1828 as the entry date. This entry was one of the few glimpses of her childhood that Fry recalls in her journal. The following extract appears under July 1828 "from the time of fourteen years old--I had very sceptical or deistical principles." Fry did not elaborate further on those comments. She does however give another insight into her adolescence in an entry dated from Jersey on 31 July 1839, where she recalls having convulsions between the ages of thirteen and sixteen.

It can only be conjecture but two considerations suggest

[50] Fothergill, *Private Chronicles*, 64 [51] Leonard Woolf (ed), *Virginia Woolf, A Writers Diary [1918-1941]*, [London, Hogarth Press, 1953] 53

[52] Pottle, *James Boswell London Diary*, 10 [53] Peter Owen (ed) *The Diary of Anais Nin 1931-1947*, [London, Harvest, 1966-1971] 11

themselves for these events. The first interpretation is that it was Fry's intention to publish her journal as a didactic work on her Christian faith. Any revelations of her earlier explorations into other tenets or secular societies may have been seen by Fry as an unwarranted distraction. Fry had an image that she wished to portray in her journals and she would not have wished to expose her vulnerability to new ideas. Fry had continually asserted her reliance on God's leadership and not by any artificial 'enthusiasm'. [54] The second interpretation is that it may have been Fry's reluctance to have her physical and psychological problems discussed. I can find only ambiguous references to the illness that took Fry to London in 1796. Louisa Gurney, Fry's younger sister, writes in her diary dated 14 April 1796; "I do not know what we shall do when Betsy [Fry] comes home, for we are all afraid of her now." [55]

Fry spells out her primary reason for keeping her journal on 15 October 1813: "My original intention in writing this journal has been simply and purely the good of my own soul-- after my death--any part of it would conduce and strengthen others in faith--I am willing that it should be exposed even if my weaknesses are acknowledged." These sentiments reflect precisely the ethos of the non-conformist's conscience journal. A comparison can be made between Fry's journal entries and the guidance for conduct given by the Rev. James Hervey [1714-1758]. [56] Hervey was a devotional writer, who was much influenced by the Methodist preacher John Wesley. A comparison of the conscience diary ethos can be made between the Fry and Hervey journals. First Fry wrote on 8 May 1798: "much time is lost & many evils committed by not having some regular plan of conduct-- {1} then propose a plan for myself & make these rules for myself. In the first place never loose time -- always be in the habit of being employed" {2} Never err the least in truth." Hervey in his journal expresses Fry's sentiments: "Compile a secret History of your Heart. Take notice of the manner in which your Time is spent, & of the strain that runs through your Discourse how often the former is lost in trifles, how often the latter evaporates in vanity." On 26 December 1797, Fry writes in her journal her dismay at her gossiping and displays of vanity. This was a constant regret

[54] E.Fry, 4 February 1798, Journal, Fds Hse. Lib. Ms.vol.S 256

[55] Hare, The Gurneys, 68 ; [56] Fothergill, Private Chronicles, 25

that Fry returned to frequently in her journal. She was expressing her remorse at her failure to live up to her own self-imposed standards of behaviour.

Genre, Tone, Production and Dyslexia:

The diary genre was going through a time of transition while Fry was writing her journal. The popularity of the Conscience journal was dwindling. It was no longer the most prolific class of journal, as it had been in the seventeen and eighteen-centuries. Nevertheless it was still in vogue for the elements of self-scrutiny to be detected in journals other than those of conscience. There was still an inclination by journal writers to record their actions and then to examine their motivations. [57]

By the end of the seventeenth-century and the beginning of the eighteenth-century a new hybrid was juxtaposed to the conscience journal. This new hybrid contained both the elements of self-scrutiny and 'self' as the subject. This development was part of the natural evolution of the diary genre. The hybrid that was created by these two disparate classes of the genre acted as a bridge between the nonconformist value system that had dominated the genre and the journal of the more sophisticated and educated elite. These new journal writers were experiencing a new perception of 'self' as the central subject of a journal. As journals became less dependant on the value-system of the nonconformist bourgeoisie the content became less judgemental of the journal writer's behaviour and more concerned with the journal writer as a person and their life. This led to an emergence of a more sentient taste that evaluated the world from a very different prospective. [58] This produced a plethora of journals that are best described as 'Sensibility' journals. [59] Fry's journal was a good example of a hybrid sub-genre that traversed the gap between the 'Conscience' and the 'Sensibility' journal and fused the diverse elements of these genre classes.

There cannot be a clear and precise demarcation line between the classes of diary genre. A journal can and does have a predominance of one genre characteristic or another, at a given

[57] Fothergill, Private Chronicles, 25. [58] Ibid. 23;

[59] James Aitkin, English Diaries of the X1X Century, 1800-1850, [Hamondsworth, Penguin 1944]

time during its production. For example, Fry travelled a great deal in Europe and although her journal could never be termed a 'travel journal' it did give a commentary on the flora and fauna she encountered in the various locations she visited. [60] Fry was also privy to the company and friendship of members of the royal families of Europe, the aristocracy and most notable political figures of her day. Fry had known the Duke of Gloucester since his visits to Earlham when she was young. [61] Fry, unfortunately, did not leave us a legacy of any insight into their character or even a good description of them physically. She recorded the person's name, rank or position in life but this lack of insight into their characters prohibited its inclusion in the public diary genre.[61] The prime orientation of Fry's journal was first her ministry, then her philanthropic work and finally herself and her family. In essence Fry's journal was about 'self' and her world. Other considerations, like the war with France, were of secondary importance and inconsequential if their value was measured by the text inches she dedicated to them. [62] The attention given by Fry to her very existence in her journal was an important example of the progression in the diary genre from the conscience diary format to that of self awareness. An evolutionary advance was underway in the diary genre as Fry's journal demonstrates. The 'conscience' format was progressing and as it evolved a new self awareness appeared that had not been seen before. [63] Fry was writing her journal at the beginning of this transformation. Fothergill suggests it was this evolutionary development within the conscience diary that accounted for the rapid increase in the journals of self consciousness. This encouraged the elite to take up the practice of diary writing and, in the hands of the more adventurous exponents, the journal transformed into the 'serial autobiography'[64]

When Fry's journal began to develop into a serial biography from a journal of conscience is unclear. Although Fry had created a hybrid form of a journal, the self abasement found in most diaries of conscience could always be found in Fry's journal.

[60] E.Fry, 30 July 1830, Journal, Johnson Matthey

[61] E.Fry, 2 May 1818, Journal, Norfolk and Norwich Record Office,.Norfolk, Ms.21281

[62] E.Fry, 14 May 1831, Journal, Johnson Matthey

[63] Fothergill, Private Chronicles 23;

[64] Ibid 153

On 10 October 1806 Fry wrote that she intended, "to be a better wife--I am weak & corrupt & at times discouraged." These feelings expressed by Fry of inadequacy are a continual theme in her journal. Fry's fears about her unworthiness to serve God and her doubts about her justification for her continual absenteeism from her family are frequent. Fry recognised the dangers of leaving her family and on 29 December 1811 She wrote "My heart is very full this morning at the prospect of this journey-I have something of a confidence that my beloved family will be cared for in my absence-My prayer for myself is that I may not run without being sent." On 3 February 1812 Fry wrote "Have I the authority for leaving my home and evident duties? What leads me to believe I have!--The prospect has come in that quiet, yet I think powerful way,--this journey I must be stripped of outward dependences, and my watchword appears to be, "My soul wait thou only upon God." [65] Nevertheless Fry's journal from 1802 onwards was no longer just a check list of her conduct. It was developing a character of its own, from the combination of its various functions. What year this combination resulted in Fry's decision to publish a didactic autobiography is unknown. If the dates of Fry's editorial interventions are any indication of when she rewrote her early journal it would be a reasonable hypothesis to assume she modified her journal function then. [66] It is still only conjecture but March 1810 is a possibility for the start of the changes in form as this was the date given in Fry's journal for her initialled interjections and editorial comments.

There was certainly evidence that Fry became increasingly aware of the interest her life engendered. She wrote on 21 October 1829 "If I could properly relate all that happens to me My Life, would be an interesting narrative but from circumstances this cannot be done properly & it is but the effect on my own mind that can be suitably be recorded." [Fry's capital letters] Fry's justification for writing her journal had become more personalised then on 23 August 1828 when she claimed, "my motive for preserving these extracts is the hope that they may be interesting and useful to others." [67] When Fry expresses her awareness that her life story could be of interest to others, she fulfills one of Fothergill's most important criterions for a serial biography, the writer's sense of self and their place in the world.

[65] E.Fry's, Journal, Fds Hse. Lib. Ms.vol. S.263 ; [66] Ibid. Ms.vol.S262 ; [67] Ibid. Ms.vol.S267

Earlier in this thesis I investigated Fry's motivation for writing a journal. The most prominent justification she gave us for writing her journal was that journal writing was a means of self-assessment. Her journal was a confidant for her inner secrets and was a record of Fry's progress as a Christian. These all became components in Fry's life story but the designated functions of her journal changed as she progressed and her circumstances changed. By 1801 Fry had become a wife and a mother. As both she was less inclined to maintain the same level of intimacy with her journal that she displayed on 4 October 1798 when she argued she wrote her journal; "just to express my ideas in for my mind is full and wants relief." Fry had previously recorded all her minor infringements as a method of self-improvement. Her journal entries were by 1798 no longer dominated by minor transgresses as they had been on 18 June 1797 "I have been jealous, angry hurt and vexed only for a trifle." Finally her progress as a Christian was using less column inches of text. By October 1804 Fry's family, her health and general every-day existence were her main interests. Fry complained that her religion was no longer a priority in her life and she wrote on 29 October 1804 "for it does appear to me I might become the careworn and oppressed mother." This is not to suggest that the previous function of her journal was restrained or replaced by her family commitments. The function of her journal changed to include her new family obligations by relegating the journals previous functions to less prominence. Fry still incorporated her faith in God in her life and her journal. It was Fry's religious practice that suffered from neglect when circumstances prevented her attending meetings. On 4 August 1802 Fry records "I attended meeting-I was truly inattentive while there-." Fry on 25 March 1803 expressed an example of her unfailing faith in God. Fry recorded her gratitude for the safe delivery of her daughter Rachel, [Cresswell] "Words are not equal to express my feelings, for I was most mercifully dealt with, my soul was so quiet and so much supported."

Thus the tone of Fry's journal had changed in its priorities by her marriage on 19 August 1800 and later as she became a mother. Her family life was becoming more demanding and occupied most of her entries. The once salient self-improvement regime took on a mechanical tone, as in the entry of 22 September 1799; "This day I have been at two meetings but have felt much coldness & flatness of heart." Fry seems to have outgrown

keeping the lists of specific 'faults' in her journal. By 1799 Fry had discontinued this practice, of confessing individual imperfections in favour of a more generalised condemnation of her omissions in her duty to God. Fry demonstrates this approach in the above entry for 22 September 1799. Fry continued in her design for her journal as a record of a Christian's progress., Fry's examination of her inner-self, as inherited from her dissenting roots, was always visible in her text. This was particularly true when she needed to justify her mixing with "Society," a practice frowned upon by Plain Quakers. They believed it was impossible to be entertained by royalty and the aristocracy without breaching the plain speech tenet of the Religious Society of Friends. The rule also stipulated that a Quaker must refuse to recognise a title. Fry notes in her journal at Plashet on 1 July 1818; "yet many Friends have great fears for me and mine and some, not Friends do not scruple to spread evil reports, as if vanity and political motives led me to neglect a large family." Fry's journal had taken on another function, that of an apologia for her life style to posterity.

If my supposition is correct then Fry changed the function of her journal in 1810 to write a 'life story'. This event coincided with her entrance into public life. Only the year before Fry's father John Gurney died on 1 November 1809 and she gave her first 'open' sermon by his grave side. Fry was acknowledged by her Meeting as a Quaker Minister in 1811, which established Fry as a public figure. She soon enjoyed a celebrity that continued until her death in 1845. The public fame brought a dramatic change in the content of Fry's journal. As the public became more aware of Elizabeth Fry, the philanthropist, her daily entries took on the appearance of a socialite and politician rather than a married plain Quaker matron. Fry juxtaposed Public Meetings for her Ministry and the Prison Visiting Society with the names of the rich and the famous, royalty, Members of Parliament and the aristocracy. On 6 February 1818 Fry recorded a visit to the Mansion House with Countess Hardcourt, a Lady-in-waiting to Queen Charlotte: "Sarah Harcourt--took me with her to the Mansion House rather against my will to meet the Royal Family at the examination of some large schools amongst the rest the Queen much public respect was paid me." Fry wrote on 29 April 1818 "My prison concerns have thus brought me a poor unworthy one thus to public notice." Although Fry's new interests did not nullify the original functions of her journal, they began to concentrate

her entries on the practicalities of the charitable tasks she undertook. Fry recorded famous names only as they affected her Ministry and the charitable duties that she had begun to dedicate her life to. These activities all went to underscore the aspirations she had for her journal as a Christian didactic work and a 'life story.' As Fry recorded on 21 October 1829, "if I could properly relate--My Life, it would be an interesting narrative."

The accusation of insincerity would have been levelled against Fry by naive purists, like the critics Arthur Ponsonby or Kate O'Brien. [68] By rewriting the beginning of her journal, it would be their opinion that Fry had disqualified her work from the diary genre. As only the spontaneous 'daily renderings' of an untutored journal writer were acceptable once Fry's journal has been read, even with the knowledge of her ultimate ambition for her journal, I do not think anyone would doubt Fry's emotional probity, nor the integrity of her character. [68]

Nevertheless it cannot be doubted that the text of the journal was influenced by the way that Fry interpreted herself in hindsight. It is through our language that we explain our thoughts. Fry by 1810 had become a wife and mother and these experiences had an influence on her text. The language and literary imagery that appeared in Fry's text were the consequence of her encounters with a more sophisticated view of the world than a sheltered sixteen-year-old would have had. This can be understood better with an example from an early entry in Fry's journal dated 16 May 1797 In this entry Fry expressed her negative feelings toward organised religion, "I look through Nature up to Natures God I have no other religion." This imagery was first heard by Fry at a Quaker Meeting held by William Savery. Fry found his words "beautiful and awful." Savery said the deists and those who did: "not feel devotional looked at nature--through them to natures God." The similarities between Fry and Savery's phraseology was evident. The Meeting was held on 7 March 1798, a year after Fry had dated her journal entry. It pushes coincidence rather far to believe this sermon did not influence Fry's rewriting of her text. Fry used the words "beautiful and awful" to describe Savery's sermon and records in her journal on 7 March 1798 "how well he hit the state I have long been in" which suggests it was the first time she had heard these words.

[68] Fothergill, *Private Chronicles*, 38, Ponsonby, *British Journals*, 82; O'Brien, *English Diaries and Journals*, 7-8

It was doubtful they would have had such an affect on her if she had previously used them herself. If Fry rewrote her journal in 1810, as the evidence points to, that would be an indication of Fry subconsciously using Savery's metaphors to describe her own condition. When altering a text attempting to improve it is usual, particularly when it is going to be exposed to public scrutiny. Fry, without realising the influence Savery's words had on her subconsciousness, had inadvertently plagiarised his symbolism and contaminated her memory.

Fry had developed by the 1820's some understanding of what was needed to get a book published. In 1819 Fry and her brother, Joseph John Gurney, had published some Notes on Prisons in Scotland. [69] She was aware of the necessity of capturing a reader's interest if the writer wished their message to be accepted. Fry had read many dissenting journals and books on logic and philosophy. On 19 May 1798 Fry records that she "read much in Epectitus" and on 4 June 1798 "& read in Barclays apology." [70] The Gurneys' were an extremely wealthy Quaker family, and as such, they followed the Dissenting ethos in educating all their children. [71] In the text of Fry's journal on 7 February 1799 she chronicles her lessons of French and History. Fry 's dyslexia prevented her taking full advantage of her education. Nonetheless, it did not affect her desire to learn and to recognise the importance of literacy. Fry started a school for local children in September 1798 and by 15 September 1798 she wrote in her journal "& have ordered three other little boys besides Billy [Norman] to come for me to read to them--I wish I may be of any use to them I can but try." Fry wanted to teach them to read and it was such a success that by the time of her marriage on 19 August 1800 she had more than eighty pupils. Her fellow family members knew them as Betsy's Imps. [72] The starting of a school by Fry for local children was surprising when she had written in her journal only three days earlier on 12 September 1798 "this evening my mind and body feel low & fatigued I cannot help fearing I never shall understand even the common branches of education I have so much slowness in my composition"

[69] Joseph J.Gurney, Notes on a Visit made of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England in company with Elizabeth Fry, [London, Archibald Constable and Co. 1819.] E.Fry, Text Book, [London, Charles Gilpin, 1830]

[70] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 1 ; [71] *Ibid.* 5

[72] E.Fry, 13 August 1800, Fds. Hse. Lib. Ms.vol.S259

This brings the thesis to the question of Fry's dyslexia and how it was demonstrated by Miles and Huntsman that Fry, who taught reading to her 'Imps', was dyslexic. [73] What evidence can her journal provide to support this conclusion and what affect did dyslexia have on the production of her journal and her ambition to publish?

Fry wrote in her journal on 23 August 1828, "I was thought and called very stupid and obstinate" when she was a child. On 1 August 1799 Fry attended a Quaker School at Ackworth for the purpose of examining the children in their "writing, syphering and reading" and noted "I & Sarah Cockfield were mentioned to go & attend to the Grammar School & did just say I [+was not good+] had only a slight knowledge of grammar" Fry had crossed out 'was not good' that is why these words are in brackets with crosses. She continues that later the two young women had to give a report to the committee. Fry records, "I was pointedly ask'd what my opinion was of their spelling which I said & also I did not think they attended to the one so well as the other syllables--I was vexed at mentioning the spelling the one syllables as I only asked one girl one word & she spelt it wrong." As the above extract shows, Fry was aware of her 'poor spelling' but an inability to spell does not necessarily prove dyslexia. There are many indicators of dyslexia and sometimes the symptoms can be so negligible as to cause the sufferer no obvious adverse effects. I feel that explaining some of the most obvious indicators of dyslexia are incumbent upon this thesis and how dyslexia affected Fry and her journal.

The word dyslexia comes from the Greek and means 'difficulty with words'. Dyslexia is still not fully understood but brain scan techniques have shown that the brains of dyslexic sufferers have abnormalities in the language areas of the cortex. [74] It can be found in about three per cent of children and although first diagnosed more than a hundred years ago, family and teachers have often misdiagnosed symptoms. [75] Fry being diagnosed with dyslexia is important as it explains journal entries like the one on 12 September 1798. Fry reported her 'mind and body felt fatigued' because she was having difficulties "I shall never understand even the common branches of education." Fry's frustration is a common reaction

[73] Miles and Huntsman, the stupidity of Elizabeth Fry? ,1042; [74] Ibid. [75] Ibid. 1043

for many people with dyslexia. They know they are intelligent and are not as stupid as other people suggest just because they are unable to read or write at the same level as their contemporaries. [76] A person with dyslexia often displays undeveloped skills in reading and writing. Nonetheless, there is a wide disparity in the severity of dyslexia. The diversity of symptoms that exist mean that some dyslexics are illiterate and others have university degrees. Understanding that dyslexia is a developmental disorder is important and that symptoms can change over time. If we recognised and addressed the indicators of dyslexia early in life, a person with dyslexia can have their cognitive abilities greatly enhanced. I believe in Fry's case that there are a number of indicators that suggest that Fry was dyslexic. Fry recorded in her journal on 12 September 1798 her difficulties in learning. She manifested dyslexic symptoms of underdevelopment in her reading ability and her orthographic skills. As a result her siblings called her 'stupid' and she was wrongly thought to lack intelligence. [77]

The evidence of Fry's life proves that she was a woman of unusual talents. Her ability to initiate and successfully maintain many distinct societies, was witness to her organisational and communication skills. It also had been recorded that Fry's Bible readings at Newgate on Fridays attracted many members of aristocratic society. It was claimed by those who heard her that Fry's melodious voice reading the extracts made many present weep. [78] Fry also maintained her accounts and kept close watch over her expenditure after her husband Joseph Fry had problems with the Fry and Overend Bank in 1825 and was declared bankrupt after the Bank's final failure in 1828. [79] Fry's journal records how she continued to function, just as articulate and successful in her endeavours even with the criticism of some her detractors, of her perceived personal failure. [80] Where the dyslexia syndrome can be detected was in Fry's orthographic skills and the generalised comments she makes about her bad memory and her inability to keep up with the others in her lessons.[81] Her sister Catherine Gurney described Fry as a child, "her aversion to learning-her education was very imperfect and defective" It is important when looking for dyslexic indicators in a child that

[76] Ibid. [77] E.Fry, 23 August 1828, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S 267

[78] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 318-319 [79] Ibid

[80] E.Fry, 12 September 1798, Journal Ms.vol.S257

[81] British Dyslexia Association of London, [London, Monro Centre Information, 2005]

people doing the diagnosis have excluded any of the other more common causes of illiteracy. [81] There was no evidence that Fry had suffered any injury to her brain, moreover, her parents had given her a very good education for a woman in the 1780's. Miles and Huntsman have argued in their examination of Fry's dyslexia that although there are variations in symptoms there is a recognisable pattern to dyslexia. [82] It can affect the learning process in reading and writing. Nevertheless a dyslexia sufferer can also display characteristically loss of memory, speed of processing and sequencing of information. [83]

Fry's journal will now be examined for the examples of dyslexia contained in her text. It will then be ascertained how severely Fry was affected by dyslexia and the characteristics she displayed by utilising the indicators provided by Andrew Ellis in his book, Reading Writing and Dyslexia. [84] The British Dyslexia Association suggests in its advice on recognising dyslexia that the erratic spelling of words, rather than misspelling always the same ones, are more indicative of dyslexia than just being a bad speller. They nevertheless recognise variations in the indicators of dyslexia. This is an extremely interesting observation, as in Fry's case she had certain words that she misspelled throughout her life and others she spelt both correctly and incorrectly within the same journal entry. An example is included in Fry's journal entry for 2 March 1798 "walked about the streets of London hated every thing till I happened to see the back of William Saverry & that put me in a better state--when I was away from them I told William Savery & several other Friends I thought Kitty, Fry's sister Catherine without exception the very best person I ever saw--they are realy better than other poeple."

The erratic spelling of a word, often on the same page of Fry's journal entry, was a common phenomenon in Fry's journal. The journal entry above contains several examples of the indicators for dyslexia described by Ellis in his book. The obvious misspelling of William Savery's name within the same entry and the addition of an extra 'r' in Savery's name. The incorrect spelling of 'people', Fry was to continue to spell the word 'people' as 'poeple'

[81] Miles and Huntsman, the stupidity of Elizabeth Fry, 1043; [82] Ibid. [83] Ibid;

[84] Andrew Ellis, Reading, Writing and Dyslexia, A Cognitive Study, [Hove, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Ltd. 1993] 72-78

throughout her life. Fry also neglected the 'l' at the beginning of the sentence and a letter omission with her spelling of really as 'realy'. The only few exceptions to Fry's pattern of dyslexia occurred when she used a dictionary, as she recorded doing when writing in her commercially bound books. [85]

Other indicators of dyslexia suggested by Ellis are letters of omission. We saw an example of that with 'realy' in the entry for 2 March 1798. Fry, just a month later, on 20 April 1798, was writing, "I have every reason to be really happy and really good." The correct spelling of 'really' by Fry demonstrates the British Dyslexia Associations suggestion that many people with dyslexia often do spell a word differently each time they spell it. Letters of additions are also indicators of dyslexia; Fry wrote in her journal entry for 11 February 1798, "a day never to be forgotten whilst memmory lasts" [86] in Fry's case some of her errors were erratic and others were constant. The 'additions' Fry often used in her text, like the 'omissions' were not always constant. A few examples of additions to Fry's words are; 'arrose', arrisen, and 'where' meaning 'were,' the 'h' being added. These and many other examples of indicators for dyslexia can be found in almost every entry of Fry's journal.

Miles and Huntsman remarked concerning Fry that poor handwriting or capricious spelling was part of the pattern for dyslexia and could not be taken in isolation as proof of dyslexia. This raises the question that despite Fry exhibiting many of the indicators given by Ellis, Miles and Huntsman, that Fry's idiosyncratic spelling could have been just carelessness on her part. An illustration of this possibility was Fry's spelling of 'musick' for music. Samuel Johnson's dictionary helped stabilise the English language. It was not available to the public until the 1750's, only twenty-five years before Fry's birth and many words were still being spelt phonetically. [87] Florence Nightingale, 1820-1910, exhibited poor handwriting, punctuation and idiosyncratic spelling when emotional or hurried according to Sue Goodie, the editor of her letters. [88] It has not been suggested that Nightingale suffered from the

[85] E.Fry, Journal, NRO Mss.21281, NRO.Ms.21282 ; Johnson Matthey [86] E.Fry's brackets

[87] Magnus Magnusson (ed), Chambers Biographical Dictionary, [Edinburgh, W & R Chambers Ltd. 1992] 790; Samuel Johnson 1709-1784, 1n 1747 Johnson issued a prospectus of *A Dictionary of the English Language*. It took eight more years to complete.

[88] Sue M.Goldie, I have done my duty, Florence Nightingales in the Crimean War 1847-1856, [Manchester, Manchester Press, 1960]12

dyslexia syndrome. The distinctions between Fry and Nightingale are the many other indicators of dyslexia that Fry demonstrated which Nightingale only exhibited when distressed.

I have given only a few examples of Fry's spelling errors. Nevertheless if they were multiplied by almost every journal entry that contained an error, the extent of the problem appears. Fry's poor writing, and an almost total lack of punctuation, meant the original text was particularly difficult to read. The greatest hindrance to understanding Fry's text was her failure in providing any consistent punctuation. A dash, to signify the end of a paragraph or the underlining of a word for emphasis was all Fry did as punctuation. This was compounded by Fry's total misuse of capital letters, often found mid-sentence and often not used for proper names for example God was often spelt with a small 'g' which was not a Quaker practice. Fry's failure to cross 'T,t's was another indicator given by Ellis that Fry's text exhibited. Perhaps the most significant demonstration of dyslexia was the spelling of William Savery's name. At this time in her life Fry was certainly enamoured of William Savery, which makes her frequent misspelling of his name evidence of her dyslexia. On 2 March 1798 Fry spelt William Savery's name incorrectly as Savery or Saverry within the same sentence. On 25 February 1798 Fry had also spelt Savery incorrectly, "most interesting meetings of Wm.Savoury." Fry also used parentheses to accentuate a point she wished to make. Throughout the extremely untidy texts are numerous lacunae that interrupt the flow of the journal script. The problems with the composition of the text made Fry's original journal at times indecipherable which had an adverse effect on the journal's production.

Fry was aware of the standard of text required by publishers. She had published a text book in 1830. [89] It has been established that Fry intended her journal to be published. The evidence for this statement appears in the first journal book that survived destruction. Fry had initialled the journal text with her married initials E.F. three years before she got married.

Fry nevertheless had lacunae and crossed out sections on the majority of pages of her text and the two journal books that are available in the appendices contain many examples of this

[89] Fry, Text book;1830

category of editorial intervention. Fry wrote in her journal on 6 October 1818 "Joseph left me to stay with dear Jane at Lynn over 1st day-where I felt as if I had to minister almost without the power-I felt as if [I] must yeald to the service but was so fearful & weak." Fry added the following editorial note; "Note I have since understood that this visit to [Lynn] meeting appear'd to be the cause of setting a seeking mind under convincement my having been enabled to so to speak to her state." Apart from the obvious errors that have already been discussed, the above entry indicates further evidence of Fry's intention to publish her journal. Fry's annotation of her journal is obviously intended to inform her readers as a private journal would not require explanation. She had previously stated her intention to publish her journal in the journal entry for 15 October 1813 when she expressed her desire that her journal would help other Christians.^[90] The carelessness in the production of Fry's journal resulted in the text being in a very poor condition. The idiosyncratic spelling, lack of punctuation and erasure of text suggests that Fry expected the rest of her journal to be rewritten before publication. This implies that Fry viewed the original journal as primary source material. This poses the question of whether Fry was aware of her daughters' plans for her journal. Or was she under the misconception that her daughters would produce the expose of a 'warts and all' production that her text for 15 October 1813 envisaged?

Although there is evidence of Fry's daughters' intervention in Fry's journal, when this occurred is unknown as they did not indicate the date when they added any annotation to Fry's text. On 24 February 1798 when Fry went to London, Katharine Fry had written an editorial note stipulating that Fry had stayed "At Samson Hanbury's - Brick Lane". Katharine Fry did not date this editorial note but she did initial it. Katharine Fry corrected Fry's spelling, punctuation and syntax in the entries of Fry's journal she copied into the Memoirs she wrote with Rachel Cresswell.^[91] Katharine Fry also juxtaposed words like 'confinement' next to where Fry had written 'labour' in Fry's original journal text. This seems a fruitless task unless those entries were to be used as a primary source for a more public document. What Fry's daughters intentions were at the time they made these annotations to the text can only be

[90] E.Fry, 15 October 1813, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S 263; [91] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 38, 24 February 1798 "On Monday, I do not think it unlikely I shall go to the play"; E.Fry, 24 February 1798 Journal Fds.Hse.Lib.Ms.v.S256, "on Monday I don't think it unlikely I shall go to the play"

conjecture on our part but the evidence suggests Fry's daughters wanted to preserve Fry's public persona. To maintain an image of their mother that they could control Fry's daughters decided to produce a book. They wrote a memoir of Fry more in line with the public persona of Fry, rather than the real woman. That would explain the 'cherry picking' of journal entries that the 'X's denote'. These were more prevalent in the latter part of Fry's journal, where she was less circumspect in her depictions of family life. Katharine Fry and Rachel Cresswell justified the editorial decisions they made in an introduction to the memoirs they wrote about Fry. They stated that "Elizabeth Fry's family feel that their mother's memory belongs to others as well as themselves - nor dare they withhold this record from the many, who have observed her proceedings with interest - Two of her daughters have undertaken the office of preparing her papers for publication; and, with the sanction of their father, selecting to the best of their judgement, such parts as may elucidate the subject, and interest the general reader-but if the memory of their mother should not suffer through their means they shall be well content." [92]

Was Fry aware that the journal she was writing was not going to be published in its original form we do not know. It nevertheless seems clear from her daughters' statement that they never intended to publish the journal in full, exposing Fry's 'weaknesses' as Fry's declaration on 15 October 1813 inferred. The evidence of the daughters' intention to censor her journal entries is clear from the 'X's' that appear throughout the journal's text and correspond with the journal entries in their 'Memoirs'. Her daughters were using Fry's original text as a primary source for their book. [92] One example of an entry that Fry's daughters may not have wished made public was Fry's criticism of her family for marrying outside the Society. Their lack of enthusiasm for some of the Quaker tenets may have been the following example, that provoked the sisters to control what they published. [93] On 14 July 1830, Fry had attended a Bible meeting chaired by her brother Samuel Gurney. His family was all present and supportive of his beliefs. "a fear myself of coming forward in these things blessed instead of promoting the cause it should prove a [damper] by gainsayers to [bring] hold of it and also the damping effect that it appears to have had upon most of my family- when other the

[92] Fry and Cresswell, *Memoir*, x; [93] E.Fry, 26 April 1830, *Journal*, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S267

branches of the family amongst my own connections are in their youth boldly coming forward in this and other good objects.” Katharine Fry did produce a facsimile of Fry’s journal in 1881 which retains much of Fry’s journal, albeit heavily edited. It is kept in the Rare Manuscript Department of the British Library. [94] The two volumes of journals written by Katharine Fry were reserved for the descendants of Elizabeth Fry and never intended for publication.

Fry’s journal was a huge undertaking for her daughters particularly as they were inexperienced. They write in Memoir; “They are aware of the disadvantages under which they labour, from such an office being altogether new to them.” They do suggest that their prime objective was to produce a detailed account of her life. They wrote, “Her numerous friends and associates desire to know her better, and to possess a more detailed account of her life — And how can the truth be so well told, as by her own journal.” [95] Regardless of their stated intentions, Fry’s daughters produced a heavily edited book. Their editing misled the reader and compromised the integrity of the journal text as the following example demonstrates.

Katharine Fry and Rachel Cresswell used approximately one-third of their mother’s original text in the production of their book. [96] Regrettably, their editorial procedures were extremely intrusive and at times misleading. On page 57 of Memoir, Fry’s daughters have represented Fry’s entry for 16 August 1798 as follows; “We have travelled far to-day; I set out thinking I should have Mrs.B——’s company.” The correct transcription was, “ We have travelled far to day I sat out fearing I should have Mrs. Buxtons company.” Fry’s daughters had changed the whole tone of the text. Fry was not ‘thinking’ she would ride with Buxton; she was ‘fearing’ it, as she did not like the woman’s attitudes and found her “too theoretical at times.” This goes beyond the normal editorial intervention of correcting spelling errors and punctuation. Good editorial procedures include keeping the essence of a journal intact. Fry’s daughters, due to inexperience and their own stated intentions of presenting their mother in a favourable way, failed to do this with Fry’s journal.

[94] K.Fry, 1881 Journal, BL. Mss. ADD 47456 , 47457; [95] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, x : [96] Ibid.

In the transcription that comprises the appendices to this thesis I have not corrected any of Fry's spelling errors nor her punctuation or syntax. The reason for limiting the editorial intervention to this extent was my desire to maintain the integrity of Fry's journal. By editing out all of Fry's capricious punctuation and her idiosyncratic spelling a totally false impression of the journal and of Fry would be perceived by the reader. [97] Without the dashes and the indicators I have given in the text for Fry's eradications and obliterations a reader would not distinguish the moments of calm in Fry's life from those when she was impassioned.

As stated above, in the text of Fry's journal there are X's marked in pencil that correspond with the journal entries in the Fry and Cresswell book. [98] It cannot, with any certainty, be determined when the 'X's were made or by whom and this dilemma is indicative of the other problems the journal raises. Who was responsible for the X's or the numerous lacunae that appear throughout the text? Was it Fry or her daughters who decided which entries they should expunge and which were worthy of copying? It leaves the reader of the journal at an impasse: was it Elizabeth Fry's editorial work or did Katharine Fry and Rachel Cresswell decide to intervene on their own initiative? Katharine Fry had initialled many of the comments she wrote in the margins of Fry's journal. This confirms her rather than Rachel Cresswell as the main protagonist in the editorial intervention of Fry's journal.

The facsimile of her mother's text that Katharine Fry produced was unfortunately not the coherent and intelligible copy of Fry's journal that would have made the present transcription unnecessary. Regrettably, as with the 'Memoir', Katharine Fry had intervened extensively with Fry's journal text. The following was an example of her editorial work: Fry's journal dated 17 February 1803, Katharine admitted failing to copy the whole script as it was the "minutiae of Fry's life and the mundane." [99] Katharine Fry and her sister Rachel Cresswell's actions in heavily editing the Memoir they wrote on their mother, although regrettable was not surprising given their stated intention that "their mother should not suffer through their means." [100]

[97] Goodie, I have done my duty, 12, : [98] E.Fry, 14 July 1830, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S267

[99] K.Fry, Journal, BL.Ms 47456.; [100] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, x

To conclude this discussion on the editorial intervention undertaken by Fry's daughters on her journal an examination of what prompted their excessive editorial practice is needed. The reason Fry's daughters have given us was their desire to preserve their mother's reputation. Nevertheless, their intervention in her journal text and their subsequent extensive correcting of Fry's spelling and punctuation in their book, is evidence of the affect Fry's dyslexia had on the book's production. It is worth looking at the physical effect dyslexia had on the journal's production. Fry's dyslexia did not determine Fry's journal content nor its motivation or tone. It did, nevertheless, determine the amount of editorial intervention that blighted so much of Fry's script.

Significance and Comparison:

As clearly defined by Fry, from 1810 her journal was evolving from a source of comfort, a check list for her behaviour, into a didactic Christian journal for the guidance of the young or doubting Christians. [101] But Fry's need of her journal as a confidant and her decision to record every aspect of her and her family's life confuses the issue of genre. It is the contents that classify a journal. What the text is recording determines where within the genre a particular diary belongs. This thesis has already categorized where it believes Fry's journal belongs within the genre. All the elements that make up Fry's hybrid journal qualify her journal as a Serial Autobiography. It does not however establish the value of the journal as an integral part of the genre.

To ascertain the quality of a journal and what prominence it should be given within the genre a comparison with another journal is necessary particularly one of a similar construction or one that had been written by a contemporary. [102] To establish the value of a journal it is important to know when it was written. A determination can then be made of what influenced its production. To establish whether Fry's journal belongs within the major works of the genre, it is necessary to examine one of the important elements that make a major journal. James Boswell, like Samuel Pepys, has come to represent what defines a diarist in most peoples' minds. [103]

[101] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir xi [102] Labouchere, Deborah Darby [103] Fothergill, Private Chronicle, 3,6

An investigation into his style of production may assist in our evaluation of Fry's journal. Boswell, as a recognised exponent of the genre, had a gift for producing dramatic tension in his journal. He produced a page turning work using the literary device of leaving a reader asking 'what happens next'. This artifice, which is found in literature, is also found in all major examples of the diary genre. [104] Between 6 January 1763 and 18 January 1763 for example, Boswell recorded in his journal his concern over the fidelity of his mistress Louisa. "I this day began to feel an unaccountable alarm of unexpected evil: a little heat in the member of my body sacred to Cupid, very like a symptom of that distemper with which Venus, when cross, takes it into her head to plague her votaries." [105] Boswell had not contracted venereal disease, a fact of which he was well aware when he wrote the entry. This can be verified by the postmark on the journal which registers the date of posting as 18 January 1763. [106] It was then that Boswell sent off the completed journal to his friend John Johnson, with details of the whole affair and its happy outcome. If Boswell had recorded his journal in a chronological order, he could not have known the outcome of his relationship with Louisa in time to reach his friend by that date. [106]

Fry, when she rewrote her first journal books, adopted this literary technique. It is, however, doubtful that She saw her journal as an object in itself or committed herself to its continued production for aesthetic reasons. Fry did not see her journal as a book *per se*, but as a means of expressing herself through her life story. The fact that Fry created an episodic autobiographical book was coincidental, but this does not mean that Fry was unaware of creating a book. It merely shows that it was not her prime intention.

The judicious editing that Fry carried out in her early journals prepared the ground for her forthcoming transformation in February 1798 from a needy sceptic to Christian adherent. She employed just the right amount of literary language to give emphasis to her youth and sincerity. Fry wrote at the beginning of January 1798 "I must die, I shall die wonderful death is beyond comprehension, to leave life & all its interests & be almost forgotten by those we

[104] Fothergill, Private Chronicles, 40

[105] Pootle, James Boswell Diary, 148: [106] Ibid. 149

love--what a comfort must a real faith in religion be [+at+] in the hour of death to have a firm belief of entering into everlasting joy--I have a notion of such a thing but I am sorry to say I have no real faith in any sort of religion." Before looking closer at the content of the text entry two things are worth noting. First the word 'at,' I have enclosed within two square brackets and crosses which denotes the word had been crossed out by Fry. This was one of the editorial practices employed in the production of the transcription and the methodology implemented will be fully discussed after this section. The three sets of 'dashes' are an example of the form of punctuation Fry used. The following example of Fry's journal text had juxtaposed in the margin an example of the editorial intervention made by Katharine Fry in her mother's journal. Katharine Fry had initialled the following sentence 'KF' and written: "How remarkably her mind was preparing to receive religious truths gladly to receive & hear the word." KF.

In choosing a journal to compare with Fry's journal it was necessary for the journal writer to have had similar experiences and backgrounds. They should have written their journals within the same period. All these factors must be taken into consideration if a true evaluation of the merit of Fry's journal is to be made. The journal decided upon was written by Deborah Darby nee Barnard who lived between 1754 and 1810. Although a generation older than Fry, Darby kept a continuous journal from August 1779 until her death in February 1810. Their journals overlapped for thirteen years as did their lives. They came from similar wealthy Quaker backgrounds and married at approximately the same age. Fry was twenty years old and Deborah was twenty-one when they married into very wealthy families, the Fry's and the Darby's, of Ironbridge fame. [107] They were both recorded as Quaker Ministers and travelled a great deal in their Ministry. Their journals contain a great deal about their relationship with God. It is probably difficult for those of us living in the twenty-first century to understand just how normal it would seem to both Darby and Fry to speak to their God on a daily and personal basis. The language they used and their priorities reflected and illustrated their different personalities. As married women with commitments to husbands and children, both Fry and Darby were vulnerable to doubts about the correctness of going on some

[107] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 9-10

'Concerns' for the Ministry. They often turned to God in prayer to give them a sign that their doubts were unfounded. Darby recorded such an occasion when she was uneasy over a journey she was due to take in her Ministry on 25 February 1781 Darby writes, "Never run without being sent." [108] This sentiment was expressed by Fry on 30 March 1819 just before she was due to leave home. Fry wrote: "I can but commit myself to him-I really dair not chuse for myself." Darby dealt with the problem by asking advice from Richard Reynolds, a trusted counsellor. [109] Fry when faced with the same uncertainty of action, relied upon the outcome as her guide stating that, "way will be made, if it is right". [110] If all went well and she found her family healthy on her return Fry judged it had been the correct decision to go. The different ways that Fry and Darby approached that problem indicated the differences in their journals. They were clearly very different personalities and as a result produced very different journals. Fry made clear her motives for writing a journal: first as a confidant, second as a guide for her improvement and finally as a guide for others. [111] Darby did not record any personal ambition for her journal. It seems by the evidence of the content of her journal Darby kept it purely as a guide for her actions and a record of her ministry and travels in her ministry. Darby never specified that she intended her journal as a record for her children and no evidence can be found to support the theory she ever read it to them. Darby travelled in her ministry for long periods and between 1793 and 1796 she was in America. [112] The difference between Fry and Darby as 'personalities' does not dictate their journals' value within the genre. It does, however, influence the production of their journals.

Darby started writing her journal at the age of twenty-four. There was no evidence that she had ever kept one prior to this. Fry, as we know, had been a journal writer for most of her life. Darby, it seems, had come to journal writing as a result of transcribing her mother-in-law, Abiah Darby's, journal from notebooks into old company ledgers. [113] Deborah Darby started this practice on 14 August 1779 just two weeks after she had begun a diary of her own.

[108] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 44 [109] *ibid.*

[110] E.Fry, 30 March 1819, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S 264 ;

[111] E.Fry 15 October 1813, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib.Ms.vol.S 263

[112] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 127 [113] R.Labouchere, Abiah Darby, [York, Sessions, 1988] nee Maude 1716-1794, married Abraham Darby II 1745 /46 as his second wife.

Labouchere, in her biography of Deborah Darby, suggests it was this act of transcribing Abiah Darby's diary that encouraged Deborah Darby to continue with her journal until her death in 1810. [114]

Fry's motivations for keeping a journal have been discussed, but Deborah Darby gave no reason why she kept hers. Darby started her journal on 1 August 1779, at a time that coincided with her husband's failure in business and their removal to her in-laws in Sunnyside near Coalbrookdale where her mother-in-law Abiah Darby was recorded as a Quaker Minister. [115/116] Darby's journal had been recorded twice, like the beginning of Fry's, and it was not the original text. Darby had originally written her journal in a note book and then transcribed them into a ledger book as she had done for Abiah's diary. Unlike Fry's, however, it did not gain any literary benefit from being rewritten. It is as if Darby just picked up a notebook without any preparation on 1 August 1779 and recorded the following entry, 'attended General Meeting at New Dale, "where Dear Mother Darby and Ann Summerland were engaged--drank tea at the Bank." The following day Abraham Darby and his family dined at Sunnyside and on [Tuesday 3 August] Darby's journal records, "drank tea in the summer house" as the weather was fine. [117] There was a mechanical perfunctory resonance to Darby's writing, which a simple notebook of memoranda could have recorded. A comparison of Fry's journal to Darby's shows the difference in contents and tone.[118] The state of Fry's emotions influenced her journal entries. An example of this "Is there not a ray of perfection amidst the sweets of this morning-." [119] Fry did not wish simply to record a day's events but her journal record her feelings at that time, on that day, and it was the passion that Fry felt that she thought was worth recording. It was to influence the content and style of every entry.

[114] Labouchere, 30

[115] Ibid. 28 / 116] Ibid. xxv

[117] Ibid.30 :

[118] E.Fry, ? January 1797, no day given in Journal. Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S255

[119] E.Fry, 1 August 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S257

Monday June 1797; "I am at this present state in an odd state like a ship without pilot." 'I feel my mind & heart so over burdened I want someone to lean on.' They were Fry's quotation marks. It was one of the few occasions when Fry used another form of punctuation other than dashes.

The best way to illustrate how the tones of the journals were different is to take an instance when both women recorded their first meeting in Coalbrookdale. The difference in tone and motivation of the journals does not alter the similarities in the life style of the journal writers. In fairness to Deborah Darby, she was a matron of forty-four and Fry was an excitable eighteen-year-old when the following meeting took place. What they said on this occasion had a more profound effect on Fry than on Darby. Darby records this meeting with Fry on 4 September 1798 as follows: "In our Week Day meeting dear Rebecca Young and myself had some counsel to hand to a visited state--in the evening Elizabeth Gurney from Norwich called upon us--to whom I ministered--she seems to be under best notice." The dashes were Darby's punctuation 'dashes' and not editorial interventions. Fry's version of that meeting went as follows: "Rebecca Young did speak most beautifully she did touch my heart & I felt & melted & bowed before my creator DD then spoke what she said was excellent she addressed part of it to me I only fear she says too much of what I am to be - a light to the blind speech to the dumb & feet to the lame can it be she--she thought I was to be a minister of Christ - can I ever be--as I walked home by star light--never forget this day while life is in my body." [120]

Rachel Labouchere suggest that Darby was a better speaker than a writer, and if the above is an accurate rendering of the meeting between Fry and Darby, then I feel she was right. Another comparison of entries proves useful investigating the different timbre of the journals. Fry and Darby's respective husband's reaction to their Ministry would be a useful guide to what influences they were subjected to. On 4 September 1779 at the age of twenty-five Darby found her mind "becoming more sensible to divine over-shadowing." [121]

[120] E.Fry, 4 September 1798, Journal, Fds. Hse. Lib. Ms.vol.S 257

[121] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 31

This was the beginning of her Ministry. It is worth mentioning at this time her husband was suffering from a breakdown and was never fully to recover his strength. [122] Deborah never committed her personal feelings in any depth on paper. At the time the entry above was recorded Darby added on 8 September 1779 "My dearest friend differing from me in sentiment." It was the only comment Darby made; no further statement nor any criticism her husband may have made was recorded by Darby. If we now look at Fry's reaction to what she perceived was her family's lack of support for her Ministry and her public speaking. This came after they had reinstated Joseph Fry as a Quaker. His local meeting had disowned Fry's husband when he was declared bankrupt. His sentiments about the Society were less than supportive at that time. [123] Rachel Cresswell, Fry's daughter, had just given birth after a difficult labour and told her mother she would rather go through another lying-in than hear that her mother had been speaking in Ministry with the Backhouses at the local Methodist Hall in Lynn. Fry recorded this on 19 April 1837 just after she had calmed her daughter down. "How different are my circumstances to Hannah Backhouses she appears built up on every hand in her friendly course husband, children near relations friends - never living in any other atmosphere where as - except my dearest husband & Kath uniting with me in Major points & Foster & Chenda and Sam constantly in close contact with those who are walking in another path & see not eye to eye with me--since I married some one most near & tenderly beloved a real wanderer from the path of holiness."

Fry's family life intruded into the majority of her journal entries even when away from home and travelling in her Ministry, if only as a comment on letters received or written. [124] The unknown audience that Fry was writing for was drawn into her life completely throughout her journal. In sharp contrast Darby reveals nothing of herself. Her journal records the minutiae of her daily events. Occasionally she commented on grave situations; on 17 September 1779 she remarked that she felt "many discouragements like the weight of the mountains." Darby was referring to the failure of her husband's business. While pregnant and suffering from depression she wrote on 15 January 1780 "tedious days and wearisome nights."

[122] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 31: [123] E.Fry, 1 March 1829, Journal, Fds Hse.Lib. Ms vol.S267

[124] E.Fry, 16 April 1831, Journal, Johnson Matthey

That was as close to any comment on her emotional state that she ever made. Darby never attempted to write a life story nor gave the impression that she had any motive but to keep a journal of her Ministry. All other considerations seem to be secondary as evidenced by her journal entries. Unlike Fry, she may have had no need to confide in a journal nor any desire to use her journal for anything other than a record of her public life. That does beg the question, could the way Darby produced her journal have influenced its content to such an extent as to discourage intimacy? Darby, unlike Fry, did not have her own home and it may have been lack of privacy when she transcribed her notebooks into the old ledgers that dictated their content. What Darby had recorded in her notebooks has been lost to history. All Darby chose to put in her journal were the records of her Meetings and the events concerning them. Darby does comment on her travelling companions and how they travelled which was often hazardous. On 19 August 1793 Darby found the conditions “exercising to Faith and Patience” [125]

Where both journal writers were in full agreement was in their shared commitment to God. Their journals expressed this commitment fully. Whatever happened in their lives, their faith did not suffer. During times of stress they used different language to express themselves but their sentiments were in agreement. It would be misleading to suggest that Darby was unemotional at times of grief or when speaking about God’s benevolence. The following is an example. Samuel Darby Deborah’s husband has just died after a difficult life, plagued with nervous problems. [126] On 1 September 1797 Darby wrote, “felt pangs of separation but mercy and truth had followed us to this day, and desire to drink the cup handed to me in a acceptable manner, believing that the weary are at rest towards evening. --His Precious Remains were committed unto the Silent Grave. May the Lord strengthen me so I finish my days work.” It continues with the same eloquently emotional dialogue and is a rare expression of Darby’s feelings to be found in her journal.

Fry was always expressive in her speech and like Darby she too found expression in an almost prayer-like form at times of distress. On 26 June 1800 after a disagreement with

[125] Labouchere, Deborah Dary, 129: [126] *Ibid*

Joseph Fry, Elizabeth Fry wrote “difficult to keep the heart devoted to things spiritual when it is much in love for it tends the feelings so much to what I believe is sensual & worldly - I felt [+a little+] off centre of truth how difficult strictly to do our duty in every way - Lord indeed narrow is the way & straight is the gate that leadeth unto life eternal.” Both journals are littered with Biblical quotations and the sincerity of both Fry and Darby cannot be doubted. Nevertheless, the journals produced by both women are very different in quality. Darby’s journal was pedestrian in its production when compared with Fry’s. The gulf between them was created by what motivated their production. Fry set out to write a book, Darby did not.

Even so Deborah Darby made a valuable contribution to the diary genre, in providing a useful journal for students of early American history. It also showed the extent of the American and British exchange of visiting ministers, at a time when travel was a dangerous undertaking. Although Darby’s travel details were a little sketchy at times, she does give a feeling of the vastness of the wilderness and the huge distances between settlements that America mostly was at that time. Darby’s journal was useful and interesting, and holds a notable place within the Dissenting journal genre but it could not be called a major journal. What Fry’s journal has that distinguishes it from an interesting or simply unusual example of the genre was its vitality. Fry brings the reader into her world completely, the dull boring days when little happened and the endless unproductive meetings she attended. Fry’s endless descriptions of her physical ailments and those of her family brought them to life. She made all these aspects of her life just as important as the highs and lows by according them just as much attention. The journal from 28 April 1810 for the next four entries Fry had written about her family’s health and her own health was the major topic for the following texts of the journal .

The next consideration was how to deal with this huge wealth of information in the journal books, without compromising its integrity. It was also paramount that the transcription of Fry’s journal text was undertaken with the transcriber maintaining as objective an analysis of the text as possible.

Methodology:

The logistical problems that occurred in making a transcription of Fry's Journal have already been discussed. Obtaining a copy of the full journal, in photocopy form, made the project possible. The next consideration was how to deal with the text, particularly with regard to Fry's dyslexia and its effect on the script. The original intention for dealing with the journal was to transcribe it exactly as Fry had written it, by copying it page by page using her numbering. This very quickly became an unrealistic endeavour. Fry was inconsistent with her text. Some journal entries as in journal book Ms.S255 were written in a sprawling script and others, as with Johnson Matthey, were extremely small. This meant that some of Fry's entries would use a page or more of the A4-paper and others only a few lines. It was finally decided on aesthetic grounds to determine the entries by date and ignore Fry's numbering as it was not always reliable or consistent. The next problem that needed addressing was how to deal with the difficulties that Fry's dyslexia had created. Before these could be addressed or a decision made on how to deal with Fry's idiosyncratic spelling and the numerous erasures to be found throughout the text a resolution to the problem of how to reproduce Fry's text had to be made. When faced with a handwritten text that has not been punctuated or followed any procedure that would denote sentences or paragraphs, the first consideration was how to illustrate this to a reader. The second task was to set out rules to determine how much editorial interference in the text was justified. It was decided that certain editorial practices were essential if anyone was going to read Fry's journal. Understanding what Fry wished to impart to the reader of her journal would be difficult enough, but without some guidance it would be impossible. The desire to maintain the essence of Fry's journal and not compromise its integrity left a few difficult decisions to be made.

Finally, I decided that certain editorial practices would be employed but that strict rules were to be established and editorial intervention was to be kept to a minimum. Fry's punctuation or lack of it was not to be modified in any way. Fry's dashes, her occasional full stops, her parenthesis and speech marks were to remain in the transcription as Fry had originally placed them. That includes capital letters however improbably placed or unsuitable their

application. My decision to maintain Fry's journal as close as possible to her original was taken with the knowledge that the original journal books are ageing and for their protection only a limited number of people would have access to them. With my transcription available anyone who wishes to read them will be able to do so. There were difficult judgements to be made connected to Fry's spelling and about the erasure of words or names in the journal. Where a word or words were erased or difficult to read established editorial practices were followed. It was decided that the British Record Association, *Guidance of Editors*, would be the guide for all the editorial practices undertaken in this transcription [127]

Fry's spelling was copied as she had originally written it, with the exception of words that were difficult to read and that were too faint to decipher from the originals. In these cases, a square bracket was put around a 'best guess', to denote that although it was debatable that was the word, the sentence and experience of Fry's writing suggested it. There are only a few of these throughout the journal as the majority of words could be deciphered by comparing the journal entry with the originals or by using Katharine Fry's journal. Where Fry had crossed out a word but it could still be deciphered it was placed between two square brackets with crosses to indicate it had been erased by Fry or someone else.

This procedure was followed when dealing with whole paragraphs and, at times whole pages. All these are indicated in the transcription and where pages are removed, an Editorial note also signified that, written in 'bold'. Where Fry's text has been erased, a measurement in centimetres is given and is indicated by putting it between two square brackets with crosses [+5cm-+]. As with a single word, any sentence or paragraph that can be transcribed will be, following the above stated rules. If within a lacuna a sentence can be transcribed, the length of the lacuna will be measured and the words will be included within the square brackets of the entry an example, Fry wrote on: 25 February 1798 [+the most beautiful+]

All Fry's brackets are recorded within her journal text where she placed them. A difficulty

[127] The British Association Publication Section, Notes For Guidance of Editors of Record Publications, [London, Report Committee 1946]

could have arisen as Fry used the same bracket symbol when she was indicating a point she wished to make within the text as she used to identify the part of her text she wished to edit. [128]. To avoid confusion and to indicate her editorial interventions I will use parentheses. A 'brace' {-} will be used to identify any parentheses that Fry had used within her text. [129]

Any interjection or editorial intervention by Fry or her daughters will be indicated by *italics*, initialled and dated where possible. [130] One rule normally adhered to by editors is the custom of placing a number to indicate a footnote for a particular part of the text, this is normally placed at the end of the sentence it appears in. This unfortunately was impossible with Fry's journal text. The text did not have normal punctuation and there were no recognisable sentences. The problem was solved by placing the numbers for notes next to what it applied to.

The final editorial intervention that was made and perhaps the most subjective was 'spelling' a word correctly, when, due to Fry's dishevelled writing we could not be sure she had spelt it incorrectly. There are no set rules for dyslexia, only a pattern. When Fry spells the word 'there', so that it could not be clearly defined what letters were used, Fry was given the benefit of the doubt and the correct spelling was given. The justification for this action was that often Fry had spelt the word correctly, as well as incorrectly. This process did not apply to proper names, as they were spelt as Fry had spelt them [eg; Saverry,] and placed inside brackets as 'best guess' when the letters were indistinct. The use of [sic] to indicate that the editor is aware of a spelling error was considered an unnecessary distraction within the text.

The use of a voice-activated computer program assisted the production of the transcription of Fry's journal. Using a keyboard was not an option for me but even if it had been possible, the sheer volume of words that constituted Fry's journal would have made the transcription extremely difficult to produce. Fry's dyslexia caused inconsistency in spelling and this meant the computer did not know how the word should be spelt. It could be programmed to spell

[128] E.Fry, 13 February. 1809 Journal, Fds. Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S261: [129] E.Fry, 11 October. 1804 Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S269:

[130] E.Fry, 1 November. 1840, Journal, Fds. Hse. Lib. Ms.vol. S269]

people as Fry did as that error was consistent. Her spelling of 'where' for 'were', however caused problems as did Fry's incorrect use of 'there' or 'their'. These confusions meant a continual close watch on the text had to be maintained and manual corrections made. The misunderstandings of voice commands were a problem when I was dictating. For example 'read' was often recorded by Dragon System 5 programme as 'red' and 'there' was often incorrectly used. Constant vigilance was required if word accuracy was to be maintained. To counter this problem it was decided to split the journal into blocks of twenty-pages of A4 paper. Each of these blocks was put into a separate file in the computer and could then be scrutinised for errors in the text and corrected. Each book was kept separately and referenced according to the Religious Society of Friends' Library referencing method. It was felt that limiting the number of pages in each section would reduce the chances of losing large quantities of the transcription if there were a computer failure. The transcription also had a backup system of floppy-discs for the same reason. This division did make printing out of each journal a slower process than it would otherwise have been. But the advantage of limiting the number of pages that had to be checked with the originals allowed for the closer scrutiny of each page, as they were easier to handle than larger more cumbersome volumes.

Critique:

The difficulties which readers encounter when they first approach Fry's Journal pale into insignificance once they begin to read Fry's 'life story'. There are visual difficulties created by the numerous corrections, lacunae and editorial interference within the text, although distractions I hope are not enough to deter a reader. Fry also included many prayers and Biblical Scripts in her Journal. They were so much part of her life that her daughters wrote in the introduction of their book that the most difficult part of writing their Memoir was "representing their mother as she was, and can only be truly represented "a Minister of the Society of Friends." [131] They confirm that Fry could not have achieved many of her philanthropic goals without being a Minister as she would not have had the access to the public. The Religious Society of Friends, and through them and their doctrine, her belief in God, was the dominating factor in Fry's life. Her philanthropic works and reforms were a

manifestation of that belief. Fry's Journal tells her life story not always as she may have envisioned it. Fry wanted her Journal used as a source for her 'Christian Life Story', something her daughters achieved for her with their volumes of their book.^[131] However this transcription tells the life story of Elizabeth Fry, the woman, a very different and far more complex person.

[131] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir xii

Appendices:

Elizabeth Fry's Journal from 1797 until her death in 1845:

The two books that follow these appendices are the first two books of forty-eight that comprise Elizabeth Fry's journal. As part of this thesis I have transcribed the complete forty-eight books and notated them. I have addressed the methodology I employed to accomplish this task in the introduction to this thesis. The limitation for the submission for a PhD of 100,000 words and Fry's journal containing more than 700,000 words, only the first two journal books are being presented for examination. The whole transcription of Fry's journal is available for examination as part of this thesis.

The most recent book featuring Elizabeth Fry as the subject was Elizabeth Fry: Britain's Lady on the Five-Pound Note by Dennis Bardens. In this book Bardens has produced a biographical picture of Fry that is identical in sentiment to the one Fry's daughters wrote more than one-hundred and sixty years ago. It suffers from the same biased approach to her character. Bardens called Fry 'an Angel of Mercy', which was a term often applied to Fry when describing her various charitable endeavours. It is however, a term not used in a work of serious academic research. Bardens was a journalist and broadcaster until his death in 2004. He died just as his book on Fry was published. Bardens' book adds little to our understanding of Fry. The publisher of Bardens' Book wrote "He tells the tale of Elizabeth Fry in glowing prose that leaves the reader gripped." It is a rehash of information already available on Fry. Nevertheless, it is a pleasant read and suitable for school children who wish to know about Fry's penal reforms. [132]

The other main published work on Fry only focuses on her indirectly. The Rise of Caring Power: Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler in Britain and the Netherlands by Annemieke Van Drenth and Francisca De Haan. [133] This is a study of the role of women developing and dispensing 'caring power' It discusses the effect 'caring power' had on women in their charitable endeavours, a procedure that began around the 1800's. Caring power according

[132] Dennis Bardens, Elizabeth Fry. Britains Second Lady on the Five-Pound Note, [London, Chandon Publications Ltd. 2004]

[133] Van Drenth and De Haan, [Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1999]

to Van Drenth and De Hann was a process that developed from the historian and philosopher Michel Foucault's concept of pastoral power. [134] It was the influence that gender had on the humanitarian and religious motives that fostered Fry's and Butler's philanthropy. The book argues that women feel a responsibility for their own sex. They can exploit this connection for the good of the women in their care and as a result serve the interests of society as a whole. This book gives a brief biography of Fry. Although of interest as an investigation into the methods, Fry employed to gain the confidence of the women of Newgate, the book does not explain fully what level of 'caring power' was instinctive and how much Fry contrived her approach to the convicts. It does illustrate the change that was taking place in the early 1800's approach to reform. Fry was successful by empathising with the women of Newgate. She exploited their shared experience as a wives and mothers. Her reforms succeeded because she obtained with the women of Newgate's cooperation, according to Van Drenth and De Hann in their book on caring power.

The other publications on Fry over the past twenty years have been booklets and papers. A list of these published in English is in the bibliography. Only three of these papers add new information to the Fry story. The first is the paper by Miles and Huntsman discussing Fry's dyslexia. I have fully discussed this paper in the Introduction of this thesis. I was one of the authors on the other two papers and one of them 'Twix Candle and Lamp' is part of these appendices. I do not think that reviewing any papers with which I have been associated is appropriate.

The most informative biography of Fry since that written by her daughters', is the Rose book written twenty-five years ago Elizabeth Fry: A Biography, Macmillan London Ltd. [1980]. I have used the Rose book as source material for some of my footnotes. Although it was first published twenty-five years ago, it is still one of the most reliable and objective biographies available. Modern academic material on Fry other than that I have already alluded to is sparse. Most books that are available are written using the same primary and secondary sources

[134] Karlis Racevskis; Language and Literature, 29, [1993]

that have already been utilised for their information. I cannot find anything new that adds to our understanding of Fry other than those already indicated. This is why a full transcription of Fry's journal will provide researchers new and comprehensive source of information.

Since writing the above a book by Jean Hatton, Betsy, The dramatic biography of the prison reformer Elizabeth Fry, [Oxford, Monarch Books, 2005] has been published. This book is another missed opportunity by a biographer of Fry to present new information on this remarkable woman. Hatton states she had read all of Fry's journal including the Johnson Matthey book and had used them as source material. This poses the question, why did she not make public previously unpublished facts of Fry's life, that appear throughout Fry's journal? All the information in Betsy can be found in previously published works.

My final criticism of this book comes from its mis-leading statement on Hatton's assertion that Fry was responsible for all the erasures and editorial intervention that appears in the text of her journal. In the introduction of this thesis an explanation as to why we cannot know for certain the author of all the editorial intervention that occurs in Fry's text. Nevertheless we do know that in all probability the choice was between Fry and her daughters, Katharine and Rachel. Both Fry and Katharine have initialled some of their editorial interventions and proof of Katharine's erasures can be found in the introduction to this thesis. Betsy is an interesting and enjoyable book and my only criticism is that once again a commercial writer has missed the opportunity to use their talent to bring to life the real Elizabeth Fry.

There are also two musicals based on incidents in Fry's life. Leslie Simonson produced a play in two acts. I have been unable to get a copy of the script. Nevertheless I have read Alex Davidson and Patrick Jones' Elizabeth of Newgate based on the Harriet Skelton episode. Fry in her journal dated 2 May 1818 gives details of this unfortunate affair. She wrote "My mind has not recovered this matter of Lord Sidmouth's; [Home Secretary] and finding the Bank Directors are also affronted with me, added to my trouble." A misunderstanding between Fry and Lord Sidmouth [Henry Addington] occasioned the circumstance that initiated this entry.

A female prisoner named Harriet Skelton was condemned to death for fraud but Fry wanted her pardoned. Unfortunately, Skelton, was to hang because of Fry's interference. Fry demanded her sentence commuted and by-passed Lord Sidmouth and went directly to the Bank, who was bringing the charge. The above journal entry shows just how angry the authorities were at Fry. By 1 July 1818 the affair was over and Fry wrote in her journal "My prison engagements have gone on well." [135]

Elizabeth Fry: a short Biography:

To help the reader to a greater understanding of Elizabeth Fry's journal, I decided to write a short biography of the salient points in her life. Fry only briefly mentions these events in her journal. [136]

Biography of Elizabeth Fry, nee Gurney [1780 – 1845]

Elizabeth [Betsy] Gurney was born in Magdalen Street, Norwich on 21 May 1780. She was the fourth child of John Gurney [1749-1809], and Catherine Bell [1754-1792]. This couple had twelve children, of whom a boy John [1777-1778] died before Fry was born. By the time of Fry's birth the Quaker movement had split into two. One consisted of a more liberal and a tolerant group called 'Gay Quakers', to which her parents belonged, and a more rigid traditional group, known as 'Plain Quakers', which John Gurney's brothers followed. Richard Gurney of Keswick and Joseph Gurney of the Grove, practiced a more Orthodox form of Quakerism than did Fry's immediate family. [137] Fry's uncle, Joseph Gurney, her father's younger brother, had a particularly strong influence on his niece, Elizabeth Fry.

Joseph Gurney introduced Fry to the Orthodox form of 'Plain' Quakerism. [138] The Plain Quaker ethos demanded that men and women followed certain codes of behaviour. Orthodox principles required all of its followers to wear plain, unadorned dress and to reject any form of entertainment. This included going to the opera or having music in their homes. The other

[135] E.Fry, 1 July 1818, Journal, Fds. Hse. Lib. Ms.vol.S 264

[136] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 335

[137] Hare, The Gurneys, lxx

[138] E.Fry, 14 February 1789, Journal , Fds. Hse. Lib. Ms.vol. S256

faction, known as Gay Quakers, allowed women to wear silk dresses and refused to adhere to the 'Friends' 'peculiarities' as they described them. [139] John and Catherine Gurney mitigated the harsher rules of Quakerism that their ancestors followed. Both loved music and entertaining guests, many of whom were members of other faiths. [140] They encouraged their children to enjoy music and Catherine believed her children should come to religion in their own way. [141]

John and Catherine Gurney shared their home in Magdalen Street with John Gurney's widowed mother, Elizabeth Kett, and her housekeeper, Molly Neale. [142] These old ladies were favourites of the Gurney children and staunch members of the Religious Society of Friends. The marriage of Fry's parents was extremely happy by contemporary accounts. [143] The family enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle and John Gurney was a popular young man. Although not very well educated for a man of his class, he enjoyed the confidence and respect of his peers. [144] His wife Catherine was well educated. She had read her great-grandfather Robert Barclay's, [1648-1690] Thesis Theological, a set of fifteen propositions of the Quaker faith. [144] Catherine Gurney firmly supported the Quaker belief in the equality of men and women before God and the necessity of a good education for her daughters. She set down a curriculum that included Latin, French and maths. [145] Fry did not fully benefit from the excellent education they gave her because of her dyslexia and timid nature. [146] The most comprehensive record we have of Fry's childhood were recorded in her journal on 23 August 1828 and on 2 June 1798, when she recorded her life from the age of fourteen to seventeen. Modern biographers have not investigated Fry's journal and therefore they are not familiar with these entries. Rose, in her biography of Fry, does claim she read all of Fry's journals held at Friends House Library and at Norwich Record Office. Nevertheless, she does not comment on many important elements of Fry's childhood in the journal books. Unfortunately for Rose she was unaware of the Johnson Matthey journal, as she does not give them as a source and any information held in that book was unavailable to her. [147]

[139] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 3

[140] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 18 [141] *Ibid.* 3; [142] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 3

[143] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 8-11. [144] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 2-3

[145] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 5-6; [146] Miles and Huntsman, the stupidity of Elizabeth Fry, 1042-1043; [147] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 206-210

Fry's childhood was generally a happy one as she records in her 'reminiscences' written in Jersey on 31 July 1839 and recorded in her journal Ms. Vol.S255 as an editorial intervention. Fry does admit she was an extremely sensitive child, prone to an over active imagination. [148] Fry praises her mother's forbearance and suggests that had she been treated with a harsher regime, the results could have been disastrous. One of the themes from childhood, to which Fry returned repeatedly in her journal, was her belief that adults should be careful of what they said to children, as the consequences of their words could be detrimental to a child's progress. Fry's other main concern was the amount of narcotics, in the form of laudanum [an opiate] and alcohol given to children for 'medicinal' reasons. [149]

In 1786 John and Catherine Gurney moved their growing family to Earlham Hall, an estate a few miles from Norwich. John Gurney became sufficiently successful in business to be able to rent Earlham Hall from the Bacon Family. He also purchased a woodland adjoining Earlham but was unable to persuade the Bacon family to sell him Earlham Hall. Earlham Hall is now part of the Administration Building of the University of East Anglia. Fry's three youngest brothers were all born at Earlham. Samuel Gurney, [1786-1856] Joseph, [1788-1847] and Daniel, [1791-1880].

Two very important events occurred in Fry's life before her journal began in 1797. On 17 November 1792, Fry's mother Catherine Gurney died. [150] This affected all the children, as Catherine Gurney left her eleven children to the care of her grieving husband John and her sixteen-year-old daughter Catherine. The effect on Fry, as she recounts in the memoir of her childhood, written on 31 July 1839, was catastrophic. She had lost the one person who had continually shown her non-judgemental compassion. [151] Fry also suggests that she had a fear something was very wrong with her health, but her mother died before she could tell her the symptoms. [152] Having lost her mother at such a young age Fry needed someone to

[148] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 5-8

[149] E.Fry, 4 April 1834, Journal. Fry was worried about the criticism of her drinking when out. "I need it more than most to keep well". Fry, had been given alcohol as a child for medicinal reasons. In April 1802 Fry wrote "I sometimes think of leaving off malt liquor and wine, but it appears almost impossible to do that and be well" [23 August 1828, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib.Ms.vol. s.255] [150] Hare, The Gurneys, 34-36, Catharine Gurney wrote "I not yet seventeen—I never again had the joy and glee of youth" [151] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 10, 15. [152] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 9

confide in .This is was one of the reasons she kept her journal. I have discussed Fry's reliance on her journal as a support and confidant in the introduction to this thesis.

After the death of Fry's mother, Fry's relationship with her sisters deteriorated. [153] An entry in the journal dated Earlham 26 August 1806, records Catherine saying to Fry, "that nobody gave her so much pain as I did." This was the first time Fry was made aware of her sister's feelings toward her. [154] Catherine took up her duties as mistress of Earlham Hall and took up the responsibility for her younger siblings.

The second event in Fry's childhood that was to cause her pain was her abortive engagement to James Lloyd. We know James Lloyd was the son of the founder of Lloyds Bank, Charles Lloyd known as the 'Banker.' [155] He was a cousin to Fry's future brother-in-law, Thomas 'Fowel' Buxton. [156] Lloyd was a friend of her brother John. The failure of the affair left her already fragile personality devastated by Lloyds' rejection. In her journal dated 10 July 1799 Fry wrote: "I know what it was to love and not have it returned." She later recorded on hearing of his having been very ill in [no date] July 1798; "I dare say he might be said to have done me hurt in his time." Unfortunately, as previously stated, Fry burnt all her journals covering this period. She furnished very little information on the subject of her aborted relationship in her journal. It is an example of an irritating lacuna in Fry's life. She was sufficiently ill for her father to deem it necessary to send her to London for her health. [157]

When Louisa Gurney wrote these comments in her diary about her sister 'Betsy', it was just before Fry's return to Earlham, after her visit to London. 14 April 1796 Louisa wrote; "I do not know what we shall do when Betsy comes home, for we are all afraid of her now,-- She seems to have no one as a friend." It expressed the doubts her younger sisters had

[153] Hare, The Gurneys, 73; Fry's sister Louisa wrote in her diary dated; 14 April 1796 "I do not know what we shall do when Betsy comes home, for we are all afraid of her now—She seems to have no one as a friend" [154] Ibid 73, Catherine Gurney describes Fry thus, "-her aversion to learning- her natural obstinacy, the only failing in her temper as a child- What in childhood was something close to cunning, ripened into- long-sightedness"

[155] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 379

[156] E.Fry, 5 March 1828, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S 267, [157] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 12

about Betsy's 'illness' and her recovery. Fry and her family used the expression of being in 'a valley' to describe a state of depression or agitation. Fry's journal also records Fry being in a "black medium" when she wishes to express her dark moods. Fry demonstrated the use of this expression in her first journal entry dated only by the month January 1797. Fry opens her journal with a description of how she feels on January 1797; "my mind is in so dark a state, that I see everything through a black medium." [158]

The differing religious influences that the Gurney family was exposed to had come from various sources. Their mother's favourite cousin Margaret 'Peggy' Lindoc had been a Unitarian. [159] The Gurneys' of Earlham were practising Quakers, even if their form of Quakerism was less rigid than that practised by other members of the family. They strictly observed the rules of attending Meeting every Sabbath at Goats Lane Meeting House, near Norwich. [160]

All the Gurney children described having to go to Goats Meeting House on Sundays as 'Diss', a Gurney word for disgusting. They found the Meetings at Goats Lane both dry and boring. If possible, Fry would avoid going, using her health as a reason not to attend. [161] On 4 February 1798 the pattern of Fry's life dramatically changed. Her uncle Joseph of the Grove, persuaded Fry to attend Sunday Meeting at Goats Lane. [162] After she had yet again excused herself on health grounds, [162] Fry's uncle wished her to hear a visiting American preacher who was gaining a reputation for effective prophesying and reluctantly; Fry went. The Meeting was however to affect Fry. The preacher William Savery, [1750-1804] was a charismatic speaker from Chester County, Pennsylvania, in America. Francis R. Taylor described him as a small, rotund man of middle-age. Savery was a married man. [163] On 15 February 1798 Fry wrote in her journal "I may be led away, beware! My feelings are far more risen at thought of seeing him than all the playhouses and gaities in the world."

[158] Fry did not write which date in January she was referring to.

[159] Hare, The Gurneys, 73

[160] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 14

[161] *Ibid.* 17

[162] E. Fry, 4 February 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms. Vol. S.255 [163] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 367

After this initial meeting Fry did have sufficient self realisation to realise that she had confused feelings. Her enthusiasm for Savery's message of faith and her eagerness for this fresh interpretation of Quakerism had led her to confuse the message with the man. On 7 March 1798 Fry wrote "May I never forget the impression William Savery has made on my mind,--I thank God for having sent at least a glimmering of light through him."

The Gurney family had witnessed Betsy's enthusiasms before. Fry mentions in her 'memoir' of her early life that she had shown interest in Deists, Unitarianism and Magnetism all of which she explored and abandoned. The interest which Fry now displayed for Plain Quakerism was felt by the family to be detrimental to their harmony. On 11 October 1798, Fry records in her journal that Catherine and Rachel told her that her plain Quaker principles were upsetting their father and the whole family. [164] The Gurney family was right in its assumption that Fry was profoundly influenced by Savery as he acted as a catalyst for Fry's introduction to a religious life, a life Fry had already expressed her desire for. [165] That August 1797, John Gurney took his seven daughters on a journey into Wales and the North of England. [166] Both he and Catherine 'Kitty' emphasised their desire that Fry should leave her journal at home. [167] This had become an item of contention between Fry and her father, as Fry, seemed to have an obsession about keeping it. John Gurney forbade Fry to keep a journal on this trip. Elizabeth Fry could not obey and for the first time disobeyed a direct instruction from her beloved father. This was the first recorded evidence in her journal of Fry's dependence on her journal. On the 25 July Fry wrote in her journal "This little book is quite a little friend to my heart; it is next to communicating my feelings to another person. I would not but write in it for something." [168]

John Gurney made an important decision while on this trip. He decided to take Fry to visit his cousin Priscilla Hannah Gurney [1757-1828]. [169] Priscilla H. Gurney, was a well-known

[164] E.Fry, 3 August 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol S.255 "I still continue in my belief I shall turn Quaker"

[165] E.Fry, 30 July 1797 Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S 255, "My idea of religion is not for it to unfit us for duties of life, like a nun who leaves them for prayers and thanksgiving." 12 August Journal, 1797, "I do not know if I should soon be rather religious"; 3 August 1797, Journal, "I think I am a Quaker at heart."

[166] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 52-53 [167] E.Fry, 21 July 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.s.255, "I am very sorry to say I am to leave this journal book behind me" [168] E.Fry, 25 July 1798 Journal Fds.Hse.Lib.Ms.Ms.S255 [169][Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 375

Quaker Minister, who had made her home in the Quaker colony at Coalbrookdale. [170] This was the seat of the Darby family and the home of Richard Reynolds [1735-1816]. [171] John Gurney hoped that his sensible and intelligent first cousin Priscilla H.Gurney would be a good influence on Fry. Deborah Darby 1754-1810 had just returned from America when Fry arrived.

This was the late summer of 1798 and Fry was only eighteen when she first met Deborah Darby. The influence of Darby on Fry was on a par with William Savery. This was what Fry wrote in her journal, on September 4 1798, Fry's last full day at Coalbrookdale and Darby spoke to Fry about her being; "a light to the blind; speech to the dumb; and feet to the lame; can it be? She seems as if she thought I was to be a minister of Christ. Can I ever be? If I am obedient, I believe I shall." [172]

Fry left Coalbrookdale the following morning. On her return to Earlham Fry began to date her journal using the Quaker method. This entailed numbering the days of the week and the months of the year. The Quakers used numbers for dating rather than names that were associated with pagan gods. Fry fully adopted this method of dating her journal on 7 April 1799, writing the date for her journal entry as; '7th. 4th. Mo. 1799'. This meant the seventh day of the fourth month 1799. Fry had established a pattern of living that accommodated her desire to follow the principles of plain Quakerism. Her journal gives an insight into the battle that Fry fought with her family and herself to maintain her principles. These included not allowing herself to participate in the family entertainments that were the mainstay of the Gurney family. In Fry's journal for the 4 March 1799 she wrote; "John has come in to ask me to dance in such a kind way,-oh dear me I am now acting clearly differently from them all-as I have this night refused to dance with my eldest brother" It was at this time that Joseph Fry went to stay at Earlham. On seeing Elizabeth this quiet nervous young man was immediately enamoured and made an offer for Elizabeth's hand. [173]

[170] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 249

[171] Ibid. 385

[172] E.Fry, 4 September 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms. Vol. S255

[173] E.Fry, 30 May 1800, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol S259

The Gurney family was at first reluctant to accede to Joseph Fry's wishes as Betsy seemed reluctant and, as a forceful character, her family felt she needed someone more assertive than Joseph Fry as a husband. [174] However, Joseph Fry persisted and eventually the Gurney's saw the advantages of this marriage. Joseph Fry came from a wealthy, plain Quaker family. The Fry family had a thriving tea merchant business at St.Mildred's Court in London and owned the country estate of Plashet, near Essex. [175] Their London house had a business attached which combined their living accomodation with the tea merchants. St.Mildred's Court had a reputation of being an open house to all Quaker visitors who wished to attend the London Yearly Meeting, which visited each May for two weeks.

Elizabeth Gurney married Joseph Fry on Sunday 19 August 1800 at the Meeting House in Goats Lane, near Norwich. [176] The young couple honeymooned in a shooting-box at Hempstead, near Norfolk, owned by Elizabeth Fry's uncle Richard of Keswick. Fry recorded in her journal a feeling of being overwhelmed by the intimacy of married life: "it seems as if I had hardly anything alone -- not even my mind." [177] Fry found her new responsibility as a mistress of a large household extremely difficult to adapt to and her new family found that Fry was distant .[178] Fry had adopted the Quaker mode of addressing people. She no longer used titles but designated everyone as Friend, Thee or Thou. Mr.George Dillwyn for example became Friend Dillwyn. [179] Moreover the young couple were rarely on their own, with clerks living at the premises and with visiting Quakers, like George Dillwyn, staying with them for long periods. All these disruptions began soon after they moved into St. Mildred's Court and added to the strain on Fry. With her natural feelings of inadequacy a pattern of resentment began to overwhelm her. Fry wrote in her journal on 14 December 1800: "I attended both Meetings as usual and as usual I came home flat and discouraged."

[174] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 89

[175] Ibid. 88

[176] Ibid. 33, 72

[177] E.Fry, 23 August 1800, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.Vol. S259

[178] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 42

[179] E.Fry, 7November 1800, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S259,"George Dillwyn came today." Dillwyn was a visiting American Friend.

The demands on Fry's time were extraordinary and she documents them all in her journal. The Fry family was not completely happy with Elizabeth. Joseph expressed his family's view that Fry failed to speak her mind on a visit they took to Hampstead on 14 November 1800, "he thought my manners had too much of the courtier in them."

Fry found during this first year of marriage that she was striving for religion. She found it difficult to reconcile her deeply spiritual needs with her in-law's long established and practical approach to plain Quakerism. Elizabeth Fry began to have feelings during Meeting that she found terrifying. It seemed as God wanted her to do something and she was too frightened to investigate what it might be. [180] Fry records on 3 February 1801: "I am also tried by great fears about what duty may call me to." Fry was convinced by December 1800 that she was pregnant and described her condition as 'in the way' or as 'breadish' as she did on 6 March 1801. Fry's condition engendered a fear that was shared by many women.[181]

This new and potentially dangerous experience added to her already low self esteem. [182] Fry found her new life at St.Mildreds Court a continuous struggle with her in-laws and servants who seemed to resent her replacing William Fry's wife Eliza as mistress of the house. The domestic arrangements did not improve for Fry. Fry wrote in her journal on 29 September 1804 "It does appear to me as if I might become the careworn wife and oppressed mother--my constitution appears delicate." By 1804 Fry had become a mother of three young children, Katharine, [1801-1886] Rachel, [1803-1883?] and John, [1804-1872]. This did not prevent Fry from her duty as she saw it and she continued to be involved with charitable schools. Fry had met Joseph Lancaster and recorded their meeting on 15 May 1801; "I felt a wish that the young man might be preserved in humility." Fry had begun to speak at Meeting, but only when she felt it was her duty. Fry was very shy with strangers and found speaking in public, albeit in an enclosed meeting, very difficult.

[180] E.Fry, 17 November 1800, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol S259. Fry was discouraged by her own lack of unity with Gracechurch Street Meeting. She wrote "time spend in worldly thoughts."

[181] Joan Perkins, Victorian Women, [London, John Murry (Publ.) Ltd. 1993] 72. In 1800 the life expectancy of a women was forty-four years

[182] E.Fry, 30 October 1800, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S256

Elizabeth Fry had been appointed by the Friends of Gracechurch Street Meeting, a visitor to their school and workhouse at Islington in 1805. Fry, frequently went there to see the children and that was just one of the duties she undertook for her local Meeting. On 21 May 1806 Fry records in her journal that while she was out on one of her numerous engagements, Anna Sanderson, an Elder of her Meeting and other Friends, called at Fry's home. Their purpose was to investigate Fry as they "suspected me of delinquency." Fry was naturally very upset but later recorded "a poor child like me -- aught I not rather rejoice in being cared for." This was the first of many serious criticisms Fry was to receive for her perceived abandonment of her family duties, in favour of her causes. [183]

For Fry, 1808 was the start of years of tremendous upheaval. Her journal dated as coming from Mildred's Court, October 1808, records "last 7 day morning, a little before two o'clock he died," [184] Fry was referring to William Storrs Fry [1736-1808], Joseph's father. Fry had nursed her father-in-law for five weeks before his death, Joseph's mother Elizabeth, nee Lambert, [1743-1804] had died at Plashet four years before. The death of William Storrs Fry precipitated another upheaval for Elizabeth, as she and her family were now to live at Plashet in Essex. On 1 November 1809, Elizabeth Fry's beloved father died. This event was to be the catalyst that transformed Fry's life. At her father's funeral on 3 November 1809, Fry gave her first truly public sermon. She described what happened at the burial ground in her Journal; "I remained silent until dearest John began to move away - I felt on my knees and began, not knowing how I should go on with these words, 'Great and marvellous are Thy Works, Lord God Almighty, just and true of all Thy Ways. Thou King of Saints; be pleased to receive our Thanksgiving' - There I seemed to stop, though I thought that I should have had to express thanks on my beloved father's account."

Elizabeth Fry was formally acknowledged as a Minister by Barking Monthly Meeting in March 1811. [185] Fry's public Ministry, as we have seen, was a source of some concern to her

[183] E.Fry, 21 May 1806, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S261

[184] E.Fry did not date this entry by the day.

[185] History of Barking and Ratcliffe Meeting of the Society of Friend with particular reference to the Fry's and Gurney's. [thesis D.Bambridge. Typescript Newham Library]

siblings. Although she refrained from prophesying at Earlham, due to the disapproval of her brothers and sisters, she could not help passing comment on their religious welfare. [186] Fry returned to London, and her journal again became her refuge and the depository for all the soul-searching and her prayers. On 11 November 1809, Fry wrote: "Surrounded with numerous occupations, weak in body and tossed in mind." Between the years 1801 and 1812 Fry had become the mother of eight children, buried her beloved father, had become an acknowledged Minister and had attended the inaugural meeting of The British and Foreign Bible Society.

By 1811 onwards Elizabeth Fry had gained some notoriety both for her Ministry and in her charitable works. [187] It was the knowledge of Fry's genuine Christian concern that brought Stephen Grellet [1773-1855] to her door in 1813. Grellet had just returned from a tour of Newgate Prison. What Grellet had to report was the sorry state of the destitute women and children. He told Fry about the naked babies all crowded into small cells with no heat or food. Fry was immediately galvanised into action and by the afternoon Fry and Anna Buxton were at Newgate. They had organised baby clothes and flannel blankets for the inmates. [188] Fry records some of her first impressions of Newgate in a letter to her young children dated, 13 February 1813: "I have lately been twice to Newgate to see after the poor prisoners who had poor little infants without clothing, or with very little and I think if you saw how small a piece of bread they are each allowed a day you would be very sorry -- We should feel very sad and I could not help thinking, when there, what sorrow and trouble those have who do wrong and they have not the satisfaction and comfort of feeling among all their trials, that they have endeavoured to do their duty. -- we may also hope that if the poor wicked people are really sorry for their faults that He will pardon them for His mercy is very great. I hope, if you should live to grow up, you will endeavour to be very useful and not spend all your time in pleasing yourself -- Farewell my darling children [can] remember the way to be happy is to be good."

[186] E.Fry, 26 August 1808, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms. Vol.S261

[187] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, xx

[188] E.Fry, 15 February 1813, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S263

Fry could do little for the prison cause at that time, due to her many family responsibilities. The following year she gave birth to her ninth child Louisa [1814-1896]. Then the family had to face the devastating loss of Fry's namesake Betsy [1811-1815] who died on 23 November 1815 after a very short illness. Fry at this time was pregnant with her tenth child Samuel Gurney [1816-1884], known as Gurney in the family to avoid confusion with his uncle.

By 1817, Elizabeth and eleven other Quakers had formed the Association for the Improvement of Female Prisoners of Newgate. The Association succeeded in forming a school and Fry wrote in her journal on 24 February 1817: "they have lately occupied me in forming a school in Newgate for the children of the poor prisoners as well as young criminals, which has brought much peace and satisfaction with it."

The end of the year found Fry and her brother, Joseph John Gurney, visiting the North of England and Scotland. They visited many prisons on their journey and Joseph published their findings on his return. [189] During this period of high activity in the public sphere Fry was finding the difficulties of her private life increasingly hard to reconcile with the demands made upon her. A journal entry dated July 1818 stated "yet I believe many Friends have great fears for me and mine and some, not Friends do not scruple to spread evil reports, as if vanity and political motives led me to neglect a large family. I desire patiently to bear it all, but the very critical view that is taken of my beloved children, grieves me much." Fry had the difficult task of maintaining an outward show of prosperity that was essential if the public was to maintain confidence in Fry's Bank. At the same time she tried to counter the criticism levelled against her that she had sent her children away so that she could continue her Ministry and enhance her public profile.

Over the following years the criticism became prolific and was vitriolic at times, which led to the public becoming aware of the accusations made against Fry of neglect. [190]

[189] Joseph J. Gurney, Notes on a visit to some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England in the company of Elizabeth Fry, [Edinburgh, Archibald Constable and Co. 1819]

[190] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 195

Elizabeth Fry's detractors were given a boost when it became public knowledge that the Fry and Overend Bank was to declare bankruptcy. The financial difficulties that Fry and her family had been subjected to in 1816/17 were unknown outside the family. The final crash on the 28 November 1828 could not be hidden. The Gurneys' were no longer prepared to support the Fry and Overend Bank under the incompetent management of William Fry [1768-1858]. [191]

Joseph Fry was disowned by the Society for his bankruptcy on 23 March 1829. After the Bank failed, an unfortunate rumour began to circulate that Fry had used the funds from the family bank to fund her many charities and an extravagant lifestyle. Added to this slander was the suggestion that funds deposited with the Fry and Overend Bank from the Newgate Association were misappropriated. On the Sunday following the Bank's closure Fry attended Meeting as usual. How her family felt was not recorded, but her simple declaration of faith caused many members to weep with her.

Many letters of sympathy were also sent by well wishers. [192] By 1829 Fry was refused hospitality by Quakers in Sussex when she requested to accompany her brother Joseph John Gurney on his 'concern' in that part of the country. In an entry 18 November 1829 Fry expressed her severe disappointment at this treatment from those, "who begged for my presence recently." Many former friends from her own Meeting were quick to criticise her. A schism had spread from America and caused a rift between some members of Fry's meeting. Fry preached a love and forgiveness-based interpretation of the scriptures. The system being introduced from America was based on Calvinistic teachings of people being born evil and had to earn salvation. [193]

This biography of Fry's first fifty years is intended to clarify some of the changes that occurred in Fry's life. Her meetings with Savery and Darby encouraged her involvement

[191] E.Fry, 15 November 1828, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib. Ms.vol.S267, [192] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 35-37, [193] E.Fry, 5 June 1838, Fds.HseLib. Ms.vol.S268, Fry comments on the disharmony between herself and S.Grubb and A.Jones two elders of Frys' Meeting about her testimony which was based on love and forgiveness. An explanation of this schism can be found in Rufus M. Jones, The Quakers in the American colonies, [London, Macmillan and Co. 1923]

in Quakerism. That led to her public Ministry and travelling on the Continent.

For the last fifteen years of Fry's life, 1830 onwards, her health and her family's health dominated Fry's journal. All Fry's journeys abroad were well documented in her various journal books. The tragic deaths of family members are recorded in some detail as are all family visits and births. The content pages contain lists of all the good and bad incidents that happen to Fry's family. In May 1837 Joseph Fry was reinstated into The Religious Society of Friends to the great relief and joy of Elizabeth. Queen Victoria succeeded to the throne in June of that year. Fry had met her when she was Princess Victoria in May 1831. [194]

By 1838 Fry had recorded in her journal on 24 December that Joseph had often spoken at Meetings. That was a departure from Joseph's earlier stance. On 10 June 1837 Fry wrote in her journal "this morning my dearest husband expressed his deep feeling at my constant engagements-I deeply felt it - for I make a point of always dining at home and spending evening and morning with him and my family, yet my mornings are much occupied by public and relative duties-ministerial, children, brothers and sisters and their children and others in illness and sorrow." This comment was unusual as Joseph rarely criticised his wife.

In 1841 Fry inaugurated the Institution of Nursing Sisters, after Penal reform, Fry's most acknowledged work of reform. [195] Although Fry's health had deteriorated by 1843 she insisted on making another visit to France with her brother Joseph. [196] The final months of Fry's life were well documented by all her biographers. Her daughters, Fry and Cresswell, give a moving and detailed account of her final month.[197] Elizabeth Fry died on 13 October 1845 at Ramsgate and was removed to the Friends Burying-ground at Barking.

[194] Fry had recorded her impressions of the young Queen in detail, but Victoria had only acknowledged her presence according to the archives at Windsor Castle.

[195] Hunstman, Bruin and Holtum, Twix Candle, 351-380 Part of appendices;

[196] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 468;

[197] Ibid. 520-536

Biographies:

This section contains a genealogy of the members of the Fry and Gurney families. Some brief biographical notes on the people who influenced Fry most and are mentioned in her journal. The main sources for the following lists of characters are; Katharine Fry and Rachel Cresswell, Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, [Montclair, New Jersey, Patterson Smith, 1974] and Rachel Labouchere, Deborah Darby of Coalbrookdale 1754-1810, [York, William Sessions Ltd. 1993]

The Family of Joseph Fry:

William Storrs Fry 1736-1808 of Plashet House East Ham -m- Elizabeth Lambert, 1743-1804 of Soul, Norfolk

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----- William Storrs Fry [1743-1804] - m - Elizabeth Bowzer ----- Thomas Fry [1772-1779] -----

Joseph Fry [1777-1861] - m - Elizabeth Gurney [1780 - 1845] - Elizabeth {Eliza} Fry, [1779-1844] unmarried

|

Katharine [1801 -1886] — unmarried	Rachel [1803 - 1888] -m- Francis Cresswell 1821	John [1804 -1872] -m - Rachel Reynolds 1825	William [1806-1844] -m- Julie Pelly 1832

Richenda [1808-1884] -m- Foster Reynolds 1828	Joseph [1809-1896] -m- Alice Partridge 1834	Elizabeth [1811-1815] (Betsy)	Hannah [1818-?] -m- Champian Streatfield 1832

Louisa [1814 -1896] -m- Raymond Pelly 1835	Samuel (Gurney) [1816 - 1882] -m- Sophia Pinkerton 1838	Daniel (Harry) [1822 - 1892] -m- Lucy Sheppard 1845

The Gurney Family

John Gurney [1716-1770] – married - Elizabeth Kett [? – 1788] of Norwich

|

Richard [1743-1810]	John [1749-1809] – m – Catherine Bell [1754-1792]	Rachel [1750-?]	Joseph [1757-1830]

L

Catherine (Kitty) [1776–1850] unmarried	John [1777–1778]	Rachel [1778–1827] unmarried	Elizabeth (Betsy) [1780 1845] -m- Joseph Fry [1777-1861]

John [1781 –1814] -m- Elizabeth Gurney	Richenda [1782 –1855] -m- Francis Cunningham	Hannah [1783-1872] -m-Thomas (Fowell) Buxton	Louisa [1784–1836] -m- Samuel Hoare

L			
Priscilla [1785 –1821] Unmarried	Samuel [1786-1856] -m- Lucy Sheppard	Joseph John [1788-1847] - m- 1. Jane Birkbeck 2. Mary Fowler 3. Eliza Kirkbride	Daniel [1791 –1880] -m- Lady Harriet Hay

The following biographies are of people who had the greatest influence on Fry and are named in her journal.

William Savery [1750-1804]:

Savery was a Master Tanner from Philadelphia. He was married to Sarah Evans in 1778 and began preaching as a Minister the same year. He sailed from America to Europe in 1796 and although he visited Scotland, Ireland and Wales on that trip, and even attended London Yearly Meeting, he did not visit Norwich and meet Elizabeth Fry until 4 February 1798. Savery returned to America at the end of 1798 and was forced to remain there, due to his ill health. Despite his failing health due to dropsy Savery continued to work for the indigenous Indians and advocated the abolition of slavery until his death in 1804. [198]

Deborah Darby nee Barnard [1754 -1810]

Darby was born on 25 August 1754, the second daughter of John Barnard, a tanner of Uppertorpe. Darby, an influential and much travelled Quaker Minister, first met Fry at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire. Elizabeth Fry was visiting her father's cousin Priscilla Hannah Gurney a Quaker Minister who was staying at the Quaker settlement at Coalbrookdale. Coalbrookdale was part owned by Samuel Darby, the father of Deborah's husband, Samuel [1755-1796] and Richard and Rebecca Reynolds, Samuel's half brother and his wife. They kept an open house at their home 'Dale House', for visiting Quakers or any who wished to stay like Priscilla H.Gurney.

Deborah Darby kept a diary from 1779 until her death at the age of fifty-six on 14 February 1810. Of her meeting with Fry, Darby, who had just returned from a ministering visit to America, recorded in her diary dated 29 August through to 19 September 1798, "The day in Week Day meeting dear Rebecca Young and myself had some counsel to hand to a visited state - in the evening Elizabeth Gurney from Norwich called upon us - to whom I ministered - she appears to be under best notice." It was at this time that Deborah Darby told Elizabeth Fry she would be, "light to the blind, speech to the dumb and feet to the lame." [199]

[198] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 387; [199] *Ibid.* xxii

Stephen Grellet [1775 –1855] (Etienne de Grellet du Mabilier)

Grellet came from a wealthy, French Catholic family. He was the third son of Gabriel Marc-Antoine and Susanne de Grellet, nee de Senamaud. His parents, Stephen and his brothers, Joseph and Pierre were forced to leave France because of the French Revolution. Stephen was in his seventeenth year. By 1795, Stephen and his brother Joseph were in America. The rest of his family had stayed behind to run their family business from Holland. They went to Philadelphia where they heard Deborah Darby speak. Grellet's brother Joseph returned to New York and Stephen stayed and earned his living teaching French. William Savery, Rebecca Young and Samuel Emlen welcomed Grellet into their Meeting and he joined The Religious Society of Friends in 1796 and was recorded as a minister in 1798.

By 1812 he was in England ministering to the poor. In 1813 he visited Newgate Prison where the suffering of the women and children moved him. Because of his visit to Newgate, Grellet went to see Elizabeth Fry, he explained what he had seen and urged her to help. Grellet knew Fry from the London Meeting and her growing reputation as a philanthropist. As history records, this visit was to precipitate a life long commitment by Fry, to penal reform. After many years Stephen Grellet returned to America in 1835 and lived in Burlington, New Jersey until his death in 1855. [200]

Priscilla Hannah Gurney [1757-1828]

Priscilla H.Gurney was a first cousin to Fry's mother as their mothers were the daughters of David Barclay. John Gurney, Fry's father, was also a first cousin as their fathers were brothers. Fry's mother Catherine Bell and Christiana Gurney, were the daughters of David Barclay's second marriage to Priscilla Freame. Although brought up as a Friend, she left the Society at the age of nineteen for the Church of England but returned after a few years. Priscilla Hannah Gurney left her mother and sister Christiana to live at Coalbrookdale in 1790. She stayed as a guest of Richard and Rebecca Reynolds until 1804 when she returned to Bath. Priscilla H.Gurney travelled in the Ministry and became well known among Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic. Katharine Fry and Rachel Cresswell in their book,

[200] Labochere, Deborah Darby, 373

'Memoir', describe Priscilla H. Gurney as "exactly the sort of person to attract the young; she possessed singular beauty and elegance of manner, a figure small, but perfect, her eyes of great brilliancy and expression. [201] She was of the old school, and tinged with its forms and dignities; her costume partook of this, and her long retention of the black hood, gave much character to her appearance. She early renounced the world and its fascinations,--and found a congenial retreat for many years at Colebrookdale." [202]

The influence of this visit upon Elizabeth was very powerful. A place more likely to interest her and people more suited to her state of mind could not have been found than Colebrookdale and the residents there.

On 4 February 1798 the first meetings between Fry and Savery took place and later that year on the 3-4 September 1798 Fry met Deborah Darby and Fry's cousin Priscilla Hannah Gurney. These meetings could not have been more fortunate from the point of view of Fry and her desire to be a committed Quaker. Elizabeth 'Betsy Gurney' Fry could not have been more receptive to a religious commitment. Her journal entry for Monday June 1798; "I am at this present time in an odd state; I am like a ship put out to sea without a pilot I feel my heart and mind so overburdened, I want someone to lean upon -- I do think there is something perfect from which all good flows." On 12 August 1798 Fry wrote; "I do not know if I shall not soon be rather religious, because I have thought lately, what a support it is through life, it seems so delightful to depend upon a superior power, for all that is good." [203]

[201] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 53 ;

[202] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, 375

[203] E.Fry, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms. Vol.S256

A list of biographies of Fry since 1995.

The following list comprises of books that deal with Fry and her life as the primary theme.

1995 : Anne Summers, "Elizabeth Fry and Mid-Nineteenth Century Reform" ClioMedica.34
[1995] 83-101

1998: Richard Huntsman, Elizabeth Fry: Quaker and Prison Reformer [Norfolk, Larks Press, 1998]

1999: Annemieke van Drenth & Francisca de Hann, The Rise of Caring Power, Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler in Britain and the Netherlands. [Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press 1999]

2001: Alec Davidson, Book and Lyrics, Patrick Jones, Music, Elizabeth of Newgate, A Play, two acts; [Exeter, Phoenix Theatre, Friends Provident, 2001] Quaker Youth Theatre

2002: R.G.Huntsman, Mary Bruin and Deborah Holttum, Twix Candle and Lamp, [London, Medical History, 46: 2002] 351-380

R.G.Huntsman, Mary Bruin and Deborah Holttum, "Light before the Dawn: Naval Nursing and Medical Care during the Crimean War" J.Royal Naval Medical Services, 88.1 [2002] 5-17

2004: Dennis Bardens, Elizabeth Fry, Britains Second Lady on the Five-Pound Note. [London, Chanadon Publications Ltd. 2004]

2005: Jean Hatton, Betsy, The dramatic biography of prison reformer Elizabeth Fry, [Oxford, Monarch Books, 2005]

Published Works by Elizabeth Fry and Joseph John Gurney:

1819: Joseph John Gurney, Notes on a Visit made to some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, in the company of Elizabeth Fry. [London, Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd., 1819]

1827: Joseph John Gurney, Report Addressed to the Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Respecting Their Late Visit to That Country [London, 1827]

1827: Observations on the Visiting Superintending and Government of Female Prisoners [London and Norwich, 1827]

1836: Joseph John Gurney, Sermons and Prayers by Joseph John Gurney Esq. and Mrs. Elizabeth Fry. [Printed from Notes taken in shorthand, London 1836]

1839: Text for Every Day in the year, Principally Practical and Devotional. Selected by Elizabeth Fry, [London, 1839]

1840: Hints on the Advantages and Duties of Ladies Committee's Who Visit Prisons [London 1840]

Glossary of Quaker Terms:^[204]

Quaker - A member of The Religious Society of Friends.

Friend - A Quaker.

Plain Quaker - A member of the Society of Friends who practices an Orthodox version of Quakerism. They adhere strictly to the fundamental 'Testimonies' of their faith.

Testimonies - Code of practice, conduct and dress set down by George Fox and the Elders of the Society.

Morning /Afternoon Meeting - A meeting for worship and any other business that could arise that would effect the local or national membership.

Women's meeting - [1673-1901], The Women's and Men's meetings were held separately, but they did bring any concerns to each others meetings. From 1697 Women Friends were invited to send a representative to the **Men's Morning Meeting** - where they oversaw the work of ministers in and around London. They also supervised all Quaker publications and were responsible for granting certificates for ministers who wished to travel in the service of Friends.

Quarterly Meeting [QM] - Originally a gathering of Monthly Meetings based in English counties.

Meeting of Suffering - These were originally designed to assist Friends who had been persecuted and families distressed by members' imprisonment. After the Toleration Act of 1689 when Dissidents were relieved of the burden of prosecution for practising their faith, the meeting evolved and began to address the social problems or hardships of its membership.

Y.M [Yearly Meeting] - This referred to the London Yearly Meeting; it incorporated Meetings from Wales, Ireland, Scotland and accredited visitors from overseas.

Elders - These were members with a special responsibility for the welfare of the members.

Ministers - These were members who were recognised as being compelled to speak by the 'Inner Light of the Holy Spirit' at the normally silent meetings of worship. If the member continued to feel this compulsion, he or she was usually recorded as a minister.

[204] Labouchere, Deborah Darby, ix: Steven Allott, Lindey Murry 1745 -1821, quaker Grammarian, [York, Sessions Books Trust 1991]

The Inner Light - The Religious Society of Friends [Quakers] believed that God would come into an individual and give him / her guidance if they worshipped in silence. The Quakers believed when God wished a certain member to give guidance to the meeting He would move them to speak aloud.

An Opportunity - a member is moved to minister at Meeting or at any gathering, a dinner party for example.

Concern or Liberation - The certificate of release would be given by the Monthly Meeting to an individual who felt a compulsive calling to minister away from their usual Meeting. If this compulsion called them abroad, it would have to be approved by the Quarterly Meeting and finally by the Yearly Meeting. At the end of the visit the certificate would be returned.

Concerned Friends - These were members who were encouraged to visit other members and give guidance and help where they found need or suspected need. An example of this type of concern found Elizabeth Fry on the 5th Mo 1806 being visited by Anna Sanderson and other members of Gracechurch Street Meeting to ascertain if Fry was keeping a properly run Quaker household. As they were keen to see if all her outside duties caused her neglect to her family.

Select Meetings - Meetings held to discuss local issues, membership problems etc. After 1876, these meetings were held specifically to discuss any perceived ministerial oversight. They were normally only attended by Elders and Ministers.

Business Meetings - These meetings never voted but relied upon a consensus when dealing with considerations of Christian discipleship, spiritual or of a practical nature.

Ministry - Quakers who were accepted as vocal ministers and recorded as such were called 'Public Friends'.

Public Meetings - Meetings held in a hall or meeting house that were attended by Quakers and non-Quakers.

First Day - The Society of Friends would not use the names of pagan gods for their calendar. Sunday became First day etc. and they used First month Second month etc. Fry adopted this system when she became a plain Quaker.

Discipline - The Books of Discipline, the religious teachings and guidelines for living set out by Quakers.

Meetings of Discipline - Fry took part in many of these. The main purpose was the business of the Society, often matters of 'marrying out' or 'disownment'.

Marrying Out - A member of the Religious Society of Friends who married either outside of the Society or married a close relative, which was prohibited by the Society, and were expelled. This sanction was known as disownment. This was the case of Fry's brother John Gurney, who married his first cousin, Elizabeth of Keswick.

Disownment - This was a bitter sanction for many Quaker families. Fry's husband Joseph was disowned as a delinquent when he was declared bankrupt. Many of Fry's children and her siblings were disowned for marrying out of the Society. Other reasons for 'disownment' could be poor attendance at Meetings, drunkenness, joining the army etc. and even for attending a wedding formalised by a priest.

Reinstatement - Was possible in time for those who continued to attend Meetings and were rehabilitated in the eyes of their Meeting.

Gurney Family Words:

Nooning - luncheon or other meal taken at twelve, mid-day.

Dis./ Diss - stood for disgusting, normally used by the Gurney children to describe the Goats Lane Meeting, they attended each week.

In a valley - A depressed or agitated state of mind.

Mump – sulk

In the Way / Breeding or Breadyish - Fry was referring to her being pregnant.

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III.1 1Ms. 255S

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The Diaries Of Elizabeth Fry 1797 - 1845

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Year: 1797

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Volume: 1

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From:

The Library Of The Religious Society Of Friends London

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Tape 1 Book1
1.Vol. Ms.S255

{Extracts from E Gurney's journal written June 1797- [1] with some small alterations of [+small+] word [+&+] Living at the time with little if any religious belief E.F. }[2]

Monday

" I am at this present in an odd state I am like a ship put out to sea without a pilot" [3] I feel my mind & heart so over burdened I want someone to lean upon -- written on a bright summer's morning -- Is there not a ray of perfection amidst the sweets of this morning? I do think there is something perfect from which all good flows ----

June 18th

How little dost thou know thyself! when have I seen my own weakness more than this afternoon? I have been jealous, angry hurt & vexed only for a trifle --

19

I am in an unsettled state, I do not know what is come or what is coming to me my mind seems changing ----

20

If I have long to live in this world may I bare misfortunes with fortitude, do what I can to alleviate the sorrows of others -- exert what power I have to increase happiness, try to govern my passions by reason and strictly adhere to what I think right -- *{how little did I know at this time how this work was to be done & how remarkably I daily experienced that without religious principle I neither could find a resting place here nor power to become what I saw was desirable --}* note EF. 3rd Mo 1810 [4]

Jan ry 1797

my mind is in so dark a state that I see every thing through a black [+a +] medium.^[5] *I think at this time it might be said the light shined in darkness & the darkness comprehended it not*
-- note E.F 3d Mo 1810

April 1797

Why do I wish so much for the prince ^[6] to come pride &&& is the cause -- Do such feelings hurt my mind they may not in this instance but if once given way to they are difficult to overcome -- How am I to overcome them? *I proposed differant ways to myself but I did not then know where to look for help* -- note E.F

April 1797

Without passions of any kind how different I should be I would not give them up but I should like to have them under subjection but it appears to me as I feel them impossible to govern them my mind is not strong enough as I at times think they do no hurt to others - But am I sure it will hurt no one? but I believe by not governing myself in little things I may by degrees become a dispicable character and a curse to society therefore my doing wrong is of consiquence to others as well as my self ---" As the beams of the sun irradiate the earth & yet remain where they were so it is in some proportion with an holy mind that illustrates all our actions & yet it adheres to its original" Senicas morrals ^[7] " There is not in the scale of nature a more inseparable connection of cause and effect than in the case of happyness & virtue nor any thing that more naturally produces the one, or more necessarily presupposes the other, for what is it to be happy, but for a man to content himself with his lot in a chierful & quiet resignation to the appointments of God? all the actions of our lives aught to be governed with respect to good & evil and it is only reason that distinguishes by which reason we are in such a manner influenced, as if a ray of the Divinety were dipt in a mortal body, & that is the perfection of mankind" --- *What is here called reason I believe is indeed the spirit of truth & truly a ray of the devine nature* -- note E.F 3rd Mo 1810

April 25 1797

I feel by experience how much entering into the world hurts me worldly company think materially injures it excites a false stimulus such a love of pomp, pride, vanity, jealousy & ambition it leads to think about dress & such trifles & when out [+it+] of it we fly to novels scandal or something of that kind for entertainment -- I have lately been led away a good deal by worldly passions by what I have felt I can easily imagine how soon I should be quite led away ---

June 1797

Ed.Note: June is recorded here by Fry

I at this time see every thing darkly, I can comprehend nothing. all seems to me folly -- I doubt upon every thing ---- much as I admired good & I know the nature of evil yet it appears from other remarks as if I had little if any religious belief -- It was what I wanted note E.F

April 29th -- May 1st

I met the prince [8] It shew me the folly of the world. My mind feels very flat after this storm of pleasure [9]

May 7th

This world is like a plain in the vallies & mountains we are mostly going upon flat ground but we sometimes fall into the valley of sorrow^[10] and now & then rise to the mountains of bliss when we look down from the mountains flat ground appears a valley so are our feelings when they have been much risen & return again to common life but on the contrary upon coming out of the valley of pain & sorrow the blessings we commonly enjoy appear doubly valuable & the flat ground is then to us the mountainous country -- Which character is happiest the one that feels these changes much or the one that does not? It depends upon whether joy or sorrow be oftenest our portion? If joy the feeling mind enjoys most if sorrow the unfeeling ---- [11]

May 14

I feel too much in despair about myself to think I shall ever mend -- I can not bare any thing in myself

15

I was in despair last night my feelings were raised and not satisfied, I wanted to be better [+ 22cm -+]

16

There is a sort of luxury in giving way to the feelings I love to feel for the sorrows of others to pour wine and oil into the wounds of the afflicted there is a luxury in feeling the heart glow whether it be with joy or sorrow I think the differant times of life may well be compared to the seasons first we are in the spring only buds are to be seen next our characters are blown and it is summer, automn follows & there are then many remains of summer & beautiful ones too there also springs the best of fruit from the summer flowers -- winter must come it will follow in its course there is not much more pleasure then than in collecting a few solitary berries & playing with the snow & the ice -- I like to think of every thing to look at mankind I love to look through nature up to nature's God I have no more religion than that & that little I have I am not the least dovatinal but when I admire the beauties of nature I cannot help thinking of the source from whence such beauties flow I feel it a support I believe firmly all is guided for the best by an invisible power therefore I do not fear the evils of life so much I love to feel good [12] -- I do what I can to be kind to every body I have many faults which I hope in time to overcome --

18

Most likely about a hundred years from this time neither one person nor thing that has life will be alive & what is still more wonderful that all should be so continually changing almost without our observation -- [13]

Monday May 21st 1797

I am seventeen to day am I a happyer or better creature than I was this time twelvemonth?
 [14] I know I am happyer I think I am better I hope I shall be much better this day year than I
 am now I hope to be quite an altered person -- to have more knowledge to have my mind in
 [+better+] greater order & my heart too that wants to be put in order as much if not more
 than any part of me it is in such a fly away [+5cm+] state but I think if ever it was settled
on one object it would never no never fly away any more it would rest quietly & happily on
 the heart that was open to receive it it will then be most constant it is not my fault it now flies
 away it is owing to circumstances [+1-2cm - I was sick of love & know not who I loved I -- I
 believe I may say through devine mercy I have found what I wanted +] -- [+who it was that I
 wanted & loved I believe no less than my saviour who granted a humble hope &
 dependance on the almighty through the influence of his blessed spirit -- saved christ jesus
 our Lord -- may it indeed be as I expressed then may it never no never fly away any more
 but more & more singly simply & purely rest on trust to & depend upon this almighty &
 never failing friend. note E.F 3d Mo 1810 [15] [+36cm- of a saviour-- my marriage-+] *I was
 sick of love & knew not who I loved who my heart panted after? I believe I may say through
 adorable mercy I found him who my soul loved who I may say I desire to be my all in all
 who has been a merciful saviour from the state I then was in, may nothing be ever
 permitted to seperate me from the love of God through christ Jesus our Lord that "may I
never no never fly away any more" note E.F*

22

Few things are more difficult than really to know ourselves we are apt to imagine
 we do but I believe we see ourselves as through a glass darkly -- I think I know my own
 follies better than ever & that is a great step towards amendment

24th

Katherine & Rachel are such examples to me [+in+] that they are like the stars that elumine

my course [16] -- We had at this time many trials indeed " every white will have its black & every sweet its sourer" This found the happy Earham girls in an untimely hour[17]

29

After much consideration I will give up my pleasure for my duty & do what I can to make my father happy & to prevent his going with sorrow to the grave

30

It is often a great comfort to me that life is short & soon passes away yet it is certainly a pleasure or blessing to exist & I think I have now no reason to wish to die I am so well but I must own with ill-health as I used to have life is a burden perhaps I now think worse of it than I did when I had it for the imagination increases evils at a distance as it does every thing else [18] I was supported through it whilst it lasted though I was very unhappy I could not call myself a miserable being Ill health is certainly a deprivation of the powers of life we do but half live when ill. - My fate is guided by an all wise and virtuous directer I shall not be ill unless it is right I should be so

[+August+] July 6th 1797 [19]

We cannot look into the book of fate which is a happiness for we can bear misfortunes when they come but if we knew of them before hand they would darken the path of life -- Things are ordered as they should be every thing is incomprehensible ---

7

I have seen several things in myself & others I never before remarked but I have not tryed to improve myself I have given way to my passions & let them have command over me I have known my faults & not corrected them & now I am determined I will once more try with redoubled ardour to overcome my wicked inclinations - I must not flirt - I must not ever be out of temper with the children, I must not contradict without a cause I must not mump [20] when they are liked & I am

not I must not allow myself to be angry. I must not exaggerate or tell lies which I am inclined to do, I must not give way to luxury of body, I must not be idle in mind I must try to give way to every good feeling & overcome every bad -- I will see what I can do if I had but perceiverance I could do all that I wish -- I will try I have lately been too satirical so as sometimes to hurt remember it is always a fault to hurt others -- I have the oddest feeling when I do as I think right I always feel so silly I wonder why! I feel good as I did when little - - I suppose the reason is the Devil is so generally within me that when he is out he is affronted & makes me feel as silly as he can but I will overcome thee friend {if I can that is} do but try when I feel ill I must not alarm myself but be as quiet as I can for I am sure nothing is so good for nervous complaints

8

a much better day though many faults --

10

Some poor poeple were here I do not think I gave them what I did with a good heart. [21] I am inclined to give a way but for a week past owing to not having much money I have been mean & extravigant. Shameful! whilst I live may I be generous it is in my nature & I will not overcome so good a feeling I am inclined to be extravigant & that leads to meanness for those who will throw away a good deal are apt to mind giving a little [21]

11

I am in a most idle mind & inclined to have an indolent dissipated day but I will try to overcome it & see how far I can I am well - O most inestimable of comforts -- happy, happy me to be so well how good how virtuous I ought to be may what I have suffered be a lesson to me to feel for those who are ill & to endeavour to alleviate their sorrows as far as lays in my power let it teach me never to forget the blessings I enjoy I ought never to be unhappy - look back to this time last year how ill I was how miserable yet I was supported through it

God will support through the suffering he inflicts if I were devotional I could fall on my knees & be most grateful for the blessings I enjoy a good father one whom I dearly love -- sisters formed after my own heart, friends whom I admire & good health which gives a relish to all -- company to dinner I must beware of not being a flirt it is an abominable character I hope I shall never be one & yet I fear I am one now a little-be careful not to talk at random beware & see how well I can get through this day without one foolish action. If I do pass this day without a foolish action it is the first I ever passed so if I pass a day with only a few foolish actions I may think it a good one --

19

our principles are too apt to come round to what we wish them to be -- I do love my father from the very bottom of my heart I would do anything to make him happy -- Catherine is virtuous benevolent & sometimes wise I do not know the person who is often so

23rd

I am at this time sunk at heart I do not know why, but I am so low, so uncomfortable --

25

This book is quite little friend to my heart, it is next to communicating [+these+] my feelings to another person. I would not but write it for something for it is most comfortable to read it over & see the differant workings of my heart & soul [22]

27

I have been thinking I am now in a most uncertain state I shall either turn out a flirting worldly woman or I may be a virtuous interesting woman. may I never be one & may I be the other but I fear for myself inexpressably --- lately I have loved the world too well - I will I must as one of the seven sisters be good & let my heart glow with the warmth of enthusiasm [23]

28

I had a quarrel with two I love [24] for a few minutes we were all wrong but it was over in a little time & then it was really charming for after I felt my heart bound towards them with transport -- I am now in the state of Hercules when pleasure & virtue each presented their charm to him for him to take his choice which he would follow -- Do I not hurt myself by setting my mind on trifles such as dress, show & several ideas that enervate & take the heart off what is right? I think I might hit the proper medium trying to escape the enthusiasm of some & yet be very vertuous & be an independant being look more to my own good opinion than that of others --

30

Pride & vanity are too much the incentives to most of the actions of men they produce a love of admiration & in thinking of the opinion of others we are too apt to forget the monitor within -- We should first look to ourselves & try to make ourselves virtuous & then pleasing. Those who are really virtuous not only do themselves good but they add to the good of all [+every person+] all have a portion intrusted to them of the general good & those who cherish & preserve it are blessings to society at large & those who do not become a curse. It is wonderfully ordered how in acting for our own good we promote the good of others -- my idea of religion is not for it to unfit us for the duties of life like a nun who leaves it for prayer & thanksgiving but I think it should stimulate & capassitate us to perform these duties properly -- Seeing my father low this evening I have done all I can to make him comfortable. I feel it one of my first duties -- I hope he will always find in me a most true friend & affectionate daughter [25] ---

Earlham August 1st

I have done little to day I am so very idle instead of improving I fear I go back I think I may improve being so young but I also think there is every chance of my disimproving. My inclinations lead me to be an idle flirting, worldly, feeling girl I see what would be acting right I have neither activity nor perceiverance in what I think right -- I am like one setting out

on a journey if I set out in the wrong road & do not try to recover the right one before I have gone far I shall most likely loose my way for ever & every step I take the more difficult shall I find it to return therefore the temptation will be greater to go on till I get to destruction -- on the contrary if now whilst I am innocent of any great faults I turn into the right path I shall feel more & more contented every step I take & if I do now & then err a little From the proper path I shall not find it so hard to return to it for I shall by degrees find the road to vice more & more unpleasant -- trifles occupy me far too much such as dress &&& -- I find it easier to acknowledge my vices than my follies

August 6th 1797

I have across to night I had very much set my mind on going to the oratorio [26] the prince [27] is to be there & by all accounts it will be quite grand sight & there will be the finest musick but if my father does not like me to go much as I wish it I will give it up with pleasure if it is in my power without a grumble -- I went to the oratorio I enjoyed it but spoke sadly at random what a bad habit!

12

I do not know if I shall not soon be rather religious because I have thought lately what a support it is through life-it seems so delightful to depend upon a superior power for all that is good it is at least having always the bosom of a friend open to us {in imagination} to rest all our cares & sorrows upon & what must be our feelings to imagine that friend perfect & guiding all & every thing as it should be guided I think any body who had real faith could never be unhappy it appears the only certain source of comfort & support in this life & what is best of all it draws to virtue & if the idea be ever so falce & ill founded that leads to that great object why should we shun it? religion has been mis used & corrupted that is no reason religion itself is not good -- I fear being religious in case I should be enthusiastic [28]

15

For a few days past I have been in a worldly state dissipated, a want of thought idle relaxed & stupid all outside no inside I feel I am a contemptable fine lady - May I be preserved from continuing so is the ardent prayer of my good man but my evil man tells me I shall pray in vain I will try --

I fear for myself I feel in the course of a little time I shall be all outside, fliperry, vain, proud, conceited, I could use improper words at myself but my good man will not let me -- but I am good in something I am wicked to despair of myself it is the way to make me what I desire not to be I hope I shall always be virtuous can I be really wicked? I may be so if I do not overcome my first weak inclinations I wish I had more solidity & less fleuidety in my disposition -- I feel my own weakness & insufficiency to bear the evils & rubs of life I must try by every stimulus in my power to strengthen myself both [+both+] bodyly & mentally it can only be done by activity & perceiverance -- " virtue strengthens in adversity, moderates in prosperity, guides in society, entertains in solitude, advises in doubts, supports in sickness & comforts in the hour of death" [29]

19

Idle & relaxed in mind greatly dissipated by hearing the band &&& musick has a great effect upon me it at times makes me feel almost beside myself --*How did my experience teach me at this time my need of a Saviour within for what would all my efforts do in my own strength yet in mercy I believe I was visited & the beauty of good shown me & the dreadful consiquence of sin I was striven with && knew not by whom* : note EF 3rd Mo 1810.

30

" Come what come may time & the hour runs through the roughest day " [30] a very sad & trying day tryed by being poorly, by others & by myself very far from what I ought to be

September 3rd 1797

There is much differance between being obstinate & steady I am obstinate when I contradict for the sake of contradiction I am steady where I keep to what I really think right I am too apt to contradict when I should not -- if I am bid to do a thing my spirit revolts if I am asked to do thing I am willing [+ 4cm-+] Some musick came which made me half crazy I longed to have a merry party [+15cm-+]

10

My uncle Joseph asked me to go to meeting & I agreed to it to please him which he liked very much [31] *At that time I never went to meeting owing to my ill-health but I believe my beloved uncle did right though that meeting & very many after were spent sadly principally I believe in laughing either inwardly or outwardly yet before very long how one was favoured to me so that in it I was shown what I had so long wanted -- may it encourage others to make such little remarks when they feel it right to young poeple & not always think they have been in vain because fruit is not immediately produced [+E.F+]*

11

H-W- [31] thinks me a mild innocent young girl of seventeen poor soul how she is mistaken -- how flirting & flighty I am. I went to hear the band & the beauty of the musick & the galantry of Captain *-- each helped to increase the pleasure of the other & I felt a little vain of my dress && & so I often do & if I do not take more care of myself I shall be lost in a laberinth of folly -- [+ - 48cm-+]

***Ed.Note;** This could refer to Capt.Austin, but with no initials this cannot be confirmed

Note

[+how cautious should [+poeple+] any be of giving too much of any thing of this kind for nervous complaints though I have so far been in mercy I believe preserved from falling into this sad evil yet at one time when I was very young it was freely administered to me & it did appear necessary but it should be most cautiously done Note EF+] [32]

December 1896[sic] [33]

A thought pass'd my mind that if I had some religion I should be superior to what I am it would be a bias to better actions. I think I am by degrees loosing many excellent qualities. I am more cross, more proud, more vain, more extravigant. I lay it to my great love of gayety & the world I feel & know I am falling -- I do believe if I had a little true religion I should have

a greater support than I have now in virtue. my mind wants a stimulus never no never did mind want one more, but I have the greatest fear of religion because I never saw a person religious but what they appear'd to me at that time inthusiastic -- therefore I fear it so much. But how can I be religious without faith? why nothing should give me so much faith as feeling {the need I have of it} or that I should be better if I had it I do hope I shall once settle down to all that is right ---

26

I think I daily loose ground in all that is truly good & amiable I ought to consider most deeply what is the right path to take to get out of the pit I am fallen into - Do not continue in it much longer for if I do by degrees I shall fall lower & lower & not have it in my power to scramble out - It is for want of percevearing in what is right that makes me such a fool -- I grow prouder & prouder every day & the sylliest thing I am proud of things not worth estimation -- I have got into many sad habits particulaly as to my words & conversation which is a foolish & criminal custom because by making use of these words & modes of speaking in play one day I may do them in earnest -- I give way without restraint to my feelings of jealousy & irritabillity I am cross to the others because they are better than [+me+] I am How can I correct these faults? [34]

Jan ry 1798

I must die, I shall die wonderful! death is beyond comprehension. to leave life & all its interests & be almost forgotten by those we love -- what a comfort must areal faith in religion be [+at+] in the hour of death to have a firm belief of entering into everlasting joy -- I have a notion of such a thing but I am sorry to say I have no real faith in any sort of religion -- it must be a comfort & support in all affliction & I know enough of life to see how great a stimulus is wanted to support through the evils that are inflicted to keep in the path of virtue & if religion is a support why not get it? -- [+!+] "*How remarkably her mind was preparing to receive religious truths gladly to receive & hear the word.*" KF [35]

14

I think it almost impossible to keep strictly to principal without religion. I dont feel any real religion I should think those feelings impossible to obtain for even if I thought all the bible was true I do not think I could make myself feel it -- I think I never saw any person who appear'd so totally destitute of it I fear I am by degrees falling away from the paths of virtue & truth

16

My mind is in a state of fermentation I believe I am going to be religious or some such thing --

18

I am a bubble without reason without beauty of mind or body I am a fool -- I daily fall lower in my own estimation -- What an infinite advantage it would be to me to occupy my time & thoughts well -- I am now seventeen & if some kind & great circumstance does not happen to me I shall have my talents devoured by moth & rust they will loose their brightness, loose their virtue and one day they will prove a curse instead of a blessing. dreaded day! -- I must you use extreme exertion to act really right avoid idleness & dissipation ---

Plasht 8th Mo 28 1817, Note. [Katharine Fry has this entry in her journal.]

Thus far I continued without religious belief the dessolation of my spirit none could tell but those who had had similar experiences. I sought with all my mind in my own strength to be what I ought but how fruitless my efforts until I yielded in faith to the power of redeeming love, this state of unbelief continued I think from about 13 to 17 years of age but the longing after righteousness was assuredly like the great husbandman preparing the soil for the pure seed of the kingdom ---

Sunday 21st of Feb 1798

To day much has passed [+in my mind+] of a very serious nature, I have had a faint light spread over my mind at least I believe it is something of that kind owing to having been much with & heard much excellence from one who appears to me a true christian, it has caused me to feel a little religion -- My imagination has been work'd upon & I fear all

that I have felt will go off, I fear it now, though at first I was frighten'd that a plain quaker should have made so deep an impression on my feelings, but how truly prejudiced in me to think because good came from a quaker I should be led away by enthusiasm & folly -- but I hope I am now free from such folly -- I wish the state of enthusiasm I am now in may last, for to day I have - felt there is a God I have been devotional & my mind has been led away from the follies that it is mostly wrapt up in, I love the man [36] as if almost he were sent from heaven - We had much serious conversation in short what he said & what I felt was like a refreshing shower upon parch'd up earth that had been dried up for ages -- It has not made me unhappy I have felt ever since humble I have long'd for virtue I hope to be truly virtuous, to let sophistry fly from my mind, not to be inthusiastic & foolish, but only to be so far religious as will lead to virtue -- There is nothing seems so little understood as religion. Do as I think right through thick & thin for what comfort what support like virtue --

Note

{The things of God knoweth no man, but the spirit of God 1-Cor 2C 11v }

Sunday 4th. Feb. 1798

This morning I went to meeting though but poorly because I wish'd to hear an American friend his name is Wm Savery after a meeting of three hours {where I laugh'd at what pass'd} I then went with aunt Jane to the Grove all the friends dined there & I felt rather odd as I was the only gay person there. however I liked the manners of the friend he was kind & pleasing -- he had a meeting at six & Uncle Joseph wish'd me to go with friend S -- [37] to it we had much conversation as we went to meeting but not much serious -- meeting lasted very long he preach'd a very excellent sermon -- I was very low almost all meeting, I dont know why I could not help considering how near my mother was in the burying ground which led me to think of death && After meeting I rode home to the Grove with friend S -- we had a sort of meeting all the way as soon as we got to the Grove he had a regular one with me --

{Note: For all my mind had through him been thus tender'd & refresh'd in his evening meeting & his other opportunities with him that day yet fear soon crept in for on my return to Earham in the evening I wrote thus }

when I got home I felt I had too much enthusiasm I doubted myself, I mixed too much the idea of growing religious & growing the quaker, I had a painful night dreamt nor thought of any thing but this man & what had passed. W.S. [38] came the next morning he no longer preach'd but was kind & affectionate ---

Tuesday 6th Feb 1798

My mind has to day by degrees flown from religion I rode to town & had a very serious ride but meeting [+2cm+] some one & being stair'd at with apparent admiration by some officers brought on vanity & I rode home as full of the world as I had riden to town full of heaven -- I should like to have a much deeper & more lasting impression made on me than I now have. [39]

Katherine Fry's note: *Norwich; She was a fine horsewoman*

I have been what I call very good to day, giving up my own pleasure to please others -- For all my religion may fly away I hope most truly that I shall be a more strictly virtuous character in every respect than I ever have been, I rather expect I shall be at least if feeling the strongest resolutions is a simptom for a virtuous character is open to all that is good. [40]

I want charity I want strength of mind & government over myself I want humility in every sense of the word -- even in trying to be virtuous there are many stumbling blocks for me I am much inclined to superstition, to have my feelings work'd upon before my reason to be very sophistical -- I have too high an idea of my own opinions & when formed they are difficult to be moved -- To day my mind was in so good a state although Rachel made a most cutting remark, I did not feel the least vex'd -- My feelings towards friend S [41] are unintelligible a strong & odd impression he made on me I could almost have gone to America with him [42] -- I felt no fear not the least in his company as I do with most plain friends but I felt a luxury in hearing him preach, it gave me pleasure I loved him as a messenger of glad tidings -- I felt a sort of adoration or reverance for him I never in all my life remember feeling for any one he felt as if he overflowed with true religion & was so humble & yet a man of great abilities -- & he having been gay & [+dis+], unbelieving only a

few years ago made him better acquainted with the heart of one in the same situation if I were to grow like him a preacher I should be able to preach to the gay & unbelieving better than any others for I should feel more sympathy for them & know their hearts better than any others --[43]

Ed.Note: The entry below was obviously inserted later, but is not initialed or dated. [44]

I then gave no credit to the right spirit having influenced his heart in so wonderful a manner to have minister'd to mine in its desolate wandering state --

7 Feb..

Oh my youthful quick changeable feelings, a beautiful star light evening, Rachel sang I looked at the sky I thought of God - a fine military band pass'd I could have flown after it && -- We stop'd at the Grove I thought friend S- was there I jump'd out of the carriage with so much glee I wonder my leg was not broke -- This is a little specimen of my state how far my feelings are under command -- However I hope to be good with care and perseverance without the assistance of friend S --

Feb 8 -

It begins to be my opinion that religion is almost necessary to being compleatly virtuous I should not be surprised to see myself a plain friend things do change so oddly in this motly world --

9

vain of my riding in the morning but I have done my duty as well as I can in the afternoon kind to the others && ---

Earlham Sunday Feb 11th 1798

This is very different to this day week {a day never to be forgotten whilst memmory lasts } I have been to meeting this morning to day I have felt all my old irreligious feelings -- My object shall be to search, try to do right & if I am mistaken it is not my fault -- but the state I

am now in makes it difficult to act, what little religion I have felt has been owing to my giving quietly & humbly way to my feelings, but the more I reason upon it, the more I get into a laberinth of uncertainty & my mind is so much inclined to both scepticism and inthusiasm that if I argue & doubt I shall be a total sceptic if on the contrary I give way to it & as it were wait for religion, I may be led away, but I hope that will not be the case, at all events religion true & uncorrupted is of all comforts the greatest, it is the first stimulus to virtue, it is a support under every affliction. I am sure it is better to be so in an inthusiastic degree, than not to be so atall for it is a delightful inthusiasm --- [45]

Earlham Feb *15

My mind is in a whirl, in all probability I shall go to London, many many are the sensations I feel about it, numbers of things to expect— In the first place leaving home how truly I shall miss my best of friends & all them {*meaning particulaly my brothers & sisters E.F*} In the next place I shall see friend Savery & most likely all those plain friends, [+17cm+] I may be led away, beware! My feelings are far more risen at the thoughts of seeing him than all the playhouses & gayities in in the world, one will I do not doubt balance against the other. I must be careful not to be led away - I must not overdo myself - I dare say it will not be half so pleasant as the Earlham heart felt gayeties at the **Prince time I must be very careful not to get vain or silly for I fear I shall [46] -- Be independent and do not follow those I am with more than I think right - Do not make dress a study even in London? -- Read in the bible when I can but if I see friend Savery I shall not I dont doubt be over fond of gayeties.--

*Katherines note: 1798

Note EF Dagenham 6th Mo 1828

It may be well for me here to observe that I believe the remarkable hold that Wm. Savery had taken of my mind was in the ordering of Infinite wisdom, in carrying on His own work He is pleased to do it by various means & He saw meet in this instance to doit by making use of Wm. Savery as the instrument to draw my poor unsettled unstable wondering heart nearer to Himself -- as far as I remember Wm Savery was a man of no personal charm nor attraction he had passed the meridian of life but in a most conspicuous manner bore the

fruits of the spirit, more particulaly in his unbounded Christian charity & liberality which exactly suited my then state of mind -- his understanding was also as far as I remember fine & cultivated there is an excellent account of him his life & death in cousin [H+++] Bevans 10th part of Piety Promoted -- [47] I may also add that in paying this visit to London I had my fathers concent to see such public places as I liked because I truly desired to know from my own observation whether I approved them or not indeed I think in these my early days my wish was through all my infemities to " try all things & hold fast that which was good " ----

**** When Prince William of Gloucester now Duke of Gloucester used to visit at my fathers house --- E.F**

Friday Feb 16* [48] ---

We went to hear the band which I am sorry for as I cannot get courage to tell my father -- I wish I had not gone I will not go again without his knowing it before hand [49] ----

***Katherine Frys note: 1798 [50]**

21st

I am now going to London odd, odd -- as certain as things can be in this world next Friday! ----

At Sampson Hanbury's Brick Lane [51]

Feb 24 1798 ---

After an account of the journey

I at last landed safely here it was very pleasant in some things but very unpleasant in others -- I have plans for all next week I am here quite my own mistress, do just what I like, how odd is change of place! I love being so independent On monday I do not think it unlikely I shall go to the play, on tuesday I expect to spend quietly with Dr Lindoe [52] & Mrs.Good [53] on wednesday I hope to see the Barclays and to have a hop, on thursday I hope to be with Amelia [54] {& so on for different days}

Note

I give this extract to show a little the way in which my time was to be spent and as I think

most important results follow'd my experience of these few weeks I shall quote or mention shortly a few things that I did during it --- E.F

Sunday 25

attended with difficulty Gle Street meeting being poorly, also hearing that Mr Savery was gone to Rochester -- I unexpectedly heard that he was to have an evening meeting in Westminster of course I fixed to go when he came in I cannot express how much I felt, he preached I think [+the most beautiful +] without exception the finest sermon I have ever heard and had as beautiful a prayer -- I went home with him I really love him he is like one sent from heaven! I feel although I told him my principles were not friendly yet I fear I should not like his knowing of my going to the play. I think such religion as his must attract an atheist & if they were many such quakers as he the society would soon increase.

Monday 26

I went to Drury Lane in the evening I must own I was extremely disappointed to be sure the house is grand & dazzling but I had no other feeling whilst I was there than wishing it over I was not struck much -- I saw Banister Mrs. Jordan Sewet Miss De Champ [55] I was not at all interested by the play, the music I did not much like & the truth is my imagination was so much risen that it must fall if the play had been perfect ----

Tuesday

I went to the play at Covent Garden I still continue not to like plays

Wednesday 28

We were out this morning I felt proud vain & silly-- In the evening we had a dance --

Thursday

I own I enter into the gay world reluctantly I am sure I should enjoy gayety much more if I had someone I could enter into it with I know why it is not now pleasant to me because those I like best do not enjoy it & another thing is being so insignificant a person I am not a

quarter the consequence I am at Earlham or in gay circles at Norwich -- I do not like plays I think them so artificial that they are to me not interesting and all seems so, so very far from true pure virtue & nature - Tonight I saw Hamlet & Blue Beard I suppose that nothing on the stage can exceed it there is acting music & scenery to perfection

Note

{I think I then saw the first actors & actresses of the day I particulaly remember seeing my present friend Lady Derby then & I think Mr Joddens & Kemble {call Miss Jarrow EF} but I was glad when it was over My hair was dressed & I felt like a monkey -- London is not the place for heartfelt pleasure so I must not expect it ---

March 2 Friday

I was in a most bad mind this morning and walked about London I happened to see Wm Savery & that put me in a better state. I praised by sisters to him and ther friends I told him I wished I was half as good or half as excellent as Kitty ^{-[56]} I pride myself in being laughed at for my friendship with William S -- may God bless him & all the dear dear Earlhamites for I do think they are realy better than other poeple

Saturday March 3 1798

I went to see W. Savery though [+1/2cm-+] gave me a lecture about it which made me rather angry not but what I own I think I am very inthusiastic about him. I only stayed a few minutes with him those few did me good ---

Sunday 4

I felt uncharitably towards {+1/2cm-+} & said uncharitable things of them I gave way to inclination for I own I love scandal though I highly dis-approve it therefore it is the more commendable if I overcome it

Monday 5

I took a lesson in dansing & spent the day quietly --

Tuesday 6

With Wm S-- in the morning accompanied him to meeting I got to {my uncle Barclays to day at Clapham}[57] nothing can exceed their kindness to me they treat me like a sister ---

Wednesday March 7

I went to meeting in the evening I have not enough eloquence to describe it after the meeting was collected another man began to [+speak+] preach I could have been angry with him but overcame myself then W Savery got up his sermon was in the first part very affecting it was from the revelations he explained his text beautifully & awfully, most awful I felt it, next he discribed the sweets of true religion & the spirit of prayer how he did describe it! He sayed the deist & those who did not feel devotion looked at nature admired it saw the thunder the lightning & earth quakes as curiosities but they look'd not through nature up to natures God -- How well he hit the state I have been in -- May I not remain in it, his prayer was beautiful & I think I felt to pray with him [+I really did pray with him+] I really did cry with a sort of extacy there were supposed to be 12 hundred persons present they all seemed to feel what he said ----

Thursday

a quiet comfortable satisfactory day at Clapham {with the dear Barclays}

Friday

I went to Walthamstow to day & felt a sort of liking for Uncle David Barclay {grandson to the apologist our uncle to my mother} he seemed in so much pain & so good ---[58]

[+Sunday March 11 1798 I set off The Stage +]

Note

During this stay in London through many difficulties I think real risks for a girl of my then

age I attended several more of WS's meetings in many of them his ministry was wonderful to me in one I mention he prayed twice. I had also at different times some of his interesting & highly valuable company. I deeply felt parting from him I remark after taking what I supposed to be my last leave him. EF

Sunday 17th March 1798

May I never no never forget the impression he has made on my mind as much as I can say is I thank God for having sent at least a glimmering of light through him into my heart which I hope with care & keeping it from the many draughts & winds in this life it may not be blown out but become a large brilliant flame that will direct me to that haven where will be joy without a sorrow & all will be comfort -- I have faith how much to gain, not all the treasures in this world can equal that heavenly treasure that I may grow more & more virtuous follow the path I should go in and not fear {as WS says} to acknowledge the God who I worship -- I will try I do hope to do what is right -- I now long to be in the quiet of Earlham for there I may see how good I can be & so I may here for the greater cross the greater crown. but I there can reflect quietly & soberly on what is passed there I hope to regulate my mind which I know sadly wants regulation. May I never loose the little religion I now have but if I cannot feel religion & devotion I must not [+fear+] dispair for if I am truly warm & earnest in the cause it will come one day my idea is that true humility and lowness of heart is the first grand step towards true religion -- I fear & tremble for myself but I must humbly look to the author of all that is good & great and I may say humbly pray that He will take me as a sheep strayed from his flock and once more let me enter the fold of His glory --- I feel there is a God & immortality happy happy thought, may it never leave me & if it does remember ! have felt there is a God & immortality --

Clapham Sunday 22

I think I have felt to night the most agony in my teeth & head & face that I ever remember to have felt but that is well this morning -- I do long to be at home I have my sorrows but how very little to what many have I may say most have I am too apt when nervous to rejoice in the shortness of life if my soul was I thought prepared for immortality I think I could look to

early death as the greatest of blessings but now I am so very low I could see every thing through its darkness [+a cloudy+] medium & I must try to chear up I long to be at home & to be with them I hope I shall get home well but I think I feel an inward strength that will trust in the just direction of all things -- remember the sweet doctrine" Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted ---

Monday 26

this morn - I went to Amelia Opies [59] & had a pleasant time I call'd on Mrs Siddons [60] who was not at home then on Dr Batty [61] then on Mrs Twiss [62] who gave me some paint for the evening I was painted a little had my hair dressed & did look pretty for me Mr Opie [63] Amelia & I went to the Opera Concert I own I do love grand company the Prince of Wales was there* & I own I felt more pleasure in looking at him than in seeing the rest of the company or hearing the music I did nothing but admire his RH -- but I had a very pleasant eve indeed ---

** our present King George the 4th The Prince stood by me a long time & he was then a most attractive person ---EF*

Tuesday 27

I call'd with Gatty Hanbury & Amelia on *Mrs Inchbald I like her vastly she seems so clever and so interesting ---

** I think this lady was a novel writer EF* [64]*

I then went to Hampstead & stay'd at cousin Hoares until the 12th of April -- I like them all vastly but I own I think it too flattering a place for me to stay in-- I never was made so much of as I have been there by both them and their guests all their hearts were quite struck with me - I returned to Clapham my uncle B [65] -- with great beging took us to the opera -- the house is dazzling the company fasinating -- The music hardly atall so the dansing delightful -- Hudson [66] came in, in the middle of the opera I was charmed to see him I was most merry I just saw the prince of Wales --

Tuesday

My dearest father & John [67] came to London we dined at the Nansons & went to a rout in the eve ---

Friday

I had a pleasant merry day with Peter Pinder {Dr Walcot} at friend [Hampsons]

Monday

I went with my father & all the Barclays to St. George Staunton's -- [68]

Wednesday

I dined at cousin Jos G Bevans [69] I lodged at Jaspers Cappers [70]

Monday April the 16th

I arrived at home with my father after paying a few more visits &&& ---

Editorial note: The following paragraphs were inserted by Elizabeth Fry in 1828. There is no evidence of missing pages.

[Nateley] EF Dagenham 7/1828 [71]

Here ended this important visit to London where I learnt much & had much to digest I saw & enter'd into various scenes of gayety many of our first public places attended balls & other places of amusement -- I saw many interesting characters In the world some of considerable eminence in that day I was also cast amongst a great variety of persons of different descriptions I had [+had +] the high advantage of attending many most interesting meetings of Wm Savoury & having at times his company & a few other friends -- It was like the casting die in my then life - it was certainly a great risk to let a young lively girl of 17 thus go alone with only a valuable servant to wait upon her to see & try the world only this is to be said I was mostly with relations -- such a risk I dare not run upon any account with a

child of mine however I believe it was in the ordering of Providence for me that the lessons then learnt are to this day valuable to me - I [consider] one of the important results was from conviction of there being wrong from seeing them & feeling their effects I wholly gave up on my own ground attending all public places of amusement I saw they tended to promote evil therefore even if I could attend them without being hurt myself I felt in entering them I lent my aid to promote that which I was sure from what I saw hurt others & led many from the paths of rectitude & chastity & brought them into much sin -- particulaly those who had to act in plays sing in concerts &c&c&c -- I felt the vanity & folly of what are called the pleasures of this life & that there tendancy is not to satisfy but eventually to enervate & injure the heart & mind unless these pleasures are of an innocent nature & used as recreations subjected to the cross of Christ --- I was in my judgement much confirmed in the infinite importance of religion as the only real stay guide help & comfort in this life & the only means of our having a hope of partaking of a better -- My understanding was increasingly opened to receive its truths although the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ were little very little if at all understood by me, I was like the blind man who could hardly be said then even to have attained the state of seeing men as trees -- I obtained in this expedition a valuable knowledge of human character in the variety I met with that I think was useful to me though I think some very dangerous associates for so young a person & the way in which I was protected amongst them is in my remembrance very striking to me ! -- and leads me to acknowledge that at this most cretical period of my life the tender mercy of my God was marvellously displayed towards me & that his all-powerful though to me then almost unseen & unknown hand held me up & protected me & can any doubt that it was His spirit manefesting to me the evil in my own heart as well as of what I perceived around me & led me to abhor it & hunger & thirst after Himself his righteousness & the salvation that comes by Christ EF

continuation of April the 16th 1798 ----

I did enjoy a little being at home but I felt low & all the melancholy associations I could have intruded themselves upon my mind - on

Wednesday

I felt really nervous more in mind than body but I was quite miserable all the morning in the eve I was better

Friday 20th

I am now I hope going to be really settled more than I have ever been before I have every reason to be really happy & really good -- I wish to write an exact account of my conduct in my journal all the different states of my mind I should like never to miss it but to have a time every day for the most close thought away from the world I live in to enable me to perform my duty to all, to look closely into my own mind & keep faults from creeping in if I dont take care I shall get vain of both body & mind I have been of late so much flatter'd by them all at coming home do not loose their good opinion but keep steady to all I think right -- To day the children brought me a letter from Wm Savery I cannot well express what I felt at receiving it -- I do not know the course I am to run all is hid to me in mystery but try to do right in every thing, I feel he gives me a stimulant to virtue but I fear by what I expressed in my letter he suspects I am turning plain friend. I hate he should estimate me falsely -- I must remember that on the foundation of the doctrine I believe we agree I must look to one higher than he & if I feel my own mind satisfied I need not fear, look up to true religion as the very first of blessings cherish it nourish it & let it flourish & blow in my heart, it wants taking care of it is difficult to obtain, I must not despair or grow sceptical if I cannot always feel religious - for we are to be payed according to our works & I felt God as it were & I must seek to find Him again.

Saturday 21

I read WS's letter & thought upon it & religion before I got up I think of & feel religion at times but I do not understand it always, it is difficult to comprehend like other things but look up to it, it is a mystery but the forwarder in virtue I get the clearer I shall get about it I must try to keep on clear grounds I am young & inexperienced & likely to be led away all is forming within me & I do not doubt though this is the time of formation all will go on as it should do if I exert myself as much as I can I think I had better make a very great point of

my reading the testament with my own reflections upon it & then if I want to be on clearer grounds read some good book upon the subject*

**I never remember reading any books about this time upon the subject I consider that in a remarkable degree what I have ever understood on these subjects has not been from man*
EF

I am so glad I do not feel Earlham at all dull after the bustle of London but I feel a better relish for the sweet innocence & beauties of nature I hope I may say I do look through nature up to natures God -- I go every day to see poor Bob {a servant in a decline living at a cottage in the park} who I think will not live -- I once talked to him about his dying & I asked him if he would like me to read to him in the testament & I told him I felt such faith in the blessings of immortality that I pitied not his state, it was an odd speach to make to a dying man -- I hope to be able to comfort him in his dying hours -- I gave some things to some poor poeple to day but it is not there that I am particulaly virtuous as I only am following my natural disposition I should be far more so if I never spoke against any body which I do too often -- I do think I am improved since I was last at home, my mind is not so fly away & I hope it never will be so fly away again -- We are all governed by our feelings now the reason why religion is far more likely to keep us in the part of virtue than any theoretical plan is that you feel it & your heart is wrapt up in it, it acts as a furnace upon the character it refines it purifies it, whereas principles of our own making are without kindling to make the fire hot enough to answer its purpose -- I think a dream I have had is so odd I will write it down --

Exact copy EF 7/1828

My Dream [72]

Before I mention my dream I will give an account of my state of mind, from the time of fourteen years old [83] I had very sceptical or deistical principles I seldom or never thought of religion & altogether I was a negitively good character having natural good dispositions I

had not much to combat with I gave way freely to the weakness of youth I was flirting idle & rather proud & vain - till by the time I was seventeen I found I wanted a better & greater stimulus to virtue than I then had as I was truly wrapt up in trifles - I felt my mind capable of better things but I could not exert it -- till several of my friends without knowing my state wished I would read some books on christianity but I said till I felt the want of religion myself I would not read books of that kind, but if ever I was I would judge clearly for myself by reading the new testament & when I had seen for myself I would then see what others said -- About this time I believe I never missed a week or a few nights without dreaming I was near being washed away by the sea, sometimes in one way sometimes in another & I felt all the terror of being drowned, I always woke before I was drowned or saved at last I dreamt it so often I told many of the family what a strange dream I had, how near I was being lost after I had gone on in this way for some months Wm Savery came to Norwich I had began to read the testament with anotations & reflections of my own and he suddenly as it were opened my eyes to see religion, but again they almost closed - I went on dreaming the dream -- I went to London after him I told it him & the day when I felt I had really & truly got true & real faith that night I dreamt the sea was coming as usual to wash me away & I was beyond its reach beyond its powers to wash me away since that night I do not remember having dreamt the dream -- Odd it did not strike me so odd at the time but now it does strike me most odd -- all I can say is I admire it, I am glad I have had it, and I feel a sort of faith in it, it ought I think to make my faith steady, it may be the work of chance, but I do not think it is, for it is so odd my not having dreamt it since, what a blessed thought to think it comes from Heaven! May I be made capable of acting as I [+ought +] should act & not being drowned in the ocean of the world, but fitted to mount above its waves [+2cm--+] but remain a steady & faithful servant to the God who I worship -- I may take this dream in what light I like, but I must be careful of superstition as many many are the minds that are led away by it -- believe only in what I can comprehend or feel, dont dont be led away by inthusiesem, but I dont fear, I feel myself under the protection of one who alone is able to guide me in the path I should go in ---

Katherines note: How soon we find her ministering to others [73]

Friday 27th & part of 28

That light within us which shows right from wrong, by satisfaction attending right & unhappiness attending wrong is an interesting & delightful belief to think that a gift from heaven which by cultivation may be enlarged & improved! -- I ask only in my heart to be led in the path I should go in & to have my confidence placed in my Heavenly father & to feel in Him a constant friend & protector! -- I do not suppose I feel religion quite as people do in general for I only feel impressed that I am under the power of a Supreme Being who alone is able to judge for what is necessary for me -- I often go & see poor Bob who seems to me dying & it is a good thing to attend a person in that situation.[74] I think the more one sees the different states of human nature the better. I read to him in the testament he now flies to religion as his last resource, it is the only firm soled source of happiness in this world *

29

This morning I felt very unwell at least low in mind & faint in body -- I had a good deal of serious conversation about my sudden change of opinion with Kitty she thinks I am going on in a hasty inthusiasn I find religion the principal object of my mind but it is not to be wonder'd at any thing that has so suddenly effected it as that has mine being an object of almost constant consideration to the one effected by it, she talks to me I think reasonably the human mind is so apt to fly from one extreme to another & why is not mine like others? [75] I certainly seem to be on the road to a degree of enthusiesm but I own myself ataloss how to act -- if I act as they would wish me I should not humbly give way to the feelings of religion I should dwell on philosophy & depend more on my own reason than anything else

**Poor Bob was young man living in one of the cottages at the bottom of my father's park he used to ride out with me on horseback & was a kind attentive servant to me he was the first person who I remember attending in illness & death & it made a very deep impression on my mind in this seeking state & strange to say I believe my labours religiously were blessed to his soul EF [74]*

on the contrary if I give way to the religious feelings I am inclined to {I own I believe much

in inspiration}! feel confident true humility & humble waiting upon the Almighty is the only way of feeling that inward sence of the beauties & of the comforts of religion, & it spreads a sweet vail over the evils of life, it is to me the first of feelings, I never felt any thing like it, that state of devotion that absolutely makes you cry is most fine, I own my dream rather leads me to believe in & to try to follow the path I should go in, but I should think my wisest plan of conduct would be to warmly encourage my feelings of devotion & to keep as nearly as I can to what I think right & the doctrines of the testament not to make at present sects the subject of my meditations, but do as I think right & do not alter my opinions from conformity to any one gay or plain.

Note.

I think my fear of inthusiasm in religion was very much owing to the deistical company I had associated with & the books of that description I had read always representing to my view that religion was but an inthusiasm & religious persons were inthusiastic indeed I frequently heard them called mad --- [76]

1st of May

After reading to poor Bob which was a cross to me because someone was present I wrote thus EF - [+7cm-+] - an inward comfort I feel within myself that is indiscribable it is a calm humility of mind! I had a very bad cough & wrote thus EF I really built castles in the air about its taking me out of this world & how much I should now have to support me during such a time but that is wrong of me to make a subject of pleasure for I dont doubt I shall have many crosses & many many pleasures before I take my departure, but that I cannot know.

May 2nd

My father is in one of his very low minds which makes me so also my cough has been so bad all day that I feel almost ill to night my father shows me he is in such a fright about it -- {Alluding to this & a return of other complaints I had had should it happen} I added I hope not only to conduct myself with the truest fortitude but to try {if called for} to enable them to support so great an affliction---

My cough is very bad & I should not be surprised if it was to turn out of consequence but I do not feel the least uneasy about it - After expressing much suffering which I had I think daily more or less of from a nervous fearful & most tender state of body -- I expressed myself thus -- How faithless I am to fear I am under the power of an Almighty hand who will protect me at this time it comes suddenly over my mind it gives me courage it gives me courage to bear the evils of life how unexpectedly ones comfort came! A bright light just came over me it makes up for every sorrow in life! -- About this time I had the subject of going to attend the yearly meeting under my consideration but strong as by inclination was for it Wm Savery being there --

I concluded it best not to go lest my judgment & feelings should receive too strong a bias towards friends. I said in one place -- EF.

I hoped to take no step rashly but whatever I do, do it with sobriety & judgment --

Tuesday May 8

This morning being alone I think it a good opportunity to look into myself to see my present state & to regulate myself at this time the first object of my mind is religion it is the most constant subject of my thoughts & of my feelings -- I am not yet on what I call a steady foundation about it* --

**I wanted to know Christ more fully myself*

The next feeling that at this present fills my heart is benevalence & affection to many, but great want of charity, want of humility, want of activity - My inclinations lead me I hope to virtue my passions are I hope in a pretty good state -- I want to set myself in good order for much time is lost & many evils committed by not having some regular plan of conduct -- {I then propose a plan for myself} & make these rules for myself In the first place never loose my time I do not think that lost that is spent in amusement or recreation some time every day but always be in the habit of being employed ---

{2nd}Never err the least in truth

{3} Never say an ill [+word+] thing of a person when I can say a good thing of them, not only speak charitably, but feel so.

{4} Do never be eritable nor unkind to anybody — [77]

5 Never indulge myself in luxuries that are not necessary —

6 Do all things with consideration & when my path to act right is most difficult feel confidence in that power that alone is able to assist me, & exert my own powers as far as they go at times I passed through deep conflict partly nervous from my weak state & I was wonderfully strengthen'd to overcome some nervous fears that I had to a very great degree that in some form or other have beset me at times through life E.F-- [78] I quote a little to show it--}

My mind has been quite depressed I am in such uncomfortable spirits I feel quite melancholy O that I could feel faith as I did the other afternoon to support me. I feel really sunk & unhappy-some exertion would do me good & I must exert myself, come all is for the best be happy cheer up -hether my feelings are faintness or not I cannot tell, but I feel such a fear of falling down & frightening others, but I seldom fear them when alone. [79] I do not think any body can be sufficiently thankful for the blessing of health I know I shall be better if I will exert myself & go on as usual -- Remember these feelings of mine may be crosses set in my way that I am to overcome my inclinations it is in little things life is made up of remember & cultivate the thought that there is one who watches over every word & action & all are recorded & how great □ stimulus should that be to virtue! -- I am at a loss to know what is right about it I must either disobey my father or hurt one who I fear is dying & miserable -- {about going to see poor Bob who my father fear'd I had caught the cough of} -- {I quote this part to show how little at present I was in religious habits}

Sunday May 13

I slept late {too poorly to go to meeting}but have been writing & working which I

disapprove of doing in general on a Sunday for[+examples sake+] I think it a bad example to servants I intend now to read in the testament -- I finished this day very satisfactory I went to meeting & heard a good deal of reading & read to Nurse Normans family -- [80]

Saturday May 19

Altogether I think I have had a satisfactory day, I had a good lesson of French this morning & read much in Epectitus,[81] saw Bob & enjoyed the sweet beauties of nature which now shine forth, each day some new beauty arrives -- I do love the beauty of the country it does the mind good. I love it more than I used to do, I love retirement & quiet much more since my journey to London -- How little I thought six months ago I should be so much alter'd I am since then I hope alter'd much for the better my heart might rise in thankfulness to that omnipotent power that has allowed my eyes to be opened in some measure to see the light of truth & to feel the sweet comfort of religion I hope to be capable of giving up my all if it is required of me to serve the Almighty with my whole heart --

May 20

This morning I rose went to meeting walked home which rather tired me, in the afternoon I layd down had a very sweet nap which I did enjoy, read in the testament, after tea I took a nice walk with the boys {my brothers} & Richenda [82] I then call'd upon poor Bob it was indeed entering the house of mourning, he lay very ill & his three sisters with him all crying I could have cryed also I then went & read the testament to nurse Normans family which answer'd remarkably well, I wish it may be in my power to do any good to any body in any way I must be careful not to do it to be seen of men, for sometimes that feeling creaps in without our knowing it, [83] I have been reading to little Castleton I sometimes fear that I am not good enough to teach others until I know more myself & am of more strictly virtuous character I feel so afraid of falling into what is wrong but I hope with care & perceiverance I shall do well. I am so afraid of not continuing at least not being humble for it is a fault often creaps upon us when we may improve in other

things true humility is the essence of true religion ---

Monday morning May the 21st

To day is my birthday I am eighteen years old! how many things have happened to me since I was fourteenth the last year has been the happiest I have experienced for some time ---

Katherine Fry's note: *Here terminates the abstract from her early journals made by my beloved mother herself about the year 1828 -- After this period the extracts must be made by myself from the original Journals. Kath.Fry Decr 1845*

Dagenham 8th Month 23d1828

I have thus far taking extracts from my journal from 17 to 18 years of age those that were written previous to that time I have burnt -- My motive for preserving these extracts is the hope that they may be interesting & useful to others particularly my own beloved family in showing them the remarkable dealings of a kind Providence towards me in the morning of my day both immediately and instrumental to bring my wondering heart & skeptical mind to a knowledge of Himself [+1cm-+] & Christ Jesus my Lord and Saviour & as a further confirmation of this I have thought a short narrative of what I remember of my life up to that time might prove useful & interesting [+ 22cm +-- not and are feeling that-+] -- My earliest recollections are I should think soon after I was two years old when my brother John was a baby he being only 13 months younger than myself as I think I clearly recollect him in arms & the pleasure of hearing my grandmother singing to him the little song of rosey dimpled boy - My father at that time had two houses one in Norwich & one at Brammerton the sweet country place situated on a common near a pretty village here I believe many of my early tastes were formed though we left it to reside at Earham when I was about five years old, these impressions then received remain lively on my [+mind +] recollection delight in the beauty & wild scenery in parts of the common the trees, the flowers the little rills that abounded in it the farmhouses the village school the different

poor poeple & their cottages particularly a poor woman with one arm who we call'd one armed Betty another neighbour Greengrass & her strawberry beds around a little pond our gardener who lived near a large piece of water & used to bring fish from it here I think my great love for the country the beauties of nature and attention to the poor begun -- My mother was most dear to me & the walks she took with me in the old-fashioned garden [+& the cherry orchard+] are as fresh with me as if only just past & her telling me about Adam & Eve being driven out of Paradise & I always consider'd it must be just like our garden at Brammerton [+& even+] to this day I believe the idea of Paradise & our garden there are from early association one in my mind -- My dearest sister Rachel & brother John made my principal companions [+& brother John+] as we were in one nursery for some time, after a while I felt her & sister Catharine as my elders & a little above me which made me rather jealous of them -- [84]

Katherine Fry's note: John Gurney died in 1814. Rachel Gurney died 1827 [85]

I remember my spirits were [+ weak my+] not strong that I frequently cry'd if look'd at & used to say that my eyes were weak -- but I remember much pleasure & little suffering or particular tendency to naughtiness up to this period. Fear about this time began to show itself of poeple & things I remember being so much afraid of a gun that I think I gave up an expedition of pleasure with my father & mother because there was a gun in the carriage -- [+I can clearly remember many things that delighted & interested me at this period of life & how +] I was also exceedingly afraid of the dark & suffer'd so accutely from being left alone without a light after I went to bed that I believe my nervous system suffer'd in consequence of it, also I had so great a dread of bathing which as far as I remember I was at times obliged to submit to, that I at the first sight of the sea {when we were as a family going to stay by it, [+ it +] would make me cry indeed fear was so strong a principle in my mind as greatly to mar the natural pleasures of childhood [86] and I am now of opinion that it would have been much more subdued & great suffering spared by its having been still more yielded to by having a light in my room not being long left alone & never forced to

bathe for I do not at all doubt that it partly arose from that nervous susceptible constitution that has throughout my life at times caused me so much real & deep suffering, I know not what would have been the consequence had I had any other than a most careful & wise mother & judicious nurses, if I had been alarmed as too many children are by false threats of what might happen to me if I did wrong I know not what the consequence might have been to me -- I had as well as a fearful rather a reserved mind for I never remember telling of my many painful fears, though I must often have shown them by crying when left in the dark or on other occasions this reserve made me little understood & I well remember thought very little of except by my mother & one or two others I was thought & called very stupid & obstinate [87] I certainly did not like learning nor did I, I believe attend to my lessons, partly acting from a delicate state of health that produced languor of mind as well as body, but I think having the name of being stupid really tended to make me so & discouraged my efforts to learn, I remember having a very poor not to say low opinion of myself I thought I was so very inferior to my sisters Catherine & Rachel I believe I had not a name only for being obstinate for I think my nature had then a strong tendency that way & I was disposed to a spirit of contradiction always ready to see things a little differently to others & not disposed to yield my sentiments to [+them+] theirs. My natural affections were very strong from my early childhood, at times almost overwhelmingly so, such was my love for my mother that the thought only that she might die & leave me used to make me [+1/2cm-+] cry after I went to bed & for the rest of the family that for all my fearful nature my childlike wish was that too large walls might crush us all together that we might all die at once & thus avoid the misery of each others deaths. I seldom if I could help it left my mothers side I watched her when asleep in the day with exquisite anxiety & used to go gently to her bed side to listen from the awful fear that she did not breath in short I may truly say it amounted to deep reverence that I felt for my father & mother & I may say as far as I remember as a little child I never remember but once being punished by my mother & she then mistook tears of sorrow for tears of naughtiness a thing then deeply impressed me & I have never forgotten the pain it gave me although I do not imply I

did not deserve punishment far from it as some of the faults of my childhood are very lively in my recollection but from my extreme love & fear many of these faults were known almost only to myself -- my imagination was lively & I once remember and only once telling a real untruth with one of my sisters & one of my brothers. We saw a bright light one morning which we represented far above the reality and upon the real thing being shown us that we had seen we made it out not to be it.

Jersey 7-31-1839

I go on with this account of my early life. I passed through much suffering in my childhood from the account of Abraham offering up Isaac from an awful fear taking hold of me that my father & mother or the religious persons I knew might think of sacrificing me - so great was my fear that it led me to pretend to be poorly & have the toothake to prevent my going to meeting or to the houses of the most religious of our friends -- My remembrance is of the pleasure of my childhood being almost spoil'd through fear -- & my religious impressions such as I had were accompanied by gloom on this account. I think the utmost care of needed in representing to children religious truth that fearful views of it should be most carefully avoided lest it should give a distaste for that which is most precious first show them the love & mercy of God in Christ Jesus & the sweetness & blessedness of his service -- & such things in Scripture as Abrahams Sacrifice should be explained to them -- I remember my mind was relieved from this fear by a friend preaching upon the subject & showing how we must spiritually follow his example -- this I perfectly understand & afterwards felt at rest about it -- I think I suffered much in my youth from the most tender nervous system I certainly felt symptoms of disease before my mother died that I thought of speaking to her about, but never did partly because I did not know how to explain them, but they ended afterwards in very serious attacks of convulsions that I had more or less of from 13 to 16 years of age -- I now think the most judicious care might have prevented their coming to this crisis, I have always thought being forced to bathe was one cause of these attacks & mention it because I believe it a dangerous thing to do to children. My illness & apparent stupidity [187] in lessons I fully

believe also in great degree arose from poor health & what great care is needful in such cases not to force children to learn too much as it not only injures them but gives a great distaste for intellectual pursuits the instruction should be adapted to their condition & communicated in an easy & agreeable way --

Upton 9th Mo 1830

I go on with the journal of my very early days —

I observe the important results of a wise mother directing the tastes of her children in very early life & judiciously influencing their affections -- I remember with pleasure her beds for wild flowers with which delight as a child [+1/2cm+] I used to attend to with her it gave me I believe that pleasure in observing their beauties & varieties that although I never appear to have had time to become a botanest few can imagine in my many journeys many of weighty duties how I have been pleased & refreshed by observing & enjoying the wild flowers on my way -- again she collected shells & had a cabinet & brought one for Rachael & myself where we placed our curiosities & I may truly say in the midst even of deep troubles & often most weighty engagements of a religious & philanthropic nature I have derived advantage refreshments & pleasure from my taste for these things & making collections of them & various natural curiosities though as with flowers I have not studied them scientifically --*

**Katherine's note: this cabinet is still in the possession of her eldest child Katherine Fry, & left by Kath Fry to her niece & Elizth Fry's granddaughter, Richenda E Fry. My mother also encouraged my most close friendship with my sister Rachael & we had our pretty little closset, our pictures, our curiosities, our tea things our books - - & all to ourselves -- and as far as I remember we unitedly partook of these pleasures without any little jealousies or the quarrels of childhood -- I do not remember whether dear sister Catherine joined us in them or not -- [+My+] My mother as far as she knew really train'd us up in the fear & love of the Lord & my deep impression is that she was a holy devoted follower of the Lord Jesus-- but her*

understanding not fully enlighten'd as to fullness of gospel truth -- she taught us as far as she knew & I now remember the solemn religious feelings I had after sitting in silence with her after reading the scriptures with her & our reading a psalm before we went to bed -- I have no doubt that her [+7.5cm+] & prayers were not in vain in the Lord -- She died when I was 12 years old -- my sister Catherine 16 -- Rachael between 13 & 14 -- Danl the youngest 2 years old -- the remembrance of her illness & death is sad even to the present-day ---

Katharine Fry's note: End of Elizabeth Fry's reminiscences.

NOTES - BOOK 1 : 1.Vol. Ms S255

1] Katharine Fry and Rachel Cresswell, Memoirs of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, [Montclair New Jersey, Patterson Smith 1974]. Elizabeth Fry's daughter corrected the date in the original Journal and in her own diary which is kept in the Rare Manuscripts Dept. at the British Library, London, BL.Mss. ADD. 47456 / ADD. 45477. Katherine Fry and Rachel Cresswell acted as Fry's biographers. They used Fry's journal manuscript as primary source material for their book. Throughout Fry's text there are cross marks [X] which correspond with the modified Journal entries that appear in Fry and Cresswells, Memoirs.

2] Augustus Hare, The Gurneys of Earlham, [London, George Allen, 1895] 80-82

Fry was referring to the time she and her siblings became involved with the Unitarian family of Dr Henry Enfield, her brother John's tutor. Unfortunately this friendship was to have unhappy consequences. A love affair developed between Henry Enfield Jr and Rachel Gurney. Fry's father forbade any member of his family from having contact with any of the Enfields as soon as he realised that a relationship between Rachel and Henry Enfield had developed. The Quaker sect forbade marriage outside of the Society which meant the relationship was condemned, if Rachel wished to remain within the Quaker Movement. John Gurney was a tolerant man, however, and when he saw the effect of the separation on Rachel he relented and promised if they felt the same way in two years, he would look at the situation again. After the two years had elapsed, the young couple discovered they had gone separate ways and Henry [Harry] married another woman within a few weeks of their failed reunion. Fry's sisters Catherine and Rachel both became members of the Church of England, Catherine Gurney in 1809, and Rachel 1820.

3] E.Fry, 21. April 1798, Journal : London, Friends House Library. Ms. Vol.S256. That was one of Fry's favourite similes, comparing herself to a pilotless ship. The sea and water in general was often used by Fry in metaphors and similes when describing her emotional state. The recurring dream Fry had the sea sweeping her away from the rocks and her drowning altered after her meeting with William Savery. Fry had the same dream but this time she was saved.

4] The editorial intervention undertaken by Fry and her daughters within the journal text is fully discussed in the thesis.

5] E.Fry, 7 May 1797, Journal: Fds.Hse. Lib. Ms.Vol. S255 As a young girl Fry suffered from

depressions that she called 'valleys'. These depressions were often accompanied by physical manifestations such as stomach aches, headaches and a feeling of faintness, which were to plague her throughout her adult life : June Rose, Elizabeth Fry A Biography, [London, Macmillan London Ltd.1980] 9-13

6] E.Fry, 16 February 1797, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lib.Ms.Vol.S255: Rhetorical questions were frequently found within Fry's text. In this particular instance Fry was referring to Prince William Frederick of Gloucester later the Duke of Gloucester, who was stationed at Norwich with his command at this time. As Fry became more convinced of the Quaker doctrine the dichotomy between her desire to follow the Quaker ethos and her desire to enter high society was a constant battle.

E.Fry, July 1817, Journal, Norfolk Record Office, Norfolk. Ms.21281: Fry was frequently criticised for her association with the higher echelons of society, Fry recognised that to obtain success in any philanthropic venture it was necessarily to have the backing of the powerful and influential.

7] Seneca c 4BC -65 AD, Roman Stoic philosopher & tutor to Nero

8] 'The Prince', Fry was referring to William Frederick of Gloucester, King George III's nephew.

9] E.Fry, 3. September 1797, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms. Vol.S.255: Fry explains that music & society had an adverse affect on her. Fry felt it encouraged her away from a moral life.

10] Katharine Fry had written in the margin of that entry: 'What a remarkable state of mind & train of thought for a girl of sixteen, & is it not to perceive the genius of that remarkable character that afterwards developed itself. Katharine Fry, 7 May 1797, Journal, London, British Library, Mss.Add. 47456

11] That statement by Fry does not apply to a particular person but indicates that an emotional person enjoys happiness and can recognise it more than an unfeeling or less demonstrative person.

12] E.Fry, 21 April 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.256: this was an example of Fry's beliefs that could be identified as naturalistic or Deist in origin. See Ms.Vol.S256

13] E.Fry, 18. May 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms. Vol.S.256: Fry is being fatalistic. She often comments on her and other peoples insignificance in the great scheme of life.

14] Robert A. Fothergill, Private Chronicles, A Study of English Diaries, [London, Oxford University Press, 1974] 17-18: Throughout her life Fry was to carry out a self-examination at the beginning of each year. This was very much in line with Quaker Conscience Diaries but they became less internal moral investigations as she grew older and they took on a more practical format. Fry's Journal became more a record of her daily experiences.

15] Fry's note dated 1810, following the text entry Monday May 21 1797, refers to her broken engagement at the age of 16 to James Lloyd, son of the banker Charles Lloyd. Fry was explaining how at that time she was emotionally lost. Hare, 80

16] 'elumine' Fry means illuminate

17] The statement 'This found the happy Earlham girls in an untimely hour' almost certainly refers to the ill-fated love affair between Fry's sister Rachel Gurney and Henry Enfield. The affair had been forbidden by Fry's father as a marriage between the two would have resulted in Rachel being disowned by the Quakers.

18] E. Fry, 30 May 1797, Journal, Fds. Hse. Lb. Ms. Vol. S. 255 Fry rarely discussed the illnesses she had suffered in early life. In Fry's journal entry for the 31 July 1839, Journal, Fds. Hse. Lb. Ms. Vol. S. 269: Fry discusses her early life and alludes to her childhood convulsions.

19] Fry did not write in her journal every day, though many entries are consecutive there are lacunae sometimes with explanations as to why there was a lacuna but sometimes without any explanation.

20] The word 'mump' is a family word meaning 'sulk' See glossary of family words in the appendices.

21] E. Fry, 23. August 1828, Journal, Fds. Hse. Lb. Ms. Vol. S. 267: Fry had a constant fear of failing to live up to the family's reputation for generosity and Christian charity. Any acknowledgment she got for her charitable activities and donations she dismissed as training and example from an early age. Fry also gives credit to her sister Catherine as a virtuous and benevolent model. In the synopsis of her early life given by Fry in the entry for 19 July 1797, Journal. Fds. Hse. Lib. Ms. Vol. S. 255, mentions her mother's generosity to the local poor and how she often accompanied her. This was perhaps the example she was referring too.

22] For Fry a journal was multi purposed. The following dates are journal entries that stipulate

the various functions her had utilised her journal for. E.Fry, 15 October 1813, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.263: served as reminder of her daily occupations, and by doing so allowed her to evaluate her behaviour. It was a history of her life and as such a witness to whom she was and who she had been E.Fry, 26 July 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S. 255: Fry's journal was a confidant, a friend whom she could confide in when no one else seemed to understand her. E.Fry, 21 October 1829, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.267: Fry stated her Life would be of interest if properly recorded, her journal was to be published for others to read.

23] This seems an odd statement, as Fry's meaning is unclear. Does she wish to join in her sister's general enthusiasm for life, or does she wish to withdraw from life and embrace virtue? The ambiguity was typical of Fry at this time.

24] The comments by Fry indicate a quarrel with two of her siblings but as there was no record of which siblings. It does seem probable that it was one of her sisters that fry was referring too rather than a brother. It does not seem to have been a very serious argument.

25] E.Fry, 30 October 1809, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.262:Fry's feelings of love and respect for her father remained with all her life.

26] E.Fry, 19 August 1797, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.255: The Gurneys fondness for music was to bring Fry into conflict with them when Fry first embraced 'Plain Quakerism'. She found music was one of the hardest things to give up. Before Fry became fully committed to the plain form of Quakerism, she went to Handel's Oratorio and enjoyed it. J. Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 15-16

27] Prince William Frederick of Gloucester.

28] E.Fry, 4 February 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S. 256: It was a fear of some types of organised religion that Fry had experience that she felt could lead her into error, by being over enthusiastic.

29] Unfortunately Fry did not record where these words came from

30] E.Fry, 30 August 1797, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb.Ms.Vol.S255: " Come what come may time & the hour runs through the roughest day" this statement is to be found throughout Fry's journal text.

31] E.Fry, 4. February 1798, Journal,Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.256: Joseph Gurney of the Grove was a strict Friend & the youngest brother of John Gurney, Fry's father. Hare,94: H.W

probably refers to Hannah Walker of Catton, a relative of the Gurney's.

32] This is the first reference Fry makes in her Journal to her use of laudanum & spirits. Her fear of addiction and what effect that would have on her life and the life of her family were of constant concern to her. Fry also felt the excessive use of expensive spirits as a luxury and as a Quaker she should avoid their use. 14 April 1834, Journal, London, Johnson Matthey, Precious Metal Company,; In a letter to her brother Joseph, who had given up spirits and been unwell, she comments that 'medical men have been surprised how much the Gurney's as a family needed spirits and good food just to remain healthy'. Family Letters, London, Fds. Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.273

33] The date that appears on this entry is incorrect but it was not altered or noted by her daughter Katharine Fry in her journal. K.Fry, BL.Mss. Add.47456 / Add.47457.

34] E.Fry, December 1797, Journal, Fds.Hse.Bl.Ms. This entry was an example of a 'conscience diary'. Fry's appeal for assistance in improving her behaviour. She was looking for guidance from an outside agency [God].

35] Written in the margin of this entry in Fry's journal was a note from Katharine Fry her daughter, "How remarkably her mind was preparing to receive religious truths gladly to receive && hear the word.KF".

36] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 41 and E.Fry, 1 June 1828, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.267: Fry's editorial intervention explains her feelings for William Savery. Fry seemed concerned that the readers of her journal may form an inappropriate interpretation of her use of the word 'love' etc.

37] The following was written down in the margin next to this entry: "William Savery 1750-1804 a visiting American Friend." -- **Ed. Note**; William Savery was married and shadow drawings in Francis R. Taylor, The life of William Savery 1750-1804, [New York, Macmillan and Co. 1925] showed Savery at age of forty as plump and plain. Jonathan Evans the editor of Savory's Journals left all references of Elizabeth Fry out of Savery's journal text. This could have been political, as he was a Wilburite [a supporter of John Wilbur] one of the factions who were attempting to impose their form of Quakerism on the Religious Society of Friends. The Wilburites were opponents of the Gurneyites, the supporters of Joseph

J.Gurney Fry's brother. My thanks to Mr P. Sipple at Quaker pages, for the use of this information.

38] W.S - William Savery

39] E.Fry, 6 February 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.256: Norwich in Norfolk a place where Fry often rode. Fry's daughter Katharine wrote at the bottom of this entry; K.Fry note; "She was a fine horsewoman".

40] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir,96-100. The problem Fry faced with organised religion was her lukewarmness. Throughout her early marriage Fry expressed the fluctuations in the commitment she experienced in the ideals of 'plain' Quakerism in her journal. Fry's acceptance of the tenets of Quakerism were often undermined by the Society's harsh enforcement of the rules governing disownment from the Religious Society of Friends for marrying out and business failour.

41/ 42] Hare, The Gurneys, 42,75. Fry was often teased by her family about her friendship and admiration for William Savery. Fry's sister Richenda Gurney at the time of Fry's and Savery meeting wrote in her diary, "Betsy not only admires him [Savery] but quite loves him.

43] E.Fry, 6 February 1798 Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.256: One of Fry's major justifications for the publishing of her Journal was to show how she as a 'gay' young person she became 'serious', and religiously motivated. Fry felt that this qualified her to relate to other 'gay' young people, far better than the Ministers or the Elder members of the Religious Society of Friends. One of the reasons she admired William Savery was his admission that until recently he had also been 'gay' or liberal in his interpretation of Quakerism. It is also very interesting to see that Fry talks about becoming a 'preacher' [having a Concern] sometime before she had met Deborah Darby.

44] This editorial intervention under the journal entry was not dated or initialled by Fry but its contents point to Fry as the author.

45] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 38, 71: John Gurney's reasoning for allowing his daughter [Fry] to go to London was in the hope that when she engaged with a sophisticated and varied society, it would put her new found enthusiasm for 'Plain Quakerism' in perspective. Fry's family was hoping it would encourage her to adopt a less stringent mode of behaviour.

46] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 12: This entry refers to the dinners and dances held at Earlham during the visits

by 'Prince William Frederick of Gloucester.

47] Hare, The Gurneys, 17,79: Hudson Bevans

48] Katharine Fry wrote in the margin of the text, the year 1798

49] This is one of the examples of Fry not behaving in a manner she thought her father would approve.

50] * These stars were indication of a change or a conformation made by Katharine Fry. Usually the initials' K.F were used to signify it was altered by her.

51] Hare, The Gurneys, 76, 102: The Hanburys were relatives of the Gurney's, an aunt and cousins to Fry through her father.

52] Dr Lidoie, a General Practitioner who saw Fry on her first visit to London, when she came for medical help. Unfortunately that was the only reference to him that has been found.

53] Mrs. Good, she was a friend of the Hanbury's.

54] Hare, The Gurneys, 238: Amelia Opie nee Alderson married to painter John Opie, after his death she became a member os the Religious Society of Friends.

55] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 40 : Actresses and Opera Stars. [Banister, Mrs. Jordan Stewet and Miss De Champ.]

56] Hare, The Gurneys, 209: Catherine Gurney 1776-1850, Fry's eldest sister, became influenced by the Church of England and was Baptised into that faith.

57] Ibid 58 : Robert Barclay A relative through marriage twice over, a brother-in-law to Richard Gurney, and an uncle too Fry through her mother Catherine Bell.

58] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 1: David Barclay the father of Hudson and grandson of the Apologist Robert Barclay.

59] .Hare, The Gurneys, 94, 103: John Opie was divorced when he met Amelia Alderson in 1797. They were married in 1798 on the understanding he would never separate her from her father.

60] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 11: An Actress, William Godwin a friend of Amelia Opie wanted to marry Mrs. Siddons.

61] E.Fry, day not recorded July 1828, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.256: Dr. Batty a friend of Fry's father.

62] Mrs. Twiss, there is no record of her relationship to Fry or Fry's father John Gurney.

63] Hare, The Gurneys 94, 103 John Opie a painter and husband of Amelia Opie,

- 64] E.Fry, 27 March 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb.Ms.Vol.S.256: Mrs. Inchbald, a writer of romantic novels and friend of Amelia Opie.
- 65] Hare, The Gurneys, 58 :Uncle Barclay
- 66] Ibid. 29 :Hudson Gurney eldest son of Richard Gurney of Keswick and his second wife Rachel Hanbury who was Fry's much loved ' aunt Gurney'.
- 67] Ibid.163, 189: Fry's brother John Gurney 1781-1814, the second to be named John. The first died as a baby. John married his first cousin Elizabeth of Keswick, who regrettably died in 1808 and he never remarried. Hare,163, 189-190
- 68] A Meeting for noted speakers
- 69] Jos.G.Bevans a noted ' Friend' as well as a member of the family.
- 70] A Friend and Minister, Friend Jasper Capper, like many Quakers open their homes to any member of the Religious Society of Friends who needed lodgings. Fry gives no further information on this family.
- 71] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 41
- 72] E.Fry, 23. August 1828, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.256:This dream demonstrates Fry's insecurity. It also highlights her fear of the sea which she explains in this journal entry. The importance of this dream to Fry was its frequency and the realisation that she never again dreamed being drowned 'or washed away' once she had told her dream to William Savery. She equates her acquisition of 'true & real faith' with the disappearance of the dream. At the time she claims she did not associate one with the other, however in 1828 when she is recalling 'My Dream' she considers the coincidence "most odd". 21 April 1798, Journal.
- 73] E.Fry, 15 October 1813, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.263: Katharine Fry's editorial notes within the text of Fry's journal gives rise to the suspicion that Fry at least to start with intended her original journals for publication and not just as source material.
- 74] E.Fry, 29. April 1798 Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms. Vol.S.256: at the end of this journal entry Fry has initialled her editorial intervention but not dated it.
- 75] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 131-132 : Catherine Gurney Fry's eldest sister (Kitty) was very influential in Fry's early life. When Catherine Gurney became a member of the Church of England, her relationship with Fry became strained for some time. Fry's opinions on Christianity as a whole mellowed as she mixed more freely amongst different denominations

n her charitable works. Fry also found her own family's rejection of her form of Quakerism made her far more tolerant.

76] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 3: 'Plain Quakers' traditions were not upheld by the Gurney's of Earham. This was due to Fry's parents particularly her mother Catherine Bell, who although the great-great-granddaughter of the Apologist Robert Barclay held a more tolerant view of other religions.

77] 'eritable', Fry means 'irritable'.

78] E.Fry, 31 July 1839, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.256: Fry was reticent about her fainting fits as she makes very little reference to them other than to complain of being unwell.

79] There was evidence to suggest she had epileptic fits, as she mentions convulsions.

80] E.Fry, 20 July 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.257: The Normans were local people who worked for Fry's father. 'Bob' Norman was the gardener who Fry visited as a young girl until his death.

81] Epictetus [c.50-120], a Stoic Philosopher

82] Richenda Gurney 1782-1855, Fry's sister who married Rev.Francis Cunningham ?-1863, in January 1816. Richenda was one of the 'four' younger Gurney sisters.

83] E.Fry, 10 July 1797, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms. Vol.S.255: Fry was always concerned that any charitable act she did would be seen as 'showing off'. Fry always made it clear that any gifts she gave were due to her father's generosity.

84] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 11 : This admission of jealousy on Fry's part was in stark contrast to her earlier claim of a harmonious relationship with her sisters.

85] John Gurney 1781-1814, Fry's brother. Rachel Gurney 1782-1827 Fry's sister.

86] E.Fry, 21 April 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.256: Fry also recorded 'My Dream' in 1828

87] E.Fry, 23 August 1828, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S.256: Being labelled stupid had an adverse effect on Fry all her life.

Introduction to Journal Book Ms. Vol. S.256

The introduction of this thesis contains the reasons I have used the same referencing system for Fry's journal as the keepers of the original journal books. This has meant that book referenced Ms.Vol. S.255 is the first of the series of forty-eight books that make up Fry's journal.

It has been established that Fry like many journalisers before her had edited her text at a later date than indicated. The following journal Ms.Vol. S.256 covers much of the same period of time that Ms.Vol.S.255 deals with. Her first meeting with William Savery and her visit to London in 1778 are both dated entries. However, the text of each entry has a very different tone. In book Ms.Vol. S.255 the writer is writing with her audience in mind. The voice is mature as the following example demonstrates. "April My dearest father and John came to London we went to Nansons and to a rout in the eve. In Ms.Vol.S.256 The entry is dated "3rd. April My dearest dad came & so did John, we joked about all morning —" Fry's language was that of an excited seventeen year-old.

When these books are juxtaposed two distinct voices can be discerned. It is worth when reading this journal book to consider which of Fry's voices you are hearing. I believe that part of the text of book Ms.Vol.S256 was Fry's original entry and the proof can be found in the tenor of the text. Throughout Fry's journal the times of greatest nervous tension are obvious by Fry's syntax and handwriting. [The later only being indicated by the obliteration of part of her text.] Nevertheless, the entries that have been carefully considered as opposed to jotted down roughly and do not disguise her age when Fry was writing a particular entry. This is demonstrated in these two books quite clearly.

1.II Ms.Vol. 2:S256

Sunday 26th January

I have been at meeting this afternoon & went to town with that intent this morning but I got my feet so very wet with walking that I did not go but spent the time with Mrs Freshfield^[1] -- now I must look back at this last week & realy consider what I have done what progress I have made how much time I have lost & & I think altogether I have had a pretty good week in some things I have been industrious but I think I should have been more so if I had some plan fixed for spending my time which I will do to night for next week I hope to keep well to my good resolutions -

Sunday the fourth of February

I have been so much occupied this whole week & so many things have passed & altogether I shall give no account of it till to day this morning I went to meeting & though I had a very bad pain in my stomach because I wished very much to hear an American friend who was there preach his name is William Saverry^[2] I was engaged to spend the day at the grove & after a meeting of three hours I went with aunt Jane ^[3] all the friends dined there & I felt rather odd as I was the only gay person. there was a soft pleasing manner in friend Saverry but I thought he had something of the hateur of quakers about him -- the meeting was not till six in the evening & uncle Joseph^[4] came to me to say he wished me to go with friend S-^[5] alone in the carriage to meeting we had much talk but not much concerning conversation we went to meeting which lasted very long & he preached very excellent sermon I was very low almost all meeting I dont know why but I could not help considering how near my mother ^[6] was to me in the burying ground which led me to think of death & & then a lady went into hystericks & it did so remind me of my old feelings after meeting I rode home to the grove with friend S & we had a sort of a meeting all the way we talked about concerns & & as soon as we got to the grove he had a sort of regular meeting

Sunday 4th of February 1798

To day much has passed in my mind of a very serious nature I have had a faint light spread over my mind at least I believe it is something of that kind owing to having been much with &

heard much excellence from one who appears to me a true christian it has caused me to feel a little religion my emagination has been worked upon & I fear all that I have felt will go off I fear it now though at first I was frightened & hurried [7] to think a plain quaker should have made so deep an impreshon on my feelings but how truly predudic'd in me to think that because good came from a quaker I should & must be led away by inthusiesem & folly as many of that sect are to apt to be-- but I am now I hope free from such folly I wish the state of inthusiesem I am now in may last for to day I felt there is a god I have been devotional & my mind has been led away from the follies it mostly is wrapt up in I loved the man as if he was almost sent from heaven we had much serious talk & what he said to me was like a refreshing shower on parched up earth & had been dried up for ages but when I came home - I felt I had to much inthusiesem I doubted myself I mixed to much the idea of growing religious with growing the quaker - I had a painful night dreamed nor thought of any thing but this man in the morning he came to breakfast he no longer preached but was kind and affectionate to me - I hope he will come again--it has not made unhappy I felt ever sine humble & I have longed for virtue I hope to be truly virtuous to let sophistry fly from my mind not be inthusiastic & follish but only be so far [+both+] religious as will lead to virtue there is no nothing seems so little understood as religion. do as I think right though thick & thin for what support what comfort is like virtue----*

*Katherines note: (follows entry for Sunday 4th Feb. 1798) Note E.F

"The things of God comprehendeth no man, but the spirit of God" 1 Cor 2-V11 etc Do as I think right through thick & thin for what comfort what support like virtue 'For all my mind had been through him thus tendered & refreshed in the evening meeting & the other opportunities with him that day, yet fears soon crept in, for on my return to Earham in the evening I wrote thus: When I got home I felt I had too much enthusiasm, I doubted myself I mixed too much the idea of growing religious & growing the Quaker. I had a painful night, dreamt nor thought of any thing but this man & what had passed. W.S. came the next morning, he no longer preached but was kind & affectionate.' [8]

Tuesday 6th Feb-

My mind has to day by degrees flown from religion this morning I rode to town *

Katherines note:* (*Norwich*) [9]

& had a very serious ride but in the course of the morning meeting young Hobert*^[10] & being rather stared at with admiration by a few red coates first brought on vanity & I rode home as full of the world as I had riden to town full of heaven--

Katherines notes:* "*She was a fine horsewoman*"

I hartily wish that friend may come again I should like to have a much deeper & more lasting imprehon made on me than I have now had I have [+what+] been I call very good to day in some things giving up my own pleasure to please others --for all my religion may fly away I hope most truly that I shall be a more strictly virtuous character in every respect than I ever have been I rather expect I shall be at lest if feeling the strongest resolutions is a simptom for a virtuous character is open to all that is good I want charity I want strength of mind & government over myself I want humbleness in every sense of the word --even in trying to be truly virtuous there are many stumbling blocks for me I am much inclined to superstition [11] to have my feelings worked upon before my reason to be very sophistical - I have to high an idea of my own openions & when formed they are dificult to be moved--my mind was in so good a state that though Rachel made a most cuting remark I did not feel the least vexed though perhaps the reason is I felt that it was just. they where laughing at me for my flirtations as they called them first frend Savery & then young Hobert^[12] not that I can believe I had any thing of flirtation for friend S--but my feelings towards him are unintelligible then she said that Kitty & she had been remarking that [+it was nothing as long as a person-- 33cm--I should like them+] it was too sharp a remark to be made even in jest but it so happened I did not mind it the least --I will say a little more upon the strong & odd impresson friend S made on me -I do believe if he had asked me I should have gone to America with him that feeling towards him is now gone off but I realy longed to go to Needham Ipswich^[13] & all those places I mostly dislike the idea of so much how very droll I felt no fear not the least in his company as I do with most plain friends but I felt a sort of

luxury in hearing him preach to me it gave me pleasure I felt a sort of adoration for him I never in all my life remember feeling for any person I think it very likely that he will come again I should not suppose he would have the same effect for I know before hand what I have to expect I have no doubt it was partly the mystery that always is about such sort of people that produced reverence for he felt to me as as overflowed with true religion & was a was humble & yet a man of great abilities & one thing he having been gay & disbelieving only a few years ago himself made him better acquainted with the heart of one in the same situation & he knew how to effect it if I was to grow like him a preacher I should be able to preach to the gay & disbelieving than to any others for I should feel more sympathy for them & know there hearts better than any others ---[14]

Wednesday 7th Feb

This morning I was up very late not till 10 o'clock I drew with Mr Crome [15] till about one & then read history & & till it was time to dress - I went to the bank I do not like myself there all day I was too volatile & forgot to have a proper command over myself I exaggerated spoke a little scandal & & this evening I could not feeling & remarking my youthful quick changable feelings when I got into the carriage it was full but with Rachels singing & a most beautiful & starlight night we went over the castle hill & for a moment my feelings were risen to any thing I looked at the sky I thought of god - I looked at the hill I thought of red coats & my feelings went jumping about most drolly soon they were drawn forth a fine military band went past the carriage I could have flown after it soon we got to the grove the thought that it was not impossible friend S was there made me jump out of the carriage with so much glee I wonder I did not break my leg [16] -- so do my feelings fly about & this little [spesemen flew] how how they are under command To night I have not been giving way to several improper feelings I have spoke hastily to my father without knowing it & when they told me of it it vexed me but tried not to feel angry with them though it was difficult to prevent it I wonder if William Savery will come I hope most truly that he will because I wish him to make a much deeper impression on me than he has done -- for I did feel so extraordinary a relish for all that is good but I fear he will not if I was to follow inclination I could go to London to see him again before he goes -- but inclination cannot be followed [17] & I hope to

be good with care & perseverance without the aid & assistance of friend S I do hope tomorrow to have a truly industrious day I have given up to much to the feelings of pride & [+disgust+] towards Hannah Walker [18] -I will try to rise in better [-1cm-] let me take this resolution I will try how much good I can do in one day & how little evil--I will fix what would at least be a good plan first do all my french with strict attention to Mr Thurger [19] till about 12 or half past 11 I cannot exactly fix my occupations but there is not a day comes without at least the opportunity of exerting your self to do good & to be good in thought word & deed ---

Thursday Feb 8th

O the feelings of a girl of 17--They team with folly -- In some respects I have had a very day in some things I began my french with spirit this morning but owing to Prissillas [20] being unwell I lost most of the morning with being with her this afternoon I had a sweet walk & long talk with Louisa [21] I talked about friend Savery & exaggerated as the imagination mostly does things that are passed I [+am+] believe that when the feelings are brought forth as mine have been these few days past they are more open to impression of every kind -- to night Rachel has been playing & Hudson is hear who is in one of his most pleasing mindes how drolly he & I change together [22] We where the first who grew eriligious many years ago our opinions mostly go together now I believe it is the opinion of both that it is almost nesenary to being compleatly virtous --- I have followed him in my time but I do not [+I+] think I do now Since I wrote this - Hudson & I have been having a very long talk about religion we seem to agree exactly I should never be suprised to see us both plain friends things do change so oddly oddly in this motly world -- to night I am not very happy Prissilla has had nervous feelings that put me so much in mind of what I felt at her age that I have felt quite anxious about her [23] I have felt an uncommon liking to Hudson he made me feel so by behaving in a way I never saw him behave in before every time almost that I looked at him I met his eyes stairing at me that made us both blush when we saw it by a sort of [+axerdont+] accident he took hold of my hand with a sort of pinch which gave me an odd feeling - I never I think saw him more agreable.--

Friday 9th Feb-

I have been rather nervous the whole day at least some of my uncomfortable feelings I went to town this morning felt a degree of vanity at my horse going remarkably well before some people My riding as well I have been nervous all the afternoon but I have done my duty as well as I can I have behaved kindly to them I explained to Danny [23] [+the doctrine+] some of the fifth chapter of Matthew I should suppose some impression of religion good to be put into the mind of a child---I hear James Loyed [24] is dangerously ill do I owe him any duties he has I suppose done me hurt in his time but I still doubt of my proper behavior to him ---

Saturday 10th Feb

I had not a good night I was not very nervous only enough so to keep me awake but I did not lose much time for I read the castle spectre by the author of the monk I do not like it much for I must own I think neither the language story or wit or very good for I could have laid the book down & not finished it if it had not been by my favorite author Lewis – [25] this morning I did not wake till about 11 which is very uncomfortable to be so out of the common course I could have been in a very bad mind if I had given way to it but I overcame it as far as lay in my power I had an industrious morning doing french about dinner time I felt rather nervous but would dine in the parlour I may truly say I sat part of the dinner in agonies partly from restraint & partly from the feelings & my father was so eritable I could hardly support it but I am happy to say I got through it well I own I have felt a some little comfort in my little religion my father is one of trying minds & I think I have certainly felt uncharitable towards him how eritable in all probability I should be if I had all the things to worry me that [+she+] he has feel for others as for yourself place yourself in there situation & then think how you would act -- & then judge if agreeable but many are my fathers anxieties that I dont know of & I am sure I know enough to feel charity I hope -- I should I feel to be the only parent of eleven children whos feelings are very warm therefore more likely to led away [26] to have lost the best of friends & supporters who I had depended on for years to be over burthened with

worldly affaires - to be [+led away+] naturally of good & kind heart which is now to much led by others owing to [+not having my best+] having depended so inteirly on his wife therefore having lost a heart devoted to him he now fals upon others for the same disinterested comfort & support she gave him but he will find it so when for he is now in a degree guided by all & knows not which to follow - can I wonder at his sometimes being eritable & acting inconsistantly ----

Earlham Sunday 11th Feb

This is very differant to this day week I have gone to meeting this morning to day I have felt all my old ereligious feelings my object shall be to serche try to do right & if I am mistaken is not my fault- { but the state I am now in makes it difficult to act what little religion I have felt has been owing to my giving quietly & humbly way to my feelings but the more I reason } {upon it the more I get into a laberinth of uncertainty & my mind is so much inclined to bothe skepticisem & inthusiesem if I argue & doubt I shall be a total skeptic if on the contrary I give way & as it where wate for [+Some+] religion I may be led away but I hope that will not be the case & at all events religion true & uncorrupted is of all comforts the greatest it is the first stimulus to virtue it is a support in every affliction -I am sure it is better to be so in an inthusiastic degree than not to be so atall for it is a delightful inthusiesem ---- [27]

Monday 12th Feb

again I think I have come to my state of folly -- I begin to feel once more a fool how much do I wish another friend S would fall in my way it would I think once more inspire me to what is right -- but I hope & pray still to percevear in what is good Fredric Bevan [28] was hear this morning & stayed with me alone we had much talk I dont dislike him so much as I did but I dont like him he behaves to me as if he liked me very much. Mary Bevington [29] came this morn I felt a great deal at meeting her but I felt much more this afternoon it always stuns me meeting a friend I have not seen a long time--I [+alw+]

long to hide myself up & not to be seen - I have done nothing all day hardly I wish I had for it leaves a vacancy in the mind & idleness gets habitual wonderfully I intend now to work hard till supper ---

Tuesday 13th Feb

I do truly enjoy Mary's being hear I do not know of any thing lately has given me half the pleasure her company has she is such a true friend she does not seem to have left me atall as most have lately I do realy love & feel her a friend she is to me uncommon Gatty Amelia & Elizabeth where hear [30] ---

Wedensday 14th Feb

I did not do much this morning I talked with Gatty about going to London perhaps I may Fredric Bevan spent the day hear & we had much time togather I do not much like him but I think he likes me I have done little or nothing---

Thursday 15th Feb

My mind is in a wherl in all probability {I shall go to London many many are the sensations I feel about it numbers of things am I to expect--}in the first place leaving home which I have not done since I have been well [31] & I have superstitions about such things -- in the next place I have only Elizabeth [32] there who I am atall intomit with dear Mary[34] being hear which will be a great loss --how truly I shall miss my best of friends [+the dear sisters of my heart romantic+] all them ----

*E.F note: "*meaning particuarly my brothers & sisters*"

-- in the next place I shall see friend Savery & most likely all those plain friends I may be led away [+beware+] beware -- my feelings are far more risin at the thoughts of seeing him than at all the playhouses or gayeties in the world - one will I dont doubt balance aganst the other I must be careful not to be led away either body or mind -I must not overdo myself - I dare say it will not be half so pleasant as the Earlham heart

felt gayeties at the Prince* time I must be very careful not to get vain or silly for I fear I shall . Be [+independed+] independent & dont follow those I am with more than I think right - do not make dress a study even in London read in the bible when I can but if I see friend Saverry I dont doubt I shall not be over fond of gayeties if I realy go I will write a sermon for myself to read whenever I get disepated I think I will do it now --

**E.F note: "Dagenham 6 Mo 1828. When Prince William of Gloucester now Duke of Glouster used to visit at my father's house - It may be well for me to observe that I believe the remarkable hold William Savery had taken of my mind was in the ordering of infinite wisdom; in carrying on His own work he is pleased to do it by various means, & He saw [mete] in this instance to do it by making use of William Savery as the instrument to draw my poor unsettled unstable - wandering heart nearer to Himself. As far as I rember Wm. Savery was a man of no personal charm, or attraction, he had passed the meridian of life - but in a most conspcuous manner bore the fruits of the spirit, particula[r]ly in his unbounded Christian Charity & Liberality, which exactly suited my then state of mind, his understanding was also as far as I remember fine & cultivated -- I may also add in paying this visit to London I had my father's consent to see such public places as I liked; because I truly desired to know from my own observation whether I approved them or not; indeed I think in these my early days my wish was through all my infemities to "try all things & hold fast that which was good"*

Friday 16th Feb

I have had an unsatisfactory day I went to town early [+ & had+] to call upon Amelia [35] about going to London she realy seems delighted at the thoughts of it & made me feel so to I realy quite longed for it & I met my father & he seemed pleased about it & in a good mind which was a good thing I spent the day in Norwich with the Wrights [36] & that does not do me any good we w[+h+]ent to hear the band which I am sorry for as I

cannot get courage to tell my father for I know he is [+in+] so eritable he can hardly bear to hear the truth I wish I had not gone I will not go again without his knowing it before hand - I am realy uncomfotable to night it is so very uncertain about my going to London I like to have a thing fixed & yet not fixed is very unpleasant

Wedensday 21st

I dont know how it has happend I have not wrote my journal for so long [37] - all yesterday I was very nervous I whent to meeting & was forced to come out my feelings where so miserable I had not a very good night but I am well now I am happy to say - every thing combined to make me unwell - I am now going to London as certain as things can be in this world next Friday odd,odd I am I believe realy & truly going to London I suppose I shall see friend Savery how how much I wish that I may I would give up almost any thing to see him I must not feel so much about it I shall write to the Bevingtons [38] this evening --- I am now seting over kittys room fire & little Danny hickuping by my side I suppose I shall wish for thy company little Danny when I read this but I shall in all probability be alone at Bricklane ---

Ed.note: The following is written in large letters the auther is unknown:

*I WISH I WAS WITH THEE AT BRICKLANE BETSYS I WISH I WAS WITH THEE
CAP IS PRETTY BETSYS BRIC --- BETSYS CAP IS PRETTY*

Ed.note: The next page is also written in a different hand [39]

what shall I say to thee? perhaps to tell thee to remember Earlham that would be nonsense because I know thee will do that without be told How I hope thee will have a happy time in London & that it will answer thy expectations I am stupid as to writing as thee [+seay+] sees if thee has been with [Harry] give my dearest love to him I envy thee his company perhaps thee may say this is romanticity of [toleration] but indeed it

is not Farewell darling ME --

Brick lane 24th Feb*

Katherines note: "At Samson Hanbury's - Brick Lane"

I will give an account of my journey I sat back in the Mail coach opposite to young Hobert who was much colder and less sochable than sometimes having been very unwell for a few days before I felt rather week & flat in body & mind & continued so till we arrived at Thetford where I [+ate+] eat a good supper & was the better for it I felt rather droll when it grew dark & the coach went fast over new market heath & to hear the horn blowing but I got on very comfortably till a little while after we parted from Mr Hobart who left me a leather night cap -- I was taken all on a sudden with the most torturing {+want to go to --- nothing+} could exceed it till at last [+nesesty laid+] so low & [+I had a notion for the cap falls+] about my clothes I never was in so droll a state it was quite shocking but I got out at a little alehouse & got some strong brandy & water & some laudnum which made me extreemly sleapy I then would have given worlds to have gone to bed I was so totally overdose with sleapyness but I continued to sleap a part of the way & at last landed safe hear & by morning I did not feel atall tired it was very pleasant in some things but very unpleasant in some after I got here I was very sleapy for some time but I recovered it Dr Lindoe [40] came to see me this morning I cannot say how odd I felt a meeting him it renewed all my all feelings when I was in town last time this afternoon after a good dinner I feel most comfortable I am now quite alone as they are all gone to spend a few days at Waltimstow I really enjoy having a little nice quiet by myself I have plans for all next week - but I fear I shall not much want my lesson as I do not think I shall see friend Saverry -- I do love being so independant I am here quite my own mistress do just what I like how odd is change of place I can not help doubting if I am really at Brick Lane again [41] ----

I intend to read the testament to night after tea —what can exceed my folly I am so afraid of setting alone I dont know what to do I always am so afraid in London here am I seated up stairs in Brick lane & no mortal within hearing I will not be such a fool for what could people do with me I am not such a tempting morcel as for any body to wish to run away with me & I have not Money & this is not the time of night yet I am ready to jump at my own shadow what a foolish creature London always does put me in a fright -- but I am determined I wont call any body yet but try to overcome my weaknesses I am rather sleepy to night & shall not grieve when I get to bed -- I shall have several things to do this week I expect not to see William Savery as I hear he will be out of town tomorrow on Monday I dont think it unlikely I shall go to the play on Tuesday I expect to spend quietly with Mrs Good & Dr Lindoe [42] on wednesday I hope to see the Barclays [43] & to have a hop on Thursday I hope to be with Amelia*

Katherine Fry's note: (Opie)

E.F note: *"I give this extract to show a little the way in which my time was to be spent, & as I think most important results followed in my experience of these few weeks I shall quote or mention shortly a few things that I did during them."*

some how or other on Friday I think it likely the Bevans [43] will come which I dont know why I am glad of - on Saturday I hope to go to Waltemstow to spend the day amongst the Bells [44] on Monday I hope to go to Clapham & to be comfortable with the Bs--[45] I have been quite exerting my courage and walking to the [-1/2cm-] all afeared in a manner but I am soon I believe going to be honoured with a visit from Mrs [Nurse] [46] as I have rang for her

Sunday 25th

after jumping out of bed & scrambling down my breakfast I got to Gracechurch street Meeting hearing before hand W Savery was gone to Rochester -- when I first got to meeting I thought I must have come out again I felt so [+belly akey+] & so [-ie] but

however I got though well Henry Beavan [47] was at meeting he seemed realy pleased to see me & I was not much to see him I dined & spent the afternoon with Aunt [Springal] [48] & we had much gossip talk I do love her -- then I whent to drink tea with the Bevingtons [49] as we where at tea a servant came in to say W Saverry was to have an evening meeting at Westminster of course I fixed to go we got there very early before friend S but when he did come into meeting I cannot express how much I felt he preached I think without exception the finest sermon I ever heard & had as beautiful a prayer as soon as meeting was over I whent up & spoke to him nothing could exceed his kindness to me he would take me home in his coach & I spent all the evening with him suped-- [+I do+] I told him how I loved him & I sayed to him if there where many such quakers as he the society would soon increase I did realy love him he is as I sayed before like one sent from heaven there was a very sweet woman there who preached to me most kindly- [+I dont+] I had a very restless night after it but I dont know why I feel that though I told him my prinsiples where not friendly yet I fear I should not like him to know of my going to the play to night I should feel asshamed of it -- that is rong of me if I see it right to go -- I realy could go to america with him I feel such an unconscious regard for him I dont fell any how this morning not atall more religious than ushal but I think such religion as his must attract an atheist -- I shall call upon him some morning soon I intend to go early I had rather spend this evening quietly with him than go to the play -- far far rather -- I asked him how it was that many who realy wished to be religious could not & I thought his answer rather muddled -- I told him I wrote a journal & had often mentioned his name in it & he sayed he had mentioned all ours in his [50] for he was struck with us I never felt such an inclination to worship any body ---

Monday 26th

This morning I whent about shoping came home before dinner & whent Drury lane in the evening I must own I was extreemly disapointed [+Tobesure+] tobesure the house

is grand & dasling but I had no other feeling while I was there than wishing it over I was not struck much I saw Banister Mrs Jordan Sewet Miss DeChamp [+f+] [51] I was not atall interested in the play the musick I did not much like the truth is my emagination was so much risen that it must fall if the play had been perfect --

Tuesday 27th

This morning I called upon the Saverys & then I saw Lockingtons library which is realy a wonderful sight afterwards I spent the day with Dr Lindoe & Mrs Good I felt much pleasure in their company we all went to the play at Covent Garden in the evening I still continue not much to like plays I returned home & had a good night

Wedensday 28th

We where out all the morning I felt proud vain & silly the Barclays all came in the evening we had a dance [Denny] Bevan[52] was hear I dont know why but though I knew he was in love with Anna [53] yet I should think wrong for any person after shewing for me so much attention as he did at Earlham now absolutely to neglect me pointedly which he realy did but Betty [have] charity he may think I have told Anna how he flirted with me therefore he wishes to shew her that he does not now care for me but I am silly to think of such a thing Harry came -- [54]

Thursday 29th

I am rather at a loss weather to mention Harry being hear but I think I may & not shew I hope I did him real good last night I was very merry with him & I own it was the first time I have been realy merry since I have been in London so far there are two things have given me heart felt pleasure & but two things being with friend Savery & seeing Harry they have done me good I own I enter into the gay world reluctantly I am sure I should enjoy gayety much more if I had some one who I could enter into it with I know why it is

not now pleasant to because those I like best dont enjoy it & another thing is being so insignificant a person I am not a quater the consiquence I am at Earlham [55] or in gay sircles at Norwich I dont like plays I think so very artifishal that they are to me not interesting & all seems so so very far from true pure virtue & nature --- at a play I am far more entertanned with the musick than any thing elce than with the poeple there & then with the acteres to night I saw Hamlet & Blue Beard I suppose nothing on the stage can exceed it there is both acting musick & seanery to perfection but I was glad when it was over I had far rather [+!+] have been siting quietly by my own friend Savery my hair was dressed & I felt like a monkey I did not feel vain or not vain I longed for an agreable beau to be with but London is not the place for heart felt pleasure so I must not expect it ---

Friday 2nd March

I was in a most bad mind this morning & walked about the streets of London hated every thing till I happened to see the Back of William Saverry & that put me in a better state Harry came this evening it did me good to be with him I am sure I should be in love with him if Rachel was not We had a most romping evening together Anna Bacly drank tea hear & I almost quareled with her because she said we thought as much about dress as they did I told her I might & perhaps did but I was as sure as could be Kitty & Rachel were very very superior to such folly & I did prase them up at a fine rate I do love to prase them all when I am away from them I told William Savery & several other friends I thought Kitty without exception the very best young person I ever saw I told him I wished I was half as good or half as excellent I am sure in my own mind without being parshal she is so I dreamed about them all at Earlham & sometimes I now begin to feel such a longing to see them anna B[56] played to me & it seem so very inferior to Rachels playing so little of her expreshon! I got them to play all Rachels things that they knew --- nothing can be kinder than dear Gatty & Betty [57] I feel them

far more as sisters than the Barclays, I do pride myself in my being [laghget] at by them all for my friendship to William S — God bless him & may God bless all the dear dear Earlhamites for I do think they are realy better than other poeple —

Saturday

I no sooner wrote this than I went to Gatty and asked her to take a walk with me for I should like to go to friend Saverry she gave me quite a long lecture about it which made me rather angry not but what I own I think I am very inthusiastic about him I see that clearly - but I think he does me real good - but do not forget inthusiesm is dangerous & it may lead you astray — I took a walk with Gatty & felt myself rather nervous therefore I did not go to Walthemstow but remain'd quiet at home as Gatty was out I could not withstand the temptation of going to see W Savery I went but only stayed a few minutes those few did me good he is to be true a wonderful man — when I came home I wrote to them all at home which was sweet ----

Sunday 4th

This morning I set off early for meeting & felt rather nervous I spent all the day with the Bells which was hellish I felt uncharitable towards them all & said uncharitable things of them I gave way to inclination for I own I love scandal though I highly disapprove of it therefore it is the more commendable if I over come it I supped at the Bevingtons ----

Monday

To day I took a lesson on dancing & spent the day quietly at Bricklane ----

Tuesday

This morning I got up early & set off to the Saveries I got there before anyone was up & sat in the parlour reading a little book till friend Saverry came she [59] & I had much

talk I like her vastly she is to me a very sweet woman then came My friend it was delightful to see him I always feel quite a palpitation at my heart at the sound of his voice he seemed at first rather low but when he & I w[+h+]ere left alone he said it did him good to have me come he is wonderful I walked to meeting with him & he asked me if I was not rather ashamed to walk with so plain a friend I told him I felt proud of it I own I behaved much better than ushall at meeting in case he should see me he said he should like to have a general meeting the next afternoon my heart quite sunk for fear I should not go but I fixed to beg uncle Barclay & so I did & he gave me leave directly I got to clapham today & nothing can exceed their kindness to me they treet me like a sister ---

Wednesday 7th March

I had a bad night with my [+calf+] cough spent a quiet morning dined at Brick lane & felt inclined to be nervous I whent to meeting in the evening I cannot discribe it for I have not enough eloquence after the meeting was collected another man began to preach I could have been very angry with him but I overcame myself then W Saverry got up his sermon was in the first part very affecting it was from the revelations [+of+] he explained his text beautifully & awfully most awful I felt it next he discribed the sweets of true religion & the the spiret of prayer how! he did discribe it he sayd the deist & those who did not feel devotion looked at Nature & admired it Saw the thunder the lighting & earthquakes as curioseties but they looked not through nature up to naturs God how well he hit the state I have long been in but may I not remain in it [60] -- his prayer was beautiful & I think I felt to pray with him I realy did cry with a sort of extacy there where supposed to be twelve hundred poeple there they all seemed to feel what he said ---

Thursday 8th March

I had a very bad night with my cough & spent a quiet comfortable day at Clapham [61]

Friday 9th

I went to Walthamstow to day & felt a sort of liking for uncle Barclay * he seemed so old in so much pain & so good ** as we came home we called at David Bevans & I felt quite painfully ugly & disagreeable I could I dont know why have hated David Bevan he was so [swearing] so [unpure] he appeared -- but I should be very soon led away by those sort of young men. There was one agreeable one who sang most beautyfully charmingly indeed that he is one of that sort ---

K.Fry note; *David

E.Fry. note: ** Grandson to the Apologist, our uncle [by] my mother -- During this stay in London through so many difficulties & I think real visits for a girl of my then age I attended several more of William Savery's meetings, in many of them his ministry was wonderful to me, in one I mentioned he prayed twice. I had also at different times some of his interesting & highly valuable society, I deeply felt parting with him. I remark after taking what I thought my last leave of him.

Saturday

I spent a very idle morning in the afternoon we drank tea at Hannah Wagstalfs [62] Uncle Barclay gave a most handsom presant to day a new gown nothing can exceed all their kindness Uncle B & Margaret H- [63] are to me as if I was their [+children+] child I feel [+deter+] detirmined if it is posable to go to [+1/2cm-+] see & hear W Savery but I fear I fear - if I can I will through thick & thin --

Sunday 11th March

To day I have odd most odd adventures-- I set of in the morning by the stage to Gracechurch Street meeting to look after William [64] when I got there no one seemed to be there who could tell me any thing of him Mary Loyed [65] after meeting came up to me & said she believed he was at Ratclif therefore I determined to go though it was uncertain Uncle B[66] -- told me not to go if there was a meeting [+no body was in--10cm--+] I had no place to lodge at & no where to go but I still detirmin'd to percevear when I got to the meeting at Ratclif he was not there or expected but he did come before I whent in to my inexpresable joy I had a most flat meeting I felt so odd to be so far away from all that could feel sympathy with -- all that knew me in a cold little meeting but I looked at my dear friend & felt comfort -- I whent to drink tea at a friend Horfords a very sweet woman & met Molly Knowls [67] there who I did not like at first atall but we walked to meeting together & I got very sociable with her & talk'd rather clever to her -- at meeting in the evening I did feel most flat & low at an emence brew house half lighted up without any body I knew & & I thought of Earlham & I got into my head some of them where ill I did not feel an attend to William Saverrys sermon but I felt his prayer most truly I prayed with him in my heart -- after meeting we rode home & he took hold of me all the way & I am ashamed to say it I felt jealous because he shew he liked Molly Knowles who was with us after supper I asked him when he left London & he said he thought in a week which made my heart sink indeed I could hardly keep from crying I slept in a little dirty nursery with a nice girl about twenty who I told all about myself till three o clock in the morning I got up at 7 & then walked out with [+M-+] Savery girl & then I stayed with William Savery & when I took leave of him I got into my head it might be the last time I should ever see him & I realy cryed & I think he saw it but he said I should see him again before he left London I hope I hope I may ----

Tuesday

I had the tooth ake most bad to night & this morning I am so very low I cannot bear the thoughts of William Saverries going & I hear Hudson [68] will be at Gatty [Hanbury] dance which makes me feel most odd I am quite sinking faint in mind & body I dread this evening so

much I dont know why but I feel quite [+hysterical+] uncomfortable -- after being dressed out smart we went to the dance Hudson was not there nor any agreeable beaux but altogether we had a very pleasant evening we did not get to bed till about 4 o'clock --

Wednesday 14th

we did not get up till very late & did contrive not to call on W.Savery -- though I called at the Bevingtons & they told me he was going to Walthampstow & hoped to meet me there I thought of little else this day I have been much with Richard [69] but I cannot get courage to speak to him about his conduct because I feel I am not capable to preach to others till I am a better person myself ----

Thursday 15th March

this morning I got up but I felt very flat in mind but I & Betty [70] went to friend Saverys -- after breakfast it was most sweet he told us all about his going a courting & then told us the strangest story of a spiret -- he knew a person that died & came to life again & he is sure of it what he said was strange -- we got on talking very interestiy & I told him I hoped to get to heaven with him some day (but I fear I never shall) & when we parted we kissed - - [+Thursday 15th+] Gatty Betty & I then went to the other end of the town & I very much tired myself with walking we saw the picture galleries &&&&

Friday 16th Bricklane nothing particular --

Saturday

I went with the Bells at [Sallenham] --

Sunday 17th

this morning I got up quite nervous which was most trying as I thought it the last day I should ever see W Savery but I intended to have gone to [+meeting+] breakfast with him which I could not get courage to do I went to meeting at Grachurch street where he was after meeting I dined with him & he was in a very flat state quite low in the afternoon I was not with him we went to meeting in the evening his sermon was delightful & he had two prayers he teaches one a little what prayer means after that I returned home with him & Molly Knowles & one or two others he was then in spirits but I was so very low the whole evening at the thoughts of parting from him that I could hardly contain myself I would not go till all the others were off -- I then went up to him & said I must now bid thee farewell perhaps for ever I could say no more he then said to me he hartily wished me well he hoped I would not marry a flirt he would write to me some advice & then I sunk indeed for I could no longer contain myself we parted I said nothing I had a compleat roar when I got alone into the coach may I never no never forget the impresson he has made on my mind as much as I can say is I thank God for having sent at least a glimring & little light through him into my heart which I hope with care & keeping it from the many drayths & winds in this life it may not be blown out but become a large & brilliant flame that will direct me to that haven where will be joy without a sorrow & all will be comfort I think I have faith how much to gain not all the treasures in this world can equal that heavenly treasure -- that I may grow more & more virtuous & follow the faith I should go in & not fear as W S [71] says to acknowledge the God who I worship I will try as far as I can I do hope to do what is right I now long to be in the quiet of Earham for there I may see how good I can be & so I may hear-- for the greater cross the greater crown but I there can reflect quietly & soberly on what is passed there I hope to regulate my mind which I know sadly wants regulation may I never loose the little religion I now have but if I cannot feel a [+religious+] religion & devotion I must not despair for if I am truly warm & earnest in the cause it will come one day--in my idea true [+humbleness+] humility & lowness of heart is the first good step towards true religion -- I fear & tremble for myself but I must humbly look to the author of all that is good & great & I may say I humbly

pray that will take me as a sheap that has strayed from the flock & once more let me enter the fold if his glory I feel there is a God & immortality happy thought may it never leave me & if it does remember I have felt there is a God & immortalety ---

Monday

this morning I went to Amelias [72] & passed through Moorfields but I exerted my courage & did not call but coming home I did he was most kind & said he should have a meeting tomorrow night I have the tooth ake so bad -- after a bad & trying night with the tooth ake I fear I cannot go to meeting as it is very bad to day I will write a note to bid him farewell I am quite low when I think of him how I long to hear from him Gatty says he sent a most kind message to me I lament that he must go on wedensday morn he left London I expect not to return -- on Friday I dined at Dr [Sam---] [73] & explained to a gentleman the doctrines of quakers --- & I called on friend Savery --

Clapham Sunday the 24th

I think to night I have felt the most agony in my tooth head ear & face I ever felt but that is well this morning but I have still rather a painful companion I am nervous & uncomfortable I do long to be at home I have my sorrows but how! very little to what many have I believe I may say most have -- I am to apt when I am nervous to rejoice in the shortness of life if my soul was as I thought prepared for immortalety I think I could look to early death as the greatest of blessings but now I am so very low I could see every thing through its darkest medium & I must try to chear up I long to be at home to have them with me I want them I hope I shall get home well but I think I feel an inward strength that will trust in the just directer of all things remember the sweet doctrine blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted we all have our trials & the better we bear them the more esteemable we are & I am sure nervous feelings are far more in emagination than any thing elce I know if any body now came & told me W Savery was in the parlour or the house was on fire or some thing that

required exertion I should be well --- I am now I think getting better & the tooth [ache] coming on -- I am now I think [+rather -20cm-& fortune be --I am+] much better I have been trying to write home but cannot how very different we are [+1/4cm-+] from the Barclays they I should suppose would make a better way through life but I don't think them so clever or have they so much feeling as we have but they are better fitted for this world ---

Monday 26

this morning I went to Amelias & had a pleasant [+morning+] time we call'd upon Mrs Siddens [74] who was not at home to us but saw her daughter who whole soul seems wrapped up in her own beauty we then call'd upon Dr Batty [75] & then upon Mrs Twiss who gave us some [+----+] paint for the evening I [was] painted & had my hair dressed a little & I did look pretty for me Mr Opie [76] Amelia & me [+2cm--+] went in the evening to the Opera Concert -- I own I do love grand company the prince of Wales was there & I own I felt more pleasure in looking at him than in seeing the rest of the company or hearing the music ---I did nothing but admire his [+royal+] RH -- but I had a very pleasing evening indeed --*

*E.F note: "our present King George the 4th he stood by me a long time & was a most attractive person."E.F

I like Mr Opie vastly but he is not equal to Amelia I should suppose --

Tuesday 27th March

this morning I went to Mrs. Inchbolds with Gatty * & Amelia I like her vastly she seems so interesting & so clever --

*Katharine Fry Note: *Hanbury*

afterwards I went cousin Hoares to dinner I stayed till Saturday the 12th at Hamstead I have particularly enjoyed I like them all vastly but I own I think it rather to flattering a place to stay

in they all seem to like me so very much I never was made so much of as I have been there by both them & their guests all there beaux who seem but disagreeable are quite struck with me they have warm feelings & understand far better than the B's [77] do & can enter so warmly into the beauties of W. Savery Mrs Hoar [77] is a very superior woman I returned to Clapham on saturday morning my Uncle B seems quite off at my being at the Hoares but with great beging he [+allowed+] took us to the Opera the house is rather dazling the company very fassenating the musick hardly atall so & the dancing is delightful Hudson came in the middle of the opera & I was realy charmed to see him it put me in mad spirets & I was most merry we had a very pleasant squeezig in geting out I just saw the prince of Wales -- we had a pleasant evening and then whent to bed --

Sunday 11th April

I felt rather cold this morning but we all went to Wandsworth meeting my thoughts will be flighty there I cannot help it Gorge Knowls [78] was there & I was rather struck with his countenance there is so much expression in it but weather agreeably or disagreeably -- [79] I could not tell Hudson spent the day here which to me was sweet -- I had long been thinking of writing to W Savery & tried to do it this evening for I have felt the sweets of devotion & want to cherish them but I fear I cannot & I naturally fly to him who first taught me those feelings but I should not forget that he is not the one who can give I must look to a higher power I fear I have attached too much the idea of religion & W Savery together -- if I have I must disunite them I shall always love religion through him but I must also [loose] [80] it away from him I believe it is nesesary to have at first some stimulus to religion some little form of prayer & to fix some time every day for religion & prayer -- till by gently leading the mind would at last be able to go in the path it should go in -- I felt so odd about writing I did not feel myself good enough so I gave it up ---

Monday 2nd April

this morning I felt rather nervous & I took a resolution I would not have brandy & water but the feelings continued a little [ale] till after dinner I then went to Molly Knowleses where I met the Hoopes [81] & Tom Hampson I had some very pleasant talk with MK -- I like her vastly but I think her a great flirt a great flatterer & all things to all men -- but she is truly a wonderful woman I did not much like Gorge -- [82]

Tuesday 3rd April

this morning my dearest dad came to London & so did John [83] we joked about all the morning we dined out at the Nansons we went to a route in the evening so that we had rather a worrying day --

Wednesday 4th

This morning Gatty me & Betty went with Mr Opie & Amelia to see some picture galleries which to me is stupid we had Mr Opie & a party to dine at Brick lane amongst the rest was Charls Loyed [84] who put me so much in mind of James that it was quite shocking --

Thursday [mastermas]

[+Thursday 5th+] Friday 6th

I had a flirting pleasant merry day with Peter Pindar [85] at friend [Harrisons] Gorge [Knowls] was there & I begin to admire him he is certainly somthing ---*

Katherine note: *k.f adds Dr. Watson to the list but excludes George (Knowls)

Saturday Sunday 8th

at Hampstead ----

Monday

I whent with my father & all the Barclays to Sir Gorge [Stantons] & spent the rest of the day at Clapham & I had so bad an hoarsness I could hardly speak ---

Tuesday

I dined at the Trittons [86] & had a snug evening with Richard at Brick Lane ----

Wednesday

I dined & spent the evening at Mrs Buxtons [87] which I enjoyed very much ----

Thursday [+Gurney say try nervous+]

I dined at Joe Bevans *& I felt so very faint at dinner I thought I should have fainted I lodged at Jas Capper---**

Katherines note: *Joseph Gurney Bevans ** Jasper Cappers

Friday

I dined at Mrs [Mathews] [88] at Woodford & I was in very good spierts on Saturday I set of towards home breakfasted at Cousin Cockfields & dined at the [Shapheads] [89] as we passed through Rumford I saw some of the Iris chilens [90] which I own gave me a great deal of pleasure they put me so much in mind of Norwich -- we got to Cogshall that night -- on

our way home we stoped at Clare I admire the appearance of Mr Jones I felt meeting Margaret^[91] but I am sure we are no longer intomit one stage after dark I realy enjoyed I felt [+te+] coming home & I felt all about W Savery -- we got home about eliven o clock on Monday*

Katherines note: *April 1798 Monday April 16th* " I arrived at home with my father after paying a few more visits "**

***This last statement was written by E.F in her daughter Katherines journal**
 night they where all in bed meeting was to me most drole I sat up some time talking to them & then whent to bed

on the tuesday morning

Kitty & me had much interesting talk & I did enjoy a little being home but I felt low & all the melonchaly assosiations I [too] could have intruded themselves upon my mind

on the wedensday

I felt realy nervous more in mind than body but I was quite miserable all the morning in the eve I was better ---- *

On Thursday

I got quite comfortable

E.F note: *7th mo 1828.there endeth this important & interesting visit to London.---*

Editorial note: Elizabeth Fry wrote a long passage in her daughter Katherine's journal dated 'Dagenham '7 mo 1828' and it refers to this visit to London. This will appear in the appendix of this section of journal entries. The view has been taken that its inclusion would assist the reader by comparing her perceptions of this visit at the age of 17yrs with those as a matron of 48yrs.

Friday 20th April

I am now I hope going to be again realy settled - more so than I have ever been before I have every reason to be realy happy & realy good I wish to write an exact account of my

conduct in my journal & all the different states of my mind I should like never to miss it but to have a time every day for the most close thought away from the world I live in to inable me to perform my duties to all -- to look closely into my own mind & keep faults from creeping in if I dont take care I shall get vain both of mind & body I have been of late so much flattered by them all at coming home dont loose their good openion but keep steady to all I think right with activity & percevearonce -- To day the children brought me home a letter from William Savery I cannot well express what I felt at receiving it I was in agitation all over from head to foot how very much I do feel for him it is quite indiscribable I cannot clearly make myself out about him I do not know the course I am to run all is hid to me in misterry but try to do right through every thing I feel he gives me a stimulus to virtue but I fear by what I expressed in my letter he suspects I am turning plain friend & I hate he should estimate me falcely -- but I must consider that on the foundation of the doctrines I believe we agree I [+must+] must look to one higher than him & if I feel my own mind satisfied I nead not fear look up to true religion as the very first of blessings cherrish it nurrish it & let it flurrish & blow in my heart it wants taking care of it is difficult to obtain I must not dispair or grow skeptical if I cannot always feel religious for we are to be to payed according [+of+] to our works & I felt God as it where & I must seek to find him again -- try at least to obtain it I will write again I entend to W Savery I had now better leave the subject till I am capable of thinking of it ----

Saturday 21st

[+the+] I did not rise till late partly because I felt so very cold & vaporish that I did not like going down to breakfast I read W S's letter before I got up & thought upon it & religion I think of & feel religion at times but I dont understand it always it is difficult to comprehend like other things but look up to it it is misterious but the forwarder I get in virtue the clearer I shall get about it-- I must try to keep on clear grounds I am young & inexperianced & likely to be led away all is forming within me & I do not doubt though this is the time of formation all will go on as it should do if I exert myself as much as I can I think I had better make a very great point of my reading the testament with my own reflection upon it & then if I want to be on clearer grounds read some good book upon the subject keep up my corrispondance love

& affection for my dear dear friend --- for he is able to assist in the of christianity --*

*E.F note: *"read some good book upon the subject" I never remember reading any books about this time upon the subject. I consider that in a remarkable degree what I have ever understood on on these subjects has not been from man-*"

I am so glad I dont feel Earlham atall dull after the bustle of London but I feel a better relish for the sweet innosence & beauties of nature I hope I may say I "look through nature up to natures God"-- I have not felt atall strong in body since I came home but I think more delicate than I have been for some time past but I hope all will soon be well I go every day to see poor Bob*

Katherines note: *"poor Bob (a servant in a decline living at a cottage in the park)" [91]*

who I think will not live I once talked to him about his dying -- & I asked him if he would like me to read to him in the testament -- & I told him I felt such faith in the blessings of immortality that I pitied not his state it was an odd speach to make to a dieing man -- I hope to be able to comfort him in his dieing hours -- I gave some things to some poor poeple to day but it is not their that I am particulaly virtuous as I only am following my natural disposition I should be far more so if I never spoak aganst any body which I do to often I do think I am improved since I was last at home my mind is not so fly away & I hope it never will be so fly away again -- we are all governed by our feelings now the reason who religion is far more likely to keep us in the path of virtue than any theoretecal plan is that you feel it & your heart is wrapt up in it it acts as a furnice upoc the charecter it refines & purefies it whereas principles of your own making are without kindling to make the fire hot enough to answer its purpose ---

Katherine F journal note by E.F

Dagenham 7 mo 1828

Here ended this important & interesting visit to London where I learned much & had much to digest. I saw & entered various scenes of gaiety, many of our first public places, attended balls & other places of amusement -- I saw many interesting characters in the world, some of

considerable eminence in that day, I was also cast among a great variety of persons of different descriptions. I had the high advantage of attending several most interesting meetings of Wm Savery & having at times his company & a few other friends- it was like the casting die in my then life. It was certainly a great risk to let a young lively girl of 17 thus go alone with only a valuable servant to wait upon her, to see & try the world, only this is to be said I was mostly with relations, such a risk I dare not run upon any account with a child of mine, however I believe it was in the ordering of Providence for me & that the lessons then learnt are to this day valuable to me. I consider one of the important results was the conviction of these things being wrong from seeing them & feeling their effects. I wholly gave up on my own grounds attending all public places of amusement. I saw they tended to promote evil therefore even if I could attend them without being hurt myself, I fear in entering them I lend my aid to promote that, which I was sure from what I saw hurt others, led many from the paths of rectitude & chastity & brought them into much sin — particula[r]ly those who had to act in plays, sing in concerts etc. I felt the vanity & folly of what are called the pleasures of this life & that their tendency is not to satisfy but eventually to [enverate] & injure the heart & mind, unless these pleasures are of an innocent nature & used as recreations, subjected to the cross of Christ -- I was in my judgement much confirmed in the infinite importance of religion as the only real stay guide, help & comfort in this life & the only means of having a hope of partaking of a better, my understanding was increasingly open to receive its truths, although the glad tidings of the Gospel in Christ were little, very little if at all understood by me. I was like a blind man who could hardly be said then even to have attained the state of seeing men as trees. I obtained in this expedition a valuable knowledge of human character in the variety I met with, that I think was useful to me, though I think some were very dangerous associates for so young a person & the way in which I was protected among them is in my remembrance very stricking! & leads me to acknowledge that at this most critical period of my life the tender mercy of my God was marvellously displayed towards me, & that this all powerful, though to me then, almost unseen & unknown hand, held me up & protected me — And can any doubt that it was this Spirit manifesting to me the evil in my own heart as well as of what I perceived around leading me to abhor it, & hunger & thirst after himself & His righteousness & that salvation which comes by Christ--E.F”

I think a dream I have had so odd I will write it down ----

My dream [92]

before I mention the dream I will give an account of my state of mind from the time of fourteen years old I had very skeptical or deistical principles I seldom or never thought of religion *alltogether I was a negetivly good character having natural good dispositions I had not much to combat with I gave way freely to the weakness of youth I was flirting idle & rather proud & vain -till by the time I was seventeen I found I wanted a better & greater stimulus to virtue than I then had as I was truly wrapt up in trifles [93] -- I felt my mind capable of better things but I could not exert it till several of my friends without knowing my state wished I would read some books on chistianity but I said till I felt the want of religion myself I would not read books of that kind but if ever I was to I would [+read back+] judge clearly for myself by reading the new testament & when I had seen for myself I would then see what others said about this time I believe I never miss'd a week or a few nights without dreaming I was near being washed away [+from+] by the sea somtimes in one why somtimes another & I felt all the terror of being drowned I always wake before I was either drowned or saved at last I dreamed it so often I told many of the family what a strange dream I had how near I was being lost — after I had gone on in this way for some months W Saverry [94] came to Norwich I had begun to read the testament with anotations & reflections of my own & he suddenly as it where opened my eyes to see religion but again they almost closed I whent on dreming the dream I whent to London after him I told it him & the day when I felt I had realy & truly got true & real faith that night I dremed [+I the+] the sea was coming as ushal to wash me away & I was beyond its reach beyond its powers to wash me away since that night I do not remember having dremed [+it since+] the dream — odd -- it did not * strike me so odd at the time but now it strikes me most odd ---

*Ed.Note: hole in page

**E.F Note: [in pencil] a remarkabe fact

all I can say is I admire it I am glad I have had it & I feel a sort of faith in it it ought I think to make my faith steady it may be the work of chance but I do not think it is for it is

so odd my not having dreamed it since what a blessed thought to think it comes from heaven -- May I be made capable of acting as I should act & not being drowed in the ocean of the world but fitted to mount above its [forces] but remain a steady & faithful servant to the God who I worship -- I may take this dream in what lite I like but I must be careful of superstition as many many are the minds that are led away by it -- believe only in what I can comprehend or feel dont dont be led away by inthuseesem but I dont fear I feel myself under the protection of one who alone is able to guide me in the path I should go in ---

Monday

this morning I am set down to write to W Savery & I feel my own incapability I feel not to have power

Thursday 20th April

I have not oppertunity to write much journal since I came home I have been but very delicate so faint & languid & at times very low spirets at times high - I have not done much but I think I have exerted myself & not been idle as I do not think I have lost much time I have given up going to Thurgers which I dont quite approve of but I think & feel I am more capable of performing all my duties in life than I was I am sorry I have got into the habet of shewing my journal for I do not feel so able to write my most [+iw+] inward thoughts as I have done in my time [95] -- I believe they all think I shall in time turn plain friend Perhaps I may I do not think it unlikely but I shall never do it I hope in a hurry -- Perhaps I should now write as I did some time ago[o] the feelings of a girl of seventeen but I hope my mind is ocupied with better things than it was then ---

[+Thursday+] Friday 27th

This morning I whent early to town in the market cart & then whent to see my poor girl who is

materially better which gave me pleasure I then went about shopping dined at the Wrights & then went to Henrettas & Marrias [96] to drink tea I met Pitchford[97] there & we had a long walk & a good deal of talk upon the subject of religion I told him what I had gain'd but I think we very much differ upon the subject he does not seem to me to [+feel mu+] think much of general inspiration of that light within us which shews right from wrong by satisfaction attending right & unhappiness attending wrong but it is a far more interesting & delightful belief to think that a gift from heaven which by cultivation may be enlarged & improved I lent him my letter from W Savery which I think he must like it is full of truth it abounds with excellence ---

Saturday 28th April

this morning my mind felt capable of religion which I am happy to say I often do now "I dont suppose I feel religion quite as people do in general for I only feel impressed that I am under the power of a supreme being who alone is able to judge for what is necessary for me I ask only in my heart to be led in the path I should go in to have my confidence placed in my heavenly father & to feel in him a constant friend & protector" I believe I am protected by him & I hope I am there certainly is a right & a wrong path to go in & true religion is almost I believe alone capable of leading us in the right path -- My mind is at this present I imagine in a state of revolution remember we are all apt to fly from one extreme to the other I have been deistical to an extreme I must beware of getting any superstition I own the doctrines of friends appears to me in a far more rational light than they ever did before - I dont know if I dont approve of almost all of them I would not at this present marry a person not a quaker for fear my mind should change for I see it not at all improbable I may one day be a plain quaker but I think it very much depends on the circumstances of life - I suppose there is much true religion in all sects & all sects [+of+] have their superstitions Man is not made to be perfect [98] -- but for all that I believe there is perfection for though all have some foible yet I hope all have some perfection -- perfect morality of conduct is next to impossible because we are chained to the evils of this life -- but you can comprehend what perfect morality is our souls I

hope are capable of perfection in another state but tares are planted amongst the good seed & all would not have been allowed to grow together if in the end the good would not still be good & capable of perfection -- I often go & see poor Bob who seems to me dieing & it is a good thing to attend a person in that situation I think the more one sees of the different [+sense+] states of human nature the better I read to him in the testament he now flys to religion as his last resource it is the only firm soled source of happiness in this world ---*

**E.F. Note : 'Poor Bob was a young man living in one of the cottages at the bottom of fathers Park; he used to ride out with me on horseback & was a kind & attentive servant to me, he was the first person whom I remember attending in illness & death, it made a very deep impression on my mind in this seeking state & strange to say I believe my labors religeously were blessed to his soul'.*

E[e]arham Sunday 28th [199]

This morning I wake with a sad pain in my stomach & then I set off to meeting where I felt so nervous that I came back in the carriage with Bess Newenham [100] who is a nice girl but my feelings where so strong they would not [admit] my enjoyment of any thing but I supported myself well Bess & I. I fear I lost my time sadly but I felt very unwell at least low in mind & faint in body -- in the afternoon Kitty & I had a good deal of serious conversation about my sudden change of prinsiple she thinks I am going on in an haisty inthusiesem I find religion the prinsiple object of my mind but it is not to be wondered at any thing that has so suddenly effected the mind as that has mine must be an object of allmost consideration to the one effected she talks to me I think reasonably the human mind is so apt to fly from one extreem to the other & why is not mine like others I certainly seem to be on the road to a degree of inthusiesem -- but I own myself at aloss how to act -- if I act as they would wish me I should not humbly give way to feelings of religion I should dwell on Philosophy & depend more on my own reason than any thing elce -- on the contrary if I give way to the religious feelings I am inclined to I own I believe very much in inspiration & I feel confident true humility & humble [+waith+] waiting upon the almighty is the only way of feeling that inward sence of of

the beauties & of the comforts of religion & it spreads a sweet veil over the evils of life it is to me the first [+comf+] of feelings I never felt any thing like it that state of devotion that absolutely makes you cry is most fine I own my drem rather leads me to believe in & to try to follow the path I should go in but I should think my wisest plan of conduct would be warmly incourage my feelings of devotion & to [+follow+] keep as nearly as I can to what I think right & the doctrines of the old Testament not to make at presant sects the subject of my medetations but do as I think right & do not alter my openions from conformity to any one either gay or plain &&&

E.F. Note: *"I think my fear of enthusiasm in religion was very much owing to the deistical company with which I had associated & the books of that description I had read always representing to my view that religeous persons were enthuisiastic, indeed I frequently heard them called mad --"*

Monday 30th April

this morning I felt very idle owing I think partly to having a bad night with my cough I whent down to see Bob who I think is better uncle Joseph Uncle Gurney & Bartlet Gurney [101] in the afternoon I whent down to read to Bob when I got there nurse was there & I wated some time in hopes she would go away but as she did not I read to him 3 chapters in the testament which I own was rather a painful thing to me as I could not express what I felt to B - [102] before nurse I felt not much satisfaction at the time but after a nice walk up by myself I met Uncle Joseph & he & I had a very nice walk togather I gave him W.Saveries letter to read which he has now got there is now & then an inward comfort I feel within myself that is indiscribable it is a calm humility of mind --

Tuesday 1st May

This morning we went to Haleton to see Mr. & Mrs. Kerridch [103] it is twenty miles off I had a stupid day Hannah Walker [104] is to me so little & so finakin that I could hardly restrain my pride Mrs. K I am not intimate with & Mary [Furlful] [105] is rather plaguing I was besides troubled with a bad cough which I thought a good deal about coming home I really built castles in the air about its taking me out of this world & how much I should now have to support me during such a time but that is wrong of me to make a subject of pleasure for I don't doubt I shall have many more crosses & many many pleasures before I take my departure but that I cannot know --

Wednesday 2nd May

I got up in rather a bad mind but after a walk I feel more comfortable my cough was but poorly all night -- My spirits are truly oppressed to night by a collection of accidents in the first place My father is in one of his very low moods which makes me so also in the next my cough has been so bad [+th+] all day that I feel almost ill to night & what is more my father shews me he is in a fright about it *

*Katherine Fry in brackets: "(alluding to this & the possible return of other complaints)[106] I don't think it of consequence but I should not be surprised if it was worse than I thought for in the next place to complete all Mrs. [F] [107] most ridiculously told me they were all so extremely frighten'd at dinner after I went out to draw because Chenda was calling & they thought it me screaming what a wrong thing of her she has been picturing to me the misery they all felt only at having a suspicion I might be ill all I can say is it makes me dread the complaint beyond all powers of description but whatever evils I have I hope not only to support myself with the finest fortitude but to try to enable them all to support so great an affliction [108] I walked to Uncle Josephs principally to get W Saveries letter which I hoped & expected he would say something about it but he did not say a word but gave me the letter coldly I don't know what to think of Uncle Joseph he appears to me not to have enough christian sympathy but he is a very excellent character --- [109]

Thursday 3rd May

I felt it rather a cross to go to [Seathing] [110] I had so many predjudices about it but I whent my cough is very bad I should not be suprised if it was to turn out of consiquence but I dont feel the least uneasy about it I have felt to much inclined to be eriligious at least not inclined to devotional feelings I do so long to go to London Yearly Meeting it would be to me so extreemly charming once more to see My dearest W S --[111] I have been rather cross & eritable for a few days past ---

Friday 4th May

My cough was very bad in the night I brought up with the extreem exertion & this morning it has been very bad quite like the hooping cough I was almost afraid of going to Norwich to take leave of Amelia I felt so very unwell with my cold we bid her good by which though I love & admire her I did not feel atall I spent an idle afternoon & had an interesting evening with Kitty we had a good deal of talk about most things religion amongst the rest upon the world ingeneral she firmly thinks somthing great is coming but I told her I felt perfectly easy about it somthing great was coming I believed but I [+firmly+] feel well assured somthing good is coming though to us thy may seem evils but those evils are blessings in disguise -- My mind is in so sweet a state I must express it I own I felt myself very weak & much inclined to be nervous after geting up but circumstances have risen me in the first place my new french master [112] came & I felt highly pleased at the thoughts of begining french [112] for I do intend to learn it throughly then came cousin Gurney & Mary Walker [113] & she & I had a good deal of talk our souls naturally flew to each other we talked almost all the time she was hear I felt excessively pleased with her if I am well enough I hope to dine at the bank tomorrow & I hope we shall have more talk [+I long to+] I have been but very poorly the latter part of this day I have realy been quite poorly so faint so sickish so trembling & uncomfortable --

Sunday 6th

This morning my hand jogs so much I can hardly write I do feel so delicate so much inclined to be very nervous but I hope soon to be better -- this morning I continued to feel much inclined to my nervous feelings indeed I had them in a degree but my dear old nurse Rachel [114] came & stayed with me till I was better I eat a good dinner & I have agreed to go this afternoon to the bank to meet Mary Walker but I own I feel so delicate I am ataloss what to do not but what I believe what I feel to day are more nervous fancies than any thing elce I dont remember ever feeling the ill efects of exerting myself & going out when I realy felt unwell as I do to day but my feelings get to no highth to day which is very happy for me they are enough to depress my spirets & make me flat but I hope they will go no further I am now alone which I do enjoy I have been taking some valerion which I think does me more good than any thing when I am not well heaven will protect me how faithless I am to fear I am under the power of an almighty hand who will protect me at this time it comes suddenly over my mind & it gives me courage to bear the evils of life how unexpectedly does comfort come as soon as I wrote this Hannah & Joseph [115] came in they asked me to read them what I had just written & I did it though it was a cross to me at the moment but now I feel able to support myself a bright light just came over me it makes up for every sorrow in life -- I drank tea at the bank Richenda [116] and I got out of the carriage before we got to the gates & met Hudson it gave me quite a glow to see him how very much I do like him I think I would do any thing to make Hudson happy I quite long to tell him my change of openions I dislike to have any great change without his knowledge I always feel so much confidence in him then John Walker [117] whent with me to the Cathedral & it led me to consider about musick in worship I am not certain whether I approve of it or not but I think worship naturally flowing from the heart must be much finer than that produced by musick or a form of prayer -- it would would be that religion that would lead us to active virtue but I think the religion you feel from musick raises the feelings very much but does it lead you realy to look up with true humility to the Almighty & does it lead us to serch our own hearts I do not think it does when we came from the Cathedral I had a good deal of talk with Mary Walker upon religion I was highly pleased with her she talked in so reasonable a manner her advice was just what I liked she thought I had much better not go to yearly meeting for fear I should be led away by inthudiesem & she

advised me to form my opinions independantly of any one I told her at presant I had no thoughts of being a quaker but I hoped to take no step rashly but whatever I do to do it with sobriety & judgment ---

Monday 7th

I am but delicate this morning & I had a very uncomfortable night my cough was so bad & with the fatigue was so great that it made me quite nervous I shook from head to foot but I am happy to say I think I was quite patient ---

afternoon

I own I have now some fear about myself I dont know whether to call them fears but they have been partly put into my head by my father in biding me not to go & see bob I dont [+like this+] think my simptoms atall unlike bobs in the first place my stomach is in a drole state [118] & so I am all over this day week I walked to the grove without fatigue this afternoon with walking round the garden I am I think as much so but I hope to be easy whatever may be my fate I am certainly much better to day than I was yesterday or the day before ---

Tuesday 8th

This morning being alone & likely to be so I think it a good oppertunity to look into myself to see my presant state & to regulate myself at this time the first object of my mind is religion it is the most constant subject of my thoughts & of my feelings I am not yet in what I call on a steady foundation about it --the next feeling that at this presant fills my heart is benevolece & affection to many but great want of charity want of humility want of activity -- My inclinations lead me I hope to virtue ---

My passions are I hope in a pretty good state I am not atall in love with any body the reason for which I suppose to be my feelings are ocupied other things I want to set my self in good order for much time is lost many evils are commited by not having some regular plan of conduct. I remember a card my mother had which kept an account of our conduct now I think I might keep a sort of account of my conduct [119] in that way to set down each virtue & every time I [+break+]in any way infringe on what I think right I must set it down it would lead me to look more narrowly into my conduct first consider what are my faults set them down on a card & then every time I commit one put it down [+I have a good card for doing what+] & keep a record in my journal & see how many or how few I comit in such a time time lost that is not spent in my own or somebodys good [+I now I can tell an -- unjust or equivalent that a time gain'd lost +]-- in the first place never loose my time time I do not think lost that is spent amusement or recreation [+where+] some time every day but always get into the habet of being employ'd -- devote some daily to reflection -- never err in the least in truth -- never say an ill thing of a person when I can say a good [+one+] thing of them not only speak charitably but feel so -- do never be eritable or unkind to any body never indulge myself in luxuries that are not nesenary [120] -- do all things with consideration & when my path to act right is most difficult [+look+] feel confidence in that power that alone is able to assist me & exert my own powers as far as they go -- as soon as I am well my plan of conduct for the week -- *

***Editorial Note :** A single page has been torn out of the journal leaving an inch of paper.

Tuesday afternoon

My mind has I think I may truly say ever since one o clock been quite depressed I am in such very uncomfortable spirets I feel quite melancholy O that I could feel faith as I did the other afternoon to support me I feel realy sunk & unhappy some exertion would do me good & I must exert myself come all is for the best be happy -- chear up --- I past the rest of the day in better spirets but at times depresed whether my feelings are faintness or not I am unable to tell but I feel such a fear of falling down & frightening other poeple but I seldom fear them when I am alone ---- *

***E.F Note :** [From K.Fry Journal May 1798] "*At times I passed through deep conflict partly*

nervous from my weak state & I was wonderfully strengthened to overcome some nervous fears that I had to a very great degree & that in some form or other have upset me at times through life -- I quote a little to show it". * " My mind has been quite depressed, I am in such uncomfortable spirits I feel quite melancholy, Oh that I could feel faith as I did the other afternoon to support me, I feel really sunk & unhappy, some exertion would do me good & I must exert myself come! All is for the best be happy! Cheer up!*

Wednesday 9th

to day I am certainly better than I was yesterday but I have now a depression of spirits & a faintness but I know I may overcome them with strong exertion I have felt much at not going to see poor Bob I am at a loss to know what is right about it I must either disobey My father or hurt one who I fear is miserable & dying *

**E.F Note: (about going to see Bob of whom my father feared I had caught my cough - I quote the following to show how little I was at this time in religious habits)*

Editorial Note: What followed was a repeat of what Fry had already written I had a good lesson with Monsieur le Sage^[121] -- My mind has felt hard & I think uncomfortable not able to look up to that source alone that I can expect comfort from I don't think any body can be sufficiently thankful for the blessing of health -- I should not be vex'd at my little indisposition when I consider how much more many others feel mine is nothing in comparison Bess ^[122] is quite a plague to me she is so very volatile so worrying -- but she is a very sweet girl for all that -- I know I shall be better if I will exert myself & dine below & go on as usual -- remember these feelings of mine may be crosses set in my way that I am to overcome my inclinations it is in little things life is made up of remember & cultivate the thought that there is one

Ed.note: One page cut out of E.F's journal. The below appears in Katherine's who watches over every word & action & all are recorded & how great a stimulus should that be to virtue. I am at a loss what to do about it . I must either disobey my father or hurt one who I fear is

dying and miserable I passed through the day better than I could expect & had a good night

Saturday 12th May

This morning I got up a little after 6 o'clock We had a very merry ride to Yarmouth Hannah^[123] was so drole but I had an indifferant pain in my stomach which made me uncomfortable Hudson was with us all day he made me feel myself most disagreeable I cannot say I approve of myself all day I own I think I have lost a day which is a great pity as I might have gain'd one for it is always in my own power either to improve or to loose my time -

Sunday 13th May

I slept so late & felt rather delicate therefore I did not go to meeting this morning but have been writing & working which I dont approve of doing in general on a Sunday as I think it a bad example to servants I intend now to read in the testament for some little time ^[124] -- I am inclined this morning to my nervous fancies but I know they are in my power a good deal -- I finished this day very very satisfactoraly I went to meeting & heard a good deal of reading & read to nurse Normans family ^[125] --

Monday 14th May

I had a very good morning for french we had a good deal of company & I felt inclined to be rather nervous & therefore I drank rather too much medeira & got into high spirits & felt not as I like to feel hurt vanity because I did not think I look'd pretty -- & I [exaggerated] & said what I did not quite think & I did not feel much satisfied with myself it is strange but after I have been in gayetyor company of any kind that is gay I always feel so totally destitute of devotion & only willing to give way to my feelings -- but with a little proper management I need not feel it so I think in the first place not eating or drinking more than I usually do & having a proper watch over myself that is the object I should look to ---

Tuesday 15th May

This morning I woke rather nervous but I was good & took nothing & they went off but I still feel inclined to them I did not go to meeting which I think was right as I must take care for a few days to come & then I hope to be realy better than I have been since I came home to day I think my duties are to do my french well be with Bob [126] dine in the parlour keep up steading all day

Evening

I have been much inclined to my nervous feelings to day & I came out of the parlour before dinner was over which if I had set I am sure I should have felt better as I do think exertion the best thing for them not but what I think there was somthing more than nervous complaints in my disorder somthing belonging to the head or brain & I have a little of the impreshon of it now [127] -- I have lately thought that if [+1cm+] I discriminate I can see that good attends evil even in this state evils I mean that are inflicted upon us & I also think that acting right meets also with its reward hear if the mind is unhappy look througly into it & mostly I think evil begins with yourself but when it does not in such things as illness & & such & there [+may be+] is a good effect that is produced by it though illness is painful yet I know if I overcome it My mind is in a better state for it [+even+] I mostly feel that great reward of being capable of devotion faith how I long for thee to be my constant companion & it is in my power to get [daily] activity in the cause of virtue & that way alone -- lately I may truly say a field of comfort has open'd before me I hope never to loose sight of it for though I only now & then see it & then but dimly except once or twice yet when felt atall it gives that indiscribable glow to the mind that it makes me so happy & does me so much good [I hope with +-7cm-+] the company of plain quakers certainly incourage those blessed feelings within me & gayety does as clearly counteract them if I was sure being plain in every sence of the word would make me feel devotion oftener I would jump to be one but I shall leave that to time to determine I shall now leave off to read a little in the testament

Wednesday 16th May

This morning I am better [+This morning+] than I was yesterday but yet I am inclined to be rather unwell but [+I do hope I shall+] I think I have not lost this day not but what I might have done more -- I first had a very good lesson of french with Le Sage I then took some exercise went to see Bob read to him played on the piano forte & a good practice I then read drew & dawdled till dinner for all I was well employed I lost [+ nearly all the morning +] much time that I might have spent better then I dined in the parlour which was I own a great cross - drank but one glass of wine which I think was good in me I read in the afternoon & since I have been walking & taking exercise -- it appears to me that my virtue & vice would be about an equal balance I am often negetively good - sometimes actively - I dont know I hope if I sometimes am negetively bad that I am not actively so - my father goes to yearly meeting tomorrow - I feel a good deal when I consider he will in all probability see W Savery I cannot help longing to accompany him on some accounts but I am sure I am wiser to stay at home - I shall return to the begining subject of my journal -- what does negetively good or bad meen I dont think there is such a thing there are certainly diferant degrees of activity -- now many would say I am not bad in any thing but where I am not good I suspect I am bad -- now in the [comon] day look over & see what I call good what bad -- in the first place I wake in a morning I know it is right to get up I am not active enough I lay perhaps an hour & sophisticate all the time to make myself see it right -- I then perhaps go down work myself up to a flurry perhaps & eat not breakfast because I am not active [+in virtue +] enough to overcome my dispositions -- I go up to my french think of other things because I am not active enough to attend to it perhaps I do exert myself & go down to Bob I am then satisfied but loose that satisfaction because I loose my time till dinner & so on all day -- from this I suppose that as far as activity of virtue fails in strength so much activity of vice increases as one looses [+its+] power the other gains it how much [I] more care I require because of my idleness of disposition whether it be from ill health or any other cause it is my duty to overcome it --

I will try tomorrow morning how well I can employ my time fix a plan when I wake & then see how I keep up to it -- it should be my constant object of thought & endeavour never to loose a minute but to employ all my talents to advantage -- I do think I am more active than I ues'd to be -- indeed I hope altogether I am rather a better & more steady character but time alone can determine -- I am to apt to forget at times that an account is taken of all my thoughts words & deeds if I had [intire] faith I should not want more to stimulate me to virtue ----

late on Wedensday evening

to night I own I am touch'd with an old passion it is jealousy I can not help feeling how much Kitty & Rachel [128] feel at parting in comparison to what they do at parting from me Kitty seems so sorry at what I am so glad of I do enjoy the thoughts of being alone with her & she does not atall seem to enjoy the thoughts of it

Thursday 17th May

I do not atall approve of my feeling jealous but I think I did not shew it atall & I hope in time to over come such feelings as they are a great pain to [+my+] happiness if encouraged -- I think I have had a very satisfactory day I have been very well & rather industrious I got up rather late but I exerted myself I read a little in the testament & I met with a part I did not much [admire] I then had an excellent lesson of french till near one -- had a good reading whent twice to see bob & walked out -- in the afternoon I stay'd with Kitty when I might have work'd but I did not think of it which is no excuse as my object must be to remember what I can do & never to loose a moment but I read in Epectitus[129] but did not much attend to it -- since tea I have been walking & have had a bad pain in my stomach which is now quite well -- therefore I feel happy ease after pain is so very sweet - Kitty & I had a good deal of talk this afternoon about religion we rather differ about it I think but yet we agree in some things I shall soon go down & try to nurse her & make her comfortable for she is but poorly but I feel myself very insufficient to comfort her ----

Earlham 18th May

I have not had a very satisfactory day I had such unhappy dreams about Hudson I did my french at least part of it & then I went to Norwich with Bess & John & quite tired myself with going about to shew her the town -- dined in the parlour & felt inclined be rather nervous & I dont feel quite strong this evening but much better than I have lately though not so well as yesterday I must get better by degrees & not be discouraged at not feeling quite strong at first I feel it sometimes almost imposable to exert myself to be active particulaly if I am the least unwell what is the matter with me I dont know but my head feels opressed & my limbs tremble which is a painful sensation but I dont doubt after a good nights rest I shall be better

Saturday Earlham May 19th

altogether I think I have had a [+very+] sattisfactory day I had a good lesson of french this morning & read much in Epectitus saw bob & enjoy'd the sweet beauties of nature which now shine forth each day some new beauty arives I do love the beauty of the country it does the mind good I love it more than I ues'd to do I love retirement & quiet much more since my journey to London -- how little I thought 6 months ago I should be so much alter'd I am since then I hope alter'd much for the better my heart might rise in thankfulness to that omnipotent power that has allow'd my eyes to be open'd in some measure to see the light of truth & to feel the sweet comfort of religion -- I hope to be capable of giving up my all if it is required of me & to serve the almighty with my whole heart - though there are some parts of the testament I own bewilder me yet if I keep up to the blessed doctrines of christ I shall be loved exert myself throughly -- what I want is exertion -- I cannot help seting my mind very much upon the Norwich yearly meeting I fully expect there will be many superior friends & I have a little hope W Savery will be in the party what it would be to me to see him again I hope I shall but fear I shall not I

Edit. Note : A page has been torn out of the journal, the following starts another page.

I do so love children ----

Sunday May 20th

this morning I rose & went to meeting walked home which rather tired me in the afternoon I layed down & fell fast asleep & had a very sweet nap which I did enjoy read in the testament after tea I took a nice little walk with the boys* & Richenda I then call'd upon poor Bob & [saw] it was indeed entering the house of morning he lay very ill & his three sisters all crying I could have cryed also

***Edit Note :** Katherine Fry inserted in brackets (*my brothers*)

I then went & read in the testament to nurse Normans family which answer'd remarkably well I wish it may be in my power to do any good to any body in any way I must be careful not to do it to be seen of men for sometimes that feeling creaps in without our knowing it I have been reading this evening to little caslington*^[130] I sometimes fear that I am not good enough to teach others till I know more myself & am a more strictly virtuous character I feel so afraid of not of falling into what is rong but I hope with corect percevearance I shall do well! -- I am so afraid of not continuing at least not being humble for it is a [+falt+] fault often creaps upon us when we [+attend+] may improve in other things true humility is the essance of religion ---

***Katherin Fry note:** *Castleton*

Monday morning 21st May

to day is my birth day I am eightteen years old time, how many things have happen'd to me since I was fourteen the last year has been the happiest I have experianced for some time* past I have been in good health which is almost the first of blessings --I think I will get forward to day with my employments that I may read all my journals since the 21st of may last year & then write an account of myself & my present state - this birth day has not been spent very happily this morning I was in a very uncomfortable^[131]

***Katherine fry note:** "*Here terminates the abstract from her early journals made by my*

*beloved mother herself about the years 1828 - After this period the extracts must be made by myself from the original journals. Kath.E Fry Dec.1845" * "Extracts from Elizth Gurney's journal from her eighteenth birthday May 21. 1798 --- copied by Katherine Fry." [134]*

Tuesday 22nd May

this morning it is my intention to go to meeting though I might stay at home if I could get into the habit of reflection at a place of worship I am sure it would do me good it does now I think do me some good this morning I am very cold in body & rather low in mind but I think persevering in going to meeting will do me good as I suspect what I feel to be very much fancy & the more such fancies are overcome the better. I think I might lay out some little plan of thought while I am at meeting first try with care to look over my conduct in the minutest things for days past in the next place look at all the blessings I enjoy look at the evils that may fall in my way & [thy] to humble my mind & to feel above no body & to feel universal charity & then cherish faith in my mind [+for+] by looking for support where alone it is to be found & pray for aid in my conquering evil & receiving virtue attend to these things as [+too+] long as I can & if I cannot keep my mind steadily to these subjects think of what I may have learnt in the week but I don't quite approve of that it is better to try to attain the power of a silent waiting upon the almighty & to form the mind to [+sigs+] resignation to whatever may happen to me -- I had altogether a comfortable meeting & came home directly but I sadly lost my time till dinner I wrote & did up a parcel to Gatty [135] but I knew I was losing my time I was too long dressing because I set upon looking smart because Fredric Bevan [136] was here which was very foolish after dinner Kitty & I had a long talk about being representatives to Norwich meeting she has frequently had the offer & refused it & I said if I had the [offer] I said I should accept it I don't know whether I should do right or wrong in accepting it I think it would be not quite right to accept it unless I was a Quaker at heart I must leave off -

Earlham Wednesday 23rd May

I have just been reading a letter from my father that mentions he has just seen W Savery it makes me feel I do feel indeed towards him & what is more he offers me to come to London but I do not intend it what a temptation what I would give to go but I believe it to be much better for me to be where I am quietly & soberly to keep a proper medium of feelings & not to be extravagant any way -- much has pass'd to day in the first place I had a very good lesson of french in the next I had a very sweet walk & my mind was rather led to "look through nature up to natures god". I saw poor Bob who is now declining fast it puts us in mind of death I then walk'd in & went into the study to look for a book to read & what should I think of reading but Barclays apology -- [137] Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof -- My feelings have been much work'd upon to night I [+could+] can hardly keep from crying & yet I cant cry -- in the first place I heard from my father & he expressed a wish for me to go to London to see W S & some other friends which for all I knew I could not made my heart beat most quickly in the next place Kitty nose bled very bad indeed & made me feel anxious incase it would make her very nervous again I think she feels me very insufficient to make her happy & she said she thought me a very soft character & then said she thought Rachel was a rough character sweetly soften'd down which she much admired. enough to say a soft character did not interest her [138] another think is I poor Col- Healy is dead was [shot that] it struck me when I thought how little he appear'd to expect it [139] in the next place we have had a long arguement about the Enfields -- {quite a hurly burly !} [140]

Earlham May 24th Thursday

this [day] I rose with an intention of having an excellent days buisness but my plans where counter [ed] which I am not sorry for as I think it was of usse to Kitty she was very nervous this morning & I made her exert herself & take a long ride which I think did her much good in the afternoon I took Pitchford to see bob knowing him to be a religious character but he did not appear to me capable of giving him comfort P Houghton[141] was with us also & we had a very pleasant day I think them both superior young men but Houghton is to me the most

interesting he was a great favourite of my dearest mother I wrote to my father this morning & some parts of the letter were so quackerly in Kitties [openion] that I did not let them go I believe it was better not for it is a pity to hear the appearance of thing I am not the other parts of the letter I thought very much expressed what I really felt {& so did those} I must be most careful not to be led by others for I know at this time I have so great a liking for very plain friends that as my affections are so much engaged my mind may be so also by them I hope as I now find my self in so wavering a state that I will judge without predjudice of Barclays apology & be led neither by them not plain friends if I can possibly avoid it & even if I do agree with all the [----] of quakers that I still will doubt my own judgement till I get older & feel myself more capable of judging do nothing rashly remember Aunt Lucy^[142] she at least appeared rash in her [mearsure] look at Uncle Joseph how quietly & reasonably he has turned plain -- [+Bess+]^[143] ---- I do love Bess very much more & more she would I think be very superior to what she has been if she stayed long with us I think her a very sweet girl she gave me a very handsome present ----

Friday 25th

an uncomfortable & a dissatisfactory day for I really felt it was not in my power to attend to any thing I did hardly any thing this morning though I had opportunity to do much this afternoon I have only read the monk & this evening done nothing my mind has been uncomfortable & I felt inclined to be rather nervous at dinner but yet I have not been so whenever I am in a bad mind I feel skeptical which is a proof to me how much religion attends virtue the evils I inflict upon myself make me feel so but the evils that are inflicted do the mind good. I have not any thing to be unhappy about to day I dont feel very strong but I dont feel unwell I think if I now set down & did my french with activity I should feel much satisfied -- I have done my french & feel better satisfied this evening I have been reading a good deal in the [monk] I dont know whether it hurts the mind or not it certainly shews the passions in a very fascinating light more so I think at least we are more apt to be impressed with that part than the morality of it I feel I am I must go on as I have began it with Bess but I think it loss of time as I have read it before I fear I should not go on reading it but yet as I

have began I think it better to go on My mind feels at this present as if something heavy was over it that will soon burst it feels not quite satisfied with itself I suspect I have duties to perform that will be trials but I must keep up to without deviation from the road that is appointed me to travel in I must beware of false scruples [+I do not think I am forward+] but strictly attend to true ones

Saturday 26th May

I am so very low & uncomfortable this morning I don't know what to do -- I am inclined to be nervous but I should think my low spirits this morning are very much nervous I should not be so dissatisfied with myself but try to keep my mind on a proper level to do [what] I usually do & [not] to alter my plans because of my nervous feelings I feel most [dumb] indeed ---

evening

to day has gone on well I think I may say -- altogether I have had an industrious day [considering] I have not been well but I think I have overcome the nervous feelings as far as lays in my power I had rather an uncomfortable night a little nervous & the stomach ake

Sunday 27th May

this morning though my stomach feels out of order & I have a little trembling about me yet I think I shall go to meeting for we are often supported in a just cause & I think every time I overcome my nervous feelings so much I gain & I must not allow myself to be a slave to them -- I went to meeting & enjoy'd the first part very much the second part I did not do as I liked I think I now want infinite care for I think my feelings will mislead me to a degree in [-2cm-]

of enthusiasms that I may one day repent of I must be careful of allowing false scruples to enter my mind I have not yet been long enough a [+worth+] religiosest to be a sectarian I hope by degrees to obtain true faith -- but I expect I shall loose what I gain now if [+I am leads me to +] I am led to actions I may repent of remember & never forget my own enthusiastic feelings by nature do for the present every thing I can that will tend to virtue but do no rash

deed it requires caution & extreem prudence [+for+] to go on as I should do in the afternoon I whent to Saint Peters & heard a good sermon but to me to want the spiret of true religion in the whole service not but what the common poeple seem'd very much ocupied & wrapt up in it which I was pleased to see afterwards I whent to the Cathedral then I came home read to the Normans & little Castlington *

*Castleton

Monday 28th

I first wrote to my father then wrote a little journal read to chapters in the testament whent to see bob had a good lesson of french I wrote upon [two] conjugations -- read in Barclays apology for some hours upon revealed religion the part I most disaprove of is the harsh manner in which he speaks of other sects it seems to me to want charity & without charity is nothing some parts that he says are beautiful clear & capable of being understood but other parts are not so much so I think all might have been expressed in a more consice manner one thing I believe that true faith is not to be felt without the assistane of the spiret of the almighty--more is contained in true faith than a belief of the scriptures it is God & immortality that we are made capabe of feeling & seeing it is knowing right from rong -- I believe when the mind has faith entire it cannot be unhappy I should think few where blessed with it for a continuancy but I think at least I hope that those who will truly exert themselves in the cause of virtue will now & then be rewarded in this world by one & if of that heavenly draught that alone can lift us above our presant state & give us a fore taste of immortality [being] interrupted by going down to supper I fear I shall not get into the comfortable train of thoughts I was in before -- I have this evening felt very differantly just at tea time I was taken with a palpitation at my heart though not old nervous feelings & I felt weakness of body & a little of mind but I took a ride to the grove & I felt hurt within myself because I thought I had spent so good a day & that my spirets should sink at the end of it but my comfort was to come & my reward if I deserved any [+--|+] a sweet calmness spread over my mind & inward happiness the little evils we have in life are trials for us but I believe we are amply rewarded for them in the little faith I am now & then blessed with I feel as it where rather above myself & the many chains that fasten us to this world I fear [+what it is fated for+] whatever situation

it may be placed in I feel not to fear the opinion of man & yet I feel humble towards all & a little degree of faith hope & charity --

[*5th Mo I believe] Tuesday morning Ed.Note: Written in pencil

I feel weak in mind & body I had sad hurried [144] dreams though I had a concern if I do go on approving revealed religion I must be extremely careful of [+the+] taking the idle fancies of the brain for any thing so far superior -- I believe that revelation only begins by leading us to every virtue by making us above this world & to give us true faith till that is the case I believe no one really inspired as far as I can judge I believe many mistake near metiers for that heavenly light that few receive many may have it in a degree but I should suppose few have it so as to teach others with authority -- I am come home after rather a satisfactory morning I first went to meeting & felt rather weak when there & did not attend to things of much consequence I then went to John Tolls & order'd a shift for a poor woman then I went to another poor woman & gave her about nine shillings worth of cloth for a bed had a very comfortable letter from my father in which he mentions that many friends are much surprised at our not being at yearly meeting it must seem odd after what I expressed for W Savery that I should not go an hundred miles to see him but I know my own heart & I believe that would carry me a thousand but I think I did quite right in not going -- [+I+] I then went & saw another poor woman who I gave half a crown to & desired her to send her son to school or to have some learning --

Tuesday evening

this afternoon I found it almost impossible to attend to french or any thing elce I was so stupified with going about Norwich [+ to nigh+] this evening I whent to Colney to see Mrs Caslington [147] & I had a good deal of talk with her about Billy & I advised her to let him often read with her in the testament & I liked vastly what both she & her husband said I like to hear the sentements of all poeple --- my body has been very languid to day & my mind has been rather so too but to night I feel in an excellent plight both in one & the other quite well & in good spirets I hope tomorrow to be as industrious as I can but I shall have some obstructions to my ushal plans as P Houghton & Pitchord [148] are to come & read a play to us I may with industry finish the little frock for S Norman [149] while they read -- first do a good lesson with Le Sage then attend to french till they come & do not go tomorrow evening to the lecture without I am obliged

Wednesday 30th May

till about 12 o clock I did what I aproved of after that time till dinner I [+did+] heard a play read quareled a little with the children which I think is the first time I have done so since I came home it made me feel sorry though I did not absolutely quarrel I did not speak kindly to them -- but I feel much more satisfied with the afternoon for I exerted myself & did as much as I could well considering the time of day I tranquilised my mind. we whent to a lecture this evening at supper I am sorry to say it I again gave way to passion & eritability towads John [+which+] & the children but I have asked their excuse & do most fermly hope I shall not do so again I was hurt to day because I wrote a very long letter to Mary Bevington [150] & though she wrote to Kitty she did not even mention it but I am rong to be hurt at jealousey jealousey thou wouldst be a bain to my happiness but I will try to overcome thee it is rather [vexatios] after having written so much love & so much intomacy as I did to her not even to have it remember'd but she may not have received it I find by experiance [+leo+] that [+that sort of - 1/2cm-+] neglect from one that I love makes me dislike myself which shews me it arrises from

hurt pride & it is a very rong feeling I must overcome it but I dont know how it is not the feeling of humility it is pride that makes us not enjoy the blessings ***[+we+] I have given** ***[+us+] me & dislike *ourselves myself**

***Ed. note: Fry, in pencil subsituted I for we; me for us & myself for ourselves**

Thursday morning 31st May

I have but a short morning before me but I hope to spend it well & though I dine out & spend the afternoon at the Gurneys [151] yet I hope to remember how very uncomfortable it made me yesterday giving way to myself & giving up that proper command I always should have over myself for I am anxious to do what is right - I think I had better first read in the testament then write my french exersise upon one conjugation & then translate in [Anacharces] & read in the grammor -- till half past 11-- then read in Barclay till one dress & do nothing I can disapprove of all day ---- I think I spent the morning well & should have spent it much better if John Walker [152] had not interrupted me my mind does not feel contented with itself this evening I dis like the vacant feeling after loss of time I should have been more firm in some little things than I have been this afternoon these sort of interruptions to quiet do me no good I love to go regulary with my plans -- tomorrow perhaps they will come home I was wondering to day why I long'd so much to see them & I remember'd it was from them I am to hear of W Savery I think I shall now see him no more may heaven continue to guide him [+in his+] & protect him I believe him to be highly bless'd I love him very dearly I fear he will not like my not coming to yearly meeting to see him but I hope & believe I did right - [+I have been driven to suppose +] -- to night I feel flat in mind not very capable [+of devob+] of any thing

Friday June 1st

This morning I feel but very low in mind & inclined to be nervous in emagination but not in reality active imployment is the best thing for my feelings this morning I had better leave

journal & every thing elce & set down with spiret to french — I own I had a good day after tea they came home & what should they say but that W Savery is expected to come to yearly meeting at Norwich I cannot express what I felt it was delightful for some moments I felt [+infinite+] the greatest pleasure -- but soon a flatness came over me & I could not believe it but a sort of stun came over my mind that I am sorry to say has been my state for some time some days past but I hope if I continue doing right I shall meet with my reward for religion in the head is poor without being in the heart also -- but I believe in the heart it will [+cant+] not cannot come without the assistance of the almighty & we are often to go long without it that we may have little trials I had a good day W S [152] may come but I had better not set my mind to much upon it but all will be for the best if he should be as near as Ipswich or thereabouts I think if I could I would go to meet him & if he comes to Norwich I think I may go with him till he leaves England -- My mind is this morning in a quiet comfortable state but my heart is not full of feeling -- I have been great part of this morning with poor Bob who seems now dieing I [+I+] read a long chapter in the testament to him the one upon death & I sat with him for some time afterwards poor fellow -- I never saw death or any of its symptoms before sad to see it truly is I said a few words to him & expresed to him how happy we should be that we may expect immortality & everlasting bliss --father of mercies wilt thou bless him & take him unto thee though my mind is flat this morning & not favour'd with thy spiret in devotion yet I exert what I have & hope it will prove acceptable in thy sight almighty God thy will be done & not ours may I always be resigned to what thou hast ordaned for me I humbly thank thee for allowing my eyes to be open'd so as ever to feel faith, hope & love towaeds thee, first & last of every thing enfinite & not to be comprehended except by thy spirt which thou allowest to inlighten our hearts* [+may I always be capable of withstanding temptation in this life that I may one day enter thy kingdom however unworthy I may be at presant & that I may+]

**Katherine Fry note: 'this is the first of her recorded prayers & as such is peculiarly interesting & important*

"poor Bob is now dead — died without a groan"

poor Bob is now dead I have felt much for him this day I hope his soul is happy my mind has felt resign'd & quiet his death seem'd gentle & easy he died without a grown to day I read to a dieing man poor Bob I hope he is blessed all things are for the best & though his death seems hard it may save him from many troubles & be a lesson to us all to prepair ourselves death comes when we little expect it how often do we see our friends acquaintance dropping around us I hope not to pass this over without gaining from it_ Most merciful God may I be resign'd to thy will through life

Sunday morning June 3rd [153]

I dream'd & thought of little elce than poor Bob all night I own last night I felt inclined to be afraid therefore I came & sat hear alone & soon overcame it I am always so inclined after any body dies but ever such things do appear I may be sure it is only what should be & for some [uese] [if] if I had true faith I should never feel so but I came & read in the testament & I think quite overcame it I hope he is in heaven it is my intention to see him to day__

Sunday June 4th

This morning I whent to meeting & I felt very nervous when I was there but a sweet support came with it a quiet resignation to the will of the Almighty evils I think truly to be blessings in disguise I dined at Aunt Blands [154] & whent to afternoon meeting this evening I have sien the body of poor Bob it shocked me amasingly I had no idea death was so shocking but I felt one comfort that for all I saw him dieing the alteration is so great that I am sure there must be a soul to inlighten the body this evening I feel flurr'd & hurried [155] ----

but I am now detirmin'd I will set alone a little time & write my journal & overcome myself
 what is body silly girl to feel so much we have all of us more than body we have soul blessed
 [+thine+] are we [+are we +] that are virtuous for we shall see God -- silly girl I say once
 more to let the sight of a dead body make me so miserable but I will not be miserable but
look up to the only true support it is in me I think nervous folly ___ I could not go to sleap last
 night for a very long time my mind was so deeply impressed with the sight of death I [+felt+]
 felt realy unhappy if alone or in company no other idea could well ocupy my mind poor Bob
 was always before my eyes I therefore got an entertaining book & read. it is only the stong
 feelings of human nature those feelings are weakness & folly in me because I wantd the
 pleasures of the world to drive them from me I could not look to heaven for a support for I
knew my feelings where folly -- it is but a body without a soul [+I feel & am sure my+] it is
 astonishing to see the body without life it is another thing it bears a totally differant
appearance life & soul I suppose to be the same thing for I emagine there is an inward
 prinsiple that sets all our frame at work & that principle is spiret & [+the clear+] the more
 perfect [+the parts of -1/4cm-+] the body is the more clearly we see the soul through it I
 mean in the vital parts iddiots & mad men & I suppose to have in reality the same soul as we
 have but the body has some little defect that prevents the soul shining through the body I
 suppose to be a place of [+pirigatory+]^[156] residence for the soul or for life for a fixed time
 then I suppose the soul of all to be equal & the same only differant bodies shew it in differant
 lights as our bodys differ so do our souls in outward appearance ___ but in the state [+of+]
 we are in we may increase or decrease its powers all must act accourding to the talent that is
given at least as far as we are able to exert that talent some have much greater powers of
 action than others there are degrees from an iddiot to the wisest man & I believe that if the
iddiot acts as far as power is given he will receive the same reward as the one who has so
 much greater for [+if+] it is owing to body that his soul does not shine he is not to be pittied
 as I believe there is right & rong [+even in the m +] implanted even in the mind of an iddiot &
 he may have in time an equal chance of immortallity ___ this state I suppose to be a state of
 trial for the soul that its worth may be estemaded according as it overcomes evil & the many
 difficulties in its way

Monday 4th June

I have not had a day that I can look at with pleasure I was so very sleepy this morning & languid I could* attend much to my french but I went to see Mrs Norman** & read in Barclays apology I rather lost the afternoon we went to Kiswich*** & I had a pleasant time I could not help being gratified when Aunt Gurney told me how much Sally**** was pleased at my attentions to there family but I should hope I would not do things to be seen & thought much of by others & yet it is imposable not to feel gratified _____

Katherine Fry note:*not, **Bobs mother, *** Keswick; **** Norman, her maid

Tuesday 5th June

This journal proves that from the deist I first became almost a unitarian [157] E Fry [later addition]

This morning I stay from meeting because I have [+got+] had so bad a pain in my [stomach] which altogather I boor very well considering what very great pain I was in I do hope to have a truly industrious day for all I feel weak this morning & to be able to make up in a degree the loss of yesterday -- this morning I had a good lesson of french but sleapiness overpower'd me as it did yesterday I dawdled some time with Mrs Freeman [158] who realy does follow me as my own shadow which is to me so small plague I read a good [deal] in Barclays apology & [+was+] I think on subject of the light of all hearts Jesus chist is mention'd when I think the almighty [+it is to often made+] -- it often appears as if they he thought the almighty was not all love all excellence all virtue but as if his mind prone to human passions [+in+] he says jesus is in our souls instead of the almighty -- & is always bringing up the mediation of christ -- my openion of christ is that he was man highly inspired by the spiret of the almighty I believe him to be an instrument sent from heaven but in a spiritual light I think him & the almighty the same he may be [mediater] between us & God as he has led many nearer to virtue consiqently them nearer to God but I think the Almighty jesus & the holy ghost one & the same thing -- in the evening I had much talk with Anna [159] & realy do love her very much she can be very sweet & is truly much improved Gatty & Anna are charming girls[160] I was much shocked to day to hear of the sudden death of Sucky Colby [161] all but an hour it is a

great shock to those around a person when they die so soon but I think it save them from much suffering ----

Earlham Wednesday June 6th

I am this morning very low in mind I am in a sort of dispair about myself because I have been so inactive two days past I have felt so little stimulus to virtue but I hope to day to make up for it a little by being active in doing right even if I am not inclined I do hope I shall no more slack in doing right but I must hope for the best & not be miserable about the future do well at the presant for sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof I do love the new testament it is delightful particulaly some parts I hope to gain from this day & the more I can with humillity bend [+the+] to the almighty & feel that his will be done & not mine I then need not fear for myself true religion is a stimulus I never had before if I put my trust in God I may always be happy come what come may - I was going to the other side of the house & I heard the church bell toling I whent to inquire & found that Bob was going to be buried I whent down to the Normans to enquire I tried to do my french with Le Sage but I could not attend to it for my heart felt very full as I heard the bell tolling I therefore got the children & the Barclays to go to the church with me we wated some time & my soul truly melted & my heart beat when I saw the coffin come out of the cottage & all the moorners following I quite cried we whent to church but realy the parson read so badly it quite vexed me [162] I saw him put into the earth I own I had a very interesting time my mind feels the better for it it made a deep impresson on me & I felt particular satisfaction [+af-1/4cm-+] after it I have done little this morning for I have been quite wrap'd up in the funeral of poor Bob I hope he is happy I fully intend to go to S Colby whenever she is buried for I think such things surly do the mind good they make it resign'd & [+you+] it makes us look to immortality if we will or not "there are bodies terestial & there are bodies celestial" [+ap+] happy us to have so much to expect we should [none] fear death atall -- if we do what we can to act right true virtue & faith will lead us to exclaim O death where is thy victory & grave where is thy sting ---- The rest of the day I was rather idle owing to company & the great heet of the weather but I had a very sweet evening with my dear Anna* I do truly love her & am very intomit with her & so is she with me

*Katherine Fry note: Barclay afterward Reynolds

Thursday June 7th

the heat is very great indeed this morning it would be delightful if I could remain in a state of idleness but I have much to do [+therefore I should attend to +] I should never forget that in both hot & cold weather every thought & every action is recorded by our father [+which+] who is in heaven I am uncertain about my going S Colbies funeral for she is to be buried at Tasbourough I dont know if I shall not propose going with one of the Wrights^[163] but I shall leave it to time to determine I must try to do my french & have a good [+efort at reading+] reading bout this morn I stay'd an hour with Mrs Norman this morning did my french & read but yet part of the time I was idle in the afternoon we had company in the evening we all sat together & had a very snug chat & therefore as they wished me not I did not write my journal & read as ushal ----

Friday june 8th

this morning I woke after hurried dreams & rather a wakeful night quite nervous & very weak my mind has been calm if I had been alone religion would have been my comfort I think but my dear Kate was with me & we talk'd about religion & I told her how I felt it & dont know when my body has felt so very weak [+it+] my legs tremble when I walk but I hope to be patient & resigned whatever is my fate & not to be uneasy about the future for unto the hour is the evil thereof I did very little to day this morning instead of doing my french I had a long talk with Bess & gave her a good deal of advice which I think she wants this afternoon I went to see Mrs Norman & read in Barclays apology I might have done french instead but I was idle in the evening I had a long talk with Kitty & Anna was I enjoy [it] very much I afterwards wrote a sort of sermon which I think I might correct & make somthing good of I have done a good deal of work in the course of the day & taken some excersise

Saturday june 9th

I had a [+very+] bad night I was part of it so very faint & I had the tooth ake but I think I was pretty patient I often think what is patience bearing pain well but what is that not grumbling in your own mind at it but not to give way to the passion of sorrow patience is a resignation to the will of God & making the least of evils I had a sweet sleap towards morning which seems to have made me myself again sweet sleap no refreshment is like it. it quite alters the state of mind & body I did not get up till late but I have had a very good lesson with M Le Sage & now I do hope once more to have a good day for every thing & not to loose time do french till 12 walk till one read till the first bell rings ____ I had a very good morning but this afternoon I have been having a very pashonate arguement with Kitty about love it began by her saying she did not think Harries & Rachels [164] attachment had much sensuality in it & I said that all poeple that had warm feelings had warm sensual pashons which I rather think they have & now I should calmly like to know my own idea of love she thinks fine love is much beyond sensuality which I have argued aganst ____ most women are clearly made for each other in body & I belive in mind but the difficulty is to know whether it is not our pashhon that we feel for a person that first leads us to think like them & when we do think like them & feel like them we then say that we have a natural sympathy of mind & [+they+] are form'd for each other in one as well as the other but - yet I consider the mind of a man is certainly differant from the mind of a woman but that I think owing to body as I was writing the other evening the mind is seen through the body & as the body is form'd so it will appear differantly --

but yet there must be some [+ differan+] resemblance that makes particular attachments some seem form'd for each other it is most difficult to analise the feelings of the human heart all but religion appear to me so closely united with body the [ap] I think there is apetite of body which is sensuality & apetite of mind -- [+wha+] love can be owing only to appetite of body & then it will paint the mind while the pashon lasts to please the object that it loves but when the pashons are gratified the colouring no longer continues of the mind but of course the attachment proves to be little most love affares have a little of this -- but what would make the perfect [+love+] attachment is to love the appetites of body & mind realy the same in both objects & the nearer any lovers are to this state the happier for them ----

Sunday morning June 10th

hear I sit realing with the [+belly ake+] & yet I wish to go to meeting but I hope it will go off when I have the [+belly ake+] before meeting I should consider how much I had it before I whent to meeting when W Savery was hear & how much I gain'd from percevearance this day fortnight I hope I shall see him once more happy thought how much I should delight in it but it will all be for the best I know I should feel no fear no doubt

Monday June 11th

I spent this day with Uncle Joseph we rode to Halstead we had some very nice talk not very I dont know any body I am so much afraid of as him he said he had seen the letter I wrote my father about going to London & he fear'd I mistook myself in thinking I was independant for I suppose he thought in my saying I wished to be in dependant of W Savery that I still should be dependant on them at home ----

Tuesday morning 12th

last night I had a very odd dream I partly my old one - I deamed I was galloping fast on a horse in a very narrow place nearby the [+pre+] breadth of a board that was very high up in

the air & the sea on both sides of it I [+con+] thought difficult as it was I thought I did it capatally [+but+] as soon as my mind was weary & I thought I doubted my powers I was near falling & that I had fallen but whether I fell or not I had power to recover my self perfectly & once more sat on safe ground & told my adventures to others on the same presipice that I was near falling down & I dreaded so much I thought Mrs Kerrich [166] was walking slowly down & said she could do it without tumbling though the rode was almost perpendicular how odd now I having known what religion is at times fear not of ever being skeptical but as soon as I doubt my [+my+] own powers to be faithful I know skeptically it flys into my mind -- but Mrs Kerrich wishes to go down what I so much avoid & does it by degees I suppose that is the metepher of the dream - then I dream'd a [+still+] droll dream that W Savery came & he was turn'd into a woman & that I did not love him as I do now -- a good hint to myself [167]

My dreams more clearly told

My old dream

For some years my openions had been very skeptical from the age of 14 to 17 of course though I had pretty good prinsiples I had not sufficient stimulus to be by any means a virtuous character I was by degrees geting vain proud a flirt extravagant & [luxurious] my heart very much devoted to the pleasures of life when my feeling where in this state I very frequently dreamt for some months that I was near being wash'd away by the sea I felt the agony of my life being in danger I saw the sea & the waves mountains high & I felt myself in its power though it never overtook me I found not the way to avoid it dreaming it so frequently it made rather a deep impreshon on my mind but I did not think much of it till about the 4th of February W Savery came to Norwich in that day I felt faith in a degree but not intire but from that little taste I have always longed for it. I continu'd rather doubtful some time in my mind till one day I wrote in my journal I believ'd my faith was establis'd at least I felt it was faith & knew by good works how I should obtain it that night I dream'd the sea was again coming to wash me away but I found out how to avoid it by depending upon a rock which though I was high enough to avoid the sea I had far to go & much labour before I should get to the top of it the dream then left me for some time [+not+] notwithstanding I

often woke in the [+night+] morning & felt I had been dreaming about the sea not about being drown'd but the dream was misterious till yesterday morning when I woke my dream was .
 clarly as follows _ I was on a clif three hundred yards high that projected very far into the sea
 & it was not more than a foot wide I was on horseback & dangerous as it apeared I thought
 while I continued without fear I was safe though going full gallop & turning my horse round
 the waves where mountains high & came over my head but did not tutch me one time I
 thought I fear'd doubted my power & fell but though I fell & said I have power of my own to
rise & I did rise & was relating my adventure [+when+] I woke ___ but I must remark I felt it
 was [+not my own power that made me ride though by by my own power I rose again+] an
 invisable power a faith that made me ride & not my own exertion the moment I doubted I fell
 but was not much hurt by the fall

Tuesday evening 12th June

This day I have been to a meeting of buisness & I was in town most of this morning [+this+]
 altogathar I have had rather a satisfactory day I was up in good time have done some french
 settled my accounts had some very [+very+] comfortable time at the meeting of worship
 though I was there late owing to my attending E Everit [168] who was unwell I discharged my
 debts this afternoon I was out of dores & talking but did nothing elce this evening I have
 been at french & talking to Anna I have been talking of yearly meeting how much I do set my
 mind upon that time this evening I have [+been+] got myself rather into a scrape I have been
 helping them beg my father for us to go to the guild dinner & I dont know whether it is quite
 what I aprove of or think good for myself but I shall consider & I do not intend to go if I
 disapprove of it -- how strange & odd I realy think I shall turn plain friend all I say is serch
deeply do nothing rashly & I then hope to do right. they all I think now see it keep up to the
 duties I feel in my heart let the path be ever so difficult ere notatall if I can [+afford+] avoid it
 -- be humble & constant I dont like to appear a character I am not certain of being now I
 heard them remark about my liking to go to meeting I do realy like it now though my thoughts
 are not quite what they should be I have been longing to go to Ipswich yearly meeting for I
 think William Savery will be there but I shall leave it to father for a few days past my mind

has been in a very comfortable state I have at times felt much religion for me humility & comfort belong to religion I often think very seriously about myself a few months ago if I had seen any one act as I do now [+I now+] I should have thought them fools but the strongest proff I can have of acting right at this present is I am certainly a better & I think a happier character but I often doubt myself when I consider my inthusiastic & changable feelings but religion is [+so+]*no common inthusiesem because it is pure it is a constant friend protector supporter & gardian it is what we cannot do well without in this world what can prove its excellence so much as its producing virtue & happiness how much more solid a character I am since I first got religion

*Edit note: E.Fry correction in pencil

I would not part with what I have for any thing it is a faith that never will leave my mind I hope most earnestly I dont believe it well but I do hope always to be a strictly religious character -- what I would give to attend this yearly meeting perhaps I may I should not be suprised it will be on Sunday next 47 miles off to Woodbridge I wish I could contrive it but I dont think it is atall possible ---

Earlham June Wedensday 13th

I have not done much to day I have had a good part of it a [+bad+] pain in my stomach which is well this evening I have been having a very nice walk & thinking a little alone {which I do love to be } about myself & my present state I rather agree [+in my+] to go to the guild hall a sort of somthing would keep me from it which I think to be the fear I have of the openion of others I know well the world has done me hurt & led me away but I dont think I have given it sufficient trial to give it up since my alteration of prinsiple I do not intend to press my father either way if he & the others go I dont see any sufficient objection to my not being of the party I rather fear it will be to much bodily fatigue but I think I am right at this time that my mind is in so uncertain a state to see all parties that I may be more able to judge____ I have been wishing much lately that I got up early I have for three mornings & I wish to get into the habet at reading in the testament & writing my plan for the day before breakfast if it is not too much for me in the next place I have some thoughts of by degrees increasing my plan for

Sunday evening & having several poor children to [+instruct+] at least to read to in the testament & religious books for an hour every Sunday evening I have began by Billy [169] that I hope to continue & increase one by one till I have several I should think it a good plan but I must not even begin that hastily I should think it might increase morality amongst the lower class if the scriptures were oftener & better read to them I believe I cannot exert myself too much there is nothing gives me such satisfaction as instructing the lower class of people* -- for these few days past ever since I had my last dream I have felt much faith not owing to that but I have been in a state of tranquillity I much approve of & much enjoy__ I am weak in body but I feel a resignation to the will of the Almighty ----

**Katherine Fry note: "Here is again a marked development of character--the commencement of her schools - her high estimate of the scriptures & her desire to benefit others--"*

Thursday June 14th

it is now a quarter to eleven & I have been occupied with cloths & work till this time I am not quite well this morning & have been rather nervous but that is gone off & I am now chilly & cold the weather is so very changable that it effects me be careful not to doubt but cultivate the sweet doctrines of religion - though I am not well this morning I am detirmin'd to see how industrious I can be -- nervous or not nervous -- I did what I could to be industrious this morning though I did not feel well Prissilla[170] was very poorly I nursed her till dinner at dinner I felt very nervous but I bore it patiently & quietly I do think my present nervous feelings are not such as to alarmed at for if I am reasonable I need not fear for they seem differant to my complaint [171] I have been very much so at times to try & hardly anyone has known it for I have been nurse to Prissilla who has been very unwell I gave up going out which I sat [+2cm+] my religion is a support to me indeed when I am unwell I expect not to have good night I must try to keep my mind calm & quiet & to incourage faith do not fear all is guided as it should be trust in God & look up to my most merciful father for support for then alone I shall find it ----

Earlham Friday June 15th

I had not of very good night I was but rather nervous but sufficiently so to make me uncomfortable & keep me [+a+] awake I am up in good [+th+] time this morning I should regulate my mind & plans for the day it is an excellent plan to rise every morning to fix some plan for the day to take good resolutions & to look up to the almighty for support & assistance I expect to feel very languid to day I must exert myself as much as I can without fatigue do a good lesson of french make my bonnet & read [+as much as I can+] a good deal -- I cannot make myself out Rachel is just come home I may truly say I have not felt [+the+] pleasure at meeting or of hearing of Margaret [173] -- I have been thinking it may be part owing to my not being in a very feeling mind sometimes I feel so much disgusting coldness about me I felt a little my own differance of openion in some little things much as I am united to them all I am sure I am seperate from them & always have been in a degree & I cannot make out how it is now if W.Savery was to come I should fly I should cry & yet I am not happy without them I cannot make myself out that I do love them -- I have had by no means a very satisfactory day I have given way to temptation in little things & if I cannot overcome those what shall I do when great temptation cometh --

Earlham Friday June 15th

I had not a very good night I was but rather nervous but sufficiently so to make me uncomfotable & keep me [+a+] awake I am up in good [+th+] time this morning I should regulate my mind & plans for the day it is an excellent plan to rise every morning to fix some plan for the day to take good resolutins & to look up to the almighty for support & assistance I expect to feel very languid to day I must exert myself as much as I can without fatigue do a good lesson of french make my bonnet & read [+as much as I can+] a good deal --- I cannot make myself out Rachel is just come home I may truly say I have not felt [+the+] pleasure at meeting or of hearing of Margaret [173] _ I have been thinking it may be part owing to my not being in a very feeling mind somtimes I feel so much disgusting coldness about me I felt a little my own differance of openion in some little things much as I am united to them all I am sure I am seperate from them & always have been in a degree & I cannot make out how it is now if W Savery was to come I should fly I should cry & yet I am not happy without them I cannot make myself out but I do love them them -- I have had by no means a very satisfactory day I have given way to temptation in little things & if I cannot overcome those what shall I do when great temptation cometh - I am rather sorry to see Rachel is in a fright in case I should turn plain friend there are none of the family it would hurt so much but my wisest plan is do things slowly incase I should be mistaken & to be quite open with them all about it I am sure almost I should be a much more virtuous character a plain friend than gay because I am of so volotile & gay a disposition I require something stong to keep me from the temptations of the world ___but I hope to do nothing rashly I am now rather at a loss in my own mind about attending afternoon meetings whether I gain or loose from them follow inclenation I know I should go I feel satisfied after it even if I dont think of what I should but it is openly turning plain friend in the face of every body if I was sure in my own mind of continuing there prinsiply I should not mind it but if I should change it would appear so ridiculus [174]

Saturday June 16th

I have not had a very satisfactory day I have not been sufficiently industrious this evening I have been having a very long & satisfactory talk with Rachel I feel the better for it she has given me I think very good advice in most things I told her my state of principle at this time I think I will now [+set+] write them down she differs little from me only I dress my feelings in a more quakerly garb I told her what I think that I am a quaker at heart but I do not agree in the minutia of the society ---*

**Katherine Fry note: "All those who personally knew these two wonderful sisters & their tie through life, will agree in the opinion that this description of what was probably their first religious conversation, would also apply correctly to the last --"*

Sunday June 17th

how much more satisfactory this day is to me than it used to be [175] I don't think I enjoy any day so much this morning I rose late but had time to read & write a little before meeting I had altogether a very satisfactory meeting but my mind was too much inclined to dwell upon my very dear friend W Saveries coming my heart has for some days past lept at the thoughts of once more being with him & after meeting I was to hear I went up to Lawrence Conder [176] to ask & what should he say but that he was not at the meetings of course I thought would not be at this & Elisabeth told me that he was at Birmingham with poor James Loyd [177] who is [supposed] to be dying my disappointment was great indeed but now I think of it I rejoice he was with J L on his account but I own my heart did sink indeed -- I went to a baptists meeting this afternoon which I did not quite like but I thought it well adapted to the lower class of people in some things -- [178] this evening my father tells W S [179] is going Germany may he come hear but I should consider he will come hear if it is right he should & I must not make myself unhappy at his not coming but disappointment is difficult to bear - this evening I have felt very much satisfied at reading to the Normans my mind [+this evening+] feels very happy & contented I hope to have a good week I have a great hope still of seeing W S _____

Monday 18th June

[+I have+] I did not get up so early as I could wish not in time to write my journal I had not a very good night I believe owing to the fatigue I had yesterday as it was very hot since breakfast I have been taking a walk with Rachel it is now sometime past 9 I hope to have a good day first french [+for three+] till about half past twelve & then Barclay [180] till dinner I feel very happy this morning I feel anxious about my dearest friend's coming but I am detirmin'd not to encourage any hopes of his coming I hope before I die to see him again but I do not approve of hoping any thing for all is derected right & all is beyond our comprehentions my first object is to have such dependance on the almighty as never to fear a moment I am most thankful that my eyes have been open'd to see so much as they now do & I do hope if I continue to act right I shall be enlighten'd by the spiret that alone is able to give us true faith ___ I just now said we should not hope but though we should not wish to have [+a wish+] any thing alter'd where our own power is not concerned yet we should hope to derect our own power right as we know there are two paths right & wrong we have a degree of freeagency ____ I cannot say I have been industrious to day which I am sorry for I had not a very good lesson of french Richard [181] came & interrupted me I had a thorough wash of the body which is very comfortable I read a little in Barclay & attended to Danny [182] till[+dinner+] tea after tea we went to the grove I had a sweet evening in my own mind but not with the party ___ I felt delicate in body & a sweet serenety of mind which often comes when I am unwell I felt religious most happy feeling may I deserve to feel more & more of it by performing well my active duties I am thankful to say I have had much of those feelings lately there is nothing I wish for so ardently as to be virtuous I never feel so happy as after I have been serving any body in any way after I have been a little alleviating the sorrows of my fellow creatures I believe my inclination would lead me into all [seems] of affliction my path seems to be to help the distressed if by satisfaction following we know what acting right is I should like to devote myself to it.

Tuesday 19th June

I do not like giving up going to meeting this morning as I felt much inclined to it but we are all

to go to [Seathing]^[183] my predjudics rise at the thought of going but I am detirmin'd I will try to overcome them I do so often think of W Savery the thoughts of his coming dwels upon my heart I shall feel very much if he does not come I have some hopes of his coming though but small ones - I do love him I am sure I hope to be [true] ____ I did my french but poorly till we went sometimes my mind feels so unconnected so idle I feel as if my mind was capable but my body or somthing comes in & prevents its exertion I am sorry french has gone on with so little spiret of late but I hope to revive again I had rather a pleasant ride to [Seathing] at dinner & after quakers where very much the topic of conversation & I thought some parts where very improperly ridiculed I dont think it quite right to redicule insperation not but what I have very often done it there are some things I dont quite approve of not lending our meeting houses to other sects & yet borrowing [+ours+] theirs appears to me unjust Mrs Kitt* ^[184] said she thought [+no+] woman had lost one of the first things in her character when she forgot her dress I differ from her vastley ---

*Kath. Fry note: Kett

I had a long talk with Anna ^[185] in the evening about our affections whether we should have a superior affection to them I was quite of openion that if we had intire faith we should not mind the evils of life therefore the more it was incouraged the better she did not like the idea of being independant of her natural relations & argued very cleverly -- in the next place I am happy to day that my father told me that yarmouth is the only port for Germany & W S did not come to yearly meeting in all probability he would come after how droll it would be if my dream was to come to pass I dreamt last Saturday night he would not come to yearly meeting but would come a month after --as we where coming home we met Col Money ^[186] I have not felt so fly away for a long time I was so glad to see him it shew me how soon how I should be led away once more by the worlds pleasure if I was to be in it I think till I am stronger in mind it is better to avoid such poeple as him who are so fassenating & not good characters for all are tinted by the company we assosiate with I had not time to read when I got home

Wednesday June 20th

I have now been up some little time it is not eight I am in hopes I shall have a very industrious day I must look to a higher power for assis tanse -- in performing my duties -- I read a good deal in the testament the first thing this morning after breakfast I walk'd & then put all my things to rights I then sat down to Barclays apology as Le Sage did not come & I thought it better to read first as I was in the mind which was very lucky as he came afterwards & I had a pretty good lesson besides writing some french alone after dinner I sat & work'd with Anna Barclay & since tea I have been taking a ride to Norwich with Richard Gurney I have felt what I call rather wordly minded to day much to much inclined that way set upon dress & such trumpery I am detirmind I will be economical if it is possible I am to have £40 a year for washing & every thing I should wish not to spend more than twenty about my own person but I fear that will be almost imposable I dont think I can well agree about the washing for I find upon average my washing comes to about 5s 7d per week & that only allows 3s 10d I dont like the thought that that might support a poor family but I yet consider that does support a poor family but it cannot be right to have such luxuries I do intend to [+dry+] try not to spend so much to make it quite a duty ---

Ed.Note: 5s & 7d is less than 30p in todays currency

I wish I could sometimes take my mind out of this world & have it look inwardly for it is a quiet & inward wating that truly refreshes the mind if it there is bless'd by finding the living water it will be inabled to perform duties let them be ever so hard the more we take in of that heavenly draught the better for us in this world & the next the more we do hartily thurst after it the sooner we shall find it it is an armour aganst evil it is the only true supporter

Wednesday June 21st

this morning I [+walk+] woke in low spirets I have been having uncomfortable dreams & that always leaves an unpleasant impreshon on the mind but it is my duty to try to get over such folly I am in an uncomfortable state of mind what might be call'd a bad mind but I will overcome it if I can whenever this is the case I feel inclined to be skeptical in my openions but if I can quietly settle my mind to reflection & look into myself I may find some remedy the best plan is to do my active duties properly & the peace of mind I want will follow I am quite fanciful this morning- I should remember & never forget there is a power guides all for the best it is placing my own judgment high indeed to lament at what has happen'd & what can exceed lamanting for a thing before it happens it is next to wicked it is abusing the blessings we enjoy these sort of low spirets I think nervous & may be much overcome they are a cross in my way that I should overcome & let me do it & see how well I can -- I must overcome fear it is one of enemies [+5cm.-+] it is owing to the weakness of human nature & I must not fear the evils that God inflicts but I must fear the evils I may inflict on myself ---

evening

after a little quiet reflection [+ner+] I felt refresh'd & this morning I was able to do much but I am sorry to say I was idle what a comfort it is to look back on an industrious day I cannot do that to day I did my french & read but I might have done much more we dined at [Kiswich] I felt inclined to be nervous but I am thankful to say I felt resign'd to my fate I do not think my nervous feelings so bad as they where at least I am not so flurried

with them owing I think to the little faith I am blessed with what blessing [+m+] can in any degree equal it may I deserve it I firmly believe I may obtain it by activity in what I think right & by that way only for if my wish for it is not sufficient to make me overcome evil I do not deserve it & my wish is not strong the task I own I feel is difficult to do always what I approve of but the more difficult the more I shall be rewarded -I have to deal with a merciful judge how happy I should be O may I be good may I be virtuous never forget when I am in a flat state that though my heart is not then open to comfort yet comfort is at hand God is watching over me he sees my most inward thoughts grumble not at the wise decrees of his providense but always have my heart [hon'd] before his presence & open to receive the sweet comfort of his spirit the Almighty cannot reside in impurity try to let my heart be pure & every step I take in virtue I shall feel comfort in God for he will reward those that are active in the cause of truth fear fear not

Friday June 22nd

This morning I am quite uncomfortable I feel nervous but more so in mind than body last night I heard almost for a certainty that W Savery will not come but is really going to America directly a sad blank but I cannot give up all hopes till I hear he really is gone to America how grieved I shall be to hear it but last night I was good when I heard it & was thankful I could go on so well without his assistance but he still may come. This morning I must brighten up enter into my usual employments & see how well I can get rid of it without [telling] any body I continued rather nervous all day but was rather patient I was very idle parts of the day & drank rather too much wine but I think that cured me I had not time for much sober reflection which [unhinges] me how I do fear for myself but I hope I need not ---

Saturday June 23rd

Rachel has just said she thinks I am in love with W Savery I answer'd I did not think I

was but I own I felt not clear in my own mind respecting him I think I may love a person as I love him without being in love but I doubt it I first love'd him for his religion but the feelings of human nature are very apt to join in with the superior feelings of the heart - I dont think I am in love with him I should be greaved to think I was I think it a rong suspision to enter my mind but I fear I shall never no never see him again how shall I go on shall I realy continue religious & virtuous or I shall I once more fall into the disepation & folly of the world my soul sinks when I think I may again fall into such folly ___I will incourage true religion free from W Savery or any one elce to the Almighty I will look for comfort at least if I am virtuous but I feel I am not at this presant virtuous enough but I hope to resolve & to keep steady to virtue if I do not hunger & thurst after it sufficiently to overcome evil I cannot be fill'd virtuous I will [beg] that I may not fail but realy & truly be so never no never doubt if I love myself but there is a religion pure & incorruptable free from men that may be obtain'd I may obtain it why then dont I because I am not quite active enough this day I will be active if it is possible --- this morning pass'd well this evening not so well ---

Sunday June 24th

this long wish'd for day is arived I wake with a bad pain in my stomach which I fear'd would have prevented my going out but I percevear'd & whent I was in a quiet state all meeting but not a religious one I am sorry to say my mind was not in a feeling state I walk'd part of the way home My friend W Savery was not there but I did not expect him -- I read to the Normans in the afternoon a sunday evening lecture I percevear'd in going to meeting this afternoon aganst the will of the whole family coming from meeting I saw a seen that interested me indeed my father jumping into the water at the new mills after a poor boy who I thought drown'd my feelings where great indeed both for my father & the boy I believe I should have lept in afterwards if my father had gone out of sight he did it delightfully with such activity & spiret it was charming to see him poor little boy I took him as soon as he got out of the water it agitated me extreemly*

Katherine Fry note: *"This anecdote of our grandfather's prompt humanity & courage our mother often told --- the depth of the water, rapidity of the current, & leap from the bridge, encumbered with clothes, rendered it very dangerous - she used also to mention his odd appearance afterwards dressed in the millers clothes"*

but I had a pretty good night after it this morning I feel rather weak but I must live well for a few days to come & then I hope not to be overdone I think altogether I did what I could to act right to day though I can catch myself in one or two faults I boasted to much of my helping the boy after he came for there was nothing in it but what all would have done I was rather officious than any thing else I have not felt much comfort this day ---

Monday June 25th

altogether I have had a good day I did my french && in the morning I dined at Cousin [Aggses]^[187] went to meeting in the afternoon my mind felt very flat in the meeting of worship not one spark of true devotion but I hope I really tried for it- in the meeting for discipline I felt rather more as we had one or two very sweet sermons from the friends who are come I was the rest of the evening with the friends who are hear ---

Thursday June 28th

as I have not written my journal each day I think it better to to give now a general *

Edit. Note: There follows two blank pages

discription of time on 3d day I attended both meetings & underwrent much fatigue as we had a great deal of company though I could not feel much religion at meeting but I think I felt satisfaction in going I hope I gain'd somthing it was difficult going to the afternoon meeting as my father did not like it in the evening I had a very pleasant walk with W Sewel ^[188] [+in the evening+] he is quite a [+faf+] favourate of mine after the meeting [+af+] on fourth day

morning after meeting poor Judd [189] went into sad hestericks & fainting I thought her very ill -- I felt languid & uncomfortable the rest of the day -- Thursday was confused & I was not actively employed in virtue I preach'd but did not act

Friday June 29th

this day I have been principally engaged in copying the epistles from the meetings I felt so odd when my name was mention'd in the meeting to ask me to do them I wish to have some deep thoughts about going to meeting I have attended all the yearly meetings I feel satisfied in the idea but I dont appear to have received benefit from it in the first place I think it my first duty in life to be virtuous I expect that true religion alone is capable [+is capable+] of making us truly virtuous & happy therefore it should be encouraged & I think if I could really draw my mind inwards & feel devotion at meeting I would go but that I cannot do but I think I do more than I did but then if I gain so little from it is it worth contradicting the whole family & bearing the appearance of turning plain quaker I can but try & be guided by what I feel is right at the time ____ poor Cousin Gurney I hear is dieing I feel much for her may she be bless'd I long again to begin my old steady plans Sam [190] is going to yarmouth I think of going with him but I dont intend to go unless I [+take+] am very industrious

Saturday morning June 30th

This day I hope to do much these interruptions have both advantages as well as disadvantages I believe they make us more fit to begin again our buisness with spiret which I now hope to do at least to day I wish to set myself agoing for next week when I hope to be very active tomorrow I hope to go to meeting in the morning dine at aunt Blands [191] with the friends & go again in the afternoon I had a pretty good morning I [+cou+] can not boast of this afternoon Hudson & Fredric Bevan [192] where hear how much I am alter'd and now dislike the company of young men the truth I supposed to be

this as to my heart during my ill health in a sort of despair I quite gave up the thoughts of marriage & most other enjoyments in life [192] when I found myself relieved I then jumped forward as it were to enter deeply [+it+] into the pleasure that I thought I should never have enjoyed my eye was fixed upon every young man I knew marriage was my object the subject of my thoughts & my wishes I went on so for some [+time+] months no one loved me in return & I am now sick of the thought & have been so for some time past so I hope to continue & then perhaps one day when I least expect it I may be married if not I [+dount+] do not doubt I shall be a happy old maid & I think I am foolish ever to think about it all will be derected right somhow I felt much to day when Hudson was hear I felt sensible how materially I am alter'd since he was hear I dont like to alter so much without his knowing it -- poor Mrs B Gurney is dead may she be happy may I be good & may I be virtuous I fear I do truly fear for myself I somtimes think & I hope I feel "as the hart pantith after the waterbrooks so pantith my soul after thee O God" -- what [+who+] would not I do to be virtuous & yet I find in little I have not power to overcome I have been luxurious in eating etc etc to day let me once more try what I can do see if I can spend the next day without a fault it is the easiest day to spend well if one day is easyer than another -- I hope to [+ma+] look at myself only try tomorrow at meeting to gain from it ----

Sunday July the 1st

I wish to keep up my resolution to day of spending it without a fault this morning at meeting I will try*

*Ed.Note: The following does not appear to be in Fry's hand writing

[+ Has thee seen after Judd this morning ? I wish thee would before thee goes +]

Sunday

I went to meeting this morning & was rather nervous but I felt resigned to what was my fate of course I felt religion happy feeling ----

Sunday

I dined at aunt Bland & went to the afternoon meeting I did not enjoy the last hour but the first was very comfortable to me the Normans were not at home I spent the evening in writing to Sarah Hoare [193] which was right but I should have found some time for reading the testament I do not see any particular fault this day ---

Monday morning July 2nd

My mind feels very flat this morning very little activity very barren on [+the+] religion I can hardly lift my heart up to the almighty to pray for assistance this day to do my duties well but I must try to overcome evil with good by hoping & not despairing & try to be at peace with my God my neighbour & myself I must try to be good in thoughts as well as actions not to give way to low spirits it unfits us for the more active duties of life truly repent of my faults but the best sort of repentance is to retrieve them by doing right --

evening

I have really had a very industrious morning & this afternoon though I have not gain'd much yet I have been entertain'd by an account of animal magnetism [from] young [Fry]*

*Katherine Fry note: In margin. "First mention of her future husband"

I have found myself once or twice speaking rather hastily to the dear children who do not pay me the attention they did when I first came home [194] I fear I have felt rather uncharitable John & I had an argument about war I say no true christian can fight I fear I was rather passionate upon the subject I believe it is better not to mention a subject we differ about so much as it often leads to passion & convinces no one -- [J] Fry has been telling me he saw W Savery not a week my heart leapt at the remembrance of him & dear London [195] truly I do love him, I do not look upon this day with sorrow though perhaps I might have done more I hope I have gain'd more than I have lost do have charity brotherly love & temperance I have wanted those a little this day do not err now till I go to bed but try to make up for any

deficiencies I have met with this day be humble [+humble+] humility of soul is the true basis of religion I ought to consider how low how weak how foolish I am & never be hurt at any little want of attention for I believe the fault is apt to originate in myself true humility is a blessing not to be extimated

Tuesday morning July 3rd

this morning I intend to go to meeting & I hope to feel humility I have not much to blame myself for for these two last days let me to day try to out shine both by true religion this morning & active duties this afternoon how much we all have to hope for how much to be thankful for how [+mild+] meek how supporting & yet how inspiring to every good action are the blessed doctrines of the new testament they must lead us to be happy if we will but follow what they dictate to us we should never grumble no never at the wise decrees of providence — I had in some respects a satisfactory meeting Rachel & I had an arguement going to meeting upon silent worship I do not think we where either pashonate but towards the latter end of our discours she gave me a lecture about turning plain some things where very reasonable & very proper she wrote to me when I was in London & she then said as it was a quaker who first convinced me of christianity she did not doubt I should always connect the idea of one with the other which I surely have done at least the quakers to to me appear to have come very near to true christianity but yet I think in some things I conform to them in [openion] further than I should do I could not help remarking an alteration in me to day as I was walking up the gentlemans walk I saw officers

Hudson Michel & all dash*

*Katherine Fry note: "Hudson Gurney Michael Bland"

I pass'd them as quickly as I could to speak to two of the Bells plain [+ugly+] [ordenry] young men friends but I quite flew after them because they are friends but I realy do like them both very much I walk'd home from meeting & [+con+] considering the fatigue

I have been industrious but I have had a something wheying upon my mind once more I feel a degree of jealousy this afternoon I was alone & they all took a walk with Pitchford* [196] & did not even ask me

*Katherine Fry note: "*John Pitchford*"

I fear I shew I was vex'd I am sorry to say there is something in [+Louisa+] that is most trying to me she has a sort of manner that to me is realy painful a degree of [highth] to me sharp remarks but I consider it may be very much my fault also therefore I now take this resolution I will not {if I have power} ever contradict her or say one sharp thing to her but if it is possible be kinder to her than the others always give way to her for it is better for me to bend as I feel it so much -- my heart swells within me when I think if I realy turn plain friend how much in all probability I shall loose of their inthomacy but it very much depends upon myself I have & I know the pain of being with those who are [sworn*] sectarians be always open with them my first friends open to their advice also be not pufed up in my own openion but give way a little to them if I do to any---

*Katherine Fry note: "*warm sectarians*"

I shall never be disliked let my prinsiples be what they will if I have humility & charity they are what I want I do want them & perhaps if I am truly good & try for them I may be rewarded with them be most kind to them all never failingly abounding with brotherly love & if we we are not good & loving at home & we expect ever to be good characters some parts of this day I much approve of -- others such as giving way to jealousy & tifing I disapprove of be open kind & good to all this night -- I finished this night not so well as I should do

Wednesday July 4th

this morning I have been attending the funeral of Mrs B Gurney I have felt a good deal _ in the first place I sat on the grave of my mother I could not compleatly feel it but there was somthing as I was in the little room by uncle Joseph as we where wating the arrival of the corps that made me cry bitterly & if I had incouraged it I believe I should have gone into histericks [197] but I discourged it it was a bless'd feeling my heart in a degre sunk before its

maker O that I was more capable of saying O [+death+] [+grave+] death where is thy [+sth+] sting O grave where is thy victory but I am to die I may die before this day is over prepare myself for the time draw with nigh imperceptibly & we are to account for every thought work & deed in this state let that deeply impress my heart & let me try to be so virtuous as not to fear the hour of death _____

evening

I have this afternoon & evening felt in high spirits as is often the case after the spirits have sunk but partly owing to being so remarkably well as I have felt these three days past how delightful is good health & yet I am sure ill health brings great comfort with it I fear I have gone rather too far to day in my spirits & said rather too much now & then Michel [198] who was here took a very long walk with me we were next to loving droll most droll time alone will shew what I shall turn out [+of+] but I should not be surprised at any thing I see how weak how foolish I am be ware of pleasure appearing to me happiness it would almost effect me if I did not guard against it [+ Louisas+] points partially to Rachel & Kitty but do not let it hurt me if I do right to her

Thursday 5th July

I fear that happiness & pleasure are almost incompatible last night after having been in such high spirits I felt such a flat quite afraid at every sound I heard though many plain quakers are disliked for being always grave yet I believe them to be happier characters than the gay & giddy [natteries] [+of+] this world this morning I feel rather in despair about myself in case I should not go on right I fear for myself but I must not despair if I like I may go to Yarmouth tomorrow. I feel uncertain about it I think it would be pleasant to spend three days by the sea but it will break into my usual plans — W Savery is expected to leave England the 15th of this month 11 days from this time I fear I shall not see him again May he be happy ____-

S S S S S S
 S S S S

Friday July 6th 1798

half past nine o clock & I have done little or nothing I do feel I am loosing ground instead of gaining which I do not like atall but I can but try once more to do what is right I expect to go to Yarmouth to day which I think will be a pleasant excurtion if I take proper care of myself but I must have self command for I realy want it keep steady & virtuous for we cannot be to much so but I think it is much easier to talk than to act time slips away before long all will be come to an end this day I begin to read through the bible I have finish'd [+it to day+] the testament I wish to read the bible of a morning the testament of an evening I feel it a good plan I do love the testament I think it a blessing indeed to have such a book to look to for comfort & support [+Louisa+] is a real trouble to me always contradicting she is going with me to yarmouth which is an absolute trouble to me it is with the greatest difficulty I keep my temper with her but I will try she treats me as a person much below her & at times with disdain which is painful to receive from such a child [199] -- but it is her ignorance makes her do it for if I was not to overcome myself there are times I could almost dislike her she does not know it & I dont think it would answer to speak to her about it let me try in my journey not to say one unkind thing to her --

Sunday 8th July

we have had a very pleasant journey to Yarmouth Louisa has been truly kind & attentive to me the hole way on the Friday evening we walk'd on the jetty & I felt full of the world & its vanities which I am sure produced no satisfaction but discontent jealousy & in the end sorrow my father has been truly kind to me as he always is but somtimes a little attention

from him is quite delightful he does it in so nice a way how very dearly I do love him I hope I could give up any thing to make him happy I do not think there is any body I love so well. this morning I got up at least woke much inclined to be nervous but I am thankful to say I feel much better never enter into this world but let my heart be devoted to my father who is in heaven -- This day has been to me remarkably comfortable so quiet & satisfactory I felt a little religion at morning meeting upon the subject of death I shed tears I felt my own unworthiness I fix'd to go to afternoon meeting which I did & though I did not feel religion or the better for it at the time I felt religious & satisfied afterwards I read to the old Normans which I enjoyed much & had a very sweet evening with Kitty & Mary Walker [200] I dont know when my mind has felt more happy how far more so than when shewing off on Yarmouth Jetty Nothing is so happy as calm serenety of mind it is a blessed feeling & thankful I should be for it -- most humbly do I thank thee Almighty father my path seems to have been shewn me clearly this day or two past

Monday morning July 9th

I have risen early & been having a good wash yesterday I mention'd or Kitty did to Mary Walker my plan of having a quiet time night & morning for writing my journal reading in the testament & reflection it was to me like boasting. This day I should like to pass without a fault so that this evening I may see nothing I could dis--approve of I hope I shall not find it very difficult as I am in a good mind this morning.

evening --

In some things this day has been to me very satisfactory I think in one or two points I have rong I have mistaken my diet I have eat hardly any animal food & eaten a quantity of fruit which I do not think atall suits my constitution & therefore it is silly -- I have been rather industriious & in some things I have been very comfortable but to night I feel my mind wants regulation I feel much pleasure when I think tomorrow is meeting morning how astonishingly I am alter'd in my likings & dislikings I do enjoy going to meeting now so much though I do

not at the moment feel it does me much good yet I think it does in the end -- [I had set my +] how very [df+] difficult I find it to realy & deeply reflect in my own heart so as to feel true religion but though the bright sunshine of religion does not often eluminate my heart yet I am happy to say I am somtimes blessed days to gather with a faint but yet inspiring light I must now leave off my father is come home --- [how astonishing all things are how mar-+] how little is the mind capable of realy feeling that we all are in the presance of God who looks over every action should not we tremble when we think of it how many faults do we commit we are in the presance of God it is without [his ass+] the assistance of his almighty power imposeble to comprehend we could never be wicked while we felt ourselves in the presance of the Almighty virtue alone can make us feel it so as to be happy.

Tuesday 10th July __

I do not feel in a very good mind this morning vain & been a long time dressing therefore I require more care over myself yesterday I woke in a good mind & I had but a very midling day now let me try to have as good a day meeting morning which I am glad of -- this morning I feel quite nervous & I do not know whether to go to meeting or not but I think it better to percevear & go if I do not feel too unwell -- My mind & body both feel quite disorder'd this afternoon I wish I could set them to rights but it is partly my own fault this morning I felt nervous & very weak & I drank much porter & I have drank a good deal of red wine to day & I have got the head ake am hot & uncomfortable & have been unkind to the children let me try to make it up to them by kindness & affection -- I have been unwell all this day so very weak & nervous but with taking a little laudnum I had a [very+] good night ---

Wednesday morning July 11th

we are quite in a bustle this morning about going to [Tivetshall] we all differ about it some think we should go & some think we should not because of the rain -- if we do not I hope to spend the day with Mary Walker at the grove I do not feel quite in a good mind this morning Kitty made one sharp remark to me but I am happy to say I did not much feel it we where

talking how changible they had been in their openions this [mirning] & I said I had not alter'd once so she said satirically thee never does change thy openion when once formed I own I thouht it sharp but yet very true but no one likes to hear truth respecting themselves I have kept up my openion to warmly this morning I believe -- altogether I have enjoyed this day I had a good deal of very serious talk with Mary Walker I told her I believed I should turn a plain friend it was bold in me I have a great love for her I do admire her & did love uncle Joseph to day I do love him very much he was very kind to me -- I am struck when I look at myself & find I am turning in my heart plain friend I now wish it but I will be most cautious in my steps though inclination would lead me to be sudden but I hope to be right -- this evening I saw Bedlam*^[201] my heart felt it I almost sunk under it often as I have seen it before I thought I like others am subject to such a thing how thankful I ought to feel when I feel myself & all my family & all those I love free from so dreadful a complaint but God directs aright in thee almighty father do I put my trust only may I be enabled to overcome evil & realy put my trust in thee ---

*Katherine Fry note: "First notice of visiting a Public Institution"

Thursday July 12th

I am recover'd a very bad bout of the belly ake & I feel so weak I hope I was not impatient but extreem pain is very difficult to support with firmness I feel as if I had had an illness but yet I am remarkably comfortable in my mind I could settle to nothing all this morning I felt so weak & languid in mind & body -- this afternoon I have been walking with Rachel this afternoon & to my great supprise I hear Harry ^[202] is in Norwich I think I must as my fathers friend let him know it I fully intend it. I did not ____

Friday

This day has been spent in a journey to Tivetshall

Saturday July 13th

I am sorry to say my father appears very uncomfortable which allways effects my happiness they have been talking about our taking a journey for some things I should like it extreemly but I always feel some little doubt some little fear at doing such a thing incase I should be unwell I have lately had much unsettlement & I wish for real quiet I should like to stay at home but yet it is my wish to see the country where I live for it is ignorant not — The friends are expected this morning to have a meeting I rather set my mind upon it I fear my father dont like it much [+so+] as he seems very low I wonder at myself -- yesterday I was with a girl turning plain she & I had much talk & I did not quite like the foundation she appear'd to go upon for these few days past I have been acting rather rong I have been idle & given way to temptation after which makes me feel so incapable of doing right for the least step in doing rong does my cause hurt indeed for it is hard work to draw back again I wonder how I shall take this meeting I think there will be somthing in it I shall feel deaply the friends did not come I had a tolerable day

Sunday July 14th

I rose this morning very late but had some talk with Kitty before meeting trying to soften a little what my father had said about Harry -- I had altogather a satisfactory meeting taking resolutions I hope to keep up to & trying at least to wait upon God but that task is hard for I find my ideas seem to whont some image of thought as it where to address myself to. but I know & feel the differance of the religion of spiret & of idols the humon mind is inclined to idolatry to look to somthing they can form an idea of but true religion is incomprehensible bending under the most blessed influence of the spiret of God that alone is true religion & that is the reward we receive for virtue religion is only to be comprehended by the virtuous I feel how far I am from virtue I have sadly fallen off this week once more I hope to begin afresh let me try to have my heart fited for devotion aganst 4th day evening when the friends come I can but try let me have that object in view I have the text muddled but it feels to me when I go to meetings or to my evening reflection without a good contience that it is like

offering my gift at the alter before I have clensed my heart I feel myself weaken'd whenever I do rong & less & less capable of understanding religion for such a blessing as religion it seems wonderful I am not more virtuous but [+our pa+] my path seems so beset with temptation in every corner & where I dont expect it that somtimes I think it impossible I ever shall be virtuous but good resolution is the first & the easiest step that must be encouraged that I have truly I hope the next step is very hard puting that resolution in practice I should like to try one day to go without a fault I have often thought of it I will once more try I know I very seldom go an hour without one I will fix a plan for tomorrow & at least try to keep up to it_ I rise at seven read in the bible write & reflect till breakfast _walk after breakfast then french till [+one+] 12 do as well as I can read & walk & dress till dinner [those] for the morning & try every hour that passes to look it over & see if any fault has been committed & what joy if tomorrow night I can feel my heart pure keep an account exact if I do realy I shall have warm hopes for my future life for great for what I shall feel to have spent a day faultless I dont expect it much but my heart will leap within me if I do but I fear in my present state of weakness it is impossible [+whatch+] [+wact+] watch every word that I utter & look to my father which is in heaven for support ----

Monday 15

I got up though very sleapy so far I think I have stear'd clear but I feel much fear for myself this day & have many doubts & feel it next to impossible one thing is the resolution will not always remain equally strong & it does require the strongest resolution always to do right be not the least unkind to any one either behind their [+faces+] back or before them ----

do not give way to apeteite falcely be chearful & keep most strictly to truth Considerding how my day was broken into I spent it well but I fear far from perfect very far I was all the morning imploy'd about the cloths for our journey one thing I feel in the thoughts of it I may see my beloved friend W Savery happy thought but that I leave the rest of the day flew away aunt Gurney was hear we had much fuss upon Harry & Rachel [203] I dont know if I steared free from passion I fear not I was but very delicate all day I had the stomach ake so much with [+Anne+]

Tuesday July 16th

I have been thinking I had better not go to meeting this morning I was in town yesterday & could do so little that I think if I do all I can to employ my time well & if it is in my power go to 6th day evening meeting instead I should like it but that is uncertain I will at least have it in mind & go if I can & this morning try to be realy industrious & virtuous --- I but partly exerted myself this morning I was nervous & unwell to day at dinner I felt both faint & nervous which is extreemly painful after dinner I ate fruit which I did not want Bartlet Gurney [204] is hear & he fully entends to meet us which I am glad of we have been talking about going I do long to see my London friends ex-pressably perhaps my eyes may once more see my ears may once more hear my W Savery --I have felt at times to day very nervous I feel so now they are very painful feelings but I must bear them with patience & support them as well as I can I feel to night very unwell -- I feel in these nervous states highly blessed with religion for what little virtue I have how well I am [+supported through+] rewarded never should I grumble no never at the wise decrees of thy providence almighty God -- thou [+gh+] art a refuge in time of trouble I feel thy mercies this night I weep over my wickedness but thou wisperest in my heart thou art just & merciful that I need not fear thy decrees or any evil thou [mast] inflict if I put not evils on myself -- I trust in thee O God --

Wednesday July 17th

I had not a very good night I felt rather nervous but this morning I am much better I feel quite another person it makes me so happy so thankful but I should now have something to eat as I am very empty the friends come to day which I do not set my mind on so much as I did how thankful I am for the light [205] I had in my heart last night I never I think remember feeling true religion so much how virtuous I should be it should give me encouragement to begin again with fresh vigour what a true thing the devil does seem to be from experiance I think there is an evil spiret that would effect us but though the discription of the d -- is odd in the testament yet it accords so much with truth we have no reason to disbelieve it [+this+] our meeting is just over some parts of it where very charming to me one friend said she believed that God would rise as a morning sun without a cloud upon the heart of some or one presant it was incouraging Mary Watson [206] had a very interesting prayer that appear'd truly to flow from her heart I felt the begining of the meeting uncomfortable but I was supported through it well some parts I felt deeply at others I felt too fly away Judd & [S----][207] are now having a meeting under my feet I feel with them all I have been hearing Mary Watson preach but I would not attend to it for fear it should be dishonourable perhaps this day week I shall see W Savery I dont doubt I shall if it is for my good -- trust in providence & I [+ned+] need not fear

Thursday 18th July

I am rather late this morning but I have been having some very comfortable thoughts before I got up I have been fixing my plans if I am allowed to put them in practise it is my wish to spend this morning realy quiet to reflect & prepair myself for what I have to incounter in our journey this afternoon I wish to go to Kiswick to see Hudson - tomorrow I mean to go to town in the morning dine at Cousin Wrights [208] go to meeting & sup at the grove on Saturday to spend a quiet morning packing up etc etc in the afternoon I expect the Opies [209] will be with us on Sunday at meeting & traveling I am rather in fear for myself this journey I think it remindes me of my dream that I have riden safely & I should [fall] tobesure of late though I have dark times of it yet I have had my faith much established I am more of a quaker certainly & I hope more of a christian at least I see now how much I am of a quaker & did not

see it how I am alter'd I own my inclination leads me to be a plain quaker I wish I ever may be if with it I can procure the most inestimable of treasures the love of my father who is in heaven my soul feels sometimes vacant but I should replenish it as far as lays in my power & though I may feel I cannot pray at least try to open my heart to the dictates that may be pointed out to it may I be virtuous -- I shall write now upon a subject that dearly interests my heart I have fears that with my extreem regard for W Savery a little love is mixed but yet I need not fear I dont think it realy is take from him his virtue & do I love him? no no that I cannot [210] --

[+Tues+] evening

the first of this morning was spent very happily till near 12 o clock I was thinking & quietly reflecting reading the testament & enjoying the sweets of nature I picked a little nosegay that I put in my draw to remember the morning with -- how little I have to be sorry about except my own faults what outward circumstances can I wish for if I did not look to future I might almost always be happy but the human mind will feel little things I hope to grow better I fear for myself a little this journey I fear I shall be led away to volatility I do hope I shall [+not+] never fail to reflect as I go along it will be my surest support dayly consider night & morning come what will try to alone & if I cannot , draw my mind inwards from the company I am with for though I may not feel myself devotional or benifited at the time it will be a safe guard to [+to+] me & if I give up common entertainment for writing my journal && reading the testament I think I shall find satisfaction will follow - do not loose my time but employ it as well as I can read attend to & keep a journal of what I see [211] do go to meeting when I can that I may have time for quiet reflection upon what passes -- try to increase my general information as much as I can

Friday morning 19th July

The morning is so wet I think it will not be very easy to put my plans in execution for to day but I will try [+th+] if it clears up I had better first write my french excercise read french go to Norwich do what I have to do dine with cousin Wright & go to meeting in the evening I dont

exactly know how I shall continue about going but I must waite till the time comes My mind was not quite comfortable last night but it is more so this morning but yet not quite -- This day has answer'd I have enjoyed it very much after I had finish'd all my bills etc etc in Norwich I went to cousin Wright about one o'clock & spent a quiet comfortable time with her till about 3 o'clock & then walked up to the grove where where the friends I realy loved them Mary Watson was truly kind & sweet we had no meeting last night I felt clear about W Savery it is not love I feel for him I believe as I felt the same towards Mary Watson I quite loved her & so I did Mary Alaxander a little & poor Ann Terry [212] -- after drinking tea with Uncle & Aunt Joseph I went to the evening meeting which I was quite sorry to have finished though it was silent I had a sort of quiet enjoyment in it -- nothing seems to make my mind so comfortable as being in company with plain friends I do realy enjoy it it makes me dread being in company with gay poeple very much we supped at Kiswick Hudson look'd quite interesting to me in morning after his illness [213] *

*Katherine Fry note: "The following entries show her order in preparing to leave home - a habit that continued through life. The winding up & arranging everything on those occasions."

Saturday morn 20th July

this morning I am sorry to say my father is not well I am always doubly uneasy when he is ill than any one elce but I hope he will soon be well -- This day it is my intention if I can to see the friends for I long to see them again & particulaly as I suppose we shall go tomorrow we expect the Opies & Bartlet Gurney to dinner I must be careful to have [nothing] when the evening comes -- it is my wish to do my lesson with Lesage the first thing after a walk attend to my father - read to Mrs Norman see Nurse Norman walk to Colney about [+the+] Billy -- come home set my things in the greatest order & when I have done all my jobs I should like to go to Norwich & try at least to see the friends again but that I will also leave to fate to detirmine

evening

this day has been by no means satisfactory I have been muddled & confused by packing up

the thoughts of going & company how much I do fear for myself this journey only to day being in gay company I feel led away these two days shew me my right path thankful I should be for it last night my passions where soften'd down & I felt calm & satisfied to night my passions feel high & eregular not knowing what to do I do fear indeed but I hope I need not dispair about myself I must try to do all I can & constantly exert myself in some things I was pretty good to day I was quite temperate amongst the luxuries we had at table -- I felt half in love with Mr Opie part of the day which was most rong but I cannot easily help it [214] -- I [left] the young & gay to be with Bartlet G [215] -- which I feel pleasure in the thoughts of -- I believe I exagerated & spoke scandal two most rong things I am as it where blown away by the first wind that blows weak indeed & of my own self I cannot I fear do right

Sunday morning 21[+th+]st July

This morning I feel rather cold but I hope it will go off as I wish very much to go to meeting to day I suppose we shall leave this dear place & I am very sorry to say I am to leave this journal book behind me for I think if I took it it would be a sort of support to me in doing right but I must continue as well as I can without it [216] ___ I expect now to go in a few minutes I am realy sorry to leave this book behind me I felt much real love towards Mary Watson & am very sorry to go on her account I do love her truly & her friend Mary Alaxander

2nd day Earlham Sept 10th 1798 [217]

Ed.Note; This is Fry's first time using the Quaker form of '2nd day' instead of Monday etc. We arrived last night from our long & in some respects delightful journey I have all the time kept my journal so far from hurting me I hope it will act as a fresh stimulus to virtue & religion at least it should I have had some very bright & clear & times that should not be forgotten there are some things I hope to make more than ever an object of attention all my grand moral duties & the smaller duties which belong to them & are difficult to keep up to but I hope with care & pervearance I may obtain power sufficient to keep up to them the first part of this day was spent in washing finding a creaper was rather trying to me after breakfast much time was muddled away in giving presants [+to+] seeing about etc etc etc I then came to my own room & tried to settle plans for myself which I found rather difficult to do I felt quite in a flutter expecting Hudson Dr Alderson etc would dine with us they did come I have felt little difficulty in saying thee so do such evils vanish if duty supports us [218] -- in the afternoon I had a very serious talk with Kitty about my being a friend she thinks that my judgment is to young & inexperianced to be able to take up any particular opinions she may be right but I am willing to give up the company of friends & their books if she requests it but I do firmly believe my mind will never be easy or happy without I am a quaker poeple may make me like & admire a sect but can they make me unhappy with doing contrary to the opinions of that sect or can they make me happy by adhearing to its principles that I doubt we do surely see many who seem to form for themselves falce [+consences+] consciences but they seem mostly to lead to evil but if they do in truth lead to good are we to avoid them I feel they are right now but I cannot consider to deeply on both sides ----

3rd day morning 11th Sept 1798

I am risen quite early this morning hoping to perform all my duties actively & well as for religion my poor weak mind feels in rather a dark state but I do not fear if I persevere my mind will feel rewarded I wish first thing this morning to read in the testament & & and then to look over all my french & set about some lesson to go to meeting & do some business in

Norwich & read or do my french this afternoon -- I was dress'd about half past 6 altogether I have had an industrious day very satisfactory in most respects Uncle Joseph was hear this evening

4th day 12 Sept

There is hardly any body I fear quite so much as uncle Joseph I cannot speak with ease before him I felt rather depress'd last night but from a rong motive I did not enjoy the idea [+of+] that my being a friend should perhaps meet with the aprobation of no one in this country not even I fear Uncle Joseph & Aunt Jane [+for I fear they+] will suppose it to be done from [+inthusiasm+] enthusiasm Elizabeth told me yesterday that aunt Jane said before her she believed I was turning plain as fast as ever I can [219] -- but I always feel one rock to rest upon & let me never forsake it if these evils should leave me it is I depend upon my own moral conduct for support & if I act virtuously & without dissimulation I may look to a superior to them all for support comfort & every thing elce my mind feels flat rather in devotion [+rather+] but I do not fear if I have not the cause of it in my own mind which I am apt to doubt but I must now go on with my employments -- [+I+] as soon as I had written this I whent down & met Uncle Joseph who said he had a letter that I might read it was from Joseph Bevan [220] not very interesting but I was quite encouraged by the little attention -- I have had altogether an industrious day this evening my mind & body feel low & fatigued I cannot help fearing I never shall understand even the common branches of education I have so much slowness in my composition [221] but I hope I have so much greater a stimulus to virtue than I ever had that I need not much fear but I believe dark flat & cloudy as I often feel if I do as much as I can I shall meet my reward even in this world ---

5th day 13th

this morning I do not feel quite well I had such miserable dreams & now I have got a complaint in my bowels & feel so sick & trembling -- I look at myself with wonder I think I

shall truly be a quaker but if my openions do now alter be not ashamed to own it for as yet I am young & foolish they particularly John [222] are now apt to make sharp speaches Rachel does not but I feel if either of them were going in the same path some little time ago what speaches should I have made them I think wherever I do not think a great duty concern'd I should give way Kitty said she dis liked my [niting after meals] [223] therefore suppose I give it up after dinner -- It is near 2 o clock & my complaint in my bowels still continues but very poorly for it seems nothing will keep on my stomach but I feel perfectly easy let it turn out any way it makes me very weak but try for resignation & patience & if it pleases the Almighty to allow me a little support in time of trouble I am quite content I have not a fear all is guided for the best --I have now little to exert my patience about but I may have more to try [+it+] me yet ---- till near four I was ill I then took some laudnum which stop'd it. about tea time I enter'd the party & that I might avoid saying you said little that is one of the advantages I find I am less apt to talk at random Hudson was hear he is & I think always will be one of my favourites he has one trait in his character that I am particulaly fond of he pretends to be worse than he is how much I prefer it to one who talks more than they act he has a fine soil to cultivate both heart & head what it would be I think if devoted to religion & virtue -- Amelia* was saying yesterday she thought a person [+col+] could not have a good heart without a good head I said I believed a person might have good inclinations but if they had not some head to command them they would not turn to much account --

*Katherine Fry note: 'Opie'

Our heads & our hearts are equally gifts of God both require to be commanded by him or elce they turn to a poor account he will dictate in our hearts & our heads are to assist in puting in practice & be a sort of judge & governer of the heart in all other respects -- about 10 o clock after the [+con+] laudnum had left off effecting me I began to be poorly again with the complaint in my bowels & a sad pain in my stomach which with laudnum gin & & was cured [& poor] I whent to bed & to sleep ----

6th day morning Sept 14th

I did not get up till late & slept well yesterday I was quietly supported under my pains but without warm feelings of religion I hope to make up to day in some things the lost time of yesterday -- I believe my mind is one of those oddly effected the change of weather & seasons makes me feel I cannot express how but I think it is a strong renewal of old sensations or ideas it is not an unhappy but it is a very flatning state a sort of dullness the dark evenings & drinking tea by candle light is what I now feel my mind does associate so strongly ideas with things I believe my nervous feelings are an extreemly strong assosiation of ideas & when my body nervous sistim & brain are weak they feel in the highest degree that sensation I know those things that I have look'd at when I have been ill seeing them again has realy made me nervous & unwell [224] -- that I think one reason why I have been mostly better from home - but happy indeed should I be when I see how much all such feelings are gone if it pleases the Almighty to allow me to continue so it does appear to me the first of blessings but I know I am not able to judge & all I pray for is faith humility & patience & I hope if ill or well to do the will of God may O may I is the inmost prayer of my heart -- My body & mind are very weak to night but I must try not to fear what will not faith do for us it would lead us to all happiness -- but works are required & I believe true faith hardly obtainable without them

7th day morning 15th Sept

I was up latish [+this mor+] my body feels rather inclined to nervous feelings but I do not feel atall uneasy about myself though I may have some reason when I consider how much I have had a weakening complaint but I think it was a relief my body wanted for I feel much the clearer for it --I have been dreaming talking & thinking about dearest Prissy Gurney how very much I do love them both her & Crissy[225] I do dearly love them truly I hope I have gain'd a great treasure in this journey which is partly the love of some that I admire I have been thinking of my dear friends this morning & rather longing to write to one I dont know if I may not write to one when I have written my french exercise

evening

I have had altogether a satisfactory day I first wrote to S Petrie [226] which I felt a difficult task I then did my french & read in Levoisia did my lessons with Lesage this afternoon I have been working & walking to Colney & have order'd three other little boys besides Billy to come for me to read to them I feel rather ataloss what books to read to them but I hope to find some it is a very delightful task to me to fulfill I wish I may be of any use to them I can but try-

1st day morning Sept 16th

I had very miserable dreams last night & [+wolk+] woke in rather a nervous state as I was looking for comfort the thought of D Darbies [226] sermon came before she said I should be great if I followed the dictates of my heart & I consider could I be great if in ill health alas that I found a poor foundation for comfort but I have quite enough to comfort me can I say more than God derects all do I want more or am I ungrateful -- No O father of mercies I put my trust in thee I am unwell this morning all I pray for is risignation to thy will -- I whent to meeting & found it very satisfactory I was rather nervous all the time but not particulaly so after meeting Hudson told me Captain Austin was in town it made my heart beat I saw him afterwards it took me back to my last state of existance it was the crises of my gayety I did not think I should have felt so much at seeing him it tells me to be on my guard I do think my worldly feelings will come on again if I do not take the greatest care but it is in my own power Rachel has ask'd him to breakfast on 3rd day let me detirmine to go to meeting [227] --- I dined with cousin Wright & whent to meeting in the afternoon I had there moments of satisfaction but most part of the time I was dilatory but it appears to me hard to keep to one subject so many hours & so near together I should vastly like an evening meeting on the 1st day after I came home I walk'd them & gave up reading to nurse Normans family the four boys came & I think for the first time it answer'd well but I only fear I talk'd to much to them more than was my place but I hope it will be of use to them by early informing them of the doctrines of religion may it produce some effect upon them I can but try - I then heard reading below & afterwards nursed Priscilla who was not well but nervous till near bed time

altogether I am pretty well satisfied with this day ---

2nd day morning Sept 17th 1798

I woke in a good state of mind may it continue all day I have not much reason to boast of its continuance after breakfast I felt at a loss what to do about sending my letter to S Petrie I did not like them to see it but after much thought I took courage & shew it to Rachel it put me quite in a flutter because I felt how they would dislike it but it is my duty let the cross be ever so great to be open with such sisters for when I once give up confidence in them I shall loose indeed it will be an irreparable loss to me I did my french but languidly -- & wash'd till dinner &&& after dinner I was with J.Driver [228] who cut his head this evening I have been walking & talking with Kitty tomorrow we expect captain Austin remember the word thee it will be a sort of fortification to my tongue & heart ---

3rd day morning Sept 18th

Captain Austin I suppose will come this morning I wish he did not as I know how I feel him I must be on my guard say thee I may if I chuse not be hurt but perhaps gain from his company but that I hope --

yesterday evening I had a little choice time I had quite a little religious meeting by myself I read & was still in my heart I could not have thought speech & dress have so much power as I find they have -- though I should be [+much+] writing my french I think I may just describe this day as it does clearly shew my state at this time -- I got up this morning first dress'd myself rather to advantage as Captain Austin was coming but I felt if I thought it right to overcome those sort of feelings was it the way by trying to attract those I wish to avoid many would say why should I wish to avoid them I know my own heart is much inclined to disipation & that being with & trying to attract gay young men leads one from much better things for it takes my heart from virtue I took courage & changed what I put on said thee I then went to meeting & had a most happy one I did really feel devotion & capable of virtue I had a fatig [+ueing+] morning but kept saying thee when I came home to dress I did as in the morning dress'd myself to advantage did not alter & I feel this afternoon clouded & dissatisfied - now it being late I believe I may be excused altering but I feel I have lost a step & it will be rather difficult to regain it to day -- but I hope with exertion to make it up [+ I had a sad cloudy evening yesterday+]*

***Edit note;** This appears to have been written as a p.s on the 4th. but refers to the previous day

4th day Sept 19th

I rose early wrote french before breakfast & read -- after 6 I had a good lesson with Le Sage a good lesson of chemistry work &&& till dinner after dinner I read & walk'd with my father since tea I have been witing this has been [+good+] a satisfactory industrious day it is so delightful to feel in the evening I have been well employ'd the mind feels stock'd with a pleasant subject of reflection but it is not often I am {at least my body} capable of of much exertion geting up early I believe made me feel at times languid & delicate but at this time I mostly am so -- it was not my intention to have gone to Cromer tomorrow because I thought I should be better employ'd at home though I love being in Uncle Josephs company but [+I+] I think it will please them all if I go therefore I do. I have one objection to going from a wish not to leave my employment I have another partly from [+prejudice+] prejudice I look with an

unpleasant sensation of any place where I have been ill - so I feel Cromer but [+I feel+] that should be overcome as a folly -- another rather better reason is I am in this way that I seldom am quite well & go with only Kitty & my father but I do not feel much afraid for I know that if it is right for me to be ill I shall be therefore I put my trust where alone I can depend for support----

5th day morning Sept 20th

this morning I did not rise very early but I had a good washing bout & since breakfast I have been doing bodily exercises with them all, I like them because they are wholesom & it is pleasant to join with them all in any thing of the kind -- I expect to go to Cromer -- I have been looking into my journals of last year they complain sadly of idleness flirtation low spirets eritability &&& they have cleverly told my state I hope & believe I am better I there express a longing for religion it is what I always wanted I felt I could not be virtuous or happy with it is a purifying blessing I am thankful for it for without it I feel I am nothing may I always be so is my anxious prayer --I now feel quite like another person I am so much changed but I then felt the want of it I thought I must have turn'd out a gay giddy fool but I have been protected I hope from ever now being one but time alone will shew --in one of my journals I express a wish to be religious but fear being so incase of inthusiesm perhaps there are many & myself also at times think I now am an inthusiest I do not when I deeply consider believe I am one -- I have now & early in life it surly is to form an opinion very much fix'd to be a quaker many would say I act in a foolish manner because my judgment is young & inexperienced that I feel I do not throw aside human reason by no means I think it a gift from the Almighty of inestimable worth but I am clear that can be corrupted truth is truth & I believe incorruptable truth flows from God let us be directed by it -- I wish to have my first object in life to obtain truth or vitue to be influenced by its light & spiret I find the way to be able to obtain that will not be so difficult if I give up to the ristrictions that the quaker prinsiples make upon the conduct if well adhear'd to & I do not say or [+to-+] expect they are nesenary to all but I am almost sure something of the kind is so to me for I find I am not happy or virtuous without it I may perhaps with constant & care be so without being a quaker but I do not think I

can I believe it is what I have always as long as I can remember felt the want of therefore I now think it my duty by degrees to be one but I hope my heart looks to a superior source of direction & I have hopes I may be & am directed by the all wise all excellent & all powerful God who will protect the lamb that has strayed from the flock & [+send+] be a light in the heart of man ----

1st day night Sept 23d 1798

I have not been long return'd from Cromer where I have been since 5th day I have been well in health of body at times I have felt much encouragement of mind & at times depress'd I have felt uncle Joseph rather flatening but I cannot discribe how. I have received a letter from S Petrie & Anna Savory I feel most for S Petrie she does realy interest me I have felt much for her I fear I may have no right to influence the opinions of her mind & yet I do not feel easy to let them alone as I am the one who at least must do something her mind was of it self led to be a quaker long before I knew her but I fear I may be mistaken I fear she may have got the idea of it -- but not the reaety but I think my right plain is to do & explain what little I know giving her leave to read it to her friends if she likes it as I may be an instrument to assist her but I have little doubt we shall be of mutual improvement to each other ----

2nd day 24th Sept

this morning I rise hoping to do well when I have breakfasted do exercises with them till a quater past nine write french & while I am writing do not once leave it unless I am absolutely obliged read & get vocabulary till half past. till 12 in recreation read S'avoisia till 2 work till dinner read Plutarch till it is time to dress for the Manings [229] this day has not been very sattisfactory I was very industrious till 1 o klok since I have done little or nothing we suped at Dr Manings I was so stupid all the evening wishing to be at home well employ'd
[+this day I +]

3d day 25th Sept 1798

I do hope to make some amends to day for my lost time yesterday I can but endeavour & try to keep up to the resolutions I form I feel at times quite dis couraged in all my plans I fear for my self I dont think I shall easily obtain all that I wish for but I must try to keep up every exertion is my anxious desire I am lately grown much to intemperate I drink to much wine & live altogether to luxuriantly but I will at least try this day to do well -- I think I may say I was industrious till 2 o clock when company came. I wrote a little this afternoon & I have been to meeting this evening the fault of this day is mostly intemperance partly owing to my state of body for I have for a few days past felt much lowness of body wanting support but for all that I have been well my mind has felt relaxed & has also at times wanted support this evening I was flat & felt little but in these sort of states do not be dis couraged if they are not my own fault -- my mind dwells upon my poor children & all my plans for the poor with anxiety may I be of use to them I [+3cm-+]

4th day Sept 26th

I rose in good time the first [+1+] thing I did was to write to Bess [230] I then read a little & as soon as I had breakfasted went to Norwich to do my lessons with Le Sage I went to meeting & had a quiet time more satisfactory than otherways we got home & dined & spent the evening at the [Postler] I do not much disapprove of my self this day as I believe I may have a little overcome temptation I have been lauging rather to much at the company who were there but I do not feel that absolute scandal David Dent & William [Croch] [231] preach'd & pray'd they did not have much effect on me but if they had both said less of themselves & curtail'd altogether I think it would have been better but I am I know an unable judge ---

5th day Sept 27th

when I first woke this morning my mind was in a painful state low & uncomfortable there are very different kinds of low spirets those from different causes of course produce different

effects --[+bu+] but the low spirets arising from the state of mind or from nervous feelings are far the most painful I think but I may be mistaken when I have greater things outwardly to suffer about -- this morning I was [tintur'd]with the state arising from myself & hurried dreams which I am happy to say is now gone off this is to be a quiet day I expect may I make good use of it -- this has been to me rather an odd day not having my french books the common course of my plans was stop'd & I thought I might devote a part of the morning to the poor plans this I did with Lidia [232] & altogether my way is clearer but I do not expect to be able to put any of my plans in practice for some time to come my mind & body felt quite in a cloud the rest of the morning & I could not settle well to any thing partly owing I think to the cold damp weather after dinner I felt better & had rather an active afternoon at french -- & this evening I have been doing exercises & singing with them. my mind feels very clear to night & my body much better -- I have been thinking about singing & I hope in that as in every thing elce to do what is right I cannot say I feel it rong to sing to my own family it is sweet & right to give them pleasure but I do not approve of singing in company as it leads to vanity & disepation of mind but that I believe I have no occasion as dear Rachel does not request it for she does not like it herself I should be sorry quite to give up singing as the gift of nature & on her account as long as it does not lead me from what is better I need not fear it

6th day Sept 28th

I am nervous this morning but if I am not more so than I am now I have no reason to fear but how great a blessing is religion at such times how happy the mind that is quite resign'd to the will of God I am bless'd with a little resignation I may one day have more most of the morning I was very nervous in mind but not much so in realety very little in truth they are much declined which is to me a blessing indeed -- we dined at the Iveses [233] I think I talk'd to much I said you from forgetfulness I only say it when my worldly self is prodominate which it is to apt to be in such companies I was at times in high spirits I wish I did not go into such company as it leads me from my proper senter ---

7th day Sept 29th

I have risen rather to late a few mornings past been in the day to intemperate & lately once more fallen into the habit of writing badly which I must not do -- this day I wish to be at french till 11 set my clothes in order & walk 12 [+read+] write if I can to S Petrie till one then read Plvoisia till time to dress -- I have altogather had a pretty good day only rather interupted by the tooth ake which I am vex'd I should be interupted by but my bodily constitution is very soon weaken'd by pain I hope I am quite willing to support any pain but I feel it difficult to exert myself enough & give way rather to much to idleness I know I must a little but I think I do it rather to much I have much enjoy'd the company of my dear boy Sammy [234] this evening I think we shall always feel much love for each other young as he is I love him particulaly --- afterwards We [+all+] received a letter from dear Prissilla Gurney [235] long as I have anxiously wish'd for it it did not give me quite so much pleasure as I expected I was in rather a flat state & its being to [+us all+] we three & not a very intimite letter but I hope now I may soon write to her as I realy wish it ---

1st day morning

I have much to consider about this day in my time of reflection for it is my duty at least to try to fortify my mind about the time now coming as I may have many temptations to go astray -- & remember my dream I may fall therefore always be on my [gured] I am always in the presence of my God may I say & may I one day be so good as not to be ashamed when I think of & feel thy presence almighty father -- I had a very comfortable morning meeting my tooth ached most part of the time but it was a pleasure to me to exert my patience we dined at Aunt Blands I cannot boast of the afternoon meeting I find it hard to command my mind to do what is right -- in the evening my little boys came I feel much anxiety about them but I hope if I do them no good I shall not do them hurt ----

2nd day October 1st

I have much to do to set my mind in order I feel to sensibly that of late I have fallen back it is not nearly writing it in my journal will do I must alter for the better -- last night I found myself speaking cross to the children at least not kind & to greedy & intemperate at supper -- I think inthusiesem was in my mind this morning at meeting which I must guard against by not building in my mind castles of worldly admiration for I felt the pain of what I have look'd forward to with pleasure -- One thing do -- fear not man but fear God much indeed is contain'd in that & hard shall I find it to keep up to it in my moments of true religion I fear not man but those moments I have not often. Can I ever be what I should or what I can be -- how apt am I to wonder at vise & how hard I now feel to combat with evil - jealousy I have to overcome may I by the time I finish my next journal book be better than I am now but I should not forget to thank my father almighty for what I have gained since I began this -- religion that first & most inestimable of blessings has been given me may I never loose it but profit by it day after day is the prayer I now pray --

NOTES TAPE 1 BOOK 2 Ms.Vol. S256

- 1] Augustus Hare, The Gurneys of Earlham, [London, George Allen, 1895] 12-13, 52 : Mrs.Freshfield, this could refer to Elizabeth Freshfield, daughter of John Gurney of S.Augustine' and Elizabeth Haddock.
- 2] E.Fry, [no date given] June 1828, Journal, Friends House Library, London, Ms.Vol.S256: A description of William Savery given by Fry some thirty years after their first meeting.
- 3] Katharine Fry and Rachel Cresswell, Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry [Montclair, New Jersey, Patterson Smith Publishing Corporation,1974] 405, 471: Jane Gurney married to Joseph Gurney of the Grove, Fry's uncle.
- 4] E.Fry, 4 February 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256 Uncle Joseph Gurney of the Grove. Joseph Gurney was a strict Quaker and very influential with his older brother John and his family. In particular his young niece Fry, as he was instrumental in encouraging her to attend that fateful Meeting where she met William Savery.
- 5] S- William Savery
- 6] Fry and Cresswell,Memoirs, 15-16: E.Fry, [no date]September 1830, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol. S256 'Reminiscences': Fry's mother died in 1792.
- 7] 'hurried' was a family word meaning anxious and rattled.
- 8] E.Fry, 28. August 1817, Journal, Frds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Fry's confusion seems to stem from her fear of organised religion. She seems to have felt that her ideal was to become religious before she made a commitment to any particular religious sect. Fry was also concerned about the influence that William Savery had upon her and whether she was confusing her feelings for Savery with those of Quakerism. Her family was particularly concerned that her new-found enthusiasm for becoming a 'plain Quaker' was due to the influence of a charismatic speaker whose influence over a young girl was easy to understand. According to Fry's Journal she was aware of these dangers and took some measures to lessen the influence of Savery by reading the Scriptures without annotation, so that she could decide for herself.
- 9] E.Fry, 6. February 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Fry felt a certain pride in her riding ability. John Gurney had provided red riding habits for all his daughters.
- 10] Hobart was a young friend of the Gurney's, and often at Earlham.
- 11] E.Fry, September 1830, 'Reminiscences', Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Fry's fears

and superstitions often involved the dark.

12] E.Fry, 28 August 1817, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Fry's sisters Rachel and Kitty's comments were justified in the case of Hobert, [this was before Fry decided to dislike his attitude and his taking the Lords name in vain] but she was confused about her feelings toward Savery. He no doubt impressed her and she felt emotionally bonded to him but after the initial 'crush', her emotions settled down and Fry became more mature in her feelings toward Savery and they developed to ones of respect and admiration.

13] A Meeting Fry was sure Savery would attend and speak at.

14] June Rose, Elizabeth Fry, A Biography, [London, Macmillan London Ltd., 1980] 30: Fry expressed her empathy with the 'gay' and the 'disbelieving' in society. She also voices her desire to be like Savery and become a 'preacher'. This was before her meeting with Deborah Darby at Colnbrook Dale.

15] Hare, The Gurneys, 74, 155 :Mr.Crome, 'old Crome', was employed as a drawing teacher by John Gurney.

16] Fry's emotions were in turmoil, one minute she wants to fly after a military band, the next nearly broke her leg jumping off the coach in the hope of seeing 'Plain Quakers'. It was this state of excitement that Fry's father wished to discourage by taking Fry away with her sisters, to Wales and the South East . Also visiting his cousin Priscilla Hannah Gurney at Colnbrook Dale. This was a cousin, who was a committed plain Quaker but Fry's father felt had a calming and sensible outlook on life.

17] Although Fry wished to follow Savery to the various venues he was attending, she knew it was unpractical and unwise to commit herself so quickly, even if her father allowed it, which was doubtful.

18] Hannah Walker, was a cousin of Fry's.

19] Mr.Thurger taught French to the Gurney children

20] Hare, The Gurneys, 171-172, 201 : Priscilla Gurney; 1785-1821; one of Fry's four younger sisters. She became a strict Quaker and a Minister but she never married. Pricilla Gurneys friendship with the Wordsworths was shared by her elder sister Catherine Gurney. Dr.Wordsworth Rev.C.of E, married a relative of John Gurney.

21] Louisa Gurney 1784-1836, she married Samuel Hoare her cousin in 1806 at

Tasborough, Friends' Meeting House near Norwich.

22] Fry's cousin Hudson Gurney, son of Richard Gurney of Keswick

23] Daniel Gurney 1791-1880, married Lady Harriet Hay and lived near King's Lynn at Runcton. Of all Fry's sibling's Daniel's reaction to her public prayer at their fathers funeral 1809 was the most critical of her. He does nevertheless, look after his Fry nieces for some time during Elizabeth Fry's financial difficulties. Hare, 203-4, 336-337

24] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 12: James Lloyd, former fiancé' to Fry.

25] Fry was referring to the author, Mr. Lewis [first name unknown], who wrote a book called 'The Castle Spectre', it was a ghost story.

26] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 11, 17 :Although John Gurney was an indulgent father he did take advice concerning his children's behaviour from his younger and religiously orthodox brother, Joseph of the Grove. This could result in situations at Earlham that upset his children. Fry by this statement was attempting to empathise with her fathers difficulties and excuse his seeming inconsistency in behaviour.

27] E.Fry, 11 February 1798, Journal, Fds/Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: It is almost certain that if Fry had been allowed to continue to heighten her enthusiasm for Quakerism without the sensible and pacifying presents of her sisters and father, she would have reached the state of religious ecstasy. This is one of the aspects of organised religion that Fry truly feared, as it meant loss of control and individuality and was discouraged by members of the Religious Society Friends Meetings.

28] Hare, The Gurneys 79: Frederick Bevan Fry's cousin.

29] Mary Bevington a friend of Fry's but closer to Catherine Gurney Fry's sister. Fry feels a rivalry with Rachel and [Kitty] Catherine Gurney, for her attention.

30] Ibid. 51-69: Agatha 'Gatty' Hanbury, Amelia Alderson, she marries John Opie in May 1798 and Fry's first cousin Elizabeth Gurney of Keswick. Elizabeth of Keswick was a favourite with all the family particularly with Louisa Gurney, Fry's sister.

31] Fry was referring to her first visit to London in 1796 after her illness when she was sent by her father John Gurney.

32] Elizabeth Hanbury her cousin with whom she was staying with in Brick Lane

33] Fry had a maid with her.

34] Mary Hanbury was staying at Earlham.

35] Amelia Alderson, this visit took place just before she married John Opie.

36] Hare, The Gurneys, 20, 25-25: The Wrights were relatives who frequently dined at Earlham, they lived in Norwich.

37] E. Fry, 4 October 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256 Fry like many prolific diarist and journalizers' was reluctant to foregoing writing a journal entry for just a few days.

38] The Bevington's as Friends were to play an important role in Fry's life as a Minister.

39] The first part of this entry in Fry's journal was probably written by one of her younger siblings. The second part was presumably written by Rachel Gurney as it refers to 'Harry' Enfield.

40] Rose, 12 : Dr Lidoe was one of the doctors Fry saw on her first trip to London. Dr.Sims was a physician also consulted by Fry's father. There was a bill for five guineas payed in 1796 to Dr.Sim for Fry's treatment in John Gurney's accounts.

41] Brick Lane was the address that Fry stayed at when she last visited London in 1796.

42] Mrs. Good is unknown, perhaps a friend of Dr.Lidoe and Fry's father.

43] The Bevans were Fry's cousins through her father. David Bevan angered Fry by swearing.

44] The Bells and Barclay's were Fry's mother's relatives.

45] The initials' Bs-. Refer to the Barclay's as they lived in Clapham.

46] Hare, The Gurneys, 105 : Fry could mean Mrs. Norman who was normally referred to as nurse Norman. Equally it could mean Molly Norman a girl Fry's age, who Fry met one day carrying a bag of flour and asked how much it would cost her per year to clothe the girl. On hearing it would cost about ten shillings Fry after obtaining her fathers consent employed the girl.

47] Fry was referring to Henry Bevan, cousin of Fry's.

48] Hare, The Gurneys, 29 : Aunt [Springal] Springall.

49] Ibid.38

50] Rachel Labouchere, Deborah Darby of Coalbrookdale 1754-1810, [York, William Sessions Ltd. 1993] 387. William Savery

51 / 52] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 41-42

53] 'Anna' was Anna Barclay her cousin.

- 54] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 11 : 'Harry' is Henry Enfield.
- 55] Hare, The Gurneys 17-20 : The Gurney's of Norwich was wealthy and respected.
- 56] Anna Barclay
- 57] Agatha and Elizabeth Hoare, cousins.
- 58] The Bells, relatives of Fry's mother Catherine Gurney nee Bell.
- 59] Savery's sister, probably Mary.
- 60] Deist sentiments.
- 61] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 41
- 62] Hare, 79
- 63] Uncle David Barclay and Aunt Margaret Hoare, Fry stayed with both families.
- 64] William Savery
- 65] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 12, 88 : Mary Lloyd sister to James Lloyd Fry's former finance.
- 66] Barclay's of Clapham.
- 67] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 24 : Molly Knowles a Friend and mutual acquaintance of Fry and Savery. Savery's liking of Knowles upset Fry.
- 68] Hudson Gurney or Barclay, both were Fry's cousins'. She does not make it clear which one she means. It was probably Barclay as she was staying with them.
- 69] Richard Hanbury; cousin
- 70] Elizabeth Hoare; cousin.
- 71] William Savery
- 72] Hare, the Gurneys 238,258-259,261. Rose, Elizabeth Fry. 10-11
- 73] Dr. Batty a friend of Fry's father
- 74] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 10-11 : Mrs.Siddons a famous actress, once courted by Mr.Goodwin a friend of Amelia Opie.
- 75] A Friend and acquaintance of John Gurney.
- 76] Hare, The Gurneys, 95 : John Opie the painter and husband to Amelia.
- 77] Mrs.M.Hoare, a cousin of Fry's from Hampstead.
- 78] George Knowles Molly's husband See note 67.
- 79] 'Dis.' means disgusting in Gurney family speech, mainly used by the younger family members to describe Goats Lane Meeting. See Glossary

80] Fry even at this young age, seventeen, is sensible enough to realise the dangers inherent in confusing the 'man' with the message.

81] Fry is referring to the Hoares.

82] Molly Knowles' husband George Knowels

83] Fry's brother John Gurney, 1781-1814.

84] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 12:Charles Lloyd brother of James Lloyd

Peter Pindar the poet. Rose, 25

86] The Trittons, these could be 'Friends' but there is no record of their relationship.

87] Aunt Buxton, they were related through Fry's uncle Richard of Keswick.

88] Mrs.Mathews there is no record of her relationship to Fry.

89] Shepherds or Sheppards, Fry does not make clear which family she is referring too.

90] The 'Iris chilens', Fry may mean a family of 'Irish children'. 'Margaret' as there were so many Margaret's it is difficult to establish which one Fry is referring to, it could have been Lindoc.

91] Fry, 1.June 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256

92] Fry, 21 April, 1798, Journal, Fhd.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256 [July 1828] My Dream, expresses an anxiety and fear of being swept away by life. The metaphor of water she uses throughout her life but in this instance it washes her away and she is lost. Fry's journal entry for the 21 May 1798, has an editorial intervention by Fry dated; 23. August 1828, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: that explains how this fear of water was engendered by her early experiences of bathing.

93] The 'trifles' Fry is referring to were her previous 'illness'and the resulting desire to find a suitable husband on her recovery. This was compounded by her confused feelings toward religion.

94] E.Fry, 15 February1798 Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S 256: William Savery introduced Fry to a form of Quakerism that she found irresistible. On her own admission Fry's hold on this form of her faith was very tentative. It was not until her visit to London and her seeing Savery again that it became more established in Fry's mind.

95] This reticence of Fry's to show her Journal to her family is an admission of wishing to maintain the level of privacy that she had enjoyed before. Fry's journal was once again to be the repository of her deepest thoughts and desires particularly as she doubted her sister's

sympathy and understanding of her plight. Fry was suffering her own doubts about her way forward and did not wish to share them with an already hostile family.

96] Fry's cousins from the Grove

97] Hare, The Gurneys, 60-67 :John Pitchford was a Roman Catholic and a young friend of the Gurney family. He was a frequent visitor to Earlham and was particularly fond of Rachel. His presence did not upset John Gurney as he felt Pitchford would not attempt to influence his family on religious matters. Fry's criticism of Pitchford was his reluctance to accept the Quaker doctrine of 'The Inner Light'. This was a fundamental belief of The Religious Society of Friends. A member could be moved by the Holy Spirit to speak at Meeting. It was this divine intervention that allowed women to become 'Ministers' and circumvent society's taboos on women in the public sphere.

98] The editorial intervention at the end of this entry suggests Fry in expressing her greater involvement with the Religious Society of Friends and also accepts that all religious sects have doctrine that outsiders would find odd or dismiss as superstition. Fry believes man was not perfect that the human condition does not allow for perfection in this life but only in the next.

99] The date is incorrect and should read 'Sunday 29th.'

100] 'Bess' Elizabeth Newman was a young lady staying at Earlham, at times her presence irritated Fry as she seemed too excitable and unsophisticated.

101] Hare, The Gurneys, 18: Uncle Joseph was Joseph Gurney of the Grove. There were two Bartlett Gurney's, father and son. It was their bank that John Gurney, Fry's father joined.

102] 'B-' Bob, Fry did not like reading in front of others incase they thought her proud

103] The people Fry visits seem to be obligatory [duty visits] rather than for pleasure.

104] The relationship between Hannah Walker and Fry is unclear. The families were cousins and Mary Walker a particular friend of Catherine Gurney's.

105] Mrs Mary [Turlful] was a neighbour and a 'Friend. No further information available.

106] Katharine Fry was suggesting that Fry's father was far more concerned about what could develop if Fry continued to be unwell.

107] Hare, The Gurneys, 61 :Mrs. Elizabeth Freeman was a Quaker and lady-help who came to Earlham for a fortnight and stayed thirty years.

- 108] E.Fry, [no date] September 1830, 'Reminiscences' Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms Vol.S256: The entry mentions Fry's convulsions and the effect they had on her father.
- 109] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 13: Joseph Gurney's influence on his nieces was often negative. He complained about their 'gay' behaviour to John Gurney and reduced Rachel Gurney to tears.
- 110] Seathing was where the Bell family, Fry's mother Catherine Gurney's relations' lived.
- 111] W.S. - William Savery
- 112] E.Fry, 16 May 1798, Journal, Fds,Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Ms. Le Sage was the Gurney children's French teacher. This was the second opportunity Fry had to learn French, but she never became proficient and always needed an interpreter.
- 113] Sister to Hannah Walker.
- 114] Hare, The Gurneys, 18 Rachel Gurney, 1778-1827.
- 115] Ibid. 163-4, 170-183: Fry's younger brother and sister. Hannah Gurney 1783-1872 married Thomas Fowel Buxton on the 13. May 1807. Joseph Gurney 1788-1847 married three times; Jane Birkbeck 10 September 1817, Mary Fowler 18. July 1827 and Eliza Paul Kirkbride on the 21 October 1841.
- 116] Richenda Gurney 1782-1855 married the Rev. Francis Cunningham in January 1816 at Earlham Church.
- 117] John Walker a brother to Mary and Hannah Walker. Fry questions the validity of church music and suggests it is the music that moves the listener rather than being a means to the glorification of God. One of the reasons it was rejected by the Religious Society of Friends.
- 118] G.M.Trevelyan, English social history, [London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1942] :Fry's father fears she may have caught Bobs disease. What Bob Norman was soon to die of was never fully explained, although tuberculosis seems a reasonable presumption. John Gurney was justified in his concern, given the mortality rate in the eighteenth century and the prevalence of disease's like pulmonary tuberculosis and cholera.
- 119] Robert. A.Fothergill, Private Chronicles. A Study of English Diaries, [London, Oxford University Press, 1974] 17-20 :The practise of keeping an account of your behaviour was very much in the tradition of the Disenters' 'Conscience Diary'.
- 120] 'eritable' Fry means irritable, she may also be commenting on her use of stimulants.

121] E.Fry, 16 May 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256

122] Elizabeth Newman

123] Hudson Gurney, son of Richard Gurney of Keswick.

124] E.Fry, 15 November 1800, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S258: After her marriage Fry followed the Friends' tradition of reading the bible to her servants in the morning. Fry was determined to care of both their spiritual and temporal well being.

125] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 32, 56 :The Norman family worked at Earlham. Nanny Norman had was married to the gardener, Molly was one of her daughters who Fry adopted.

126] E.Fry, 21 April 1798, Transcription

127] E.Fry, [no date] September 1830, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256

128] E. Fry, 16 May 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Fry admits to feelings of jealousy about the emotions expressed by Kitty and Rachel when parting from each other. In the abstract of her early life Fry claims that feelings of 'the usual childish rivalries' did not arise. Fry does comment on her lack of emotional display as she did not feel the same degree of emotion expressed by others.

129] Epictetus, a stoic philosopher [c 50-120] his writings influence Marcus Aurelius

130] E.Fry, 29 May 1798 and the 20. July 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Castleton [Billy] one of 'Betsy's Imps from Colney.

131] How much Fry intended to add to this entry is unknown but there is no evidence of pages being removed and the entry ends abruptly without explanation.

132/4] Elizabeth Fry was the author of her Journals from this date until her death, so what Katharine Fry was referring to is unclear but it was probably the facsimile she made of her mothers journals that are kept at the British Library Add. Mss; 47456 /47457. Katharine Fry had copied her mothers Journal to use as a primary source of material for the *Memoirs* she wrote with her sister Rachel Cresswell. Fry and Cresswell, Memoir

135] E.Fry, 10 December 1801, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S260: This entry unwittingly informs the reader that Fry had begun to attend Meetings during the week. This was a total change of behaviour as before her encounter with Savery to get Fry to attend a Sunday Meeting was a difficult undertaking. This becomes a daily ritual, often twice daily when she is not opposed by her husband, [who finds this level of piety disturbing]

- 136] Hare, The Gurneys, 79 : Frederick Bevan, a cousin and frequent visitor to Earlham.
- 137] Ibid. 14-15, 30, 58 : Robert Barclay The Apologist, see biography section. Fry's maternal great-great-great-grandfather.
- 138] Ibid. 36-38 : Fry's eldest sister Catherine Gurney does not show much sympathy with Fry. Although as they got older, they become closer they never seem to attain the same level of intimacy that the other sisters did.
- 139] This entry displays an example of unwitting comedy. The perdantic attitude was reminiscent of George and Weedon Grossmith, A Diary of A Nobody, [London, Bradbury and Agnew, 1892]
- 140] Hare, The Gurneys, 81, 116-118 : The Enfields were often discussed at Earlham.
- 141] P. Houghton was referred to by Fry, "as a particular favourite" of her mother Catherine Gurney nee Bell.
- 142] 'Aunt Lucy' may refer to Lucy Gurney who married Thomas Aggs.
- 143] Joseph of the Grove, and Bess Newman
- 144] 'hurried' a Gurney family word meaning; anxious, concerned or upset. See Glossary
- 145] A 'Concern', see Quaker Glossary. Fry is referring to the Quaker belief of the Inner Light, leading members and Ministers to speak in public
- 146] John Tolls, a draper in Norwich
- 147] Colney was the local village to Earlham, the Castleton's reaction to Fry's suggestion was not surprising. However, it would be interesting to know how they really felt about a seemingly patronising teenager dictating to them about their son.
- 148] Hare, The Gurneys, 60-67 : John Pitchford
- 149] Ibid. 105 : Poor Bob's sister Sally Norman, Fry's maid.
- 150] Ibid. 29
- 151] It was unclear whether Fry was visiting 'The Grove' or her 'Keswick' cousins
- 152] William Savery
- 153] An incorrect date, it should have been Saturday morning June 3rd.
- 154] Hare, The Gurneys, 13 : 'Aunt Bland'
- 155] Fry finds Bob's [Norman] dead body upsetting and the only comfort she could find was her belief in an immortal soul. Fry believed it was only after the soul left the body the 'light'

was extinguished.

156] Fry was referring to 'purgatory', a place that Christian doctrine claims most souls are placed before they enter heaven.

157] This reference of Fry's implying her Journal shows her unitarian and deist tendencies must have been in the texts' that she destroyed.

158] Hare, The Gurneys, 61 : Mrs. Freeman.

159] E.Fry, 20 June 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Anna Barclay.

160] Agatha Barclay was a sister of Anna Barclay.

161] Sucky Colby identity nor the relationship with Fry was unclear but Fry expects other members of her family to attend the funeral.

162] Rose, 78, 98, 100: This was the first instance of Fry criticising a Minister for his poor reading of prayers. Fry's readings at Newgate prison became extremely popular. It was odd that none of her family ever commented on her melodious speaking voice.

163] Hare, The Gurneys, 28 -32 : The Wrights relatives from Norwich.

164] Ibid. 81, 116-118 :Henry Enfield and Rachel Gurney 1778-1827, never married.

165] Fry was again displaying anxiety by her dream of falling. Once again on either side of the precipice was water but she did not fall or drowned.

166]Mrs Kerrich relationship to Fry was not clear but it is possible that she was a Minister.

167] The other interesting element of Fry's dream was William Savery turning into a woman, she sees this as 'a hint to myself'. Fry implies that it means she should ignore the 'messenger', only concentrate on the message.

168] No further record of E.Everet

169] E.Fry, 13 August 1800, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S259: This was the beginning of Fry's school, by the time of her marriage in 1800 there were more than eighty pupils. The Gurneys called them Betsy's imps.

170] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 80 :Priscilla Gurney 1785-1821 Fry's sister.

171] *ibid*; 99

172] *Ibid*. 9-14 :Rachel Gurney 1778-1827

173] Hare, the Gurneys, 21,54,59,66,129 : Margaret 'Peggy' Lindoc.

174] .Rose, Elizabeth Fry,143-150 :Fry was very conscious of other peoples opinion of her.

For most of her life Fry constantly battled with herself to do what she felt was right regardless of the opinions of others.

175] Hare, The Gurneys, 70 : Sunday's were described as 'diss' meaning disgusting by all the Gurney children. The reason was their attendance at Goats Meeting House, near Norwich. The silent Meetings could last for as long as four hours.

176] A Minister at Goats Lane Meeting House

177] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 12 : James Lloyd

178] Fry found the Baptist Service too 'popularised' for her taste. Fry had been exposed to a system of silent worship and any other form, especially a service that encouraged praying aloud, would seem strange to her.

179] William Savery

180] Hare, The Gurneys, 14 :Fry's maternal great-great -grandfather, Robert Barclay.

181] Richard Gurney of Keswick, her cousin

182] Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 60-65 : Fry's brother Daniel 1791-1880.

183] Seathing, Fry's mother's family the Bells lived there.

184] Mrs.Kett would have been related to Fry's paternal Grandmother, Elizabeth Kett.

185] see note, 183.

186] A member of the Prince William Frederick's Regiment, that was stationed at Norwich.

187] Hare, The Gurneys, 184

188] W.Sewel a 'Friend', a member of Goat's Lane Meeting

189] Hare, The Gurneys, 34, 54 :Hannah Judd, the Earlham housekeeper, she was to marry the butler Scarnall.

190] Ibid. 30, 39, 132-133 :Samuel Gurney 1786-1856, Fry's brother was married Elizabeth Sheppard his cousin, he was to be a great support to Elizabeth Fry particularly after the Banks failour, from the moment he went to stay with her at St. Mildred's Court in 1800.

191] Ibid. 13 :Aunt Bland, Sarah Gurney Bland.

192] E.Fry, 12 December 1799, Journal, Hds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S258 : Fry also mentions that during her illness she though she would never enjoy the normal companionship of another person or be able to marry. This situation changed with her improvement in health and at first she was eager to embrace the company of young men and the idea of marriage. When a

proposal failed to materialise, she once again concentrated her efforts inwardly on religious matters. This situation explains how Fry, considered herself to be both flighty and flirty on the one hand but at the same time susceptible to the religious message that William Savery preached.

193] Hare, The Gurneys, 68 :Sarah Hoare was Fry's cousin from Hampstead, it was her brother Samuel Hoare who married Fry's sister Louisa on 24.December 1806.

194] Ibid. 50, 57 and Rose, 44, 94: Fry's lack of authority over those she felt should be susceptible to her wishes was to plague her throughout her life. Fry felt she should have a natural authority over her younger siblings, this unfortunately was not the case and she could not command the respect that Catherine 'Kitty' or Rachel Gurney did. Nevertheless she kept control of eighty young children when she was reading to them in her schoolroom, it seems only reasonable to conclude that as the schoolchildren were of a lower, working-class background, her authority came simply from who she was. In Newgate prison it was recorded that the prisoners were more responsive to a verbal condemnation from Mrs Fry, than any other punishment she may have ordered. Fry nevertheless had problems with getting her staff in her own home to follow her orders and respect her decisions.

195] 'dear London', London was now associated with Savery rather than illness.

196] Hare, The Gurneys, 97 :John Pitchford a popular Catholic friend.

197] E.Fry, 20 May 1834, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Fry was very aware of her own heightened emotional state. Her fear of encouraging hysterics was not only pride but also a genuine fear it may encourage her old depressive illness.

198] Michael Bland son of Sarah Gurney Bland and Fry's cousin.

199] See note 194

200] See note 104

201] E.Fry, 11 July 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.256: Bedlam, an Insane Asylum.

202] See note 164 :It would appear Harry 'Henry Enfield' had returned to Norwich. Fry's father's interest in the young man, was due to his daughter Rachel.

203] *ibid*

204] Bartlett Gurney, Fry's cousin

205] Hare, The Gurneys, 60-67

206] Mary Watson, a Minister of the Religious Society of Friends.

207] Hare, The Gurneys, 34, 54

208] Ibid. 28, 54

209] ibid; 95, 238

210] Fry decides that although she feels a little love for Savery it was only encouraged by 'his virtue'. Fry was attracted to Savery as he had an aura of goodness about him.

211] See note 95

212] These are all 'Plain Friends'

213] Hudson Gurney, Son of Richard Gurney of Keswick.

214] As a young girl Fry was often over emotional in her descriptions of people. On her first meetings with John Opie in London she found him far inferior to Amelia Opie.

215] Bartlett Gurney, a Gurney cousin

216] E.Fry, 21 / 25 July 1798, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256: Fry's father and sisters wished her to leave her Journal at home. They were hoping that by separating her from her Journal, she may be less inward looking and more able to appreciate the things going on around her. Fry was unable to stop writing in her Journal during this journey and defied her father.

217] Fry's use of [2nd] day is the first recorded example of Fry using the Quaker form of dating. Later she will also replace the months by numbers.

218] Although Fry was beginning to show outward signs of becoming a Plain Quaker, her insecurity and shyness were restraining her.

219] Elizabeth Gurney, daughter of uncle Joseph and aunt Jane's of the Grove.

220] Joseph Bevan, was a cousin and confidant of Frys. It was Joseph Bevan that she corresponded with while she was deciding whether to accept the offer of marriage from Joseph Fry.

221] E.Fry, 23 August 1828, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S256

222] Fry's brother John Gurney 1781-1814.

223] Fry probably means knitting.

224] Fry and Cresswell, Memoir, 8-9 :Fry is extremely susceptible too atmospheric and environmental stimuli. Her memories are triggered and stimulated by her environment.

225] Rachel Labouchere, Deborah Darby, [York, William Sessions Ltd., 1994] 375 : Priscilla Hannah Gurney 1757-1828 was a first cousin of Fry's mother. Her sister Christina Bell married a cousin of John Gurney Fry's father. Her sister was named after their mother, Christina Gurney.

226] Ibid.

227] It seems Fry was having a crisis of conscience, she did not feel secure in her new found religious commitment.

228] J.Driver, servant or local?

229] E.Fry, [no date] April 1797, Journal, Fds.Hse.Lb. Ms.Vol.S255: Fry read Seneca, her great-great-grandfather Robert Barclay and many of the stoic philosophers.

230] Elizabeth Newman

231] 'Friends' and Ministers, known to Fry's father.

232] Lidia, a servant ?

233] Fry's anxieties had lessened and her old gregariousness returned.

234] Hare, The Gurneys, 30,39

235] See note 225

Twixt Candle and Lamp: The Contribution of Elizabeth Fry and the Institution of Nursing Sisters to Nursing Reform

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In 1897, to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign, a leading article appeared in the *British Medical Journal* entitled 'The nursing of the sick under Queen Victoria'.¹ Outlining the evolution of nursing, it described Elizabeth Fry as "the founder of nursing". For the author of an article in the *Nursing Record and Hospital World* in the same year,² she was "the real pioneer of Nursing in this country". In the light of such unusual agreement between doctors and nurses, it is curious that a hundred years later, Elizabeth Fry's contribution to the founding of the nursing profession is, with very few exceptions, almost totally forgotten.³ The purpose of this article is to assess whether these claims were valid and, if so, why they are no longer widely recognized today.

Elizabeth was born in 1780 in Norwich into a wealthy Quaker family, the fourth of twelve children of John Gurney, a Norfolk banker.⁴ Being dyslexic, she was considered by her family to be stupid and was unable to benefit fully from the

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For this article we have drawn extensively on the records of the Institution of Nursing Sisters which are held with the records of the Queen's Nursing Institute in the Archives and Manuscripts collections of the Wellcome Library, London, shelfmark SA/QNI. Unless otherwise stated, the unpublished material cited is from this collection. We have also had access to Elizabeth Fry's unpublished journals and other archives held in the Religious Society of Friends' Library, London. We are especially grateful to the staff of these two libraries for their help. We should also like to thank the editors of *Medical History* for their editorial comments and suggestions.

¹ Editorial, 'The nursing of the sick under Queen Victoria', *Br. med. J.*, 1897, 1: 1644-8, p. 1645.

² Margaret Breay, 'Nursing in the Victorian era', *The Nursing Record and Hospital World*, 1897, 18: 493-502, p. 493.

³ Katherine Williams, 'From Sarah Gamp to Florence Nightingale: a critical study of hospital nursing systems from 1840 to 1897', in C Davies (ed.), *Rewriting nursing history*, New Jersey, Barnes and Noble Books, 1980, pp. 41-75, pp. 43, 49; Anne Summers, *Female lives, moral states: women, religion and public life in Britain 1800-1930*, Newbury, Threshold Press, 2000, pp. 81-84, 100-16.

⁴ Katherine Fry and Rachel Elizabeth Cresswell, *Memoir of the life of Elizabeth Fry: with extracts from her journals and letters*, 2nd ed., 2 vols, London, John Hatchard and Son, 1848; reprinted, Patterson Smith Publishing Corporation, Montclair, New Jersey, 1974, Series in Criminology, Law Enforcement and Social Problems, no.187, vol. 1, Elizabeth Fry's Gurney ancestry, Plate 1 (Introduction).



Figure 1: Elizabeth Fry, accompanied by Mary Sanderson, visits Newgate Prison. Elizabeth Fry is now remembered solely for her work on penal reform. Her many other philanthropic activities such as nursing reform, establishing savings societies for the poor, and setting up libraries for the blockade men (coastguard) and the navy are now forgotten. Painting by Henrietta Mary Ward, 1895. Reproduction courtesy of the Library Committee, Religious Society of Friends, London.

excellent education that Quakers offered to both their male and female children.⁵ From an early age, like many in her social position at that time, she participated in philanthropic activities, visiting the local sick and setting up a school in the laundry of her family's large home. She personally vaccinated the local children and, as a result, smallpox was scarcely known in the villages over which her influence extended.⁶

After her marriage to Joseph Fry, she moved to central London and in 1813 she first visited Newgate Prison (see Figure 1).⁷ The appalling conditions of the female prisoners triggered her commitment to penal reform. For the rest of her life, she travelled widely throughout the British Isles and Continental Europe inspecting prisons and advising on their management.

Elizabeth Fry had eleven children and suffered from postpartum depression. Throughout her life, she had severe attacks of toothache, for which leeches were

⁵ R G Huntsman and T M Miles, 'The stupidity of Elizabeth Fry: was she dyslexic?', forthcoming.

⁶ Fry and Cresswell, *op. cit.*, note 4 above, vol. 1, p. 170.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 200–3.

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applied to the gums, an experience she described as "rather unpleasant". Fearing an extraction without an anaesthetic, not surprisingly, she turned, like many others, to laudanum and gin, the accepted analgesics of that era, for relief from her pain.⁸

Tuberculosis was endemic in both the Gurney and the Fry families, and from childhood, Elizabeth Fry had a chronic cough with intermittent episodes of weakness, fatigue and fever, and, not unnaturally, fear of "my present lung complaint" preyed on her mind. In 1824, like her two sisters who died of pulmonary tuberculosis, she was sent for three months to Brighton for bed rest by the sea. Four years later, she reported that she was coughing up "a little blood".⁹ For a number of years before her death she was unwell, suffering from "much pain, and helplessness, and incapability of active occupation". A family friend, Frances, Baroness Bunsen, describing her death, wrote "she fell down insensible and expired next morning. It is believed to have been the dropsy, which was gaining ground upon her, and threatened lingering pain, which suddenly affected the brain".¹⁰ Throughout her life, even during adolescence, Elizabeth Fry enjoyed wine and porter, a strong, stout-like beer, and it has been suggested that this led to alcohol dependence.¹¹ Her death certificate of 1845 gives the cause of death as "Serous Effusion in the Brain 26 hours. Partial Paralysis 1½ Year".

During her life she was disappointed that many of her children married outside the Quaker faith that meant so much to her. She also had to suffer the disgrace that followed the collapse of her husband's banking business.¹² It is against this background of dyslexia, ill health and personal misfortunes that the remarkable achievements of Elizabeth Fry are to be measured.

The Evolution of Nursing Care

In France in 1630, St Vincent de Paul established the Filles de Charité, later known as the Sisters of Charity. He found that village girls were best suited to the work of hospital nurses.¹³ His action was revolutionary because, with few exceptions, up to that time women joining Catholic sisterhoods were expected to remain within the shelter of the cloister.

By contrast to Catholic countries, in England the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII in 1536 had brought to an end the care of the sick by religious orders, and nursing entered a dark age. The sole survival of "Romanism" in Britain appears to be the courtesy title of "Sister" that continued to be bestowed on the head nurse

⁸ H M Thomas, 'Elizabeth Fry: Quaker reformer', *Johns Hopkins Hosp. Bull.*, 1919, 30: 72-80, p. 78; Elizabeth Fry, *Journals*, 26 Sept. 1799, 13 Sept. 1798; 27 Sept. 1799.

⁹ Fry and Cresswell, *op. cit.*, note 4 above, vol. 1, pp. 241, 450-62; Fry, *Journals*, 14 Dec. 1828.

¹⁰ Augustus J C Hare, *The life and letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen*, 2 vols, London, Daldy, Isbister, 1879, vol. 2, p. 83; Frances,

Baroness Bunsen, *A memoir of Baron Bunsen*, 2 vols, London, Longmans, Green, 1868, vol. 2, p. 96.

¹¹ Fry, *Journals*, 6 Mar., 1799; June Rose, *Elizabeth Fry*, London, Macmillan, 1980, p. 137.

¹² Fry and Cresswell, *op. cit.*, note 4 above, vol. 2, pp. 30, 99-100, 110-12, 32-7.

¹³ Sioban Nelson, 'The modern nurse in 17th century France', *Nursing Hist. Rev.*, 1999, 7: 171-87, p. 182.

of a ward, even in Protestant hospitals.¹⁴ Well after London had witnessed the anti-Catholic Gordon Riots in 1780, antagonism verging on hatred between Protestant and Catholic festered on. As a result, any nursing sister suspected of Catholicism risked being attacked by the public.¹⁵ To prevent mistaken identity, the Protestant nursing order subsequently established in Germany at Kaiserswerth (in 1836) wore blue uniforms,¹⁶ and the Institution of Nursing Sisters founded in London (in 1840) by Mrs Fry wore dark brown. A sample of the material used for the dresses of the latter is still attached to the minutes of their Ladies' Committee. It was in part thanks to Catholic and Protestant nursing sisters working together as a single unit in the Crimean War (1854-6), that attitudes changed and the persecution began to abate.¹⁷ Before then, Catholic nursing orders had little positive influence on the usually poor nursing standards in Britain. It was only through curious visitors or on the battlefield that their work became known across the Channel.

Prior to the industrial revolution, it was customary for both rich and poor to be nursed and, if need be, to die in their own homes. In 1854, Florence Nightingale stated: "The family tie is so strong as to induce the best to keep their sick at home, unless there be something in the character of these sick which impels the family to try to get rid of the burden".¹⁸ In 1865, a member of the Committee of the Liverpool Nurses' Training School wrote, "I suppose everyone will agree with me that every sick man (or woman) is better at home, if only he (or she) could have the same medical treatment and nursing there that he (or she) would have in a hospital".¹⁹ The hospital and workhouse infirmary came into prominence primarily to serve the needs of the rapidly increasing urban poor that resulted from the industrial revolution. This movement of population, and the desperate housing conditions that followed, caused the number of hospital patients in England and Wales to increase in the first half of the nineteenth century from 3,000 to nearly 8,000.²⁰ The radical changes in nursing that took place in Britain were a response to this shift in the pattern of health care requirement and the developing recognition of the need for competent private and hospital nursing staff.

Through his portrayal of Sarah Gamp and Betsey Prig in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Dickens caricatured the nursing care likely to be provided in 1844 in private homes as well as in many hospitals. Mrs Gamp, the better known of the two, was a monthly nurse and midwife, who augmented her income by laying out the dead, filling her remaining spare time as a private night nurse. She would request her clients to "leave the bottle on the chimley-piece and let me put my lips to it when I am so disposed".

¹⁴ J M Ludlow, *Woman's work in the church*, London, Alexander Strahan, 1865, p. 203.

¹⁵ M Adelaide Nutting and Lavinia L Dock, *A history of nursing*, 4 vols, New York and London, G P Putnam's Sons, 1907, vol. 2, p. 98.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Gurney, *Elizabeth Fry's journeys on the continent, 1840-1841*, ed. R Brimley Johnson, London, John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1931, pp. 61, 138.

¹⁷ Allan T Cameron, *The religious communities of the church of England*, London, Faith Press, 1918, pp. 18-19.

¹⁸ Harry Verney, *Florence Nightingale at Harley Street*, London, J M Dent, 1970, p. 16.

¹⁹ Member of the Committee of the Home and Training School with an Introduction and Notes by Florence Nightingale, *Organisation of nursing: an account of the Liverpool Nurses' Training School, its foundation, progress, and operation in hospital, district and private nursing*, Liverpool, A Holden; and London, Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1865, p. 26.

²⁰ Brian Abel-Smith, *The hospitals, 1800-1948*, London, Heinemann, 1964, p. 16.



Figure 2: Candle in hand, Sarah Gamp prepares to supplement her income by a spell of night duty. Drawing by Phiz (Hablot K Browne), reproduced from Charles Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1844.



Figure 3: Florence Nightingale in the hospital at Scutari. Lithography by J A Benwell, 1855. Wellcome Library, London.

Betsey Prig, "a fair specimen of a hospital nurse", had been recommended by St Bartholomew's Hospital as a suitable day nurse. When Mrs Gamp arrived to take over the night duty from her, Betsey Prig advised the use of the patient's pillow to make Sairey's easy-chair more comfortable!²¹

The work, pay and status of a Betsey Prig were little better than that of a skivvy, the tasks being the endless scrubbing of the ward floors, preparation of food, and elementary, and sometimes unpleasant and dangerous, nursing duties. Her major expertise was the making of poultices. A doctor or medical student would be entrusted with skilled work such as taking the patient's temperature.²² The duties of a domestic servant and a nurse were similar and, in some eyes, those of the former were preferable. Elizabeth Davis, "a Balaclava nurse", had had a mixed career before nursing in the Crimea. As well as nursing privately and at Guy's Hospital, she had also been a laundry maid, plain cook, and housemaid, and concluded, "I did not like nursing so well as being in service". She was highly critical of Florence Nightingale as well as some of the nurses, especially "the ill-behaviour of two or three of the party, who disgraced themselves by drunkenness".²³ This recurring complaint was in part the result of the hospitals providing nurses with a generous ration of beer.

Despite the low social position of nurses, many performed their dangerous duties in a competent and professional manner. Sir James Paget, in an address to the Abernethian Society in 1885, spoke well of some of the sisters and nurses of St Bartholomew's Hospital of fifty years before. "They could not have kept a chart or skilfully taken a temperature, but they had an admirable sagacity, and a sort of rough practical knowledge, which were nearly as good as any acquired skill".²⁴

In his preface to the 1849 edition of *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Dickens expressed his indignation "that the Hospitals with their means and funds, should have left it to private humanity and enterprise, in the year Eighteen Hundred and Forty-nine, to enter on an attempt to improve that class of persons". He appears to have had in mind the Institution of Nursing Sisters, founded in 1840 by Mrs Fry, and other Protestant nursing organizations that closely followed.²⁵

Change was certainly resisted by many of the medical profession. As late as 1877, seventeen years after the founding of the nurses' training school at St Thomas's Hospital, an editorial in the *Lancet* declared that nurses "possess just enough knowledge to make them dangerous". Its readers were advised to "lock away beyond their reach every particle of medicine, whether poisonous or not . . . It is doubtless difficult for a young woman of no great mental calibre and few attainments, to feel

²¹ Charles Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit* (first published 1844), London, Penguin Books, 1986, pp. 374-90, 474-84.

²² John F South (Senior Surgeon of St Thomas's Hospital), *Facts relating to hospital nurses; in reply to the letter of "one who has walked a good many hospitals" printed in 'The Times' of 13th April last: also, observations on training establishments for hospital and private nurses*, London, Richardson Bros, 1857, p. 13; Katherine Williams, 'Ideologies of nursing: their

meanings and implications', *Nursing Times*, 1974, 70: issue 32 (Aug. 8), Supplement-unnumbered.

²³ *The autobiography of Elizabeth Davis, a Balaclava nurse, daughter of Dafydd Cadwaladyr*, ed. Jane Williams, 2 vols, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1857, vol. 2, pp. 86, 109.

²⁴ Stephen Paget (ed.), *Memoirs and letters of Sir James Paget*, London and New York, Longmans, Green, 1901, p. 353.

²⁵ Dickens, op. cit., note 21 above, pp. 37-42.

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herself credited with quasi-medical powers, without becoming possessed with an ambition to use them".²⁶

Theodor Fliedner (1800–1864) and the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth

In 1824, a young German pastor, Theodor Fliedner, set off for England and Holland to raise funds to assist his poverty-stricken Protestant congregation at Kaiserswerth, near Dusseldorf. In London, he visited Newgate to see the work of Mrs Fry amongst the female prisoners. Inspired by what he saw, on returning to Germany, he set up an association to assist prisoners and, in 1833, he and his wife established a home for female convicts recently discharged from prison.²⁷ In 1834, he again visited London, spending a day with Elizabeth Fry and accompanying her on a second visit to Newgate. Two years later he established a hospital chiefly as a school to train deaconesses to work as nurses in Germany and other countries, including England.²⁸

During a visit to Kaiserswerth in 1840, shortly before she established her own Nursing Institution, Mrs Fry submitted to a thorough inspection the Institution that her "valuable man" and "dear friend" Pastor Fliedner and his wife had founded. The Fliedners had succeeded in creating "so careful a line to be drawn between the extreme sacrifice of freedom of the cloister and the avoidance of a demoralising liberty".²⁹

The Institution of Nursing Sisters

When she was eighteen, Elizabeth Fry recorded in her journal that she visited both the local "Bedlam" and the hospital where "her heart felt much for a poor man who, having undergone a dreadful operation, was reading his prayer book and did not expect to live".³⁰ Later, whenever she inspected a prison, she would commonly also visit the local hospital, asylum and workhouse. In 1827 she wrote: "During the last ten years much attention has been successfully bestowed by women on the female inmates of our *prisons* ... But a similar care is evidently required for our hospitals, our lunatic asylums, and our workhouses".³¹ She may well have had in mind the establishment of "Lady Visitors" to these institutions (as she had done in the prisons) rather than a direct upgrading of the staff through selection and training.

Occupied by her prison work and other charitable activities and coping with health and domestic problems, Mrs Fry took no action to establish her Institution of

²⁶ Editorial, 'Skilled nursing', *Lancet*, 1877, i: 62.

²⁷ Catherine Winkworth (transl.), *Life of Pastor Fliedner of Kaiserswerth*, London, Longmans, Green, 1867, p. 54.

²⁸ Fry and Cresswell, op. cit., note 4 above, vol. 2, p. 358; Fliedner, op. cit., note 27 above, pp. 100, 106–7.

²⁹ Fry and Cresswell, op. cit., note 4 above, vol. 2, pp. 359, 360; Nutting and Dock, op. cit., note 15 above, vol. 2, p. 20.

³⁰ Fry, Journals, 11 July 1798, 26 Feb. and 7 Apr. 1799.

³¹ Elizabeth Fry, *Observations on the visiting, superintendence, and government of female prisoners*, London, John and Arthur Arch; and Norwich, Hatchard, and S Wilkin, 1827, pp. 4–8.

Nursing Sisters until after her visit to Kaiserswerth in 1840. Even then, having accepted the presidency, she handed over the day-to-day work to her sister-in-law and daughters.³² "She had a vision of a Protestant nursing sisterhood; but her mental and bodily powers yielding together, much that was working in her mind faded away".³³ Supported by enthusiasts, by the end of the year an organization called "The Protestant Sisters of Charity" was established. This name, used earlier by Mrs Fry's niece to describe the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth, was objected to by both the Anglican Church and Queen Adelaide. As a result, the name was quickly changed to "The Institution of Nursing Sisters", and the Queen Dowager, who light-heartedly offered to act as an extra nurse if they were short handed, became the Patroness.³⁴

The Institution was founded to provide "experienced, conscientious, and Christian Nurses for the sick—and also to raise the standard of this useful and important occupation, so as to engage the attention and enlist the services of many who may be desirous of devoting their time to the glory of God, and to the mitigation of human suffering." The immediate objective of the Institution was to nurse and visit the sick and to comfort the afflicted: "It is the spirit of the Institution of Nursing Sisters that the poor should be attended in their houses with the same kindness and care bestowed upon the more wealthy part of the community".³⁵ Despite the religious tone of their "mission statement" and the insistence that all applicants must be Protestant, possess a Bible and attend the services of their particular denomination, the Institution was essentially secular, the nurses, like the Catholic Beguines in the Low Countries, taking no vows. This was not always understood. It was reported that "[i]n Guy's Hospital London, the Quakers had provided nurses who were to work in the spirit of Sisters of Charity, under rules".³⁶

The length of contracted service, which followed a short period of hospital training, varied between three and seven years, three years being the most usual. By imposing a lengthy period of contracted service, it was hoped that the problem of nurses leaving immediately after being trained would be overcome. In practice, it was only partly solved and the departure of nurses without consent before the termination of the contract remained a recurring difficulty. If this occurred, the offender would never be re-admitted.³⁷ A fine, usually of £3, was imposed if a nurse left without good reason or was dismissed before her contract ended. Exceptions were made, the forfeit not being imposed on Sister Parkes, who had to leave for America for pressing

³² Report of the first anniversary meeting of the Protestant Sisters of Charity, 3 July 1841, held at 1 Raven Row, SA/QNI/W.1/2; Fry and Cresswell, op. cit., note 4 above, vol. 2, p. 373.

³³ Attributed to Mary Stanley, *Hospitals and sisterhoods*, 2nd ed., London, John Murray, 1855, p. 37.

³⁴ Elizabeth Gurney, *Elizabeth Fry's journeys on the continent, 1840–1841*, ed. R Brimley Johnson, London, John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1931, p. 100; Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, Institution of Nursing Sisters, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 9 July 1841.

³⁵ *Report of the Institution for Nursing Sisters, No. 16, Broad Street Buildings, Bishopsgate: established 1840*, London, H Teape, 1848, p. 4; Bye-laws of the Institution of Nursing Sisters, undated, SA/QNI/W.1/5.

³⁶ *The Catholic encyclopedia*, 15 vols, New York, Robert Appleton, 1907, vol. 2, pp. 389–90; Cameron, op. cit., note 17 above, p. 30.

³⁷ Rules and Regulations to be observed by the Nursing Sisters, SA/QNI/W.1/4; Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 9 Sept. 1842; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 8 Dec. 1848.

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family reasons.³⁸ Mrs Reynolds was less fortunate, her appeal to have the deduction of £5 for the cost of her uniform refunded was rejected. "This Committee decides that as she leaves in consequence of her own misconduct that they cannot grant her request". After disputes with the sisters over payment of this forfeit, in 1850 it was agreed that the fine would be given to the poor box.³⁹ If the Ladies' Committee were displeased with a sister, they did not renew her contract. When, in February 1857, this occurred with Sister Campbell, it was found she was still living in the Home in July. She was told to leave "on or before Monday next".⁴⁰

Following the establishment of the "Fry Nurses", a number of successful Protestant sisterhoods were founded, some devoting themselves to hospital nursing. At least one such Institution, "Etablissement des Soeurs de Charité Protestantes", founded in Paris in 1841, was acknowledged as being directly inspired by Elizabeth Fry.⁴¹ Influenced by the Oxford movement, some of the new English sisterhoods "developed extremely high church tendencies" and had "many enemies". Indeed, the very formation of a group of uniformed women living in a home run by women was, at that time in England, enough to arouse public suspicion as an imitation of "Romanism".⁴² Helped by its Quaker roots, the Institution of Nursing Sisters had quietly succeeded in being accepted and, by renouncing "Sisters of Charity" in the original title, had enhanced its Protestant credentials.

Organization and Financial Structure

Elizabeth Fry's nursing institution benefited greatly from the three years' experience of Pastor Fliedner and his wife at Kaiserswerth. The Institution was run by a Ladies' Committee, which met fortnightly, absentee members being advised that they were expected occasionally to be present. In fact, attendance was usually good, although at an August meeting in 1857, when only two members appeared, a quorum was not attained. In 1857, it was decided that the nurses would be allowed to meet the Committee after the meetings.⁴³

Four sub-committees were formed. The first was for "Engaging Sisters", the second for "Guys Hospital", the third for "Raven Row [the Home of the Sisters] and the London Hospital", and the fourth to oversee the "Dress of Sisters".⁴⁴ A Gentlemen's Committee was also set up, which, it was emphasized, would meet occasionally to give assistance "only when called upon by the Ladies Committee". In practice, men only became involved in property transactions and as trustees of the Superannuation

³⁸ Rules and Regulations, SA/QNI/W.1/4; Rules for Trained Nurses, SA/QNI/W.1/6; Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 29 Jan. 1858.

³⁹ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee SA/QNI/W.2/4, 5 May 1854, 22 June 1855.

⁴⁰ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 27 Feb. and 10 July 1857.

⁴¹ Ludlow, op. cit., note 14 above, p. 284; Fry and Cresswell, op. cit., note 4 above, vol. 2, pp. 465-8.

⁴² Nutting and Dock, op. cit., note 15 above, vol. 2, p. 78; Ludlow, op. cit., note 14 above, pp. 284-90. H P Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, ed. J O Johnston and R J Wilson, 4 vols, London, Longmans, Green, 1894-1898, vol. 3, pp. 26-7.

⁴³ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 12 Feb. 1841, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 21 Aug. and 15 May 1857.

⁴⁴ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/1, 12 Feb. 1841.

fund.⁴⁵ One of the trustees was Sir Robert Inglis, a prominent and colourful Member of Parliament for thirty years, whose wife later became President of the Institution. Mr South, senior surgeon at St Thomas's Hospital, made a point of noting the unusual situation that the ladies managed the Institution without male assistance.⁴⁶ Although the ladies did not personally walk the corridors of power, their close proximity to those who did made them a formidable force when dealing with hospital matrons or governors.

Mrs Fry remained president until her death in 1845, although, apart from the first meeting and that of the first anniversary, at which all available sisters were present, she seldom attended meetings, continuing to be assisted in her duties by her sister-in-law Mrs Samuel Gurney, her daughters and other ladies.⁴⁷ After 1845, Lady Inglis, who was clearly keenly interested in the work of the Institution, having regularly attended the committee meetings from 1842, became the president.⁴⁸

From its inception, the Institution was established to be financially self-supporting, although charitable contributions were sought.⁴⁹ In view of her known interest in hospitals, Elizabeth Fry's decision to establish a nursing institution which did not care for the poor either at home or in hospital, but primarily trained nurses to undertake private work in the homes of wealthy clients, deserves explanation. Private nursing was the only source of income to cover their expenses. It is clear from the addresses of employers that, certainly at the start, and despite the philanthropic nature of their "mission statement", virtually all the nurses were involved in caring for wealthy and often titled families. The Patroness, the Dowager Queen Adelaide, was nursed by a sister from the Institution, Harriet Rowe.⁵⁰ With the passage of time, the Institution became financially viable; this was demonstrated in 1848 by the placing of a brass plate on the door. In 1849, an advertisement appeared in *The Times* announcing that "The Institution of 'Nursing Sisters' established by Mrs Fry in 1840 under the patronage of the Queen Dowager, continues to send out efficient nurses to all parts of the Kingdom".⁵¹

By 1847, there were twenty-six sisters, who produced a yearly income of between £900 and £1,000. By 1849, the Institution had a positive bank balance of £1,129 14s. 1d., with £312 9s. 10d. in the superannuation fund for retired sisters.⁵² By 1855/56, the annual income had reached £3,871 12s. 6d., with a bank balance of £1,151 8s. 2d. A total of £1,769 12s. 6d. was paid that year to the sisters, who numbered

⁴⁵ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/1, 26 Feb. 1841; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 13 Nov. 1846, 21 Dec. 1849.

⁴⁶ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 9 Dec. 1853; South, op. cit., note 22 above, p. 25.

⁴⁷ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 12 Feb. 1841; Report of the first anniversary meeting, SA/QNI/W.1/2; Fry and Cresswell, op. cit., note 4 above, vol. 2, p. 373.

⁴⁸ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 24 Dec. 1841; SA/QNI/W.2/2, 21 Nov. 1845.

⁴⁹ Protestant Sisters of Charity. The Treasurer's Book, 1840, SA/QNI/W.3, pp. 2, 6, 16; *Report of the Institution for Nursing Sisters*, op. cit., note 35 above, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Register of nurses, 1840-1855, SA/QNI/W.4 (OS 83); Register of occupation in nursing the sick, 1840-1845, SA/QNI/W.5; Correspondence, 4 Oct. 1849, SA/QNI/W.6/1.

⁵¹ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 11 Feb. 1848; 22 June 1849.

⁵² Fry and Cresswell, op. cit., note 4 above, vol. 2, p. 374; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 28 Sept. 1849.

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approximately ninety.⁵³ They thus each received an annual salary of about £20, with full board and their uniform provided. This fits well with figures of "about twenty guineas" and £20 rising to £23 after three years, given by biographers.⁵⁴ Somewhat later, in 1869, a nurse at Guy's Hospital received between £26 to £30 per annum, the cost of supplying beer from the hospital brewery for each nurse being £2 per annum. At Guy's, "the salaries of the nurses and other servants were fixed at a considerably higher rate than in any other hospital, the better to prevent them from extorting money from the patients".⁵⁵ In 1861, 2.7 million women and girls over the age of fifteen in England and Wales, 26 per cent of the total female population at that time, were gainfully employed, nearly half of them in domestic service.⁵⁶ The few records of previous occupation in the minutes of the Institution suggest that it was from this vast pool of workers that many of their nurses were recruited.⁵⁷ In order to attract such women, the salary offered by the Institution had to compare favourably with the wages and conditions being offered for a comparable and competitive position in domestic service. At that time, a head nurse living in a private household would be paid between £13 and £30 per annum, depending on whether she received an allowance for tea, sugar and beer. A nurse maid, dependent on the same conditions, would earn between £5 and £12.⁵⁸

In 1851, the Ladies' Committee had decided that a fair charge to their patrons for an experienced nurse was £1 a week. This appears to have comfortably covered their expenses. Apprehensions about the institution's financial stability must by then have been greatly diminished. The increasing funds at the Committee's disposal in 1853 allowed the ladies to raise the superintendent's salary by £10 per annum, the total paid not being disclosed. However, Mrs Kennion, the first superintendent, who was reprimanded for secretly marrying, was described as "passing rich on £40 a year".⁵⁹ Although private nursing remained the major occupation, charitable work, which was unprofitable for the organization, slowly built up from about that time.⁶⁰

Financial control remained tight, as can be seen by the reduction of expenditure on the sisters' uniforms, which in 1855/6 cost £190 11s. 8d. per annum. The expensive, intricately patterned silk or fine worsted Norwich shawl, clearly favoured by their Norfolk born founder, and previously worn by the sisters, was replaced by a woollen

⁵³ South, *op. cit.*, note 22 above, p. 28; Nutting and Dock, *op. cit.*, note 15 above, vol. 2, p. 76.

⁵⁴ Fry and Cresswell, *op. cit.*, note 4 above, vol. 2, p. 374; E R Pitman, *Elizabeth Fry*, Eminent Women Series, new ed., London, W H Allen, 1889, p. 175.

⁵⁵ J C Steele, 'Statistical account of the patients treated in Guy's Hospital during 1869', *Guy's Hospital Reports, Series 3*, 1870-71, 16: 540-1; Samuel Wilks and G T Bettany, *A biographical history of Guy's Hospital*, London and New York, Ward, Lock, Bowden, 1892, p. 80.

⁵⁶ J Burnett (ed.), *Useful toil: autobiographies of working people from the 1820s to the 1920s*, London and New York, Routledge, 1994, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 31 June 1850; 22 Oct. 1847.

⁵⁸ Isabella Beeton, *The book of household management*, London, S O Beeton, 1861, p. 8; Samuel and Sarah Adams, *The complete servant*, London, Knight and Lacey, 1825, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁹ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 19 Dec. 1851, 15 Mar. 1853; Sarah A Tooley, *The history of nursing in the British empire*, London, S H Bousfield, 1906, pp. 33-4.

⁶⁰ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 26 Oct. 1849.

shawl.⁶¹ Sister Leitz took advantage of her privilege to appear, presumably wearing her uniform, before the Committee to complain that her dress was much worn and a replacement was overdue. The Committee decided to write to Miss Ollivier, the lady in charge of the "Dress of Sisters" sub-committee. The Ladies' Committee demanded value for money and complaints were made when the work at the laundry at the Institute for the Destitute was unsatisfactory.⁶²

Most of the minutes of the Ladies' Committee meetings dealt with the intricate details of staff selection and discipline, which in a modern organization would be the responsibility of senior management, in their case the superintendent. This personal involvement is understandable as the major challenge facing the Institution was to upgrade the calibre of the nurse employed. To achieve this, the Committee sought a moral uplift rather than an alteration in the social status of the nurses recruited. In her biography, Janet Whitney wrote, "Mrs. Fry was as far as Mrs. Nightingale from considering nursing as a possible profession for her own daughters. The Fry Nurses were respectable women of what was in those days called the lower class".⁶³

The ladies of the Committee with their retinue of domestic servants would be familiar with this class of person, and controlling them, albeit often indirectly through the housekeeper and butler, was an area in which they could operate with the greatest comfort. It was advised that, for example, a family with, by their standards, a modest income of £4,000 to £5,000 per annum, should have eleven female and thirteen male servants. Such servants were required to care for not only the family but also the numerous guests that were a feature of country house living at that time. On 14 August 1812, in addition to her own large family, Mrs Fry reported having eighteen guests staying in her house. Her servants would not have been included in the count.⁶⁴

The resulting extraordinary attention to detail found in the minutes has bequeathed a unique document. It presents an efficient, female controlled health care organization run by "part-time amateurs" and functioning from the early years of Queen Victoria's reign until 1939. Despite every care in selecting candidates, they did not find their managerial tasks easy, as the many subsequent dismissals of their staff for misconduct demonstrate. The control by the ladies of the superintendent and nurses was based on social superiority and resembled the relationship they would have enjoyed at home with their housekeeper and domestic staff. For example, a sister who wished to nurse in Madeira was refused permission as "it would be injurious to the Sisters if they were removed beyond the supervision of the home".⁶⁵

Between 1842 and 1860 the Institution of Nursing Sisters was based at Devonshire Square, and in contemporary records the sisters were commonly called "Devonshire Square" Nursing Sisters or "Fry Nurses". The number of nurses peaked at a hundred

⁶¹ South, op. cit., note 22, above, p. 28; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 15 Dec. 1854.

⁶² Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 19 Nov. 1847, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 26 Aug. 1842.

⁶³ Janet Whitney, *Elizabeth Fry, Quaker heroine*, London, George G Harrap, 1937, p. 298.

⁶⁴ Fry and Cresswell, op. cit., note 4 above, vol. 1, p. 191.

⁶⁵ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 4 Aug. 1848.

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but, after 1913, fell to sixty due to competition from private agencies. During and after the 1914–18 war, the number decreased further and the Institution was described as “continuing its quiet course” at its final home in 10 Collingham Road, South Kensington.⁶⁶ The minutes of the final meeting on 7 December 1939 record that the Committee had planned a pink meeting card for 1940 but that the time of the meeting had been omitted as, because of the war, it might have to be changed.⁶⁷ There are no minutes for the next meeting, fixed for 4 January 1940. No indication is given in those last minutes of a projected closure, and local enquiry produced no history of bomb damage to the home, which might account for this sudden end. Indeed, the building was subsequently occupied by the British Red Cross.⁶⁸ One assumes that with a diminishing number of nursing staff the organization ran into problems similar to those experienced in the First World War. The financial assets and lease were given to the Queen’s Nursing Institute in 1945.⁶⁹

Nursing Staff Selection

All applicants had to be physically fit, neither too large nor too short. A candidate of twenty-three was considered too young. Another, also thought too young, was more suited to be an invalid lady’s attendant. A further candidate aged forty-eight, was considered too old.⁷⁰ Excellent references were demanded, and then checked, and all applicants were interviewed. In one case, a candidate recommended by Miss Fry was rejected after further enquiries were made by the Committee.⁷¹ Ten years after the Institution was set up, it was still found necessary to ascertain, during the interview, that the candidates did not fear hospitals or object to wearing the uniform.⁷² Despite recommendations and references, a number were rejected at interview, one being refused because of her abrupt and unpleasant manner, and another, the widow of a sergeant, was “not particularly suitable”.⁷³ Those who could not read and write were not admitted. Despite every care in screening, it was found that one probationer, who was by then already training at Guy’s Hospital, could not read properly. It was decided that she would be instructed by the superintendent.⁷⁴

Often no information is recorded on the single women who applied, unless they already had nursing experience. But the previous employment of some of the candidates is noted. Among them were a housemaid, a private nurse, a family cook, a turnkey at Abingdon Jail, and a single woman who kept house for her father, as well as the daughters of a Baptist minister, a draper and a tailor. The daughter of

⁶⁶ Anon., *A short history of the Institution of Nursing Sisters*, London, J B Shears, c. 1934, SA/QNI/W.8.

⁶⁷ Minutes of the Ladies’ Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/13, 7 Dec. 1939.

⁶⁸ Personal Communication, Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, Chelsea Library, Local Studies Department.

⁶⁹ Introduction to ‘The Queen’s Nursing Institute, list of papers in the Contemporary Medical Archives at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine’

(SA/QNI), compiled by Shirley Dixon (unpublished), p. 98.

⁷⁰ Minutes of the Ladies’ Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 30 July 1847, 2 Feb. and 9 Nov. 1849, 23 June 1848.

⁷¹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 24 Nov. 1848, 28 Feb. 1846.

⁷² Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 28 Mar. 1850.

⁷³ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 2 July 1847, 22 Dec. 1848.

⁷⁴ Ibid. SA/QNI/W.2/4, 20 Jan. 1854, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 4 Aug. 1848.

the tailor had previously nursed at St Bartholomew's Hospital, and another candidate at that meeting had nursed at Guy's Hospital for five years.⁷⁵

By contrast, in the case of widows, the occupation of the husband, usually an artisan or tradesman such as a printer or cabinet maker, was commonly given. It was particularly noted that the ex-husband of one candidate was not a common porter but a lodge porter at Somerset House.⁷⁶ Occupations other than tradesmen such as apothecary, medical assistant or Master in the Merchant Service also occur, albeit uncommonly.⁷⁷ Married women were not acceptable if the husband was still living. One, rejected for this reason, was described as elderly and without nursing experience, suggesting a more liberal attitude might have been adopted in more favourable circumstances. The wife of a surgeon, who was now a lunatic, was rejected, but, curiously, an exception was made in the case of the woman still married to a jeweller who was insane.⁷⁸

On marriage, the serving sister had to present her certificate attested by the clergyman of the parish to the Ladies' Committee to receive her testimonials. She would normally resign and forfeit her pension, the Ladies' Committee retaining discretion over implementing the ruling. One nursing sister who had left to get married found she had been deceived by her suitor. The Ladies' Committee were prepared to reconsider her case and to make further enquiries.⁷⁹

The applications of the sub-matron of the Magdalen Asylum in Birmingham and the matron of the Paddington Workhouse and Laundry in the Refuge for the Destitute⁸⁰ suggest that some women were prepared to accept an apparent demotion in rank to be employed by the Institution. The committee rejected an application by Dr Sieveking, physician to the Prince and Princess of Wales, for women from the workhouses to be accepted as nurses. Florence Nightingale also expressed concerns about the necessary training required for such a recruitment strategy.⁸¹

A few years after the Institution's foundation, the background of the successful candidate slowly changed. From the beginning, the organization had encountered difficulties in finding hospitals willing to train their nurses. A candidate with previous hospital experience was seen as desirable as she required no training and could commence nursing immediately. This saved the Institution time and money and, by removing the hospital training bottle-neck, allowed a more rapid increase in the number of nurses employed.

In addition, from about 1845, the Committee specifically began to seek nurses prepared to visit the sick poor. One, Mrs Moody, had no objection to such cases. Another said she had been accustomed to visit the poor for the Strangers' Friend Society. This Society, which became a mainly Wesleyan organization, was founded towards the end of the eighteenth century and was one of the first organizations

⁷⁵ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 31 June 1850, 4 Aug. 1848, 22 Oct. 1847, 13 Sept. 1850, 28 Jan. and 11 Feb. 1848, 5 Feb. 1847.

⁷⁶ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 4 Sept. 1846, 16 Feb. 1849, 22 Jan. 1847.

⁷⁷ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 23 July 1852, 28 Mar. 1850, 5 Nov. 1847.

⁷⁸ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 2 Feb. and 13 Apr. 1849, 8 Oct. 1847.

⁷⁹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 16 Jan. 1857; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 9 July 1852.

⁸⁰ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 18 June and 9 Apr. 1847.

⁸¹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 24 Nov. 1848; Bunsen, op. cit., note 10 above vol. 2, pp. 22-3.

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devoted to parochial visiting.⁸² In 1850, Mrs Jay, another candidate, was thought capable of sick poor nursing, whereas Mary Nagle, "whose heart would not be in nursing the poor" was offered only a supernumerary position, to work if required.⁸³ The Ladies' Committee appeared to recognize that special qualities and experience were needed in this area. In 1850, Frances Turner was specifically taken on probation to attend the poor, and to assist with the needlework, but she was later found not to have sufficient experience. A year later, a nurse, Ann Harvey, was, unusually, appointed on trial specifically to nurse the sick poor.⁸⁴

Hospital Training

For the first two years, until it moved to a more central location,⁸⁵ the Mother House of the Institution was at 1, Raven Row (now demolished), immediately adjacent to the London Hospital, which had been selected to train the nurses. The nursing historian, Sarah Tooley, who visited it some time before 1906, described this "historic site" as "a squalid little turning by the Eastern Post Office, Whitechapel, and one imagines it was not very salubrious in 1840". A broken window had a dirty card in it bearing a scrawl, "Here lives a good nurse" surmounted by Hebrew characters.⁸⁶

The influence of the Quaker movement at the London Hospital was probably why it was chosen. The recognizable Quaker names of Fry, Gurney, Barclay, Hanbury, Hoare and Buxton are regularly found in the minutes of the House Committee's or Governors' meetings of the hospital at that time.⁸⁷ The first probationer, Jane Wade, began her three months' training at the London Hospital on 26 August 1840, and completed it on 23 October. After only three nurses had been received at the London Hospital, both the probationer and a nurse were withdrawn because of "the uncleanly state of the establishment".⁸⁸

In September 1841, Guy's Hospital agreed to take two trainee sisters, but at the end of the year the Institution had to request a renewal of their permission. When, in 1844, Guy's Hospital decided to take only one trainee at a time, Lady Inglis wrote asking that two nurses should continue to attend. At the same time the Institution made enquiries at King's College Hospital, and St George's Hospital was also approached as to "the nature of the duties required for our sisters to be instructed in". A probationer subsequently completed her training in the latter.⁸⁹

If there was a problem, the President of the Institution, or the sub-committee responsible for that hospital, would not hesitate to visit. The Matrons of Guy's,

⁸² Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 7 Mar. 1845; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 10 Nov. 1848; Ludlow, *op. cit.*, note 14 above, p. 200.

⁸³ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 18 Jan. and 22 Nov. 1850.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 21 Apr. and 10 May 1850, 31 Jan. 1851.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 11 Mar. 1842.

⁸⁶ Tooley, *op. cit.*, note 59 above, p. 32.

⁸⁷ Minutes of the House Committee, General Committee Report Book, to be presented to the Quarterly General Court, and General Court Minute Book, all at the London Hospital Archives, London Hospital.

⁸⁸ Register of Nurses, 1840-1855, SA/QNI/W.4; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 15 and 29 July, and 26 Aug. 1842.

⁸⁹ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee SA/QNI/W.2/1, 3 Sept. 1841; SA/QNI/W.2/2, 23 Feb., 22 Mar. and 3 May 1844.

King's College and the Westminster Hospitals were called on to discuss nurses, and in 1850, following a visit by Lady Inglis, it was arranged that the sub-committee responsible for Guy's Hospital would meet the probationers.⁹⁰ It is probable that assessment of a hospital would focus on, but not be confined to, general cleanliness, the nurses' working conditions and the training they received. In 1852, due to structural alterations at Guy's Hospital, it became necessary to send the probationers from the Institution to St Thomas's. The Ladies' Committee insisted the nurses must continue to live in the Home. Despite the much greater expense, they decided "to continue the arrangement for the present, the instruction seeming to be very good".⁹¹

The Ladies' Committee were adamant that they must receive satisfactory testimonials for each of their probationers from the hospital responsible for their training. The conduct of one, Caroline Smith, at Guy's Hospital was so bad she was dismissed.⁹² After they received a report from St Thomas's that a probationer showed "capabilities as a surgical nurse", it was thought necessary to ask Mr Whitfield, the apothecary, who was subsequently responsible for instructing the Nightingale nurses, to ensure that the training was not confined to the surgical wards.⁹³ The apothecary, the keystone of hospital practice, was the only full-time resident member of staff and was viewed as an underprivileged member of the medical profession.⁹⁴ On being told that the trainees were attending St Thomas's for only four hours a day, the Committee informed the probationers that they must in future arrive in the early morning and stay as long as any experience was obtainable. They were later ordered to leave the Mother House by 8 a.m. and return by teatime. If they were to sit up all night, they must have their dinner in an eating house near the hospital.⁹⁵

As early as 1842, the Committee recognized that a longer training period was needed⁹⁶ but, because it was already proving extremely difficult to arrange only three months' hospital training, it was a considerable time before it could be increased. Eventually, by the turn of the century, the training period reached three years until, finally, only trained nurses were accepted, who were then given three months' probation by the Institution. The newly received sister continued to appear before the Ladies' Committee where she was read an Address, a kind of charge, which had been printed in 1848, "which doubtless surprises the young modern nurse by its solemnity".⁹⁷

The somewhat casual nature of the training arrangement, which, in the early days, made the knowledge imparted to the trainee dependent on the goodwill of a potentially resentful hospital nurse or sister with no formal obligation or financial reward for teaching, would be recognized by the Committee as a problem. The

⁹⁰ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 29 May 1846, 7 May 1847, 15 Mar. 1850.

⁹¹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 24 Dec. 1852, 1 Apr. 1853.

⁹² Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 25 Oct. 1850; SA/QNI/W.2/4, 6 Jan. 1854, 10 July 1857; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 15 Mar. 1850.

⁹³ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 11 Nov. 1853.

⁹⁴ John Woodward, *To do the sick no harm: a study of the British voluntary hospital system to*

1875, London and Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, p. 28.

⁹⁵ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 26 Sept. and 24 Oct. 1856, 23 Apr. 1858.

⁹⁶ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/1, 1 July 1842.

⁹⁷ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 24 Nov. 1848; *A short history*, op. cit., note 66 above, p. 5; Tooley, op. cit., note 59 above, p. 40.

senior surgeon of St Thomas's Hospital reported very favourably on the probationers from the Institution, describing them as "attentive and observant, quiet and obliging, at all times ready to afford any assistance or service desired of them, and on the best possible terms with the sisters of the wards".⁹⁸ Sarah Tooley, reported in 1906, perhaps more realistically: "I have heard the training of these early days described 'as much cleaning, scrubbing, and polishing, varied by sitting at the bedside or standing in the out-patients' department'".⁹⁹ If problems arose during hospital training, the probationers were able to approach the Ladies' Committee. When complaints about Guy's were received from Sister Hughes, Mrs Hagen visited the hospital and reported back to the Committee. Problems with the probationers at the London Hospital proved to be intractable and are considered later.¹⁰⁰

Early on, the Ladies' Committee made special efforts to either train or recruit nurses in selected specialities. In 1841, it was noted that Mrs Cornish had been trained in the care of insane persons,¹⁰¹ and, in 1845, efforts were made to offer the nursing sisters training in that speciality. Nurses "who do not object to mental cases" were sent to Hanwell Lunatic Asylum "for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with the treatment of that malady",¹⁰² and, from 1847, previous psychiatric experience appeared to be an asset and was regularly noted during recruitment. One such applicant was, in addition, described as a daughter of a shoemaker and another as a single person, Irish.¹⁰³ Arrangements being made in 1841 to send a nurse for training to the Lying-in Hospital in the City Road were cancelled when the hospital informed the Institution that "no gratuitous education is given".¹⁰⁴ Tooley's statement that hospitals were paid a guinea a week to train the Institution nurses may have applied to a later date.¹⁰⁵ A nursing sister was also successfully sent for orthopaedic training.¹⁰⁶

It is easy nowadays to criticize the Institution of Nursing Sisters for the short period of training offered. One historian has claimed that their nurses had no training at all.¹⁰⁷ Whilst another, acknowledging that training had been introduced, dismissed it as "meagre even by 1860 standards".¹⁰⁸ In 1871, the Nightingale Training School at St Thomas's Hospital was offering one year's training, "at the close of a year their training will usually be considered complete".¹⁰⁹ Putting aside the fact that a nurse at that time had less skills to learn than her modern equivalent, it must be remembered that the probationers from the Institution of Nursing Sisters were accepted, apparently with some reluctance, by hospitals as a favour. A demand for longer training, which in 1842 the Ladies' Committee thought desirable, would have

⁹⁸ South, op. cit., note 22 above, p. 26.

⁹⁹ Tooley, op. cit., note 59 above, p. 37.

¹⁰⁰ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 3 June and 15 July 1842.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/1, 12 Mar. 1841.

¹⁰² Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/2, 9 May 1845.

¹⁰³ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 5 Mar. 1847, 29 Sept. 1848, 7 Jan. and 2 Sept. 1853.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/1, 4 and 18 Feb. 1842.

¹⁰⁵ Tooley, op. cit., note 59 above, p. 37.

¹⁰⁶ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 26 Sept. 1845.

¹⁰⁷ Gwen Hardy, *William Rathbone and the early history of district nursing*, Ormskirk, G W and A Hesketh, 1981, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Mary Stocks, *A hundred years of district nursing*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1960, p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ Roy Wake, *The Nightingale Training School 1860-1996*, London, Haggerston Press, 1998, Plate 8, Regulations for Training, 1871.

increased the hospitals' resistance. In addition, the longer the training, the greater the financial burden that the Institution suffered. The response, as mentioned above, was to view with favour any candidate with previous hospital experience, who therefore did not require training.

At that time, any attempt to offer structured nursing training, however inadequate, to Protestant women in England was revolutionary. Assisted by the experience gleaned from Kaiserswerth, the ladies were treading new ground. The Institution of Nursing Sisters itself taught a lesson to those that followed—that any hospital or institution that required qualified nurses could not rely on the goodwill of another hospital to train them.

Discipline

Sisters were expected to come provided with a Bible, "considering no person would offer herself as a candidate who had not made such her previous study". Attendance at morning and evening religious services was compulsory. No one was admitted after the service had commenced and those absent would be reported, as was Sister Smith.¹¹⁰ Staff were entitled to two weeks' holiday a year, Sister Hudson, who was too inactive and careful of herself, being advised to take a holiday in the hope that she would do better in the future.¹¹¹

As indicated above, the Ladies' Committee viewed their relationship to their staff, despite the mature age of many of the nurses, as that of a caring employer towards his servants or, in some respects, a father to his unmarried daughter. The nursing sisters were to obey the instructions of the ladies of the Committee and show due respect and submission to the superintendent.¹¹² The control over them was limited only by the fact that, when employed at private nursing, the sisters resided outside the discipline of the home. They had to travel to and from their work at the least cost, paying for any excess themselves, but this rule was waived for night journeying. Unless they obtained the permission of the superintendent, they slept at their place of work.¹¹³

The dark brown uniform with the muslin cap modified from the "turban"-like Quaker headdress commonly worn by Elizabeth Fry (see Figure 4) was, from the start, the cause of much discontent among the nurses.¹¹⁴ It became necessary to include in the Rules and Regulations a clause ensuring that applicants had no objection to wearing the obligatory nursing sisters' Institution dress in the Home and when on duty. This was reinforced by a specific enquiry at the interview prior to a nurse's appointment. Sister Jacks was dismissed for wearing her own dress at a case, and the minute stating that if a sister wore any dress but that furnished by

¹¹⁰ Rules and Regulations, SA/QNI/W.1/4; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 29 Aug. 1856; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 13 Aug. 1847.

¹¹¹ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 1 Feb. 1850; Register of Nurses, 1840-1855, SA/QNI/W.4; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 10 July 1857.

¹¹² Rules and Regulations, SA/QNI/W.1/4.

¹¹³ Bye-laws of the Institution of Nursing Sisters, SA/QNI/W.1/5.

¹¹⁴ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 25 Apr. 1856; *A short history*, op. cit., note 66 above pp. 5, 9, 11; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 30 Apr. 1841; SA/QNI/W.2/2, 30 June 1843.

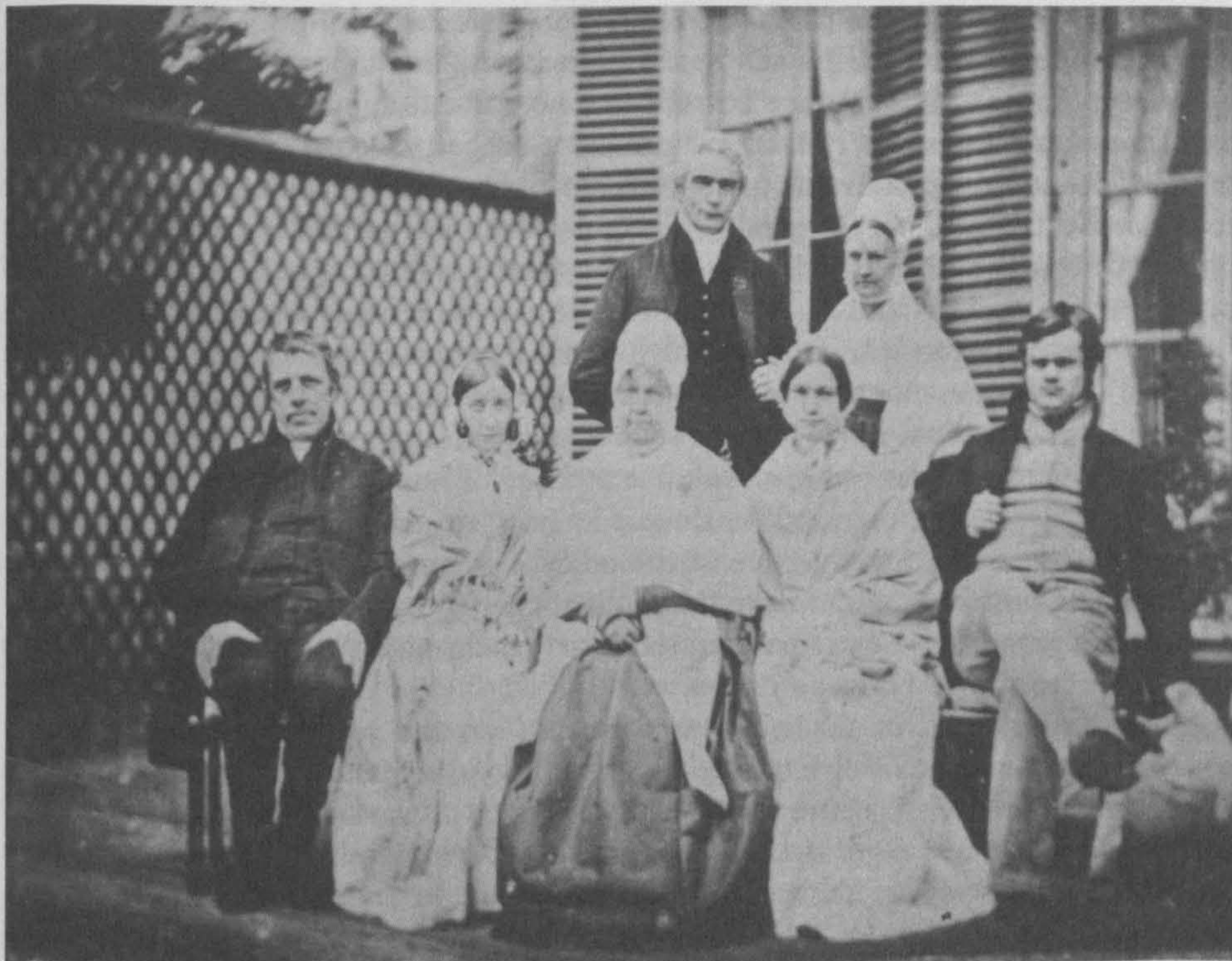


Figure 4: Elizabeth Fry with her relatives, 1842/3. Elizabeth Fry, seated centre, is wearing the Quaker headdress of that period. Her youngest brother, Joseph John Gurney, who travelled to America in 1837, is standing with his third wife. Both Josiah Forster (sitting first from left) and Elizabeth Fry's niece Anna Gurney (sitting fourth from left) accompanied her on her visits to the Continent. Reproduction courtesy of the Library Committee, Religious Society of Friends, London.

the Institution she would receive three months' notice, indicates that the rule was strictly enforced.¹¹⁵ Only a dark fur tippet or cuffs were allowed as adornments to the uniform; lace, embroidery and ornaments were specifically forbidden. Sister Godfrey was told not to wear ribbons and, in addition, the wearing of mourning was prohibited.¹¹⁶ On leaving, the uniform had to be returned and a letter would be written to any sister who failed to comply.¹¹⁷

The Nursing Sisters had their own rights. The brief 1934 history of the Institution states that "No member of the Staff is booked to undertake General Duty in a Private Nursing Home, in a Hospital or on a District unless she is herself quite

¹¹⁵ Rules and Regulations, SA/QNI/W.1/4; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 28 Mar. 1850; SA/QNI/W.2/4, 7 May 1858; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 5 Nov. 1847.

¹¹⁶ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 29 Nov. 1844; SA/QNI/W.2/1, 4 Feb. 1842.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 10 Dec. 1841, 7 Jan. 1842.

willing and is glad of the useful and varied experience it affords".¹¹⁸ The Ladies' Committee recognized the unwillingness of many higher calibre applicants to participate in these areas. They also decreed that no nurse should stay longer than three months on any case.¹¹⁹ Sister Leitz (whose name suggests she may have been selected because she could speak German) claimed her rights and is recorded as objecting to remaining at the German Hospital.¹²⁰ The policy later introduced of recruiting nurses prepared to undertake district, mental or hospital nursing suggests that the wishes of any of the existing staff not to enter these areas were being honoured.

After each assignment, during which time the nurses must not "talk of the Home",¹²¹ a report was received from the employer and, if this was unsatisfactory, the sister was interviewed by the Ladies' Committee. Standing before the Committee, she would be expected to adopt a suitable attitude of humility. Sister Clift, who was dismissed for being intoxicated on duty, was not "so penitent as they could wish" during her interview.¹²² That some of the other staff were also not as submissive as the Ladies' Committee might have wished is suggested by the letter received from a sister "professing to be extremely grateful for her dismissal". They also received a rude letter from Mrs Lodge, an ex-sister.¹²³

Most, but not all, of the employers' reports on the sisters were highly complimentary. However, Sister Cordingly received a bad reference after attending Mrs Corbett, and a nurse who gave the wrong medicine was warned but not dismissed.¹²⁴ She may have owed her job to the fact that their own founder, when attending her daughter Louisa, "whom she was sedulously nursing, in a moment of agitation and distress, she administered a lotion in mistake for a draught, which was likely to be seriously injurious".¹²⁵

The Ladies' Committee found in favour of Sister Wade, who was accused of being over fastidious about the food supplied by her employer.¹²⁶ Sister Provost, accused of want of cleanliness and idleness, obtained an appointment at the London Hospital before she could be interviewed. She was duly fined £3, which was donated to the poor box.¹²⁷ When Sister Calvert, who had a bad temper, received an unsatisfactory testimonial, she was advised to leave the Institution and get employment as a hospital sister as soon as possible. She duly resigned.¹²⁸

Discipline was strict, no male visitors were allowed in the Home or at the hospital. At the next meeting it was clarified that this included relatives. No female visitors were allowed meals or permitted to sleep at the Home, although tea might be served

¹¹⁸ *A short history*, op. cit., note 66 above, p. 11.

¹¹⁹ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 10 May 1850.

¹²⁰ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/2, 29 Jan. 1846.

¹²¹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 2 Feb. 1849.

¹²² Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/2, 7 Oct. 1843; SA/QNI/W.2/1, 17 June and 29 July 1842.

¹²³ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 26 June 1857; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 9 Mar. 1847.

¹²⁴ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/1, 4 Oct. 1841; SA/QNI/W.2/4, 2 Jan. 1857.

¹²⁵ Fry and Cresswell, op. cit., note 4 above, vol. 2, p. 382.

¹²⁶ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 22 Mar. 1856.

¹²⁷ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 25 May and 22 June 1855.

¹²⁸ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 26 Oct., 9 and 23 Nov. 1855.

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to special cases.¹²⁹ No spirits were allowed in the Home, a problem that constantly recurred. "That under no excuse whatever, are spirits to be sent for, or brought into the house, by the sisters, unless needed in case of illness, when application is to be made by them to the Superintendent, who will grant the request, reporting the same to the Committee. This plan is proposed by the Ladies, in consequence of circumstances which have been brought before their consideration".¹³⁰ Tea, coffee or cocoa were to be drunk on night duty. Spirits and malt liquor were to be consumed only with the consent of the doctor who attended the nurses' Home. Sisters who had minor ailments were not permitted to take brandy without the approval of a doctor or the Ladies' Committee, who advised them to take ginger instead.¹³¹ When spirits were found in a sister's room, she was not disciplined because there was said to be "no supporting evidence".¹³² However, invalid nurses unable to attend breakfast were permitted to receive bitter ale at 11 a.m., and those who were fit enough were expected to assist the poor in the neighbourhood.¹³³ A comment was made that one nurse was unable "to make little things fit for invalids", suggesting that they were expected to employ their spare time for the benefit of their employer as a domestic servant would, mending the household linen.¹³⁴

Many of the causes of dismissal were alcohol-related, and problems relating to drinking recur throughout the minutes. Sisters seen to enter and partake in a public house disgraced themselves and the Institution. They were fortunate to have been reproved but not dismissed. Following this incident, a letter expressing the displeasure of the Ladies' Committee would be read to all the sisters.¹³⁵ Sister Turner, having shown "a great want of sobriety", was less fortunate and was dismissed, as were Sister Holland for coming home in a state of intoxication and another sister who was intoxicated when attending her patient.¹³⁶ Yet in 1844 the Committee decided that "the common draft porter is to be kept in the house".¹³⁷ It was very likely that inflicting their policy of total abstinence had proved to be both unreasonable and unworkable.

Although it was suggested that three serious charges of misconduct would warrant dismissal,¹³⁸ no grace was given to infringements involving stealing. A sister was dismissed for taking a dead patient's slippers, described as a most unpleasant charge. Another sister who claimed a dead patient's clothes and accepted a gift of £5 was also dismissed.¹³⁹

¹²⁹ Rules and Regulations, SA/QNI/W.1/4; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 16 Sept. and 1 Oct. 1841; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 1 Sept. 1848, 12 Sept. 1851.

¹³⁰ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 11 Mar. 1842; SA/QNI/W.2/2, 6 June 1845; SA/QNI/W.2/4, 9 Apr. 1858; Bye-laws of the Institution of Nursing Sisters, SA/QNI/W.1/5.

¹³¹ Rules and Regulations, SA/QNI/W.1/4; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 26 Jan. 1855.

¹³² Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 6 June 1845.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 19 Dec. 1856, 30 Jan. 1857.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 10 Sept. 1847.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 29 Nov. 1844; SA/QNI/W.2/1, 18 Feb. and 11 Mar. 1842.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 18 Jan. 1856; SA/QNI/W.2/2, 2 Dec. 1842; SA/QNI/W.2/4, 9 Apr. 1858.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 1 Nov. 1844.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 26 June 1857.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 7 Nov. 1851, 11 May 1849.

Apart from "an inexpensive book", the sisters had to solemnly promise not to accept gifts from grateful patients or their relatives, and to "candidly mention to the Committee any present that may be offered to them". Any sister who accepted a legacy forfeited her right to the superannuation fund.¹⁴⁰ Sister Henderson, who worked on the district, accepted £1 and was told her contract would not be renewed if it was not returned.¹⁴¹ The widely accepted practice of receiving mourning, a gift commonly given when a patient died, was specifically forbidden. Offenders faced dismissal or a demand that the money be returned.¹⁴² A sister, with a bad temper, who accepted mourning and a legacy of £30 was dismissed.¹⁴³

Although at the time probably generous, treatment of injured or ill nurses was, by present-day standards, harsh. Nurses who were unfit to work for the Institution were compensated or, if possible, found other employment. A nurse who, in 1846, complained of a back injury was provided with a supporting belt by the Committee.¹⁴⁴ In 1848, the Institution agreed to pay half the expenses of medicines required by the nurses, and a few simple remedies would be kept in the Home, but it was ten years before the Committee agreed that surgical supports, rendered necessary by the work, would be supplied gratis.¹⁴⁵ A sister who complained of damaging her hands was given £1, and another, leaving because she had lost her health "whilst in the service of the house", was given £2 10s. 0d.¹⁴⁶ A sister whose arm made her unfit to continue at the Institution was advised to take a job as a sister at St Thomas's Hospital, and it was arranged that another sister "in poor health" should go as head nurse to the Invalid Asylum in Stoke Newington.¹⁴⁷

In 1845, it was decided that work in a men's accident ward was not suitable.¹⁴⁸ Even in 1869, Guy's Hospital preferred to post married women to male wards, a nicety that the Institution, with only a few suitable widows in their employ, found hard to implement.¹⁴⁹ If possible, alternative employment would be provided if a posting proved too arduous, Sister West remaining at the London Hospital after a smaller and lighter ward had been offered to her. Sisters Vilven and Lang were allowed to leave the Hon. Miss Hill. It was felt to be unreasonable that "so great a demand of strength should be made on the Sisters".¹⁵⁰ The Ladies' Committee was capable of sympathy. Sister Davis, a former employee, was reported to be in great distress through want of work, which was then offered to her. They acknowledged

¹⁴⁰ Bye-laws of the Institution of Nursing Sisters, SA/QNI/W.1/5; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 12 Oct. 1855.

¹⁴¹ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 4 Jan. 1856.

¹⁴² Bye-laws of the Institution of Nursing Sisters, SA/QNI/W.1/5; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 7 July 1848, 16 July 1847.

¹⁴³ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 22 Sept. 1855.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 29 Jan. 1846.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/3, 1 Sept. 1848; SA/QNI/W.2/4, 9 Nov. 1856.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 25 Aug. 1854, 15 May 1857.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 2 Oct. 1857; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 16 Feb. 1849.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 5 Dec. 1845.

¹⁴⁹ Steele, *op. cit.*, note 55 above, p. 552.

¹⁵⁰ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 3 June 1842; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 12 Mar. 1852.

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the service of a sister who left after twelve years by presenting her with a Bible, and a servant, Mary, received a sovereign for faithful service in the home.¹⁵¹

The disciplinary problems that haunted the Committee were not confined to the sisters. In 1843, after the superintendent resigned, the Ladies' Committee decided it was now necessary to have rules for their matron, who was strongly recommended to attend her own place of worship on a Sabbath and, if possible, on weekdays.¹⁵² Some years later, on 25 October 1857, after "long and serious consideration" at a quarterly meeting held off-site, the superintendent was dismissed and articles were noted to be missing. Her claim for salary, board, lodging and washing until 25 June 1858 was settled, after legal advice, with a payment of £71.¹⁵³

Nature of Nursing Duties

For a short time after its foundation, the Institution permitted the care of lying-in cases but, in 1842, Guy's Hospital requested that, except in emergencies, no maternity work be undertaken.¹⁵⁴ Fear of spreading infection was very real; Guy's annual report for 1869 specifically stated that with 1,929 mothers delivered, there were five deaths, but none from puerperal infection.¹⁵⁵ Nurses were still frequently sent to nursing homes and also to boarding schools and residential institutions where outbreaks of infectious diseases had occurred. At that time, "infectious diseases" were commonly lethal. In 1844, an outbreak of scarlet fever caused the death of Elizabeth Fry's son William and two of his children. The servants, as they sickened, were transferred to Guy's Hospital and the sisters from the Institution were provided to nurse them there.¹⁵⁶ After nursing an infectious case, the sister spent two weeks in lodgings in quarantine to reduce the risk of spreading infection to either the Mother House or to another posting. In 1854, plans were put in hand to obtain a small house specifically for this purpose.¹⁵⁷

Hospital Nursing

A number of hospitals applied to the Institution for nurses and their applications were carefully considered by the Ladies' Committee. In reaching a decision as to the suitability of a hospital, the Committee essentially carried out the first audit/inspection of English hospitals by an independent outside agency. The refusal of the prestigious Institution of Nursing Sisters to supply nursing staff because of unsatisfactory working conditions or salary, must have been

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 26 Sept. 1856, 26 Feb. 1858, 26 Oct. 1855.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 18 Aug. and 7 Oct. 1843.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/4, 25 Oct. 1857, 29 Jan. 1858.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 12 Mar. 1841, 11 Mar., 9 and 23 Sept. 1842.

¹⁵⁵ Steele, *op. cit.*, note 55 above, p. 540.

¹⁵⁶ Fry and Cresswell, *op. cit.*, note 4 above, vol. 2, p. 496.

¹⁵⁷ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 28 Mar. and 21 Nov. 1845; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 11 Nov. 1853; SA/QNI/W.2/4, 19 May 1854.

embarrassing to a hospital's governing body and provided a powerful impetus for improvement.

The problems that arose with the London Hospital are worth detailed examination because the complaints by the Ladies' Committee and the hospital's response to these have been recorded in detail. In March 1842, the Ladies' Committee agreed to supply a head nurse to the London Hospital at £22 per annum. They reserved the right to change the nurse in six months.¹⁵⁸ On 14 June 1842, the London expressed a wish to pay the Institution sisters directly. The Ladies' Committee recognized that they would lose control over their employees if they permitted them to be paid by an outside employer and they arranged to meet the hospital's House Committee. On 1 July, the request of the London Hospital to pay the Institution nurses directly was refused.¹⁵⁹ This incident may well have precipitated what was to follow.

On 15 July, the minutes of the Ladies' Committee record, "Great complaint having been made by the Nursing Sisters in the London Hospital of the uncleanly state of that Establishment, the Secretary is desired by the Committee to inform the Committee of the London Hospital that unless an improvement be made the Nursing Sisters cannot be allowed to continue on duty there". On 29 July, the probationer, Sister Horwood, was withdrawn, Sister Cornish staying on for a short time to complete her contractual arrangements and then for a further fortnight at the special request of the matron of the hospital.¹⁶⁰

The General Committee Report Book (Report of the House Committee to the Governors) to be presented to the Quarterly General Court (1 June 1842) recommended: whitewashing the wards; the matron to be instructed to see that annual ward cleaning was properly carried out; wards to be repaired; repainting of exterior and interior ironwork and woodwork "not having been painted for several years".¹⁶¹ On 5 July the General Court (Governors) Minute Book acknowledged overcrowding in the wards "to a degree unfavourable to recovery".¹⁶²

The Ladies' Committee had planned to move the Nurses' Home at Raven Row, adjacent to the London Hospital, to a more central location in March 1842, before any hint of problems appeared in the minutes.¹⁶³ The promises of future improvements at the hospital did not affect the Committee's decision to sever their special relationship with the London in favour of Guy's Hospital "who granted them the advantages of that admirable Institution".¹⁶⁴

As the minutes of the Ladies' Committee show, the Institution of Nursing Sisters received numerous requests from hospitals for their nurses. The first request for a

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 28 Mar. 1842.

¹⁵⁹ Minutes of the House Committee, *op. cit.*, note 87 above, 14 June 1842; minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 21 June and 1 July 1842.

¹⁶⁰ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 15 and 29 July, 26 Aug. 1842.

¹⁶¹ General Committee Report Book, *op. cit.*, note 87 above, 1 June 1842.

¹⁶² General Court Minute Book, *op. cit.*, note 87 above, 5 July 1842.

¹⁶³ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 11 Mar. 1842.

¹⁶⁴ *Report of the Institution for Nursing Sisters*, *op. cit.*, note 35 above, p. 8.

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sister, received in May 1841, was for a head nurse at Lynn Hospital, King's Lynn, Norfolk,¹⁶⁵ a town often visited by Elizabeth Fry. The Institution decided that they would send a nurse "if one can be found of suitable qualification". The personal wishes of Mrs Fry were not always acceded to. In 1842, the Ladies' Committee decided that they were unable to offer accommodation to two matrons awaiting the sailing of convict vessels to Australia, although the provision of matrons to accompany the female convicts was a project dear to Mrs Fry's heart.¹⁶⁶

There was a lack of efficient nurses at Guy's Hospital. After four requests none were available to be sent, a decision that resulted in great dissatisfaction.¹⁶⁷ An application for a nursing sister for the Hospital for Consumption and Diseases of the Chest was turned down because of the nature of the duties required (scouring the ward, etc.), combined with the low salary. A later minute reported that Sister Leitz had worked at the Consumptive Hospital for two years, suggesting an accommodation had been reached with the hospital.¹⁶⁸

After enquiries by Lady Inglis, an application from the chaplain of the Middlesex Hospital for nursing sisters was rejected because "the nature of the duties required and the small payment render the employment of sisters there undesirable".¹⁶⁹ A request from the Royal Infirmary Manchester for a sister for the female surgical ward was successful, despite the low salary of £25 per annum, "Placing the Sisters in hospitals being desirable, it is accepted and a Sister to be sent as soon as can be arranged".¹⁷⁰ Regarding a request from the Manchester Union (workhouse) for a sister to instruct the inmates in nursing, the Committee would be pleased to oblige but required further details.¹⁷¹

The Royal Infirmary Manchester's application suggests that the Committee felt they had some responsibility to supply hospital nurses, although Adelaide Nutting and Lavinia Dock, writing in 1907, reported that by 1857 (the year after the Crimean War ended) all ninety sisters trained by the Institution were engaged in private duties.¹⁷² While not totally true, the minutes of the Ladies' Committee suggest that the number of nurses sent by the Institution to hospitals remained small (except during periods of conflict),¹⁷³ hardly balancing the number they recruited from active hospital nursing staff. For example, on 17 April 1846, they received a candidate from Guy's Hospital and on 1 May they sent a nurse as a supernumerary sister to the same hospital.¹⁷⁴

Apart from the improvement of hospital working conditions that resulted from the attentions of the Ladies' Committee, the Institution had a negligible impact on the provision of hospital nurses.

¹⁶⁵ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 14 May 1841.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/1, 26 Aug. 1842.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/1, 6 and 20 May 1842.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., SA/QNI/W. 2/2, 16 July 1843; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 29 May 1846.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/2, 11 and 18 Aug. 1843.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 21 Aug. 1846.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W. 2/3, 16 Feb. 1849.

¹⁷² Nutting and Dock, op. cit., note 15 above, vol. 2, p. 76.

¹⁷³ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/1, 28 Mar. 1842; SA/QNI/W.2/2, 28 Mar. and 5 Dec. 1845; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 1 May 1846, 23 Apr. 1847; SA/QNI/W.2/4, 21 Apr. and 30 June 1854, 16 Oct. 1857.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 17 Apr. and 1 May 1846.

Charitable Activity: District Nursing

As a result of careful housekeeping and the steady accumulation of capital, the purse-strings of the Institution were loosened to permit their nurses to undertake charitable work for both institutions and individuals. As early as 1848, it was reported that there were about twenty-eight nurses employed, and during the period August 1845 to March 1848, 366 cases of sickness were attended. No charge was made for 30 of these cases and the charges levied for 92 were insufficient to remunerate the Society.¹⁷⁵

In 1844, the Ladies' Committee considered the terms on which a nursing sister could be obtained for "the Clergy's daughter Asylum at Clifton", and what kind would be required.¹⁷⁶ Having earlier decided that support would not be continued permanently, in April 1853 the provision of a gratuitous sister to the Chandos Institution, a nursing home for distressed gentlewomen, was reconsidered because of "fresh arrangements likely to be made there".¹⁷⁷ Shortly after, the Chandos Institution moved to Upper Harley Street, with Florence Nightingale taking charge in August. These impending changes must have been known to the President of the Ladies' Committee, Lady Inglis, a friend of the Nightingale family.

In 1854, a nurse was supplied again without charge to another charitable organization, the Institution for Destitute Girls.¹⁷⁸ Payment of fees were also waived or reduced for individual needy cases; the wife of a policeman being given a nurse free of charge, and a Mrs Lambert supplied with a nurse at the reduced fee of 7 shillings a week. It was not thought appropriate to send a sister to attend "a poor blind girl".¹⁷⁹

The care of the sick poor was not attractive to all nurses but it was not until 1857 that, following a complaint that one of their nurses had been accused of failing in kindness in a poor case, the Ladies' Committee admitted that often great difficulties arose when nurses were sent to the very poor.¹⁸⁰ As early as 1841, a request was received from Dr West for a sister to be attached to the Finsbury Dispensary, a charitable institution, where medicines were dispensed and medical advice given gratis, or for a small charge. Lodgings at the dispensary or with a family at the centre of the dispensary district would be provided by Dr West. It was envisaged that with instructions left by a physician or surgeon, the sister would act more as an instructress in simple nursing and invalid cooking than as a nurse. Cautiously, unsure whether the means of the Institution were sufficient, the Ladies' Committee enquired about the salary required.¹⁸¹ It appears that no action was taken, either because at that time there was no willing nurse to send or because of financial insecurity.

¹⁷⁵ *Report of the Institution for Nursing Sisters*, op. cit., note 35 above, p. 6.

¹⁷⁶ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/QNI/W.2/2, 3 May 1844.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 31 Jan. 1851, 28 Feb. 1851, 29 Apr. and 8 July 1853.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 1 Dec. 1854.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 7 Aug. and 24 July 1857; SA/QNI/W.2/3, 11 Oct. 1850.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 13 Nov. 1857.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/1, 10 and 24 Dec. 1841.

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The Institution appears to have been stung into seriously entering the field of district nursing following the receipt of a letter in 1847 from a Mr Lang or Long saying that it should provide more nurses for the poor and middle classes. The minutes record that the Committee agreed that this was indeed the object of the Institution—although they were clearly not fulfilling it.¹⁸² Following this rebuke, a section devoted to nursing the poor developed and became established over the next few years. The Institution minutes of 1849 report that “it has been suggested that one or two nurses should be employed exclusively amongst the Poor and that Mrs Langford should be engaged for this purpose”. Articles for sickness would be kept in the Home.¹⁸³ In 1854, after some years’ experience, it was agreed that the Institution would provide the salary and dress for the sisters and the parish would supply the lodging expenses, the sisters being superintended by the clergyman of the parish.¹⁸⁴

In 1853, the Committee decided “to engage a poor woman for cleaning to assist the sick poor” thus clearly differentiating the domestic from the nursing aspects of the sisters’ work, a condition of employment they were also demanding for them in hospitals.¹⁸⁵ It would appear that, by 1854, a small, well organized and effective district nursing service had been established together with the loan of sheets and clothes for the sick poor made up from material procured for that purpose.¹⁸⁶ The 1848 report of the Institution of Nursing Sisters also approved widening their activities beyond private nursing. Nursing the poor was an area “it hopes to see more extensively carried out”.¹⁸⁷

Conclusion

The change from the slatternly Sarah Gamp to the trained nurse emerging from the Victorian nursing schools was completed with explosive force within a period of about forty years. This can partly be explained by the intricate relationships that developed between the numerous reformers. It is this synergy, especially that between Pastor Fliedner and Elizabeth Fry, that this article has attempted to emphasize (see Figures 5 and 6).

Drawing on the earlier experience of Kaiserswerth, Elizabeth Fry and her Institution of Nursing Sisters established in England an early nineteenth-century secular health care delivery programme run efficiently by women. The staff were all Protestant and wore a uniform; they were based in a residential nurses home to which men were not allowed entry, and the consumption of alcohol was kept within certain limits. Protestant nursing recruits were upgraded through a formal selection procedure based on references and interviews. Literacy was obligatory. Pay and working conditions were equal or superior to domestic service, the major employment

¹⁸² Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 13 Aug. 1847.

¹⁸³ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 26 Oct. 1849.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/4, 20 Oct. and 17 Nov. 1854.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 2 Sept. 1853. SA/QNI/W.2/2, 16 July, 11 and 18 Aug. 1843.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., SA/QNI/W.2/3, 18 Mar. 1853.

¹⁸⁷ *Report of the Institution for Nursing Sisters*, op. cit., note 35 above, p. 7.

St. Vincent de Paul (1581-1660)

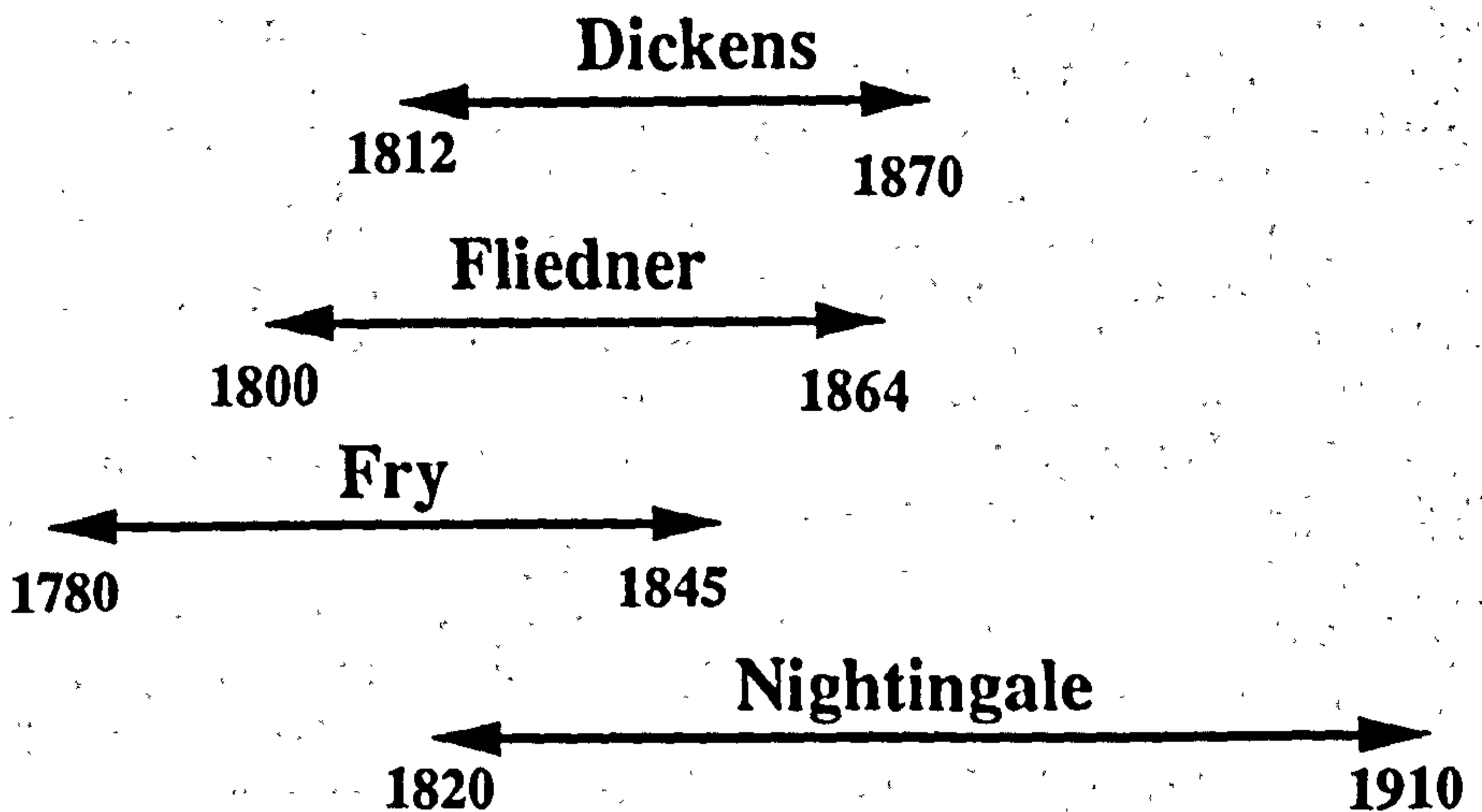


Figure 5: With the exception of St Vincent de Paul, the lifespan of the major participants in nursing reform overlap. This permitted the synergy that developed between them.

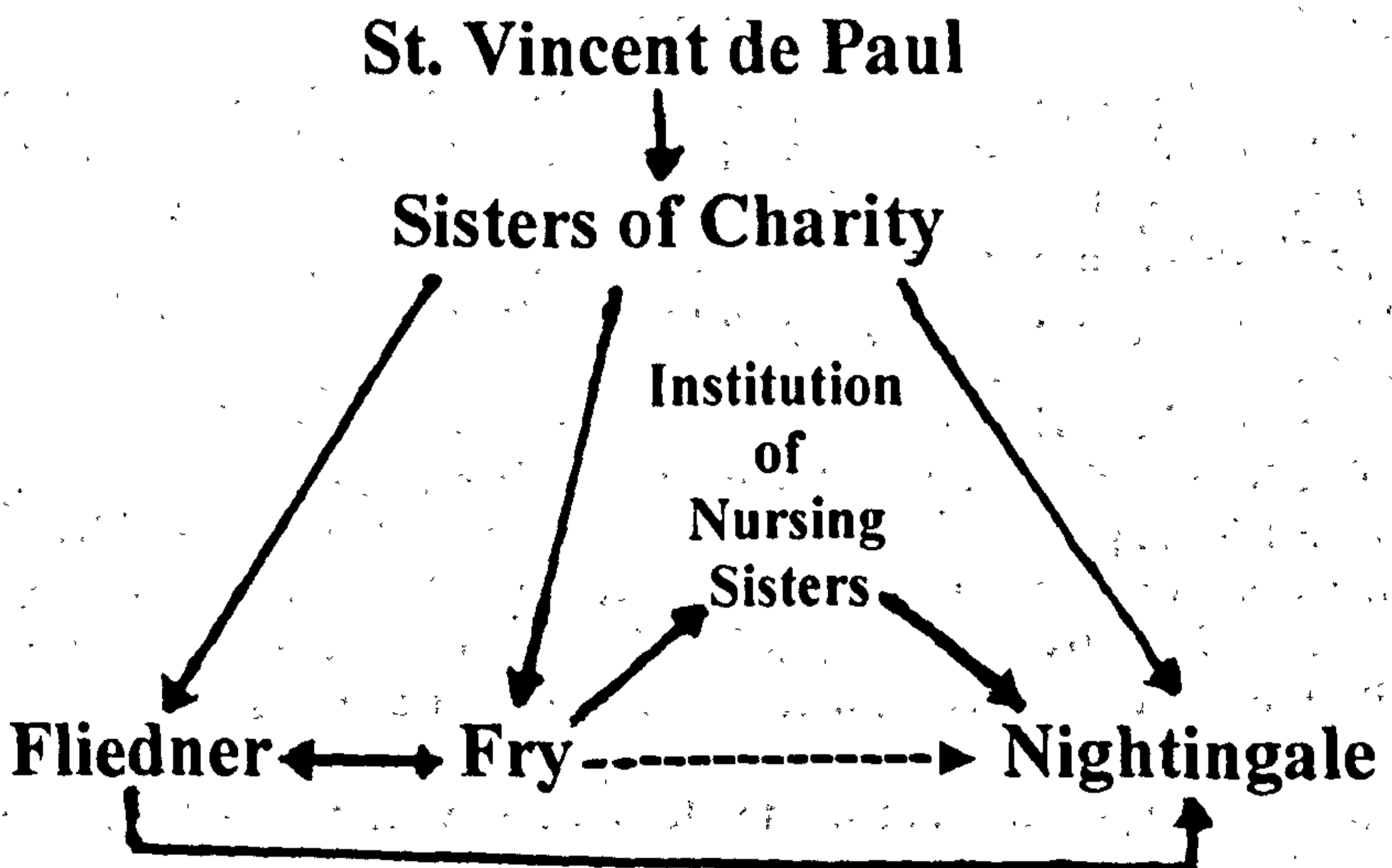


Figure 6: The complex interaction between those involved in nursing reform is displayed. Note the central position of Elizabeth Fry. Because written proof of direct contact, although likely, is lacking, the figure shows only an indirect link between Elizabeth Fry and Florence Nightingale. (See Sarah A Tooley, *The life of Florence Nightingale*, 5th ed., London, S H Bousfield, 1908, pp. 46-51.)

opportunity for women at that time, and the source of many Institution nurses. A three-year contract was renewable when service was satisfactory. In 1847, a superannuation fund was set up for long-service nurses. Hospital training was provided, albeit initially of only three months, with formal evaluation; and further specialized hospital training given, if the Institution required it. Private employers supplied performance evaluations of the nursing staff. In hospitals, inspections and enquiries by the Institution of Nursing Sisters—an independent authority—ensured acceptable working conditions for seconded nursing staff. The Institution supplied organized district and charitable nursing as well, and ensured that domestic and nursing duties were clearly separated. Disciplinary decisions were taken by a management committee to which all nursing staff had access. Health care for ill nursing staff was provided. An important indication of the Institution's status was Queen Adelaide's patronage, which marked the beginning of royal interest in the nursing profession.

Why has Elizabeth Fry been Forgotten?

The fact that Elizabeth Fry's contribution to nursing reform is largely forgotten is the fault of her two daughters, who chose to devote only three out of 1,061 pages in their 1847 biography to her work in this area.¹⁸⁸ This concentration on Elizabeth Fry's work on penal reform, at the expense of her pioneer work in nursing reform has been perpetuated by the numerous biographers that followed. Not surprisingly, Elizabeth Fry, together with Pastor and Mrs Fliedner and many others, have been denied the recognition they deserve in this country.

In the eyes of many, including the eminent surgeon Sir James Paget, the contribution of Florence Nightingale, by comparison with Elizabeth Fry, was self-evident. In 1885 he described the changes he had personally witnessed over the last fifty years in the wards of St Bartholomew's Hospital: "Miss Nightingale showed what might be done in hospitals by highly cultivated, courageous and benevolent gentlewomen; and the noble example which she showed had, I think, more influence than anything else that can be told-of in the production of the happy changes in the midst of which you work".¹⁸⁹

Miss Nightingale's quite extraordinary charisma inadvertently dimmed those who preceded her. To sustain sagging morale in the Crimean War, the country needed a heroine and, in Miss Nightingale, a heroine was at hand. As a result, the universal recognition of her contribution to nursing contrasts with the lack of public awareness of the work of Elizabeth Fry's Institution of Nursing Sisters.

Who then was the "*founder* of nursing"; "the real *pioneer* of Nursing in this country"? Despite the fact that circumstances permitted Elizabeth Fry only limited influence on reform in hospital nursing, an area she left to Florence Nightingale, few would deny her these accolades. At a meeting of the Ladies' Committee of the Institution of Nursing Sisters held after the death of Mrs Fry in 1845, those present

¹⁸⁸ Fry and Cresswell, *op. cit.*, note 4 above, vol. 2, pp. 373-5.

¹⁸⁹ Paget, *op. cit.*, note 24 above, pp. 353-4.

expressed the wish that "this society may become one of the many monuments of her excellence".¹⁹⁰ It is hoped that this paper, by drawing attention to this quite remarkable organization and the equally remarkable woman who founded it, will help to achieve their desire.

¹⁹⁰ Minutes of the Ladies' Committee, SA/
QNI/W.2/2, 23 Oct. 1845.