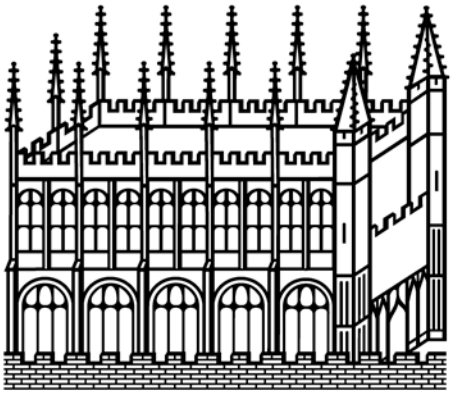

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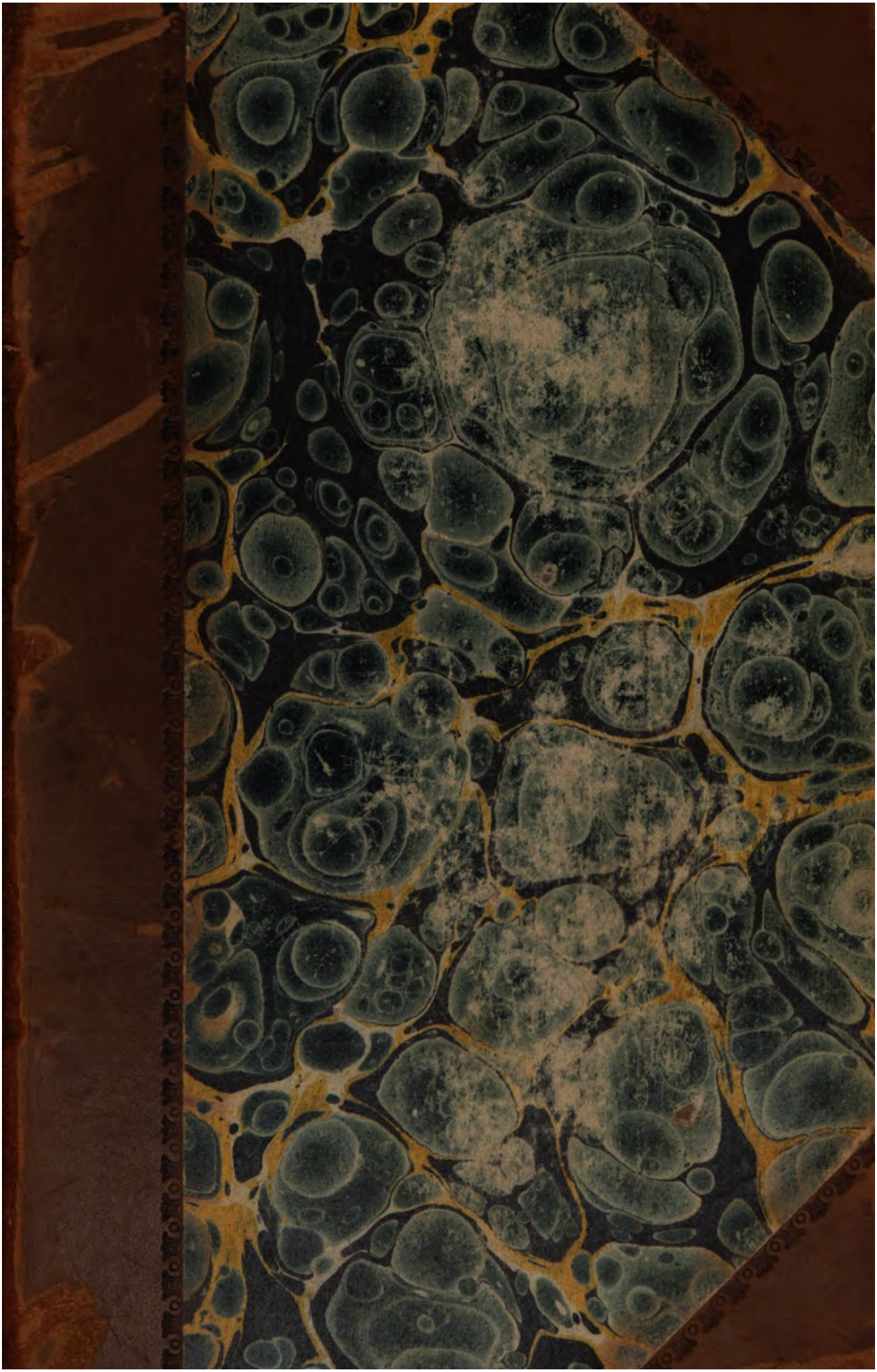

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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN HOWARD.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REV. REGINALD HEBER, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

SECOND EDITION.

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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN HOWARD, Esq., F.R.S.,

THE

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPIST:

WITH A

DETAIL OF HIS MOST EXTRAORDINARY LABOURS IN THE CAUSE OF BENEVOLENCE;

AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

PRISONS, HOSPITALS, SCHOOLS, LAZARETTOES, AND OTHER PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS HE VISITED.

BY

THOMAS TAYLOR,

Author of the "Life of Cowper," and "Memoirs of Bishop Heber."

SECOND EDITION.

"The tower where criminals complain,
And fettered captives weep in vain,
Are thy memorials in the skies,
The portals of thy paradise.
Thine was an empire o'er distress,
Thy triumph of the mind,
To burst the bonds of wretchedness,
The friend of human kind.
Thy name, through every future age,
By bard, philanthropist, and sage,
In glory shall be shrined."

"Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.'"—Matthew, xxv. 34—36.

LONDON:

JOHN HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY.

MDCCCXXXVI.

250.

LONDON:
JOSEPH RICKERBY, PRINTER,
SHERBOURN LANE.

BY HIS

LORDSHIP'S MOST KIND PERMISSION,

THIS

LIFE OF JOHN HOWARD, ESQ.,

THE

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPIST,

WHOSE INDEFATIGABLE AND UNPARALLELED LABOURS,

TO AMELIORATE THE SUFFERINGS

OF A DEGRADED, NUMEROUS, ALMOST-FORGOTTEN,

BUT TRULY PITIABLE

CLASS OF THE HUMAN FAMILY,

WERE THE MEANS OF EFFECTING INCALCULABLE GOOD,

NOT ONLY IN

HIS OWN COUNTRY, BUT THROUGHOUT EUROPE,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY,

AND WITH UNFEIGNED REGARD,

INSCRIBED,

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BEXLEY,

THE

READY PATRON, AND CORDIAL, UNSHAKEN FRIEND

OF HUMANITY AND RELIGION,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S MOST HUMBLE AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

AMONG the illustrious individuals of whom England may justly be proud, John Howard, the philanthropist, stands unquestionably in the highest class. He was not distinguished for the achievement of military or naval victories—the famed exploits of war; often, if not always, far more disastrous than glorious: Howard's heroism was of a nobler order. His objects were to assuage human sorrow; to mitigate, not to augment, the distress of suffering humanity; to remove, as far as possible, the causes of grief where they existed, not to create them where they existed not. The course he pursued was as original as it was useful. None had ever gone before him in the same path. The benevolent design arose in his own mind; and he had the magnanimity and courage to carry it into effect.

No Life of Howard, in a popular and concise form, has appeared since the publication of Dr. Aikin's Sketch, which, in many important points is defective. In the present volume an attempt is made to compile faithfully, and narrate simply and briefly, all the incidents of his extraordinary life. The Author has drawn his materials from Howard's works, and from all the published records respecting the philanthropist within his reach. He has derived considerable aid from Howard's elaborate biographer, Mr. Brown, to whose able work he refers all who wish for a more lengthened detail of his benevolent career.

The Author has found it difficult to keep up, on all occasions, the interest of the Memoir, owing chiefly to the repeated visits which Howard paid, at different times, to the same spot for the same objects; but to accomplish this has been his constant endeavour. He has laboured not to make the details tiresome from their length and minuteness, nor uninteresting from their brevity. How far he has succeeded

an enlightened public will best discern. He has made some trifling verbal alterations in the extracts introduced from Howard's letters; but has most carefully guarded against altering the sense intended to be conveyed. He regards the work only as a compilation, though but a small portion of it consists of quotation. He thinks it will be found to differ materially from any Life of Howard yet published.

December 17, 1835.

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LIFE

OF

JOHN HOWARD.

CHAPTER I.

Howard's ancestry and birth—Character of his parents—Death of his mother—His early education—Articled to a grocer—Death of his father—Retirement from business—First Continental tour—Return to England—Residence at Stoke-Newington—Tour through several counties in England—First marriage—Mrs. Howard's character—Her death—Howard's removal to London—Is elected a member of the Royal Society—Embarks for Portugal—Is taken by a French privateer—Cruel treatment there—Is liberated from prison—Returns to England—Successful efforts to procure the release of his fellow prisoners.

Of the early life and ancestry of John Howard, very little authentic information can be obtained. It has been asserted, but on rather questionable authority, that he was entitled to claim kindred with the ducal house of Norfolk, being descended, on his father's side, from that ancient and noble family. Various statements have been made respecting the place of his birth, so that it is not a little difficult to determine which is the most authentic. But it is

matter of very little importance, whether he was thus illustriously descended, or in what place he was born, as his claim to the veneration of posterity rests not on any adventitious circumstances of this nature, but on his individual unparalleled exertions, continued through a long life, in behalf of suffering humanity.

He was born, according to the best authorities, some time in the years 1726 or 7. His father, who had formerly been in a large upholstery business in Long-lane, West Smithfield, of the firm of Howard and Hamilton, having accumulated a considerable fortune, had about that time taken a house at Clapton. Here young Howard would have been born; but his mother, while on a visit to a friend at Enfield, where Mr. Howard had recently had an establishment, was taken suddenly ill, and before she could be removed home, she gave birth to the subject of our memoir; thus giving to Enfield the honour of being the birth-place of one of the brightest characters that ever adorned any age or nation.

Of Howard's father very little is known. He was probably somewhat advanced in life when his son was born. He was an opulent Protestant dissenter, of the independent denomination, extremely careful of his property, but pious and unobtrusive. He maintained great regularity and order in his house; paid the strictest attention to the sabbath; and regularly observed the important duty of family worship. Still less is known of Howard's mother. She appears to have been of that class of ladies less numerous now perhaps than formerly, whose whole attention is confined to their households; and who, much as they are valued, and highly as they are prized by their friends, are seldom heard of beyond their own domestic circle. She had only two children, John, the subject of this memoir; and a daughter, the birth

of whom she did not long survive. Mr. Howard again married, but had no issue, and his second wife lived only a short time.

At a very tender age young Howard was placed under the care of a cottager of the name of Prole, who lived at Cardington, a village near Bedford, where he rented a small estate of Mr. Howard. Here the childhood of the future philanthropist was spent; and here subsequently, when he had by large purchases greatly increased the small estate he inherited from his father, he probably passed some of the happiest years of his life.

When at a suitable age, young Howard was sent to a Protestant dissenter's school at Hertford, kept by Mr. John Worsely, a man of some learning; but, if we may form an opinion from Howard's statement made in his riper years, (that "during the seven years he was under his care he had learned nothing correctly,") ill-qualified to be a teacher of youth. At the end of seven years he was removed to a school in London, then under the care of Mr. John Eames, a man of respectable literary attainments, who had been educated for the Christian ministry, but had been unable to follow it, from his extreme timidity. His scientific acquirements procured him the acquaintance of several distinguished scholars, and among others of Sir Isaac Newton, who introduced him to the Royal Society, of which he was afterwards chosen a member.

At this school young Howard remained till about his sixteenth year; but whether it was owing to the slow development of his faculties, which seems very improbable, or to his own inattention, or the inattention of his tutors, it is certain that his acquirements, when he quitted school, were very superficial. His father, however, who had designed him for business, hoping that he would take as much pleasure in it as he had formerly taken himself, and

become as successful; about this time apprenticed him to Messrs. Newnham and Shipley, wholesale grocers in Watling-street. That he might be fully initiated into every branch of the trade, and at the same time be treated with the respect becoming his expectations, he gave a premium with him of £700. Such a premium entitled him to more than ordinary indulgences; and he was allowed his own separate apartments, and permitted to keep a servant and two riding horses.

Young Howard entered upon this situation, as it subsequently appeared, more in compliance with his father's wish than from his own taste; for at the death of his father, which took place about two years afterwards, so irksome had it become to him, and so ill did it agree with his health, that he determined, on his coming of age, (as he would then be entitled under his father's will to property to a large amount,) to make arrangements with Messrs. Newnham for quitting their service; which he accordingly did as early as possible.

His father had left the whole of his property to himself and his sister. To the latter he bequeathed £8,000, the moiety of his books, and the whole of the jewels and wardrobe of her mother and stepmother; and to the former £7,000, with all his landed property and estates, plate, furniture, pictures, and the moiety of his books, besides making him sole residuary legatee.

Being now at liberty to follow such pursuits as were congenial to his taste, after superintending the repairs of the house at Cardington, which his father's parsimonious habits had suffered to fall into decay, he set out on a continental tour. An anecdote is related of him, which, as it is illustrative of his early love of punctuality, and of the real goodness of his disposition, ought not to go unrecorded. He never failed to be at a certain spot near the garden-wall

every morning during the whole time the house was repairing, just at the time when the baker was passing with his cart-load of bread, when he invariably purchased a loaf, which he pitched over the wall, playfully exclaiming to an old servant who had long been his father's gardener, "Harry, look among the cabbages, and you will find something for your family."

Howard now set out on his projected tour, and passed through France and Italy. The object he chiefly had in view, was to make himself acquainted with the most finished foreign specimens of the fine arts; and to possess himself, as far as practicable, with some of the choicest paintings of foreign artists. That he then possessed a most correct taste, the very valuable and select collection of paintings with which he afterwards embellished his beloved retreat at Cardington, afford convincing proof.

It is uncertain how long Howard remained on the Continent, probably not more than one or two years. On his return, finding his health in a very declining state, he took lodgings at the pleasant village of Stoke-Newington; and employed his time, not in the pursuit of frivolous amusements, but in the acquisition of such knowledge as was of considerable use to him in his future life. He paid great attention to the study of natural philosophy and medicine; and acquired a sufficient knowledge of the latter to be of considerable advantage to him in the trying and dangerous situations in which he was afterwards often placed, when pursuing his brilliant career of disinterested benevolence.

While here he became a member of the independent church, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Meredith Townsend; and finding that no house was provided for the minister, he took an active part

in raising a subscription to erect one, contributing considerably more than fifty pounds towards it himself. But attached as he was to his own denomination, even at this time, he by no means confined his benevolence within its limits. None who really needed relief ever appealed to him in vain. Indeed, even then he diligently sought out objects of distress, and took great pleasure in rendering them assistance, influenced evidently by that noble Christian principle, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

Such was now the delicate state of Howard's health, that his physicians were apprehensive of incipient consumption. They recommended frequent change of air, and enjoined that rigid dietetic regimen which, it has been conjectured, laid the foundation for those abstemious habits, and that perfect command over his appetite for which he was ever afterwards so distinguished. During this period he made several excursions through different parts of England, and visited frequently the hot-wells at Bristol; but obtained little relief from the nervous fever under which he laboured.

On his return to Newington, not having been comfortably accommodated by the person where he had previously lodged, he engaged apartments in the house of Mrs. Sarah Loidoire, a widow lady, possessing a small income, sufficient with her economical management, to maintain her respectably. Here he was waited upon with the greatest kindness and respect, which he appreciated the more highly from the very different treatment he had before experienced: but his health, instead of being improved grew much worse; and he was now attacked with a severe illness, during the whole of which his landlady watched over him with the greatest tenderness, attending him with as much solici-

tude as a near relative, and contributing, by her judicious advice and assiduous attention, in no small degree to promote his recovery.

On his restoration to health, so deeply sensible was he of the obligations under which he was laid to Mrs. Loidoire, for the unwearied and most disinterested attention she had paid him during his affliction, that he conceived it to be his duty (and duty was ever to him of paramount importance) to make her an offer of marriage, notwithstanding the disparity of his years, and the great difference of their circumstances, she being twice his age, and having but a very limited fortune. Mrs. Loidoire kindly remonstrated with him on the great impropriety of taking such a step, in consequence of her own delicate health, the inequality of their stations in life, and especially on the ground of her age. But, having once persuaded himself that it was right to make her the offer, which he had done, not without much consideration, he was not to be diverted from his purpose by the lady's prudential scruples, or by any representations of what the world might say of the union. He regarded not the world's opinion neither in this affair nor in any part of his conduct, provided he had the approbation of his conscience; and he knew that in what he had done he was not actuated by any selfish or unworthy motive, but solely by a grateful sense of favours he had received.

Perceiving Howard's motives to be so honourable, and finding him to be firm to his purpose, Mrs. Loidoire at length consented to the union; and they were accordingly married some time in 1752, the bride being then in her fifty-second, and the bridegroom in his twenty-fifth year. In ordinary circumstances, a union like this could not well be censured too severely; but in Howard's case, looking at it dispassionately, and taking into consideration the real goodness of his intentions, and his perfect free-

dom from any interested motive, if we see nothing to applaud, we see enough at least, to make us unwilling to censure. It is easy to point out other means by which he might have compensated this lady for her kindness, besides making her his wife; but who is able to say whether such means would have satisfied his conscience? So disinterested was Howard in this affair, that on his marriage he settled the whole of his wife's income on her sister.

Mrs. Howard, it appears, was universally beloved, and respected: her conversation was intellectual, cheerful, and spiritual; she took great pleasure in promoting the happiness of all with whom she happened to be associated, and was ever forward in devising means to relieve the needy and distressed. Though severely afflicted for many years together, she was never heard to complain: religion had shed its hallowing and softening influence over her mind, enabling her meekly to resign herself into the hands of God, and patiently to endure all his chastisements. Her disposition was truly amiable; and Howard always expressed himself happy in having chosen her for his wife, often declaring, after her decease, which happened about three years from the time of their marriage, "that had he to choose again, he would prefer just such a person and mind as hers to all the charms of youth and beauty."

During her life Howard exerted himself in every possible way to make her happy, and spared no expense that was likely to afford her relief. He has often been heard to say, "that he would freely part with one hundred pounds to ensure her one night's refreshing rest." He treated her invariably with the greatest tenderness, and their union was evidently productive of mutual satisfaction: indeed, there is every reason to believe, that her example of patience under constant suffering, her persevering efforts, under such circumstances, to relieve the

needy and distressed, and the strong sympathy she felt for others while she was herself the subject of much affliction, had a powerful effect upon the mind of Howard in all his future life. An individual like him could hardly come into contact with one whose disposition was so amiable, and in whom the power of religion, under afflicting circumstances, was so visible, without the happiest results.

Mrs. Howard died on the 10th November, 1755, after a protracted affliction of twenty years, borne with exemplary fortitude and patience. She was deeply regretted by her husband, who mourned much for her loss, and ever afterwards held her in affectionate remembrance. She was interred in a vault in St. Mary's churchyard Whitechapel; and her tombstone, erected by Howard, bears the following simple monumental inscription :—

HERE LIES THE BODY OF
SARAH HOWARD,
WIFE OF JOHN HOWARD, ESQ., OF STOKE-NEWINGTON,
IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX;
WHO DIED
THE TENTH OF NOVEMBER, 1755,
AGED FIFTY-FOUR;
In hopes of a joyful resurrection, through the merits of Jesus Christ.

Howard diligently employed himself, during the life of his wife, in cultivating his mind; which, indeed, when he was in health he never permitted himself to neglect. He read much, and, as appeared subsequently, to great advantage. But having now lost his wife, from whose conversation, especially on subjects connected with religion, he had derived the greatest benefit, he resolved to quit Newington, and again to visit the Continent; partly with a view still further to improve his mind, but chiefly to divert his attention from the sad reflections occasioned by his recent loss. To individuals of a different temperament it may appear strange that the removal of one

so much afflicted, and so far advanced in life, should have excited such deep regret in Howard's mind; but his regard for Mrs. Howard was most sincere, and was the result of principle, not of passion.

Immediately after the funeral Howard made arrangements for giving up his establishment at Newington, and took up a temporary abode in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, whither he removed the furniture which he wished to preserve in memory of his wife, and distributed the rest, with that generosity for which he was ever so distinguished, among the poor in the neighbourhood, and his own domestics. The old gardener before mentioned, who had repeatedly partaken of his bounty, would often, to the latest period of his life, advert with grateful remembrance to the dividend, as he was accustomed to call it, of a bedstead and bedding, a table, and half a dozen of chairs, which he received, with the gift of a guinea for his day's work in removing the few articles his master took.

During his residence at Newington, he had pursued, with considerable assiduity, some inquiries into the lighter branches of philosophy; and he made several accurate meteorological observations, which he submitted to the notice of a literary friend, who was a member of the Royal Society. Such was the value attached to these papers that Howard was elected a member of that Society, and admitted on the 20th May, 1756. Little did he expect this distinction, and still less did he court it: he did not, however, undervalue it when it came, but gladly embraced the opportunity it afforded him of cultivating an acquaintance with some of the first literary characters of the day; less with a view to any distinction he might thereby obtain, than to his own advancement in knowledge.

In June, 1756, Howard embarked for his second continental tour. Portugal had then recently been

visited by a most destructive earthquake, which had hurled almost the whole city into ruins, and plunged its inhabitants into distress; thither he purposed to sail, and accordingly took his passage in the Hanover, Lisbon packet. They had not performed more than half their passage, when they were attacked by a French privateer, captured, and after being treated with great cruelty, and kept without provisions of any kind for forty-eight hours, they were landed at Brest, and shut up in the castle, in a filthy dungeon, where both crew and passengers were promiscuously huddled together, and confined for several hours longer without food. At length, a single joint of mutton was thrown in among them, which they devoured as well as they could without a knife, of which they were not allowed the use. In this miserable place they were confined nearly a week, experiencing the same cruel treatment, and having nothing but a little straw to defend them from the damp floor during the nights.

At the end of a week, Howard was removed with his fellow-prisoners to Morlaix, and subsequently to Carpaix; where, at length, such was the respect shown him, that he was permitted to reside in the town, in his own lodgings, on a two months' parole; though none but officers were entitled, according to the custom of war, to this privilege. So great was the confidence reposed in him by his captors, that in a few weeks he was allowed to visit England, upon a promise to return, if the British government refused to exchange him for a French naval officer; which it was to be apprehended they would do, it being contrary to the prevailing custom in such cases.

On the news of his capture reaching England, his friends evinced the deepest anxiety respecting him, and employed their utmost efforts to procure his release. Amidst their active endeavours, they were

surprised and overjoyed at his unexpected arrival, and instantly made preparations to celebrate the event, by appropriate rejoicings; but he entreated them to desist, informing them on what terms he had been permitted to come; and assuring them, that unless the government consented to exchange him on those terms, he felt himself bound in honour, deeply as he should regret it, to return to his state of captivity. Application was made without delay to the proper authorities; the exchange was readily consented to; and thus was he happily set at liberty.

No sooner had he effected his release than he immediately made the most strenuous efforts to liberate his companions, or at least to obtain a mitigation of their sufferings, the rigour of which he had so painfully experienced. The more successfully to accomplish his purpose, he had taken the precaution, before he quitted France, to obtain correct information respecting the treatment of prisoners in places where he had not been himself, particularly at Dinnan, to which place some of the individuals taken with him had been marched; with some of whom he corresponded while in France as often as he could. The result of these inquiries confirmed his suspicions that the greatest barbarity was practised there upon British prisoners; more than thirty of whom, he was assured, had been buried in one hole during a single day. And such was the state of starvation to which they were reduced, that a much greater mortality must have ensued, had it not been for the benevolent bequest of an Irish lady who had lived in the town, and had left in trust with the magistrates, one penny a day to every English prisoner.

Howard lost no time in laying this affecting, but well-authenticated statement, before the commissioners of sick and wounded seamen; and he had not only the pleasure of receiving their unanimous thanks for his information, but the still higher grati-

fication of knowing that the prisoners of war, confined in the three prisons to which he had more especially directed his inquiries, were sent home, in the first cartel ships that reached England; their deliverance being entirely owing to his exertions. To this event he often afterwards ascribed the commencement of that strongly excited sympathy for the unfortunate inmates of prisons, by which almost every action of the last sixteen years of his life was distinguished, and which has justly immortalized his name. But the benevolent feeling thus excited, did not develop itself till some years had elapsed: it seemed like seed hidden in his bosom, till at length it sprung forth and produced a glorious harvest.

CHAPTER II.

Howard's second marriage—Character of Mrs. Howard—Her delicate health—Howard's removal to Watcombe—Return to Cardington—Love of retirement—Great attention to the poor—Birth of his son—Death of Mrs. Howard—Howard's deep regret on the occasion—His peculiar views of infantine education—Course he pursued with his son—Mistaken opinions respecting it—Visit to Bath—Tour through Holland—Return—Continued anxiety for his son's welfare—Indisposition, and preparations for another continental tour.

After Howard's release from prison, we find him, in 1757, turning his attention to the improvement of his estate at Cardington. He enlarged it considerably, by the purchase of an adjoining farm in the village. He employed himself, during the whole of this year, in superintending the alterations which he thought it desirable to make on the estate; gratifying his taste, by pursuing, in his leisure hours, those philosophical researches, and making those meteorological observations, for which he always had a strong predilection.

About this time Howard formed an intimacy with Miss Henrietta Leeds, eldest daughter of Serjeant Leeds, esquire, of Caxton, in Cambridgeshire, a lady about his own age, of considerable beauty, and great accomplishments, to whom he was united in marriage on the 25th April, 1758. She possessed

a most amiable disposition, united to a highly cultivated mind: her education had been suitable to her father's rank. But though she moved in rather a gay circle, it was evident that, both in her dress and manners, she preferred neatness and elegance to splendour and show. She was eminently pious, and had evidently partaken largely of that noble spirit which formed so striking a feature in the character of Howard, that personal gratifications of every kind ought most cheerfully to be relinquished, when they in any way retard or diminish the means of our usefulness. Acting on this principle, she parted with such of her jewels, soon after marriage, as she thought she had no occasion for, putting the proceeds into a purse, which, by mutual consent, she and her husband had named the charity-purse, the money in which was consecrated to the relief of the poor and distressed. It afforded Howard the highest gratification that he had met with a partner who not only possessed every accomplishment he could desire, but whose views, on subjects of the utmost importance, were entirely congenial to his own; and who was delighted to co-operate with him in all his benevolent pursuits.

Of the sincerity of Mrs. Howard's piety, Howard had no suspicion; but he had only seen her in places where its depth could not be put to any satisfactory test. Hence, on a visit to London, which they made immediately after their marriage, he took her to the Pantheon, then a fashionable resort, with a view to ascertain what effect such a scene would have on her mind. Whether such an experiment (for in this light it seems to have been made) was justifiable, we shall not decide. It turned out, however, entirely to his satisfaction; for while he and Mrs. Howard were passing along the gay crowd, surrounded on all sides with sights to captivate and please, he observed her deeply absorbed in thought, regardless of the

passing throng: he instantly stopped her, and turning round, said, "Harriet," the name by which he always familiarly addressed her, "now that you appear to be so deeply lost in thought, I must press you to tell me what you have been thinking of." "Well," replied Mrs. Howard, "my thoughts, if I must tell you them, were about the sermon I heard preached last Sunday." Trifling as this circumstance may appear to some, Howard could not look upon it otherwise than as affording additional proof that Mrs. Howard's mind was deeply imbued with the importance of things spiritual and heavenly.

On leaving town, Howard repaired with his bride to his seat at Cardington, which he had furnished in a style of neatness and elegance distinguished alike from meanness and show, intending to make it in future his permanent abode. He now passed his time most delightfully; visiting, with Mrs. Howard, the cottages of the poor, and continually devising schemes for their comfort. To encourage industry, he purchased for his table-linen, and for such purposes as it was suitable, under the direction of Mrs. Howard, the linen spun by the poor: a benevolent practice which he pursued to the close of his life.

He had not been many months at Cardington before he perceived, to his inexpressible grief, alarming symptoms of Mrs. Howard's declining health. Imagining it arose from the coldness of the atmosphere, he determined, at the risk of any expense, to try the effects of a change of air. A small estate and good house at Watcombe, near Lymington, was then offered for sale, which he immediately purchased for £7,000; fondly hoping that the mild atmosphere of that county would be more suitable to Mrs. Howard's delicate health.

Howard's predecessor in this estate, Captain Blake, formerly in the East India Company's service, had been under the necessity, as he imagined,

of employing every legal means to preserve the estate from the depredations of the surrounding population; and the guns, engines, and traps found on the grounds when Howard took possession, conveyed a most unfavourable opinion of the neighbourhood. All these Howard instantly laid aside; employing in their stead, more successful, and certainly more Christian means, to accomplish the same end. His benevolent conduct to the poor soon convinced them that they had in him a benefactor and a friend, to whom, in every distressing emergency, they could look up with confidence; assured that he would not only sympathize with them, but give them prompt relief. The result was, that during his continuance at Watcombe, he met with no molestation, nor suffered any loss.

His removal from Cardington was regarded by the poor as no common calamity. All seemed to think they had lost their best friend; and earnestly wished his absence might be of short continuance; but he resided at Watcombe three years. At the end of that time, finding Mrs. Howard's health still continued delicate, and having strong reasons to suspect it was in consequence of the proximity of his house to the New Forest, whence a vapour constantly arose, alike unfavourable to her recovery and to his astronomical observations, he resolved to return to Bedfordshire. He accordingly disposed of the estate of Watcombe, though he had greatly improved it, and Cardington became, from that time, his settled residence. He now made considerable additions to the house, new fronting it, and building an entire new set of rooms at the back. Under his own and Mrs. Howard's correct and cultivated taste, the whole was finished in a style of much elegance and simplicity.

At the end of the pleasure-grounds, which were laid out with great taste, he built a hermitage, entirely in the rustic style, with the roots and trunks of trees, covered with thatch: the door, the portico,

and the windows were Gothic, and admitted just light enough within for the purpose of study. The furniture within corresponded with the exterior: in the centre, were the remains of a lamp, formed out of a root, furnished with glasses: in one corner, was a fire-place, skreened from observation by a chimney-board: the chairs, or rather seats, were formed of some singular masses of peat of a curious description, covered with coarse mats: opposite to these was a stone slab for a table, and ornamented with a female figure in marble, seemingly a nun, in a reclining posture, and an hour-glass. Over these, in a recess, was a small book case with glass doors, containing a sufficient number of books to afford ample proof what writers Howard preferred. The works of Harvey, Flavel, Baxter, and a well-chosen selection from Milton, Thompson, Young, and Watts, with some Voyages, and popular philosophical treatises, and his favourite book, the Bible, formed this library. In this sequestered spot, our great philanthropist passed many hours of delightful solitude, holding sweet communion with the Father of spirits, who seeth in secret, and will reward openly. The following lines were inscribed opposite to the door of entrance:—

"O solitude, bless'd state of man below,
Friend to our thought, and balm for all our woe;
Far from throng'd cities my abode remove,
To realms of innocence, and peace, and love:
That when the sable shades of death appear,
And life's clear light no more these eyes shall cheer,
Its work may be fulfill'd, its prospects won,
By virtue measur'd, not a setting sun."

The late Samuel Whitbread, Esq., erected a pedestal in the garden, some years subsequent to Howard's decease, which bears the following inscription from his pen:—

"This garden was formed, the root-house built, and the trees which overshadow and adorn them, were planted in the year 1762, by John Howard, the Philanthropist, who lived for many years in this retirement, before his virtuous energies were called into action; and he quitted it to become the benefactor of mankind. To this spot he eagerly returned to pass the interval between those labours, which

ended in his death, and have insured to him a guiltless and imperishable fame. Joshua Crockford, whose hand put the seedlings into the ground, under his master's eye, has spent the intervening years in watching and assisting their growth; exhibiting in his narrow circle a model of sobriety, industry, and neatness. He still lives, in his eightieth year, faithful to his duties, and strong to fulfil them; contented in his station; pleased with his charge; and full of the remembrance of his beloved master.

"August, 1812. "S. W."

But much as Howard loved retirement, and great as were the advantages he had derived from it, he never permitted it to divert his attention from his benevolent engagements. He still spent the greater part of his time in visiting the poor, with Mrs. Howard, and in devising plans to ameliorate their condition. He built a number of neat, commodious cottages, to which he attached a large garden; and these he let to industrious families at moderate rents. He established schools, where children of both sexes were gratuitously educated: and he evidently took the greatest delight in promoting the happiness of the surrounding peasantry; with a noble generosity extending his relief to all, of every sect or party.

The invaluable assistance rendered him by Mrs. Howard in all his benevolent projects, and the readiness with which she entered into his plans, will be seen by the following anecdote: "I remember," says Dr. Aikin, "Mr. Howard's telling me, that on one occasion, when he had settled his accounts at the close of a year, having found a considerable balance in his favour, he proposed to his wife to expend it in taking her for a journey of pleasure to London, or in any other way that would afford her gratification. 'What a pretty cottage it would build!' was her answer;—and to this purpose the money was appropriated.' '

This was undoubtedly the happiest period of Howard's life. His heart was gladdened to witness the successful operation of his benevolent schemes: and he was delighted to see the poor peaceful and happy.

But an event was now permitted to occur, which threw a dark cloud over the whole, and became to him a source of sorrow the most poignant. Mrs. Howard's health, though it still continued delicate, was not more so than formerly: she had been married six years, without issue; but on Wednesday, the 27th March, 1765, she was safely delivered of a son. She continued so well till the following Sunday, that Howard, not then apprehending the slightest danger, went to church. No alteration had taken place at his return, but very shortly afterwards, she experienced a sudden spasmodic attack; and before professional advice could be had, she expired in Howard's arms, while in the act of taking from him some little refreshment.

This was a more severe stroke than any Howard had yet experienced. To have one whom he most tenderly loved, with whom he had spent the happiest years of his life, who had often cheered and charmed him by her conversation, and who had cordially cooperated with him in all his works of kindness, torn from his embrace, just at the moment when she had borne him a son, and under circumstances so truly affecting, was a trial which required no ordinary degree of Christian principle patiently to endure. Deeply as Howard felt the separating stroke, (and never did an individual feel it more,) yet he bore it with a Christian spirit, silently submitting to the divine will; assuring himself, that it was inflicted in mercy, by a Being of infinite wisdom and benevolence; and though he could not imagine how it was to have this merciful effect, yet he believed it firmly, being strong in faith, giving glory to God.

Mrs. Howard was interred in a vault, in Cardington church, where her husband caused a marble tablet to be erected to her memory, bearing the following inscription:—

IN HOPE OF A RESURRECTION TO ETERNAL LIFE, THROUGH THE MERCY OF GOD BY JESUS CHRIST,
RESTS THE MORTAL PART OF

HENRIETTA HOWARD,

DAUGHTER OF EDWARD LEEDS, ESQ., OF CROXTON, IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE,
WHO DIED THE 31ST OF MARCH 1765, AGED 39.

"She opened her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue was the law of kindness."—PROV. xxxiii. 26.

Extraordinary as it may appear, (and it cannot appear otherwise,) an attempt was made, by an anonymous maligner, during Howard's life, and again after his death, to represent his conduct towards Mrs. Howard as severe and unfeeling. A more unfounded aspersion the malice of man never fabricated, nor one more unsupported by any thing like the shadow of proof. Never was the conduct of a man to his wife more uniformly affectionate; and never were those little tender endearments, for the exercise of which the matrimonial connexion affords scope, and which, if not wholly essential to its happiness, greatly enhance it, making it a state approaching nearer to felicity than any we can enjoy on earth, observed mutually with more tenderness than by Howard and his wife towards each other. The deep regret Howard felt for her loss, which, indeed, was almost excessive; and the veneration he ever afterwards expressed for her memory, keeping the anniversary of her death to the close of his life, as a day of humiliation and fasting; ever carrying with him her miniature likeness in all his travels, and strictly charging his son, years afterwards, on pain of the forfeiture of his blessing, never to remove or alter, in the slightest degree, any thing in the garden, or elsewhere on the estate, that had been done under Mrs. Howard's direction; all rebut the false and malignant aspersion. The testimony, too, of an intelligent domestic, cheerfully borne some years afterwards, who, had there been the least foundation for the reproach, must have seen

it, having been Mrs. Howard's lady's-maid from her marriage to her death, to the almost doting fondness of Mr. Howard for his wife, shows that the calumny rested only upon the malignity of the detractor, in whose bosom it must have originated.

Being by this afflicting bereavement deprived of a most amiable partner, Howard was left to discharge the joint parental duties of father and mother to a son of the tenderest age. In the education of children, especially at the earliest stage, the tender sympathies of the mother are of incalculable importance: none can teach like her, as none have so powerful an influence over the infant mind. The individuals who have enjoyed the advantages of receiving their first lessons in science as well as in religion, from a judicious and pious mother, can never be sufficiently thankful. So many little marks of attention require to be paid our offspring, in their infancy and earliest childhood, and such continual and watchful solicitude is needful to be exerted, as no father, with the utmost attention, could ever perform so properly as an affectionate mother.

Howard was fully aware of the additional obligation and increased responsibility of his new situation; and as he felt the highest regard for the dear and only pledge given him of his union with a most beloved wife, he immediately took such steps as appeared to him the wisest to insure his health, and to train him up in the paths of virtue. He engaged a pious and excellent female, who possessed every qualification he could wish, and in whom he could place the greatest confidence, partly to superintend his domestic concerns, but chiefly to take the management and oversight of his infant charge. To her sole care Howard might have left his son, at least for the first year; but such was his anxiety respecting him, and so important did he deem it to have a right bias given to his mind on its very first openings, that

he would often take the liveliest interest in his management in infancy, and was accustomed to give particular directions respecting his treatment, even at this tender age.

The views which Howard entertained of education were strict and peculiar. "Regarding children," says Dr. Aikin, "as creatures possessed of strong passions and desires, without reason and experience to control them, he thought that nature seemed to mark them out as subjects of absolute authority; and that the first and fundamental principle to be inculcated upon them, was implicit and unlimited obedience. And as this cannot be effected by any reasoning process, before reason has its commencement, it must be done by coercion. Implicit obedience in a child, he considered as essential to the ground-work of a good education; but the coercion he practised was the most calm and gentle, while at the same time it was steady and resolute."

This difficult matter he managed so as to attain his point completely, in a manner so admirable, that no dangerous impressions could possibly be made on the child's mental faculties, since it was free from every thing violent or capricious. It was a rule with him that the child should never have any thing given him for which he cried; and Dr. Aikin relates the following anecdote, told him by Howard, respecting the manner in which he usually quieted the child. "The boy one day wanted something which it was improper for him to have, and on its being refused, burst into a fit of crying which the nurse could not restrain; on which Howard took him from her, laid him gently on his lap, and there let him remain, till at length he was so worn out with crying that he became quiet." This process, a few times repeated, had such an effect, that the child, if crying ever so violently, was quiet the instant it was resorted to.

All this was effected without a single harsh threat, or any thing that bore the least resemblance to unkindness. There was, in Howard's manner on these occasions, no mixture of what could be construed into self-will or anger, or the love of resentment and contradiction. He conscientiously believed the plan he pursued to be the best calculated to promote the happiness and future welfare of his son; hence he persevered in it with firmness, but never with undue severity. Yet the conduct of this excellent man towards his child has been basely censured and maligned. The breath of calumny has dared to assert, that Howard's treatment of his son was severe and harsh, such as no affectionate parent could pursue to his offspring. A more false report was never fabricated. Howard's conduct, in the whole affair, with almost every action of his life, falsify it and expose its absurdity.

That the system of education which Howard pursued in training up his son was the wisest, and that the means he took to check, in the child's infancy, the growth of any thing like self-indulgence, were the best, we cannot take upon ourselves to assert. Much may undoubtedly be said in favour of early coercion and discipline; and, under certain circumstances, and in certain cases, it would perhaps answer a good purpose; but that it would do so invariably we cannot think is at all likely. Indeed, no system, rigorously pursued, can be adapted to all. Children differ constitutionally as well as adults; and while such is the case, a difference must be made between the hardy and the tender, the bold and the timid. But whatever defects there might have been in Howard's system, and however ill adapted it was to the particular case of his infant son, we cannot for a moment admit that he made choice of it out of any want of affection for his child. On the contrary, we are assured, that in every step he took in training

him up, he was actuated solely by a desire to promote his welfare; and that the means he pursued were, in his estimation, the best calculated to insure its accomplishment.

After the death of his wife, Howard's delight in his Cardington estate was greatly diminished: it presented to his view so many memorials of the hours they had happily spent together, that it constantly opened afresh those wounds which her death had occasioned. But such was the anxiety he felt for his infant son, lest he should be injured by improper treatment, that he remained there till the child was more than twelve months old. At the end of that time, having had sufficient proof that he might safely intrust him with his housekeeper, and finding it necessary to recruit his strength, he repaired for a few months, at the close of 1766, to Bath. Here he occasionally amused himself by pursuing his favourite philosophical inquiries, as we find by a paper on the heat of the Bath waters, subsequently published among the Transactions of the Royal Society, bearing his signature, dated 30th January, 1787.

The more effectually to divert his mind from those melancholy reflections which he still could not avoid associating with Cardington, he resolved in the ensuing spring to take a short tour through Holland. He was accompanied by Edward Leeds, esq., his late wife's brother; and he intended to have taken with him Richard Gough, esq., the editor of Camden's Britannica, whom he had often met with at the Royal Society. In reply to Howard's kind and pressing invitation, that gentleman politely informed him, that nothing would have been more grateful to his feelings than to have accepted his offer, which, however, on account of his numerous engagements, he was compelled to decline.

It is uncertain how long Howard remained in

Holland, probably not beyond the period he originally fixed. Soon after his return he repaired to Cardington, where he seems principally to have resided during that and the following years. His son was now at an interesting age, having just begun to prattle; and we have the best evidence to prove that Howard took all the interest which the most affectionate parent could have taken in promoting his happiness; furnishing him with such things for his amusement, and helps to his improvement, as were suitable to the son's age and the father's wealth, and never checking him in any of his infantile engagements, but evidently taking pleasure in witnessing them himself, except when they interrupted his own pursuits, or were likely to prove injurious to the child. In the social circle, Howard would often fetch his son, to show what progress he had made; and every one saw with pleasure how strongly he was attached to the child. These are proofs, if any were wanted, to show how utterly false and groundless was the charge brought against Howard, of having no affection for his offspring.

Howard's detractors have reported that he was accustomed to lock up his son, at this tender age, in the root-house, and there to confine him for hours together, for the most trivial offences. They have even gone so far as to assert that he was kept in this place one whole night. The truth is, that all these reports rest solely on the following circumstance, which the Rev. J. Townsend had from Mr. Howard himself, and which in vindication of his character, he communicated in a letter to the Gentleman's Magazine.

"It was Mr. Howard's constant practice to walk out with his child in the garden while the servants were at dinner. In one of these little excursions, with Master Howard in his hand, (who was then about three years old,) the father being much enter-

tained by the innocent prattle of his son, they went on till they came to the root-house or hermitage, in a retired part of the garden, with which the young gentleman was familiarly acquainted, and were there for some time, diverting each other. While thus engaged, the footman came running with great haste, to inform his master that a gentleman on horseback was at the door, and wished to speak with him immediately, upon some business of importance. Desirous of being with the gentleman as soon as possible, Howard locked up the child in the hermitage to keep him out of mischief, telling him, in a kind and playful manner, to be a good boy, and to keep quiet, as he should soon come to him again. He then ran to the gentleman in waiting, and the conversation continuing much longer than he had expected, the child wholly escaped his recollection, until the gentleman's departure; when, on inquiring for the child, and learning that he had not been seen, he instantly recollected having locked him up in the hermitage. Alarmed at his having been there so long, he ran immediately to deliver him, and found him sound asleep on the matting of the floor; on awaking him he could not perceive that the confinement had injured him in the slightest degree, though he was sorry it had happened." This is the incident that has been worked up, by ignorance or something worse, into a tale of hideous and deliberate cruelty. On what slight pretences will malevolence find materials to tarnish the lustre of the virtuous and good!

The deep interest Howard felt in his son's welfare made him anxious that his young mind should receive no ill impressions from improper associates. Hence he never permitted him to play with children whose parents paid no attention to religion. When he had reached his third year, Howard scarcely ever went out in his chaise without taking him; and the

child, at that age, always accompanied his father to public worship. His behaviour there was so orderly, and the affectionate regard of his father towards him so visible, that it excited the notice of those who sat in the adjoining pews. Howard was frequently seen with his arms round the child's waist, to support him when he thought him fatigued; and a glow of delight was often visible in his countenance, while he looked down, with all the fondness of the kindest parent, upon the child whom he was thus endeavouring to train up in the paths of virtue. Was this likely to have been the conduct of one who had no affection for his child? and can any thing further be necessary to falsify the malignant and wicked attempt to blast the reputation of this excellent man?

In the autumn of 1769 Howard found that the continual painful reflections occasioned by the loss of his wife, instead of subsiding, became much more severe, and preyed so heavily upon his mind, as considerably to injure his health. And as every thing connected with the estate of Cardington seemed to call his loss afresh to his mind, he determined to take another continental tour; which, indeed, the state of his health had now rendered indispensable. Intending to be absent for a much longer period than before, he deemed it advisable to place his son at a respectable boarding-school, where proper care would be taken of his instruction and morals, and his mind be at the same time furnished with right principles. As the child was then little more than four years old, he wisely thought a lady's school would be the most proper, as he was less likely to meet with that rough treatment to which the weak and timid are often exposed from their turbulent fellow-pupils in other establishments. After diligent inquiry, he at length placed him under the care of an excellent lady who

kept a select school for young ladies, at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, and who occasionally, to oblige a friend, took young gentlemen in, under a certain age. It was ever a source of much satisfaction to Howard that he had taken this step.

Some may probably think that in this chapter we have too minutely detailed the conduct of Howard towards his son : we can only say in excuse, that we should have been less particular had it not been for the unhappy affliction which subsequently befel young Howard; and for the vile attempts made to attribute it, in some degree at least, to his father's unkindness.

CHAPTER III.

Howard embarks for the Continent—Arrives at Paris —Proceeds into Italy—Opinion of popery—Serious reflections—Pernicious effects of a residence in popish countries—Visit to Geneva—to Paris—to Holland—Protracted stay on the Continent—Again visits France—Traverses the Southern provinces—Crosses the Apennine mountains—Reaches Rome—Reflections on visiting it—Proceeds to Naples—Ascends Vesuvius —Solemn act of dedication—Passes through lower Germany—Returns to England.

HOWARD now made preparations for his intended journey; and having completed his domestic arrangements, and entrusted the care of the Cardington estate to his faithful coachman, whom he had appointed his bailiff, he wrote again to his friend Mr. Gough, informing him what route he intended to take, and earnestly requesting him to become his fellow-traveller. This second invitation, however, the multiplicity of Mr. Gough's engagements rendered it impossible for him to accept, though he would most willingly have complied with it, had it been in his power. The disappointment Howard felt, in not having him for a companion, did not divert him from his purpose, though it greatly diminished the pleasure he anticipated from the journey; but he determined to proceed alone. He accordingly embarked at London, on board a packet; and instead of proceeding direct to Naples, as he originally intended, he landed at Calais and thence passed

through the south of France to Geneva, where he spent a few weeks, previous to his entrance into Italy.

Early in November he proceeded on his journey; and by the end of that month we find, from a rough journal which he then began to keep, that he had reached Milan. His soul was stirred within him to witness the gross superstition which everywhere prevailed around him. "I purchased," he says, "an almanack, and found that the holidays in Italy amount to eighty-three, including sabbath-days; thus taking from the pursuits of industry and business, thirty-one entire days during the year. Oh! how is pure religion debased by these people, who despise all that are not of their own faith, and while they rob the poor of their time by their holidays, countenance the perpetration of every species of vice on the sabbath! When men leave the truth and set up their own inventions, God often leaves them; and then how low do they fall! Religion here is debased into show and ceremony. Blessed be God who has called us Protestants out of such gross darkness: how ought we to praise him for the Reformation!" These remarks afford proofs that Howard, even then, was no inattentive observer of human nature; but that he accustomed himself to look at things not as the mere politician who frequently excludes religion from all his plans, but rather as a Christian philosopher. As such, he saw that the mummeries of popery and its burdensome and worse than useless ceremonies proved it to be a system based in error, inasmuch as it required sacrifices, and enjoined services, the observance of which occasioned a serious interruption to the business of life.

It was Howard's intention, when he quitted England, to have wintered at Geneva, and to have remained for a considerable time in Italy. But he was not aware that in this land of darkness and gross

superstition, where mockery and show had usurped the name of religion, it would be impossible for him to pay that regard to public worship on the sabbath, which he could not conscientiously omit: hence he resolved to forego much of the pleasure he had anticipated. "I determined," he says, "after much deliberation, to return without seeing the south of Italy; conceiving it to be improper, for the mere gratification of my curiosity, to incur the loss of so many sabbaths, which would have been contrary to the general tenour of my life, and must have given me pain on a death-bed, on a retrospective view, as unbecoming a disciple of Christ, whose mind I wish to have formed in my soul. These thoughts, with the desire I feel to see my dear boy, determine me to restrain my curiosity. O, why should vanity and folly, pictures and baubles, or even the sight of stupendous mountains, beautiful hills, and rich vallies, which will ere long all be consumed, engross the thoughts of a candidate for an everlasting kingdom, whom God hath raised to the hope of that glory, soon to be revealed to all who are washed and sanctified by faith in the Redeemer! O, my soul, look forward to that glorious world of light, life, and love, compared with which, every thing here is low, mean, and little! The preparation of the heart is from God. Prepare, O God! the heart of thy unworthy creature, and unto thee shall be ascribed all the glory through eternity. Even now my trembling soul almost longs to take its flight to regions where sin and sorrow are unknown, and where God, my Redeemer, is all in all. O, happy spirits that are safe in these mansions! they know the wonders of redeeming love."

In what an amiable light does the foregoing extract present the character of Howard! How cheerfully did he relinquish his own gratification, though its indulgence was in itself by no means improper,

because he thought it might prove on the whole injurious to his spiritual interests. Strong as his desire was to view the scenery of that lovely country, yet would he not gratify it at the risk of bringing guilt upon his conscience. It is plain, from this as well as from other parts of his journal, that he set the highest value upon religion, and carefully avoided taking any step, however allowable in itself, that would be likely, in the smallest degree, to impair his spiritual vigour. He lived near to God, and felt greatly the loss of those public means of religion which at home he had so much enjoyed.

Hence it is not surprising that he should have wished to return without seeing so much of Italy as he intended; quitting, without reluctance, a country which both nature and art had contributed to render highly interesting, but where the greatest danger was to be apprehended from its moral impurity. That Italy should have had this effect on Howard's mind we may well suppose, since a modern intelligent traveller thus describes the religious results which a residence in that country would be likely to produce. "In respect to the pompous formalities, the gorgeous imagery, the superstitious rites, the solemn mockeries, and the sickening delusions of Italian worship, whatever influence they may have on a people immersed in ignorance, and trammelled in priestcraft, they can have but one of two effects upon Englishmen, that of turning the Romish religion into ridicule in strong minds, (the writer should have added, and of exciting the deepest pity for the degradation of its deluded votaries,) and that of overpowering and converting minds that are weak. The latter is probably the less deplorable of the two evils. I suspect that the habit of despising religion does not always strengthen our veneration for that which we profess. Experience, not very limited, has convinced me that the genuine precepts and doctrines of Christianity

inculcated in early life at home, have not gained, in general, by intercourse with foreigners, whether Christian or heathen." *

After re-crossing the Alps, which he was seven days in performing, Howard again proceeded to Geneva; and on his second visit to that celebrated city, he found some individuals with whose conversation and piety he was much delighted, and in whose company, during his continuance there, he spent the greater part of his time. He regretted much, however, to learn, that the vile principles contained in the productions of Voltaire and other French infidels prevailed even in this city, to a lamentable extent, producing, as was invariably the case, wherever they were received, the most pernicious effects on the deluded individuals who embraced them, but especially on the minds of the young and inexperienced.

Quitting Geneva, he proceeded to Paris, where he stopped ten days: here he was treated as an English gentleman of high respectability, by Lord Harcourt, who was then the British ambassador at the court of Versailles, and with whom, in company with several other English gentlemen of distinction, Howard dined on one occasion during his stay. From France he passed into Holland, a country which he always felt pleased to visit; partly from the resemblance its institutions bore to his own, but chiefly from the liberal spirit of its government, and the respectful attention paid by its inhabitants to the great duties of religion.

On his way from Paris, and while at Abbeville, he addressed a letter, dated January 4, 1770, to the Rev. J. Symonds, in which, after briefly describing the route he had taken, he remarks, in a strain of piety the most pleasing: "Thus, dear sir, I am travelling from one country to another, I trust with some

* James Johnson on Change of Air. See p. 276.

good hope, through abundant grace, to a far better. My knowledge of human nature should be, and I hope is, enlarged by seeing more of the tempers, tastes, and dispositions of different people: but my soul shudders at the thought of what some vainly call the dignity and excellence of human nature; for 'how is the gold become dross!' I bless God I am well, have a calm and easy flow of spirits, and have been preserved and supported through not a little fatigue. My thoughts are often with you on the sabbath-day. I always loved my Cardington and Bedford friends, but I think distance makes me love them more. Remember me to them affectionately: and rest assured that my ardent prayer is for your success in promoting the glory of God, and the love of our divine Redeemer."

Howard remained in Holland till the beginning of March, 1770, occasionally removing from one town to another; change of scene and of air being the only means recommended to him for the improvement of his still very delicate health. Of the decidedly serious tone of his mind, we have a convincing proof in the following extract from his Journal, dated Hague, Sunday evening, February 11: "I have to record the goodness of God to the unworthiest of his creatures, in having experienced, for some days past, an habitual serious frame—much contrition for my sin and folly—power to apply to the blood of Jesus for pardon—faith solemnly to surrender myself and babe to Him, begging the conduct and guidance of his Holy Spirit—more tenderness of conscience, I would humbly hope, and a greater fear of offending God—a temper more abstracted from the world—more resigned to life or death—thirsting for communion with God, as *my* Lord and *my* God. O the wonders of redeeming love! I, even I, have some faint hope, through the perfect righteousness and full atoning sacrifice of the divine Redeemer,

I shall be made a monument of the free mercy of God, through Christ Jesus. Shout, O my soul! grace, grace: free, rich, sovereign, unbounded grace! To myself I cannot ascribe it. I am an ill and a hell-deserving creature; but where sin hath abounded, I trust grace superabounds. What joy do I feel in having a good hope, that nothing shall separate my soul from the love of God in Christ Jesus! See to it, O my soul, that as such a frame as thou now enjoyest is thy delight, that thou pray frequently and fervently to thy heavenly Father to bless his word, and thy meditations upon it in thy retired moments, to thy serious conduct in life. Let not the interests of a moment engross thy thoughts, or be preferred to thy eternal interests; look forward to that glory which will be revealed to those who are faithful unto death. Walk thou with God, be faithful, hold on and hold out, and then what words can utter the bliss that awaits thee!"

This is the language of a truly humble, devout soul, breathing out its desires after God, and panting to be freed from the bondage of sin. To some it may seem like the ravings of a distempered mind, or the vehement but intemperate desires of a fanatic; but let such remember what was the character of the individual by whom it was employed. Perhaps no man was ever more sober-minded, or guided less by his passions than Howard: all his plans were most cautiously laid, and he never undertook any thing without great deliberation. He accustomed himself invariably to act from principle, and nothing could induce him to proceed in any measure contrary to the conviction of his own mind: that he felt the force of what he recorded is certain, for he would have shrunk with abhorrence from employing a single expression respecting his experience that was not strictly true. How far such an individual was likely to be the dupe of enthusiasm or fanaticism, we must

leave to the decision of others; for ourselves, we can scarcely conceive of any one less likely to be led away by his feelings into the regions of fancy and delusion.

It was Howard's intention to have returned direct from Holland to England, early in the spring of 1770; but so painful were the reflections that were still associated with his beloved Cardington, and so little did he feel his health improved, that though he would have been glad, for many reasons, to have taken this step, yet he found that in his present weak state it would be unwise. After, therefore, making such arrangements with his friends in England, for the distribution of his accustomed bounty among the objects of his benevolence at Cardington and Bedford, as would prevent them from experiencing any serious loss during his protracted absence, he determined again to visit Italy, being assured that he could only recover his health by a tour through that country.

He left Holland early in March, and proceeded to Paris, passing thence to Champagne, Burgundy, and Lyons. In each of these places he made a short stay, sufficient to view the different objects of curiosity that he thought deserved notice. He reached Lyons by the beginning of April: and the following extract from his Journal shows how jealous he was lest he should misemploy his talents, or take any wrong step. "Lyons, April 4th.—What repeated instances of the mercy and goodness of God have I experienced! Hitherto I have been preserved in health and safety, blessed be the name of the Lord! O my soul, endeavour to cultivate and maintain a serious, thankful, humble frame of mind: be it thy chief desire that the honour of God and the spread of thy Redeemer's name and gospel may be promoted. Consider the everlasting worth of spiritual and divine enjoyments; thou wilt then see the vanity and nothingness of worldly pleasures. Remember that

St. Paul was determined to know nothing in comparison with Christ crucified. I wish ever to cultivate a tenderness of conscience, to take no step without acknowledging God. I hope my present journey into Italy is in no respect wrong. I shall rejoice if in any way I can bring the least improvement that may be useful to my country. But, O my soul, stand in awe and sin not; daily and fervently pray for restraining grace: remember, if thou desirest the death of the righteous, and wishest that thy last end may be like his, thy life must also resemble his. In a little while thy course will be finished, and thy last sand run out. Soon must thou take a final farewell of thy dear boy, and be weighed in the balance. Wanting indeed wouldst thou be found; but O the glorious hope of an interest in the blood and righteousness of thy Redeemer and God! Into the hands of the Lord God of my salvation do I, in the most solemn manner, commit my spirit. He is my hope in time, and my trust through eternity."

After stopping a few days at Lyons, Howard proceeded by the Seine to Avignon, chiefly celebrated for the beauty of its walks. He passed thence to Aix; and then rode to Marseilles, where the chief object that attracted his attention was its spacious and commodious harbour. Toulon was his next halting-place; the road to which he describes as romantic and pleasant, having many British flowering shrubs in the hedges, with oranges and lemons in most of the gardens. Quitting Toulon, he travelled to Antibes, and sailed thence to Nice and Monaneo. He then crossed the mountains to Genoa; and admired much the stateliness of that ancient town, which he thought not exceeded by any he had seen. He next passed to Pisa, remarkable for its elegant church, the gates of which are said to have been brought from Jerusalem.

His route from Pisa was to Leghorn; and thence to

Florence; whence he proceeded, through a pleasant though depopulated country, on his way to Rome, the imperial city; "where," he justly remarks, "there are many monuments to humble the pride of men, and show how luxury and wickedness will sink a nation." From this seat of learning, and cradle of superstition, Howard addressed the following letter to his esteemed pastor, the Rev. J. Symonds:—"The esteem yourself and some of my friends have for me, humbles me to think what I ought to be: but O how mean and defective am I! yet have I amidst all, I hope, a sincere love to all who bear the impress of our divine Master. Since I quitted Holland I have traversed the southern part of France, and passed the Apennine mountains, which took me four days, without the company of one Englishman even for a single mile. Through the mercy and goodness of God, though the road I have had to pass has been dangerous, I have travelled pleasantly on, and have enjoyed an easy, calm flow of spirits. I carry with me a little tea-equipage, with which, as occasion requires it, I regale myself, and have little regard for any thing else. My thoughts are often with my Bedford friends, to whom I beg to be affectionately remembered; and as they know it is the divine presence and favour that makes every place happy, I return my most grateful acknowledgments for the interest I have had in their sacred moments. I am travelling over desolate places of ancient grandeur; and I feel it overpowers that selfish and vain principle which is rooted in my constitution, while it humbles the pride of my heart."

The reflections of a man like Howard, on the various objects to which his attention would be called, in this once magnificent city, could not fail to be interesting. "The amazing ruins of temples, palaces, aqueducts, and other splendid buildings," he says, "gives me some faint idea of the ancient grandeur

of this renowned city, now comparatively a desert. When I view its statues, paintings, and architecture, all specimens of the utmost stretch of human skill, surrounded with desolation, my thoughts are raised to that glorious world, that heavenly city, the city of the living God, where sin, sorrow, and every imperfection will be done away. O, the free, sovereign, and unbounded grace of our Lord Jesus Christ! how thankful ought we Protestants to be for the glorious gospel we have in our hands! The happiness we enjoy, millions in this country do not possess. The pope passed very close to me yesterday: he waved his hand to bless me; I bowed, but not kneeling, some of the cardinals were displeased. I never can, however, kneel to any creature, as I should tremble at the thought of the adoration which I have seen paid to his holiness. My temper is too open for this country, where that most cruel of institutions, the inquisition, stops all mouths."

Never was an individual more sensible of the value of religious liberty, or more thankful for its enjoyment than Howard. He invariably spoke of it as a blessing which Englishmen could not too highly prize, and for which it was impossible they could be sufficiently grateful. Hence he would naturally feel a mixture of holy indignation and regret at the triumph of superstition and bigotry in any country, especially in one so fair and beautiful as that of Italy. Regarding religious toleration as essential to the full development of the powers of men, and the maintenance of truth in all its parts, he had always been its zealous advocate. But he had never been so fully alive to its value as he was now that he witnessed the pernicious effects of intolerance, in the ludicrous ceremonies and corrupt practices of the Romish church.

Towards the end of May, 1770, Howard left Rome for Naples, intending to return in time to

witness a celebrated procession which was to take place on the 19th of June. While at Naples he ascended Mount Vesuvius, and had the courage to make some curious observations on the degree of heat at its highest points. For this purpose he went up to its very summit, and entered the crater as far as possible, laying himself down upon the masses of lava, the heat of which was almost beyond endurance; and then reaching as far as he could, he thrust the thermometer into the hottest open places in the mouth of the volcano, being desirous that his observations should be as accurate as possible. He communicated the results to the Royal Society, and the observations were subsequently published among their Transactions.

Howard found it impossible to attend public worship on the sabbath during his stay in Italy; the idolatrous ceremonies practised in the Roman church, being, in his estimation, little better than solemn mockery. But as he could not permit the day to pass unnoticed, he constantly spent it in meditation and private devotional exercises. While at Naples, on Sunday, May 27, we find him making a solemn dedication of himself and all he possessed to God, in the way that had long been practised among the ancient nonconformists.

The following is the covenant which he there prepared. It is so descriptive of the state of his mind at that period, and breathes throughout such a truly Christian spirit, that it could not, in justice to his character, be withheld. "When I left Italy last year, I did so because it then appeared proper. In returning again, I hope I have not been left to follow the presumptuous dictates of a foolish heart, but have been under the best direction. I found, by my stay in Holland, that long continuance in any place would depress my spirits; and I trust I shall not, therefore, have reason to reproach myself for the

step I have now taken. Vain diversions are not my objects; but my ambition is to promote the honour and glory of God. Could I now see that the step I have taken is wrong, or that it would be likely to inflate me with pride, I would instantly return, being deeply sensible that it is the presence of God only that makes the happiness of every place. O my soul, keep close to him, and accustom thyself frequently to contemplate his perfections as they are displayed in the amiable light of redeeming love! Amidst the snares to which thou art particularly exposed, in a country where such wickedness and folly abound, stand thou in awe and sin not! Commune with thy own heart, and see what progress thou makest in thy religious journey! Art thou nearer to the heavenly Canaan! Does the vital flame of divine love burn clearer, or are the concerns of a moment engrossing thy foolish heart? Remember thou art a candidate for eternity. Daily and fervently pray for wisdom. Lift up thine eyes to the Rock of ages, and then look down on the glory of this world. A little while and thy journey will be ended; be thou faithful unto death. Duty is thine, but the power to perform it is God's. Pray to him to give thee a heart to hate sin and fear him more. O magnify the Lord, my soul, and rejoice in God thy Saviour; His free grace, unbounded mercy, unparalleled love, and unlimited goodness, all exerted for me. Why, O my God, for me? When I look into my heart, I doubt and tremble: such a vile creature, so full of folly, sin, and imperfection. I carry about with me, O dreadful thought! a body of sin and death. I feel ever ready to depart from God; and with all the dreadful catalogue of sins committed, my heart pants within me, and almost despairs. Yet would I say with David, 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within thee? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him.' Trust

thou in his free grace through Christ. Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief! Shall I limit the grace of God? Can I fathom his goodness? On this sacred day do I once more, as in the dust, before Almighty God acknowledge my sins as heinous and aggravated in His sight. I would fain feel the deepest sorrow and contrition while I cast myself, guilty and polluted as I am, on his sovereign mercy through the Redeemer. O compassionate and divine Redeemer, save me from the guilt and power of sin, and accept of my solemn, free, full, and, I trust, unreserved surrender of my soul, my dear child, with all that I have, into thy hands! Unworthy, indeed, am I of thy acceptance; yet, O merciful Lord, spurn me not from thy presence; accept of me, vile as I am. I hope I come unto thee as a repenting, returning prodigal. I glory in that grace that has constrained me to choose thee for my portion and my Lord, and cheerfully acknowledge my obligations to serve thee, the Most High. May the eternal God be thy refuge; and be thou, O my soul, faithful to that God, and he will never leave thee nor forsake thee. Thus, O my God, have I presumed, though only a worm of the earth, with humble boldness, to enter into covenant with thee! Be thou pleased to rectify and confirm this covenant, and make me the everlasting monument of thy unbounded mercy, while with fear and trembling I sign my unworthy name; hoping that my heart deceives me not, trusting in thy restraining and preventing grace, and gratefully returning to thee all I have, from whose bounty alone it came, and to whom it justly belongs."

Howard returned to Rome in time to witness the costly and pompous exhibition of priestly pride usually made in the middle of June. His curiosity prompted him to be present at this superstitious ceremony, not for the sake of any pleasure it could afford him, but that he might ascertain by actual

observation, what moral influence it had on the spectators. He was grieved to find that crowds of deluded and ignorant devotees flocked to it from all parts of Italy. The influence it had upon his own mind will be seen by the following reflections, written the next day.

"Almighty God, I thank thee for constantly preserving me; and I trust thou wilt carry me safely to my native country, to see the face of my dear boy, and my friends in peace. Then, O my soul, I trust thou wilt cultivate a more serious, humble, thankful, and resigned temper of mind. As thou hast seen more of the world by travelling than others; more of the happiness of being born in a Protestant country, and the dreadful abuse of holy sabbaths; so may thy walk, thy sabbaths, and thy conversation be more becoming the gospel. Let not pride and vanity fill up so much of thy thoughts. Learn by what thou hast seen here, the vanity and folly of all earthly grandeur. Endeavour to be a wiser and a better man when thou returnest. Remember many eyes will be upon thee, and above all the eye of that God before whom thou wilt shortly appear! O Lord God, put thy fear into my heart, and may I never depart from thee!"

On quitting Rome, which Howard did about the end of June, he appears, as we learn from one of his letters to Mr. Symonds, to have visited in succession, Loretto, Ancona, Bologna, and Venice. We have no means of ascertaining whether he took this route or altered his course. If he visited these places, his stay in each must necessarily have been short, as we find him, by the following extract from his Journal, at Heilderberg in Germany, on Sunday, 29th July, 1770. "Through the continued goodness of my heavenly Father, I am still preserved a monument of his unbounded mercy. In recording the goodness of God to thee, O my soul, consider what

return thou hast made for all this mercy. Should it not have led thee to a life of exemplary piety and holiness? But, alas! how low art thou! I take shame to myself, O my God, while I prostrate myself before thee, and cry earnestly for pardoning mercy for Christ's sake. Would to God I had wisdom given me to redeem the time lost, and to live a life suitable to the mercies I am constantly receiving! If my life should be spared to return to England, may I then not forget, both in public and in private, to acknowledge the goodness of God. O my soul, look into thine own heart, and beg of God to show thee the evil of it; and if thou returnest home with a better temper, and art a wiser man, thou wilt then have cause to rejoice that the great end of travelling is answered."

Howard's religion was not of that sickly and feeble character which leaves the heart unaffected, and is content with the occasional discharge of Christian duties. On the contrary, it was a deep-seated love to God, impressing his mind with sentiments of gratitude for his favours, filling him with the most humbling views of himself, and exciting him earnestly to press after the attainment of that holiness of heart and life which Christianity enjoins.

Having now been absent from his friends nearly twelve months, and finding his health much improved, Howard directed his course towards home. By the end of August he had reached Rotterdam, and on Sunday, 2nd September, the last Sunday he spent on the continent on that occasion, he thus writes: "This morning, on a review of the temper of my mind, how humbled ought I to be before God! my evil heart is ever ready to depart from him, starting aside like a deceitful bow. In my retired moments I sometimes humbly hope, that through the goodness of God, I make one step forward in my Christian journey; but, alas! in company, how many

steps do I often go back. O my God, give me at all times that wisdom which is profitable to direct. Mercy and goodness have encompassed my path; yet how little sensible of it have I been! With a heart so obdurate how watchful and careful ought I to be, and how earnest at the throne of grace, that as Jesus died for sinners I might have an interest in the glorious salvation he has effected! I desire to review my temper and feelings, as this will probably be the last sabbath before I return to my happy native country. With profound veneration would I bless and praise God for his merciful preservation of me during my long journey. No danger has befallen me, but I am still among the living, I trust, ever to praise him; and as to my soul, notwithstanding all its weakness and folly, yet I have some hope it has not lost ground during my travels this year. I am very desirous of returning with a right spirit; not only wiser but better; maintaining a cheerful humility, and a more general love and benevolence to my fellow-creatures; watchful over my thoughts, my words, and actions; resigned to the will of God, that I may walk with him, and lead a more useful and honourable life in this world."

Such were the feelings with which Howard returned to England, with the most humbling views of himself, with his heart glowing with gratitude to God for his mercies, and with holy zeal determining, through the aid of divine grace, to devote all his energies anew to the glory of God. He arrived in London, after a pleasant passage, about the middle of September, 1770, and proceeded thence, with as little delay as possible, to Cardington, where he was anxiously expected and cordially welcomed by all his friends.

CHAPTER IV.

Depressed state of Howard's mind—Visit to Southampton—Continued ill health—Attention to the poor—Praiseworthy exertions for their comfort—Moral influence of his conduct—Pleasure he took in promoting habits of industry—Persevering efforts to do good—Establishment of schools—Christian liberality—Providential escape from an assassin—Visit to Guernsey and Jersey—Highly respectable circle of his acquaintance—Is chosen high-sheriff—Commencement of his philanthropic career—First journey to inspect the state of prisons—Incidents respecting it—Return to Cardington—Visit to several other prisons—Returns again home, and spends the vacation with his son.

HOWARD had anticipated much pleasure, after the fatigue of his travels, in meeting his son, and rambling with him round his Cardington estate, fondly hoping that the length of time he had been absent from his beloved spot, would have dissipated those gloomy sensations which the loss of his wife had occasioned. But he soon found that the wounds made in his mind by that painful bereavement were not yet in a condition to heal: on the contrary, almost every thing in the house and out of it caused them to bleed afresh. He had been there only a short time before all his former weakness and nervous depression returned, and he was compelled again to seek a change of scene. Hence he repaired to Southampton, where he took lodgings for a few weeks. Here it was that his intimacy with the

Rev. William Kingsbury, M. A., then pastor of the independent church in that town, commenced, which subsequently ripened into the closest friendship, and continued, with undiminished affection, to the close of life, greatly to the benefit of both parties.

The following was the incident which gave rise to their intimacy. Being too weak to attend public worship, Howard sent a note from his lodgings to Mr. Kingsbury, requesting an interest in the prayers of the congregation for a stranger detained from the house of God by affliction. This request was of course cheerfully complied with. On the following day Mr. Kingsbury called upon Howard at his lodgings, and was so much interested with his conversation, that he invited him to his house. Being mutually delighted with each other's company, they exchanged several visits, during Howard's continuance at Southampton, and thus laid the foundation for a solid and permanent friendship.

Howard's health was still in a precarious state, and his spirits were often greatly depressed. Constant change of air and scene afforded him more relief than medicine, hence he did not continue long in any place. From Southampton he proceeded to Ireland, and made a short tour through some of the southern counties. He next visited Wales, whence he crossed over, by the new passage, to the hot-wells at Bristol. On his arrival here he experienced a severe attack of the gout, which confined him to his room for several months. It was on this occasion that he made the resolution, which he kept inviolably to the end of life, to abstain entirely in future from the use of wine or spirituous liquors of any kind.

During the whole of this attack Howard was tenderly watched over, and waited upon, by his servant, Thomason, to whom he had now become

warmly attached, preferring his attention to that of any other person. Under his care, as soon as Howard could bear the motion of a carriage, he was removed to Cardington, where he continued for several months in a state of great debility; the gout having been followed by an attack of ague and fever, unusually obstinate, which resisted all efforts employed for its removal, and confined him to his room for nearly a year.

The severity of his sufferings might have formed an excuse for him, had he been indifferent to the distress of others; but such was his sympathy for the poor, and such his liberality, that he was continually, even in this enfeebled state, devising plans for their amelioration and relief. He caused diligent inquiry to be made into their circumstances and characters in his neighbourhood, and administered to them that relief which their cases required. He proceeded on the plan he had pursued during the life of his wife, in which he knew she had taken the greatest pleasure, to erect several additional neat and commodious cottages, taking care to have them as distant as possible from damp and unwholesome situations. To each of these he attached a neat garden in the front, and another at the back of the house sufficiently large to grow all the vegetables they would require. These he let to steady and industrious families, at the moderate rent of thirty shillings a year: and that he might insure the good conduct of every family, and have it in his power to rid himself of any that behaved disorderly, by disturbing their neighbours, he made them all tenants at will. Of these cottages he built a considerable number in Cardington, giving to the village an appearance of great neatness and uniformity.

It is impossible to calculate the good he effected by this simple means. Many industrious families, who would otherwise have been compelled to shelter

themselves in wretched hovels, situated often in the most unhealthy spots, were provided with convenient and comfortable dwellings, on terms that came within their reach. The amount of disease in the village was thus, in all probability, greatly diminished; and parents would often gratefully acknowledge their obligation to Howard, that through his kindness they had, during the rigour of winter, so excellent a shelter for their offspring. One of the greatest temporal blessings a poor family can possess, is a convenient and comfortable dwelling. Much of the disease prevalent among the poor, arises from their exposure to damp and impure air, in ill-built and ill-situated hovels. The conduct of individuals who erect cottages in situations and on plans which they know can hardly fail to originate disease, crowding together a mass of human beings in a low, damp spot, with little or no air, cannot be too severely censured.

The moral influence of Howard's conduct on his tenantry was most beneficial. Not content with making provision for their temporal comfort, "he exercised over them," says Dr. Aikin, 'the superintendence of master and father combined. He was careful to furnish them with employment, to assist them in affliction, and to educate their children. To preserve their morals, he made them promise regularly to attend their several places of worship, to abstain from public-houses, and from such amusements as he thought pernicious. And he took especial care to recommend by his example the conduct he wished others to pursue. He noticed too with approbation those whose behaviour was the most becoming, whom he seldom failed to reward with some token of his esteem." What a fine example did Howard set landlords on this occasion! Were men of wealth thus to employ their property, they would make it subserve the noblest purposes. A vir-

tuous and benevolent aristocracy is a nation's bulwark.

On recovering his health it was Howard's chief delight to superintend the improvements on his estate, which he was almost constantly making; by this means many of the villagers were provided with regular employment, and were enabled to support their families without applying for parochial assistance. It was evidently his ambition to have a neat, well-behaved, industrious, and happy tenantry; and to attain this object he spared no expense. Cottages that were ill-situated and ill-contrived he pulled down, and rebuilt on eligible spots, on plans which combined neatness with convenience. "Thus, the village of Cardington," as one of his biographers has well observed, "which seemed at one time to contain only the abodes of poverty and wretchedness, soon became one of the neatest in the kingdom; exhibiting all the pleasing appearances of competence and content, the natural rewards of industry and virtue."

Aware how important it was that the female, as well as the male branches of every poor family should be constantly employed, Howard persevered in the excellent practice commenced by his second wife, of employing those females in the village, who could not procure employment elsewhere, in making linen for his household purposes; and though the supply he thus procured greatly exceeded his demand, he continued the practice to the close of his life; when the stock he had accumulated was sufficient to have lasted many years.

But Howard did not provide exclusively for the temporal wants of the poor, he was equally anxious for their mental and moral culture. For the instruction of the young he still supported the male and female schools he had instituted. The boys were taught

reading, writing, and the first rules in arithmetic; the girls were instructed in reading and plain needlework; it being Howard's intention to give them that education which should not raise them above, but fit them for the humble stations in life they would have to fill.

For the relief of the widow and the fatherless Howard's house and purse were always open. He warmly sympathized with the afflicted poor, and liberally administered to their necessities. The lively interest he took in the spiritual welfare of the aged and infirm, who were unable to walk to church or chapel, induced him to erect a small place for the occasional observance of public worship, especially for their accommodation. Many individuals attended divine service here, who could not have attended it elsewhere; and through the kindness of the neighbouring ministers, who readily proffered their help when not otherwise engaged, numbers who would, in all probability, have remained ignorant of the gospel, and unconcerned about their spiritual interests, were, by the blessing of God, awakened, instructed, and saved.

To obtain a personal knowledge of the actual wants of the poor in his neighbourhood, Howard was accustomed to call at their houses in the walks he regularly took round the village. On these occasions he would seat himself, and converse familiarly with them on subjects which he thought would do them good; inculcating on all occasions the importance of sobriety, cleanliness, and good management; commending those whose conduct had gained his approbation, and administering reproof where he saw it was needed, in a manner so mild and affectionate as invariably to produce the happiest results. "In fact," remarks one of his biographers, "at this period of his life especially, he seldom returned from

one of his walks without enjoying the delightful consciousness that he had contributed to the instruction or relief of some distressed neighbour."

Though a dissenter, Howard was not a rigid nonconformist. During the lives of both his wives, he was accustomed to attend on one part of the sabbath at church, and on the other at the chapel. There was nothing of the sectarian in his constitution. His enlightened mind taught him that diversity of sentiment among Christians, about matters not affecting the great principles of our holy religion, much as it is to be deplored, is perhaps inseparable from our present constitutional deformity, and is, after all, a matter of no great moment. In the comparative retirement, however, in which he lived at this period of his life, he almost invariably worshipped, on the sabbath, among the dissenters who assembled at the old meeting-house at Bedford, where the celebrated Bunyan formerly officiated. Thither he was accustomed to walk, if the weather permitted, though the distance was nearly three miles. He took care to be in time for the morning service, and returned in the same way in the afternoon; spending the interval in a private room at a cottage, a short distance from the chapel, which he had built for the purpose, and let to the inmates, on condition that he should have the use of this room on these occasions.

Among this society of Christians, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Joshua Symonds, Howard continued to worship for a considerable period, taking a very lively interest in promoting its prosperity, and contributing liberally to the support and comfort of the minister. And when, in 1770, it was found necessary to repair the chapel, such was his liberality, that in addition to a large sum given towards the general repairs, he erected, at his own expense, a new pulpit, instead of that formerly occupied by Bunyan, which had fallen into

decay; the relics of which, for its antiquity, and in remembrance of the celebrated individual who had occupied it, were distributed among the congregation.

This society had always practised what is termed mixed or free communion, admitting pædobaptists to commune with them at the sacramental ordinance; a practice which a late eloquent writer has most ably defended,* but which it is to be regretted does not prevail among that denomination of Christians to which he belonged. As long as this practice continued to be observed by this church, Howard steadily supported it; but on Sunday morning, February 9th, 1772, Mr. Symonds made a public declaration from the pulpit, that his sentiments had undergone a change on the subject of baptism; and that he could no longer conscientiously administer the rite to infants; and he endeavoured strenuously to bring the church over to the adoption of the same sentiments. With the majority of the members he succeeded: but there were several, among whom was Howard, who were conscientious pædobaptists; and who, in consequence of this alteration in their pastor's views, withdrew themselves from communion with the church, erected a new chapel, and formed another society, of which the Rev. Thomas Smith became the pastor.

The conduct of Howard in the whole of this most unpleasant affair was truly amiable, and eminently distinguished by Christian tenderness and prudence. He was most anxious to avoid wounding the feelings of a single individual, especially of Mr. Symonds, whom he believed to have acted conscientiously: indeed such was his regard for him, that he ever after continued his usual liberal subscription for his

* "Terms of Communion," by the late Rev. Robert Hall: an unrivalled production, abounding with important remarks, conveyed in a style the most chaste, elegant, and energetic.

support. Towards the erection of the new chapel he gave £200, besides several other liberal sums at different times, and advanced £200 on a bond without interest, which, with a liberality the most praiseworthy, he subsequently cancelled.

An individual like Howard, so benevolent and kind to the poor, would hardly be expected to have had a single enemy. Every one, it might have been imagined, would have loved him who was every one's friend. There was, however, in the village, a base contemptible wretch, whom Howard had frequently met in his rambles, and whom he had often vainly endeavoured to reclaim from his evil courses. Exasperated instead of being softened by the affectionate and friendly counsel thus kindly given him, he determined, in the madness of his rage, to be revenged. He knew that Howard was almost sure to be seen alone, walking to meeting, on the Sunday morning, and he resolved, on one of those sacred days, to waylay and murder him; but on the very day this miscreant intended to have perpetrated the horrid deed, Howard was induced, for no particular reason, but evidently, as it afterwards appeared, by an overruling providence, to go on horseback by another road; thus baffling the designs of his enemy, who never again sought to accomplish his diabolical purpose.

In the autumn of 1772, having then sufficiently recovered his health to endure the fatigue of travelling, Howard made a short tour through Guernsey and Jersey, and some of the smaller islands in the English Channel. The winter of this year he spent partly among his friends in London, but chiefly at his favourite spot, Cardington, gladdening many a family with the timely supplies of his benevolence, suited to the rigour of the season, encouraging industry, discountenancing vice and immorality, and

labouring indefatigably to promote the best interests of all in the village.

It might be imagined that the retired life which Howard lived after the death of his second wife, coupled with his extraordinary exertions to improve and benefit the poor, would have left him but little opportunity to cultivate an acquaintance with his wealthy neighbours. But much as he loved retirement, and carefully as he avoided mixing himself up with parties formed for the purposes of mere show and worldly gratification, yet he had a select circle of friends in the higher walks of life, both among churchmen and dissenters, with whom he delighted to associate, and among whom he lived on terms of the most friendly intimacy. And, although he refrained from wine and all spirituous or fermented liquors himself, and was, in other respects, very abstemious, his house was plentifully furnished with these things for his guests. He gave no splendid entertainments, though he treated his friends in a manner the most hospitable. His mode of living was that of a country gentleman; and his table, though not sumptuously furnished, was liberally supplied with the delicacies of the season, of which he himself partook with moderation.

It had ever been Howard's wish carefully to avoid the least semblance of ostentation in his benevolent exertions; and up to this period he had pursued his noiseless course of charity almost unnoticed, and, except by those who were the recipients of his bounty, unapplauded. But a circumstance now happened, which drew him forth from his retirement, brought all the energies of his mind into full play, and gave completely a new turn to his life.

In 1773, he was appointed high-sheriff for the county of Bedford. What were the means of his appointment to this important and honourable situa-

tion cannot be correctly ascertained: probably it was owing solely to his rank in point of wealth, and to the known integrity and consistency of his character, which had in some way come to the knowledge of Earl Bathurst, then Lord Chancellor. From the moment he received this appointment, he conceived himself bound to see that its duties were properly discharged, instead of leaving them, as he might have done, and as is done too frequently, to be discharged negligently by his inferiors, or not to be discharged at all. He wished not to receive the honour of an office, the duties of which were performed by others: every thing that devolved upon him to do he did himself personally. He received the judges on their entrance into the circuit-town most courteously, treated them with a respect worthy their high office, and entertained them with great hospitality, but with no useless show or needless expense.

Ever awake to the alleviation of suffering humanity, Howard now endeavoured to promote the instruction, and, as far as circumstances would permit, the comfort of those unhappy individuals who had been arrested and imprisoned, that their confinement might not harden them in crime, and render them more desperately vicious than they would otherwise have been, but might lay the foundation for their reformation and amendment. For this purpose he inspected every part of the prisons where they were confined; enquired particularly into the manner in which they were treated, and into the discipline of the prisons then under his jurisdiction; making such alterations in the arrangements of each department as he thought likely to produce the desired end. In the gaol at Bedford he suggested, among other important improvements, the separation of the sexes, who till then had met in the same court-yard: the appointment of separate apartments for the gaoler's

family, and the erection of an infirmary in the prison.

The prosecution of these labours of mercy was the means of exciting in his breast that pity for the deluded victims of crime, which prompted him to devote the whole of his life, from that period, to their alleviation; indefatigably persevering in his endeavours to correct those abuses which had crept into prisons, till he at last fell a victim to his benevolent efforts; not, however, before he had earned imperishable fame, as a Christian philanthropist.

We learn from the preface to Howard's State of Prisons, that one of the first abuses in prison discipline which he sought to correct, was the substitution of a fixed salary to the keepers, instead of fees to be paid on the discharge of prisoners, on which the gaolers almost solely depended for remuneration, which were often arbitrary, and frequently so heavy as to be utterly beyond their power to pay. Fifteen and four-pence was the sum which the gaoler at Bedford was entitled to demand on the discharge of every debtor or felon. "The distress of prisoners," he remarks, "of which all, more or less, have some imperfect idea, came more immediately under my notice, when I was sheriff of the county of Bedford; and the circumstance which excited me to activity on their behalf, was the seeing some, who, by the verdict of judges, were declared not guilty—some on whom the grand jury did not find such an appearance of guilt as subjected them to trial—and some whose prosecutors did not appear against them—after having been confined for months, sometimes, if not always, for crimes of which they were innocent, dragged back, and again locked up in prison, in default of the payment of sundry fees. To redress this hardship I applied to the justices of the county to give a salary to the gaoler in lieu of his fees. The magistrates were properly affected with the grievance,

and willing to grant the relief desired; but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the expense. I therefore rode into several neighbouring counties in search of one: but I soon learned that the same injustice was practised in them; and on examining the state of the prisons, I beheld scenes of calamity, which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate."

This journey Howard undertook about the beginning of November, 1773. He first inspected the gaol of Cambridge, which he found without a chaplain, and so constructed, as, in his opinion, to be very insecure. Here, in addition to the ordinary fee to the gaoler, a small sum was demanded as the sheriff's perquisite. Huntingdon was the next prison he visited, which, though small and without an infirmary, he found clean and well managed: but the common practice as to fees prevailed; and the governor had no salary, except a small one for keeping the bridewell and town-gaol, attached to the county-prison. He next passed to the gaol at Northampton, where the court-yard appropriated to the felons was much too small; and though some improvements had recently been made, still several felons were confined in damp cells, eleven steps below the ground, none of whom were allowed straw. The chapel, he remarked, was inconveniently situated at the top of the governor's house, making it painful for the prisoners to attend, having to drag their irons up and down stairs. The governor, instead of receiving a salary, actually paid £40 to the county for the situation, and depended for the support of house and family solely on the fees extorted from his prisoners.

Howard next proceeded to the county-goal at Leicester, which, to his great regret, he found situated in a miserable and unhealthy spot, small and

ill-constructed in every part. The common ward for the debtors, who were unable to pay for better accommodations, was a dark dungeon, down seven steps, with only two windows, and these not more than a foot square, for the admission of light and air. The cells for the felons were small, and several steps below the ground. In this damp and confined air they had to sleep, with nothing but mats to lie upon, and no covering of any kind to protect them from the cold. The court-yard was close and confined. There was no chapel in the prison; and the governor had no salary but his fees. Nottingham county-gaol, situated on the side of a hill, was next visited. A descent of twenty-five steps led to three tolerable rooms, which those felons who could best pay for them were permitted to occupy. Others had to descend twelve steps lower, into dungeons cut in the rock for their reception, there to be incarcerated probably for months, if not for years. On proceeding thence to the gaol at Derby, Howard was pleased at the striking contrast to the other prisons he had visited. This was well situated, well built, and well arranged; had ample court-yards for the debtors and felons: there was an infirmary, and a neat chapel, with a bath, which the prisoners were occasionally required to use. The allowance to the prisoners was greater than in any other prison he had visited. Contrary to the rules of many gaols, where some of the poorer debtors were nearly starved, they received here the same allowance as the felons—nearly one-third more than was allowed in many cases: sufficient straw too was given them, and a moderate supply of coals during the winter. But much as Howard was pleased with the arrangements here, he still thought there were some things that wanted improvement. The male felons' night-room was a dungeon three steps below the ground; and the

females', an apartment much too close; and the debtors' court required to be separated further from the bridewell.

Howard next visited the gaol at Stafford, with the management of which he was on the whole pleased, though he thought it too small for the prisoners it contained. It had no infirmary, and the rooms were close; but he was gratified to learn that the prisoners were liberally supplied with clean straw at regular intervals. Of Lichfield city-gaol, next inspected, he remarks: "Its rooms are too small and close; it has no yard, no water, no straw; and might be greatly improved by the addition to it of some contiguous ground." The Warwick county-gaol was in a similar condition: and it grieved Howard to find the night-rooms for the felons at least twenty feet below the ground, down a descent of thirty steps, which were necessarily close, damp, and offensive. The governor in all these prisons had no fixed salary.

Howard thought the castle at Worcester, to which he next proceeded, far better adapted to the purpose of a prison than many he had seen; but the dungeon for the felons was twenty-six steps below the ground, and it wanted an infirmary His next steps were to Gloucester castle, which he was pained to find in a wretched condition, ill-managed, and much out of repair: no salary was given to the gaoler in either of these prisons, nor any allowance made to debtors. He was equally grieved with the state of things at the city-goal, where, to his regret, he found that, in consequence of its circumscribed limits, criminals of all ages, sexes, and characters were huddled together, corrupting each other, during the day, in one room, with no court-yard in which to walk and breathe the air. He proceeded next to the castle of Oxford, which was much too small, with no free ward for the prisoners. Aylesbury gaol, which he next visited, had no infirmary, no free ward for

debtors; the gaoler had no salary, and there was only one court-yard for the prisoners of all characters and descriptions.

Howard now returned to Cardington, deeply sensible how much need there was that something should be done with as little delay as possible, for the removal of the evils he had witnessed, and determined not to rest satisfied till he had used every means in his power towards effecting so benevolent an object. Accordingly, in less than a fortnight, after making some domestic arrangements, he again set out to prosecute his inquiries.

He visited the county-gaol at Hertford on the 9th December, 1773. He found it ill-constructed, and miserably managed, with neither chapel, infirmary, nor court-yard, except for the debtors; and the governor, instead of a salary, had the improper advantage of farming the felons of the county; that is, of making as much of them, with as little expense to himself as he could. The prison at Reading, which came next under his inspection, was better constructed, and better managed; but the prisoners had no straw, nor was there any free ward for the debtors. Salisbury gaol, was on the whole not badly regulated, but it was too small, and not well planned. Only one yard was provided for all the prisoners; and no day-room for either debtors or felons. This was the case with that at Dorchester, next inspected, which was dirty and out of repair. That at Winchester, visited on the following day, he was grieved to find was a wretched place: the dungeon for the felons was eleven steps under ground, and so dark, damp, and close that twenty prisoners had died of the gaol-fever in one year. At Horsham, whither Howard next repaired, the gaol was much too small; the rooms were close and confined; and there was no yard, though one might have been easily made of the ground behind it. The bridewell at Guildford

was the last prison he visited on this tour. Here again he found much to excite his sympathy for the miserable inmates, who were allowed neither bedding nor straw, and were compelled to pay a shilling for the use of a court-yard, which, for the want of a sewer, was rendered extremely offensive.

After spending one Sunday in London, whither Howard went from Guildford, he returned to Cardington, to enjoy, during the Christmas vacation, the company of his son, whom he took with him from the school of a respectable dissenting minister, of the name of Madgwic, at Pinner, under whose care young Howard had for the last year been placed. He doubtless felt the need of some relaxation from his labours, and was much pleased to take it in company with one in whose welfare he felt the deepest interest.

CHAPTER V.

Howard pursues his philanthropic labours—Visits the prisons of Okeham, York, Lincoln, Ely, Norwich, Ipswich, Colchester, London, Exeter, Launceston, Bristol—Returns to the metropolis—Gives evidence on the state of prisons at the bar of the House of Commons—Receives the thanks of the House—Increasing zeal in the work—Visit to the north of England—Inspects the prisons in the metropolis—Short relaxation from his labours—Tour through north Wales—Tour through the south of England—Dissolution of Parliament—Offers himself as a candidate for Bedford—Renewal of his philanthropic labours—Visit to Scotland—and Ireland.

No sooner had Howard again sent his son to school, which he did by the end of January, 1774, than he returned with fresh vigour to prosecute his philanthropic labours. On the 23d of January he visited the prison at Okeham, in Rutlandshire, used for the town and county-goal, and county-bridewell, but too small for the purpose; though it was not on the whole ill-managed. He proceeded thence to the castle at York, which he was grieved to find in a filthy state, with no water, the pump being outside the palisades. The cells for the felons, in which three criminals, were sometimes locked up for the long winter nights, with nothing but a little straw spread upon the cold, damp floor, were small and close, and often rendered most offensive by a sewer that ran by their side. It gratified Howard, however, to find

that the part of the prison appropriated to the debtors was spacious, and excellently arranged. The gaol for the city, next inspected, was situated on the Ouse, on one side of which were the wards for the debtors, and on the other, those for the felons: it was so ill-situated and arranged as to be, in Howard's opinion, useless attempting to improve it. From York our philanthropist passed on to the castle at Lincoln, which was in a most dilapidated state, miserably constructed in every part, and not well managed. He proceeded thence to the city-gaol: this was bettter planned and more properly conducted, though there was no court-yard for the felons, nor were they supplied with either water or straw.

Ely gaol was next visited. This had formerly been in so unsafe a condition, that, in order to secure the prisoners, the gaoler had resorted to the savage practice of chaining them down on their backs to iron bars fixed in the floor, to which an iron roller with spikes was attached, which was fastened round their necks, their legs at the same time being confined with a heavy iron bar. Through the interference of an excellent magistrate, James Collyer, Esq., who sent an account of it to the king, accompanied with a drawing, this barbarous practice was discontinued, and the prison was now enlarged and repaired: but it was far from being a good prison; the cells for the felons were close and dark, and their court-yard had in it an offensive sewer, and no water. There was no infirmary, nor was any straw provided for the prisoners.

From Ely Howard proceeded to Norwich, and inspected the gaol for the city, and the castle for the county: in the former, the only day-room for the felons was thirteen steps under ground, and their night cells were eleven steps below this, damp, close, and nearly dark. In the castle, he descended into a dungeon, by means of a ladder, where male felons

are sometimes kept, in which there would often be some inches of water. In this prison, however, he was pleased to find an excellent infirmary, with separate apartments for the men and women, and a nurse to attend to the sick. The governors in both prisons, as in most other places, instead of receiving a salary, paid a premium for their situations. At Ipswich, whither Howard next proceeded, the prisons were well planned for cleanliness and health; and each prisoner was furnished with a crib-bedstead, a straw-bed, and a blanket; but the gaol had no court-yard. Colchester castle, formerly the gaol for the county of Essex, was next visited: it was now only used as the town-gaol and bridewell, and was tolerably commodious. From Colchester he passed on to London, where he continued about a fortnight, during which time he visited the gaol in Horsemonger-lane, then recently erected, with which, in many respects, he was much pleased, though there were many things which he regretted had not been otherwise arranged. Neither bedding nor straw was allowed, nor was there either infirmary or chapel in the prison; divine service was performed in a parlour much too small to admit the number of prisoners who were always confined.

Howard now determined to visit the prisons in the west of England. He accordingly took coach for Exeter, and the first gaol he inspected was that for the county of Devon, which he found was the property of an individual, who held it by grant from the Duchy of Cornwall, and who received a premium from the gaoler of more than £20 annually: this he afterwards wrung from the poor prisoners in the shape of fees. Proofs of the injustice and great hardship of this system were continually occurring, and yet the practice was suffered to exist, though the gaoler would gladly have exchanged all his fees for a moderate fixed salary. The cells in this prison

were badly constructed, damp, and close. The prison for county debtors, situated in this city, was roomy, convenient, well arranged, and excellently managed, but was without either a surgeon or a chaplain; prayers were generally read on the Sunday by one of the prisoners. The gaol for the city itself, in that part of it which was for the debtors, was tolerably spacious and convenient; but on the felons' side, the rooms were close, and very offensive, and there was no water, nor any court-yard or sewer.

While at Exeter, Howard made a short excursion to Launceston, to visit the gaol for the county of Cornwall, which to his regret he found a most wretched place; being in fact, though it was then the only prison for this extensive county, nothing but a mere room or passage, little more than twenty feet long, and seven wide, with only one window; opposite to which were three small dungeons, six feet deep, damp, filthy, and most offensive, there being no drains nor any water in the place. During Howard's visit to this disgraceful prison, the gaol-fever was making fearful ravages among the prisoners; but such was his zeal in the benevolent object he had in view, that he determined, at any risk, to prosecute his inquiries wherever he thought they would lead to exposures that were likely to be useful: hence he fearlessly entered these pestilential abodes, and happily came out unhurt.

Ilchester gaol, which he next visited, was better managed, and much more becoming the name of a prison. Some of its apartments were roomy; but the male felons had no day-room, the gaoler having very improperly taken for his stable one which seemed to have been intended for that purpose. The gaol for the city and county of Bristol, Howard found much too small, and owing to the narrowness of its passages, extremely difficult to keep wholesome; it was, however, very clean, and though

crowded and close, few prisoners were diseased. It delighted our philanthropist to meet here an excellent minister, the Rev. James Rouquet, who had gratuitously officiated in the prison for twenty years, and whose unwearied efforts to promote the temporal comfort and spiritual interests of the prisoners merited the highest commendation.

From Bristol he passed on to Hereford, and inspected the gaol for that county, which was ill-managed, and very badly contrived, and so close that the gaol-fever had often broken out in some of its cells. He proceeded thence to the prison of Monmouth, where the same evil existed in a still greater degree, and where the destructive ravages of the gaol-fever had carried off the governor and several of his friends. There was neither infirmary nor chaplain to the prison.

Howard now returned to the metropolis, and a day or two after his arrival, inspected the prison in Wood-street; which was crowded with debtors, having only one apartment for night and day: this was dark, filthy, and much too small for the numbers it contained. The apartment for the felons was a long dark dungeon, where all who could not pay a shilling a night, were compelled to sleep: such, indeed, was the state of the prison, that eleven of the prisoners had died at the commencement of the preceding year. From that time, however, greater attention had been paid to their health. Dr. Letsom, a friend of Howard's, physician to the general dispensary, at the request of the governors of that excellent institution, had kindly consented to afford the prisoners the advantage of his assistance gratuitously. At his suggestion, many improvements had been made in the management of the prison; but it was still in a sad dilapidated state.

In collecting this mass of information on the abuses of prisons, which otherwise would, perhaps, never have

come to light, Howard was not influenced by motives of curiosity: he had higher and nobler ends in view. He was aware that a bill had been introduced into the House of Commons, by Mr. Popham, for the abolition of all fees, in cases where the individuals imprisoned were acquitted of their crimes; which had been lost, not so much through any hostility to the measure, but chiefly, as was imagined, because it stopped short of the relief which ought to have been afforded. This encouraged him to collect such information as might be depended upon, on the whole subject of prison discipline, in hope that it would lead to the desired end.

His extraordinary exertions in this benevolent object had not escaped the notice of several members of Parliament. On a motion for a bill of inquiry into the management of prisons being made by his relative, Mr. Whitbread, Howard was requested, on the House going into a committee, to appear at the bar of the House, and give evidence on the subject. The answers he gave to the questions put to him were so much to the point, the simple statement of the scenes of misery he had witnessed was related with so much feeling and simplicity, and the remarks he made, as to the best means of remedying the evils, were so judicious, that, on the motion of Sir Thomas Clavering, a vote of thanks was unanimously given him, for the humanity and zeal which had led him to visit several gaols of the kingdom, and for the important information respecting them he had communicated. This was an honour Howard had never expected to receive; and though no man was ever less anxious to obtain personal distinction, yet could he not undervalue this public testimony to the usefulness of his labours. It would be well if, in all cases, the nation's gratitude thus expressed to individuals, through their representatives, were as well merited and as properly received.

Prompted partly by the honourable testimony borne to the value of his labours, but chiefly by the sympathy he felt for the unhappy victims of crime, he determined, with undiminished activity, to persevere in his labours. On the 16th of March he visited the prison for the borough of Southwark, which he regretted to find shamefully mismanaged. It was much too small for the number of prisoners, and was besides in a wretched state of repair. He now took coach and proceeded to visit the prisons in the north of England. On the 20th we find him at Durham, inspecting the high-prison there, where he witnessed scenes of misery the most appalling; many of the prisoners were nearly in a starving condition, and some felons were confined in a dungeon, chained down to the floor, where they had been for many weeks, till the straw on which they lay was worn to dust.

The gaol for the county of Northumberland, situate at Newcastle, was next visited; and he was not a little gratified to find the prisoners here treated in the most humane manner: both debtors and felons were provided with chaff-beds, blankets, and a coverlet, besides having the use of all such things afforded them as contributed to their cleanliness. Their rooms were airy, and remarkably clean, and their comfort more studied than in any other prison he had visited. Dr. Rotheram, a physician of the town, greatly to his honour, had constantly attended the prison gratuitously, by whose skill the health of the prisoners had been preserved, and at whose suggestion many valuable improvements had been made.

Proceeding further north, to the gaol of Morpeth, a different scene presented itself, the prison being ill-managed and ill-constructed. Things were nearly the same in the prison at Carlisle: the apartments were more spacious, but, if possible, more inconveniently and awkwardly arranged. The gaol at

Appleby was next inspected: to his surprise and regret, he found this so badly situated as to have been several times surrounded by floods, to the height of two or three feet: it has neither surgeon nor chaplain; "but happily for the prisoners," Howard remarks, "the gaoler was a most humane man." From this place he proceeded to Lancaster castle, a spacious prison, not on the whole injudiciously arranged, though some of its dungeons were extremely dark, close, and unwholesome.

After visiting the county-bridewell at Preston, which was in a dirty, dilapidated condition, Howard proceeded to Liverpool, and inspected the prisons in that large and prosperous town. He next crossed the Mersey to Chester, where he was grieved to find the old castle, used as the county-gaol, in a deplorable state; many of its dungeons were so constructed as to admit scarcely a breath of air: they were of so dismal a character, that they reminded him, more than any thing he had before seen, of the black-hole at Calcutta. He had the satisfaction to find that the gaol for the city was of a different description, being on the whole a well-regulated prison. Passing through Wrexham, on his way to Shrewsbury, he inspected the county-bridewell for the principality of Wales, which was badly-managed, and ill-contrived, having in it some cells so dark and close that its wretched inmates complained of being almost suffocated, and begged to be indulged with a breath of air, by a short walk in the keeper's garden. Alterations were making in the gaol of Shrewsbury at the time of Howard's visit; and he was pleased to find that the magistrates had given direction for many excellent regulations in the prison discipline. The county-bridewell, however, stood greatly in need of improvement; and there was no infirmary. In one of its cells he saw a poor young female lying on the floor, in the last stages of a consumption

Howard now returned to Cardington, revisiting, on his way home, the prisons in those towns through which he had before passed. In the borough-gaol of Leicester, not before inspected, he regretted to find the rooms for the female felons and common debtors several steps below the ground, close and unwholesome. After such extraordinary exertions, it might have been expected that Howard would have allowed himself some relaxation among his friends at Cardington, by all of whom he was most cordially welcomed; but such was the zeal with which he prosecuted his benevolent object, that not a week had elapsed before we find him again pursuing it. On the 13th April, he visited the gaol for the county of Kent, at Maidstone, which he was pleased to find managed by a most humane man, and in a much better state than many he had seen. The male and female felons had each a separate yard, but he regretted that they were much too small: he learned, however, greatly to his satisfaction, that further improvements in the prison were in contemplation. The bridewell at Canterbury, which he next inspected, was remarkably clean and well-managed. Not so the gaol in the same town: this was a close and ill-constructed prison, and in a very dirty state: but not so bad as the city-gaol at Rochester, whither he next proceeded, and which he found filthy, close, and offensive.

From Rochester Howard proceeded to London, where he revisited the prisons he had before inspected, and several others which had not come under his notice. The gaol at Clerkenwell was in a bad state of repair, and so dirty that it had not even been whitewashed for several years, and was altogether in a wretched condition. The bridewell at Tothill-fields was better managed: the governor being an excellent man, kept the prisoners under proper restraint, without unnecessary rigour; and

there being no chaplain in the prison, he daily read to them a portion of the Scriptures, and suffered them not to receive any visitors on the Sunday from nine in the morning till five in the evening, except in urgent cases. The prison was, however, much too small, making it extremely difficult to classify the prisoners, which is of much importance, according to their ages and characters. The same evils existed in a still greater degree in the Fleet, with this great aggravation, that the governor was far from being so well-disposed. He permitted gambling, the formation of wine and beer clubs, and many other pernicious practices in the prison; so that its inmates, instead of going out reformed, often left the prison much more finished adepts in crime than when they entered it. In the King's Bench he found the same evils existed, though not to so flagrant a degree. The prison in the Poultry, visited the same day, was so excessively crowded, that it was impossible to make that classification of the prisoners which their improvement really rendered needful. The Ludgate Compter, inspected on the following day, was less crowded, but in a far worse state of repair: being, however, abundantly supplied with water, it was easily kept clean and wholesome.

Not satisfied with having inspected the large prisons in and around the metropolis, Howard thought it advisable to visit several smaller ones belonging to liberties, manors, and petty courts. Of this description was a prison at Whitechapel, which he found in a ruinous state of repair, and miserably managed. Another belonging to the Tower Hamlets, which contained but one prisoner, was of the same class, as was that for the liberty of St. Catharine's, which our persevering philanthropist did not pass by, though it contained not a single prisoner. The Borough Compter was the last prison he visited during this stay in London: this was

on the 4th of May; and on this occasion he deeply regretted to find prisoners of all ages and characters huddled together, and many poor individuals suffering imprisonment for debts, none of which amounted to five pounds.

Howard now felt some relaxation to be indispensable, he accordingly returned to Cardington to delight himself with the society of his friends, and to enjoy the sweets of this most charming and retired spot. But the sweets of retirement, exhilarating as they were to his spirits, diverted not his attention from the object to which he had now devoted his life. He took the liveliest interest in the progress of two bills through parliament, one for paying the fees of felons when they were discharged, out of the county-rate; the other for providing for the health of the prisoners whilst they were in confinement. It afforded him the highest satisfaction that both these bills passed the House. So important did he consider them to be to the furtherance of his designs, that he had them printed at his own expense on large bills, in a bold type, and forwarded a copy of each, free of charge, to every gaoler in the kingdom, requesting that they might be hung up in the prison.

After resting about six weeks at home to recruit his strength, having given such directions as he thought desirable respecting the alterations and improvements which he was still making on his estate, chiefly to keep the poor employed; he again set out on his work of benevolence. His object now was to inspect the prisons in North Wales. On his way thither he revisited the prisons at Chester, Worcester, and Oxford. He inspected successively, the prisons of Flint, Ruthin, Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Dolgelly, and Montgomery in North Wales, and that at Presteign in South Wales; all of which he found nearly in the same state as were those he had visited in England. But he was much pleased to find that

capital crimes were less frequent here. He returned home, after only a fortnight's absence, through Ludlow, Worcester, and Oxford.

Howard had now visited nearly all the gaols in the kingdom. He had the satisfaction to know that the legislature, influenced chiefly by the result of his inquiries, had made some salutary laws, greatly to the benefit of this almost forgotten class. Hence it might have been imagined that he would have retired from his labours. But he recollected that his visits had been chiefly confined to gaols; and that in the course of his inquiries he had seen, in some of them, individuals who had been brought from the bridewells, whose cases seemed to be singularly deplorable. This led him to determine that he would visit the bridewells, as well as the gaols, throughout the kingdom. He accordingly set out, after remaining at home about three weeks, on another visiting tour. His route now was through the southern part of England and Wales.

After revisiting the gaols at Reading and Ilchester, he passed on to the inspection of the bridewells of Taunton and Shepton-Mallet; the former he found tolerably convenient, but the latter was close and badly managed. The governor of the bridewell at Devizes, as was too common, kept a public-house; a bad practice, often leading to results the most pernicious. The bridewell of Marlborough was a wretched place, without any court-yard, straw, or water which the prisoners could get at; and so badly managed that its benevolent visitor saw one poor man lying upon the ground, in a close, damp, and most offensive cell, dying of the gaol-fever. The new gaol at Bath, much to Howard's regret, was built in a low meadow, frequently overflowed with water. Internally it was not well constructed. He proceeded next to the gaols of Gloucester and Hertford. The bridewell at the latter place was in a

wretched state; governed by a careless, selfish, unfeeling individual, and so completely out of repair that the rain poured into the prisoners' rooms from the roof. The gaol at Monmouth came next under his notice, whence he proceeded to inspect the prisons in South Wales. At Brecon, the gaol was out of repair, and the prisoners were nearly starved by their inhuman governor. Passing on to Cardigan, he found a new gaol and bridewell had just been erected; but to his regret they were far from being on a good plan. The bridewell at Haverfordwest, which he next inspected, was small, damp, and unwholesome, and altogether in a very filthy condition. The gaol at this place was clean, but there was no water in the prison nor any court-yard.

Howard now successively visited the borough and county-gaol and the county-bridewell at Carmarthen; the new gaol at Cardiff for the county of Glamorgan; the bridewell at Cowbridge, where many prisoners had recently died of the gaol-fever; all of which he found in nearly the same bad state as those he had formerly inspected. On his return to England, through Monmouthshire, he visited the bridewell for that county, situate at Usk, which was much crowded, and where consequently the gaol-fever frequently prevailed. Passing on to the bridewell at Berkley, he was pleased to find it well managed; and was much gratified with some excellent remarks made by the governor, on the injurious effects of confinement without labour, upon the strength and future habits of the prisoners.

Howard now proceeded to Bristol, where he appears to have stopped about a fortnight, probably to to make use of the hot-wells, which he had often found greatly beneficial. During his stay here he visited the bridewells for the city and county, both of which were in a very miserable state; he also re-

inspected the gaol, and suggested some judicious alterations in its construction and management. He quitted Bristol about the 20th August, 1774; and after revisiting the bridewell at Taunton, inspected in succession the gaol at Bridgewater, situated in a close and unwholesome spot; the bridewell for the county of Devonshire, at Exeter, a roomy prison, and well managed, but in bad repair; the bridewell for the county of Cornwall, at Bodmin, and the sheriff's ward, where debtors for the county were imprisoned; the gaol at Lostwithiel, belonging to the Prince of Wales; and the town-gaol at Plymouth, in which, to his extreme regret, he found a deep dungeon, seventeen feet by eight, and about five feet and a half in height, without any other place for the admission of light or air but a small grate made in the door, about six inches square; and yet in this horrid place three men had been confined for two months, who came by turns to the grate for air. At the time of Howard's visit, one unfortunate man, who had been shut up in it ten weeks, declared, on Howard's entering the dungeon, which he did with much difficulty, as the door had not been opened for five weeks, that had he his choice, he would prefer losing his life on the scaffold to confinement in this loathsome place.

After remaining at Plymouth for about a week, Howard again resumed his benevolent labours. He inspected successively the county-gaol at Dorchester, the bridewell at Sherborne, the gaols at Salisbury, the gaol and bridewell at Winchester, the bridewells at Gosport, at Southampton, at Portsmouth, at Newport in the Isle of Wight, at Petworth in the county of Sussex, and at Horsham; all of which stood greatly in need of improvement, both in their management and construction. From Horsham he returned home, after having traversed fifteen counties, and inspected fifty prisons, in seve-

ral of which a pestilential disease prevailed, from which, however, he happily escaped.

A dissolution of parliament had taken place about the time of Howard's return to Cardington. His Bedford friends were making active preparations for the choice of two representatives for that borough. Little did he imagine that they had it in contemplation to request him to become a candidate; but a day or two after his return, greatly to his surprise, he received a very pressing and respectful invitation to that effect, most numerously and respectably signed. He had given such unequivocal proofs of the sterling value of his character, both public and private, and had made such sacrifices of time, labour, and property in the cause of benevolence, that his friends determined, if possible, to do him the honour of making him their representative.

Finding that his relative, Mr. Whitbread, was to be his colleague, he consented to be put in nomination, and to stand the contest; but so little time had he for his canvass, and so violent were the proceedings of his opponents, among whom were the returning-officers, who resorted to the most gross partiality, that he was unsuccessful. The numbers upon the poll-book, at the close of the contest, being, for Sir William Wake, 527; Mr. Sparrow, 517; Mr. Whitbread, 429; Mr. Howard, 402. Never having wished for the honour of a seat in parliament merely for the sake of his own aggrandizement, but in the hope that it would enable him to benefit others, he retired from the contest unmortified, regretting only the disappointment which he knew his friends would feel at the result. Adverting to the subject, in a letter to an intimate friend, he says, "I sensibly feel for an injured party; their affection and esteem I shall ever reflect on with pleasure and gratitude. As to myself, I calmly retire. It may be promotive of my best interests. It hurts me not a

little, however, to think that the labour of my numerous and kind friends in my cause should have been useless; yet, in the firm belief of an overruling Providence, I would say, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth to him right; he maketh light to arise out of darkness."

Scarcely had the bustle of the election subsided, than we find Howard again pursuing, with equal ardour and perseverance, his work of mercy. His first visit was to the bridewell of Folkingham; a miserable prison, with damp rooms, no chimney, no pump, no sewer, and a very small yard. He passed next to the bridewell of Peterborough, and thence to the bridewell and gaol of Kingston-upon-Hull, both of which he found dirty, and not by any means well managed. After inspecting the bridewell at Beverley, he again visited York, re-inspected the two gaols there, and visited, for the first time, the bridewell, which was filthy and offensive, and altogether in a very bad state. Leaving York, he visited in succession the bridewells at Wakefield, Rothwell, Manchester, the gaol at Liverpool, the bridewell at Middlewich, for the county of Chester, and that at Warwick, with the gaol at Birmingham; all of which were in a neglected and slovenly condition. On his way home he revisited the county-prison at Aylesbury, where he was sorry to learn that seven prisoners had died of the gaol-fever in less than a year.

Howard remained at Cardington during the whole of November, 1774. His benevolent heart prompted him to make the most diligent inquiries into the means which the poor in the neighbourhood possessed, of protecting themselves from the rigours of the approaching winter. In all cases where it was needed, he failed not to afford them relief. Having thus gladdened the hearts of many by his well-timed bounty, at the end of the first week in December,

he again left his home, for a short tour of mercy through the eastern counties of England. On this occasion he inspected successively the bridewells at Chelmsford, Ipswich, Bury St. Edmunds, and Thetford, all of which were in a sad state; the last, indeed, was a miserable prison, wretchedly managed. On entering one of its dungeons, (descended by means of a ladder of ten steps,) which was only eighteen feet by nine, and not more than nine feet in height, with only one window about fifteen inches square, he found more than a dozen prisoners; and was told that from sixteen to twenty were confined for four or five nights successively during the assizes, which were held here only once in the year, and that during summer.

Both the prisons at Norwich, which he next inspected, he was pleased to find convenient and clean; and the same was the case with the gaol at Lynn. In the bridewell at Swaffham, a different scene presented itself, the whole prison being filthy and offensive. The county and borough bridewells at Cambridge, Ely, and Hertford, each of which he inspected in succession, were nearly in the same state. The prisoners at the gaol and bridewell at Hertford, through the inhumanity of the governors, were always locked up in their rooms, though in each of them there was a yard for their use. With the inspection of these prisons he closed his benevolent labours for 1774, and again returned to spend a few days at home in company with his son, who was now returned from school.

Howard's zeal in his benevolent object had now so much increased, that even the company and amusing chat of his youthful son, delighted as he was with it, and deep as was the interest he took in his welfare, could not divert him from its pursuit for more than a few days. Early in January, 1775, he set out to inspect the prisons in Scotland and Ireland, and those

in the north of England, situate in the towns through which he passed. He first examined the bridewell for the county of Nottingham, at Southwell; where, to his regret, though from the construction and state of the prison, not much to his surprise, he learned that seven prisoners had died of the gaol-fever in less than two years. After visiting the bridewell of Durham, he appears to have proceeded direct to Glasgow. The spirited magistrates of that city, justly appreciating the value of his disinterested labours in making inquiries into the management and construction of prisons, presented him with the freedom of their corporation, as a tribute of respect for his having visited their city on his merciful embassy. The prisons of Glasgow Howard was pleased to find were admirably managed; the magistrates having commendably interested themselves on the subject, and given special directions to the gaoler, to inspect every apartment of the prison before it was locked up for the night. The kind and very respectful treatment which Howard met with from the inhabitants of Glasgow, was most gratifying to his feelings, and left an impression on his mind which lasted through life.

It does not appear that our indefatigable philanthropist inspected any other prisons in Scotland on this occasion; and very little is on record respecting his visit to Ireland, whither he next proceeded. He however examined a number of prisons there; and found, that though several excellent enactments had been made respecting their management, they were in no better state than those in England. Of the old Newgate, Dublin, he speaks in terms of the severest reprehension: so wretchedly was it managed, that no restraint whatever was put upon the intercourse between the sexes. It seemed a prison entirely without order. In the beginning of March he returned to England, after having been

absent about two months. On his way to Cardington, he revisited the gaol, and inspected the bridewell at Chester; in which, greatly to his regret, he found that two new dungeons had been made, nine feet below the ground. So much was his mind hurt on the occasion, that on leaving the prison, he could not forbear saying to the gaoler, in a spirit of resentment which was unusual with him, that he hoped the individual who contrived them would be the first to be incarcerated therein.

To a sympathetic mind like that of Howard's, the scenes of misery he now constantly beheld must have been most distressing. Nothing but a sense of duty could have induced one whose sensibilities were so tender, to have persevered in the extraordinary course he was pursuing; as hazardous to his life as it was trying to his feelings. Very few would have had the courage, had they possessed the benevolence and self-denial requisite for its accomplishment. Fewer still would have dared to penetrate into loathsome, infected dungeons, in search of information to benefit that numerous and unhappy class, whose crimes had been the sole cause of their misery. Only a philanthropist, animated by the noble feelings which Christianity can alone inspire, could have done it.

CHAPTER VI.

Howard's visit to the Continent to examine the state of its prisons—Arrival at Paris—Is refused admission into the Bastile—Obtains permission to visit other French prisons—Visits Austria—Inspects the prisons of Ghent, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Bremen, Mentz, Coblentz, Manheim, Hamburgh, Altena, Lunenburgh, Hanover, Hanau—Enters lower Saxony—Returns to England—Sets out on a visiting tour through most of its counties—Again visits the Continent—Inspects the prisons in France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland—Returns home—Revisits the prisons in several counties in England—Preparations for publishing his work.

HOWARD had now collected a mass of most accurate and important information respecting the state and management of prisons in the United Kingdom, and his object was, with as little delay as possible, to arrange it for publication; but, on looking it over, he "conjectured," as he modestly says, "that information respecting the state of foreign prisons would be necessary to make the work complete; to obtain this he determined immediately to visit the continent. Accordingly, after making such arrangements at Cardington as he deemed desirable, and giving directions for the erection of such cottages on his estate in the village, as would prevent his tenants from being unemployed during his absence, he set off for Paris, about the middle of April, 1775, where he safely arrived by the end of the month.

He was fully aware of the difficulties to be

encountered, and the risk of health, and perhaps of liberty, he should have to run, in this formidable undertaking: he was no stranger to the extreme vigilance of the French police; he knew that it was almost impossible to gain access to their prisons; but he determined coolly and fearlessly to make the attempt. The first prison at which he applied for admission was the celebrated Bastile, surrounded by its insurmountable wall, and impassable ditch; into the deepest dungeons of which he would have been glad to penetrate, at whatever risk, in the hope of ultimately affording its wretched inmates some alleviation of their sufferings. "I knocked hard at the outer gate," he says; "and on its being opened immediately went forward, through the guard, to the drawbridge before the entrance of the castle: but while I was contemplating this gloomy mansion, an officer made his appearance, evidently much surprised, and I was compelled to retreat through the mute guard, and thus regained that freedom, which for one locked up within the prison it would be next to impossible to obtain." Howard must have had great courage to make this attempt, and it was perhaps fortunate for him, and for the cause to which he had devoted his life, that he proceeded no further, or the loss of his own liberty and the consequent loss of all his valuable labours, might have been the result. Even in passing the guards he was in great danger; but the calm dignity of his deportment probably disarmed them, and prevented their offering him that resistance to his entrance which it was their duty to have made.

Repulsed in the first attempt, Howard became apprehensive that he should meet with the same ill success at all the prisons in France: and such would certainly have been the case, had he not, with equal address and humanity, availed himself of a French law, passed in June, 1717, for the re-

gulations of prisons; which enacts, that gaolers should admit to all places of confinement, any individuals desirous of bestowing charitable donations on prisoners in their custody, permitting them to distribute their bounty with their own hands, except to individuals confined in the dungeons, to whom their alms were to be given by the gaoler, in their presence. Having this authority, Howard next applied for admission into the *Grand Châtelet*, a spacious prison in Paris; but the governor refused to admit him without an order from the commissary of police, to whom Howard immediately applied. The commissary, an excellent and most humane man, on learning the object of Howard's visit, received him courteously, and most kindly afforded him every facility for the accomplishment of his benevolent purpose; granting him permission to inspect every part of all the prisons in Paris under his jurisdiction.

Into the darkest dungeons of these, except the Bastile, Howard now penetrated; and although he was on the whole pleased with the attention the French legislature had paid to the subject of prison discipline, which was decidedly better than in England; yet, from the construction of their prisons, there were many cruelties constantly practised. In some of the prisons he descended into dungeons sixteen steps below the ground, damp, dark, and most unwholesome; having no place for the admission of air, but a stone funnel at one corner: and yet in these dreary and gloomy caverns, he tells us, "some poor creaures were confined for weeks, and even for months together, chained to a stone-wall;" never, probably, until Howard entered their subterranean abode, enjoying the momentary alleviation of a single sympathising visit.

From Paris Howard proceeded to Austria, inspecting on his way several prisons in French Flan-

ders. He reached Brussels the 16th of May, and on the following day addressed a letter to the Rev. Thomas Smith of Bedford, in which he writes: "I came to this city late last evening, and have employed this day in visiting the gaols, and collecting all the prison laws I could obtain, having previously done the same in Paris. Rigorous as they are in many of their enactments, their great attention to their prisoners is worthy of commendation. Most of them are clean; there is in none any gaol-fever; the prisoners are not ironed; their allowance of bread far exceeds any of ours; they have soup once a day, and a pound of meat each on a Sunday."

The intense eagerness with which Howard now pursued his benevolent labours, will be seen by the following extract from the same letter: "I write to you partly by way of procuring some relaxation from what so much engrosses my thoughts; and, indeed, it is for the same purpose that I sometimes force myself to the public dinners and suppers, though I pay little attention to the highly esteemed French cooks; not having tasted fish, flesh, or fowl since I have been on this side the water. Through a kind providence, however, I am well, and enjoy an easy flow of spirits; and in my journeys have met, on the whole, with agreeable company."

Proceeding on his tour, Howard next visited a spacious house of correction at Ghent for the provinces of Austrian Flanders, not then quite completed, though it contained, at that time, more than two hundred prisoners. So admirable were its arrangements in every respect, that its benevolent visitor pronounced it "a noble institution." The sexes had their separate apartments allotted them. Both men and women were provided with a bedstead, a straw bed, a mattress, pillow, sheets, and a coverlet. Constant employment was found for all, and a parti-

cular account was kept of what each prisoner earned. Those who earned more than their task, were paid accordingly. The house of corerction for the town of Ghent was less clean, but was, in other respects, equally well-managed: the magistrates met at the prison once every week, to inspect it, and to make such arrangements as seemed desirable. The same excellent regulations were observed at another large prison in this city which Howard visited; and the only exception to the general excellence of its prisons, was that belonging to the rich monastery of the Benedictines, in the abbey of St. Peter, which had in its jurisdiction part of the city, besides several lordships. It contained three dungeons, down a descent of nineteen steps, into which Howard entered, but which, he was glad to find, were then without prisoners. Attached to the same abbey, was an institution for the reception of lunatics of both sexes, which he was delighted to find admirably managed.

With the regulations in the prisons at Bruges, where Howard next stopped, he was much pleased. The greatest care was taken to keep the prisoners in health, and the kindest attention paid to those who were sick. The physicians were required to write all their prescriptions in a book prepared for the purpose, which was regularly inspected by the magistrates. Howard had the curiosity to spend some hours in looking over this book, from which he probably gained much information, which he subsequently found beneficial.

After inspecting the prisons in Antwerp, whither our philanthropist next proceeded, but of which he says but little, he passed on to Rotterdam, and travelled thence through the greater part of Holland, visiting the prisons in all the towns through which he passed. At Rotterdam he inspected the pest-house, situate on the opposite side of the river to the town; spacious, and well planned; and rendered memorable as the

scene of great suffering and mortality among the British troops, after the siege of Bergen-op-zoom. At Delft, where was a spacious prison, he was pleased to find all the prisoners employed; not, however, all in one room, in which case the idle and the dissipated often did much mischief to the industrious, but in separate classes, each having the privilege, after performing the task allotted him, which was not beyond his power, to do what he could for himself. The same excellent plan was pursued in nearly all the prisons in Holland. At the Hague Howard was most kindly received by his Britannic majesty's envoy extraordinary, Sir Joseph York, afterwards Lord Dover; who, with a benevolent magistrate at the town, accompanied him to the prison, and afforded him every facility for acquiring information on the subject of prison discipline. The prison at Amsterdam came next under Howard's inspection. Being under the town-hall it was less conducive to the health of the prisoners than some others, but on the whole it was well managed. In the town was a rasp-house for male, and a spinning-house for female convicts: both these were admirably managed, the latter especially so. Here Howard had the gratification to see imprisonment actually become the means of teaching some females, who had formerly been the most abandoned characters, the great importance of industry, sobriety, and order. Howard was astonished at the small number of executions which had taken place in this city, containing 250,000 inhabitants; not even one had been executed for the last ten years, while, during the same time, nearly three hundred had suffered the extreme sentence of the law in the British metropolis alone. What an immense sacrifice of human life! How affecting to think that it was made under a government professing Christianity, in the reign of a most merciful prince! Can any thing more

forcibly show the extreme impolicy, we had almost said barbarity, of British laws, as they then existed, and, notwithstanding the alterations recently made, still remain to a lamentable extent?

Utrecht was next visited by our persevering traveller. Here he brought with him letters of recommendation from the British ambassador of the Hague, to Dr. R. Brown, then minister of the English episcopal church, and British agent in that city. At the time of Howard's arrival, the Dr. was confined to his bed; but he kindly sent his nephew, W. L. Brown, then a student of divinity, residing with his uncle, by whom Howard was treated with the most respectful attention. After visiting the prisons at Utrecht, in which Howard noticed nothing remarkable, he inspected successively those at Groningen and Lewarden: these were well-regulated, all the prisoners being kept fully employed; which, in fact, seemed to be the whole secret of their good order.

Quitting Holland, Howard entered Germany, and visited the prisons of Bremen, Mentz, Coblentz, Manheim, Hamburgh, and Altena. In all these places nearly the same rules for the employment of the prisoners were enforced as in Holland. In Altena he was most kindly received by one of the magistrates, who accompanied him in his visits to the different prisons, of which there were three sorts; one for small offences, where those only were confined whom it seemed likely that a slight punishment would reform; another was a sort of workhouse and house of correction for bolder offenders, into which it was deemed a disgrace to enter; and the third was the spin and rasp-house, for the most desperate offenders, imprisonment in which was considered infamous. These were under the superintendence of eight married men, inhabitants of the town, who, with their wives, were expected to attend the prisons once a week. Much, however, as there was

to commend in the German and other continental prisons, there were some cruelties practised in them most revolting to humanity. Various engines of torture were used; and though they were only used occasionally, yet so horrifying were they to the feelings, that, as Howard justly remarks, "they ought to be buried ten thousand fathoms deeper than the deep dungeons in which they are usually kept."

Our indefatigable traveller now proceeded to Lunenburgh, in the electoral dominions of the king of England. The criminals confined in the prisons of this city were employed, with others who were free, but from whom they were distinguished by a small chain, in digging and preparing stone for cement. At Zell, he visited a large house of correction, well situated, and well managed. The same was the case in the prison at Hanover, whither he next proceeded, and whence he passed on to inspect a large house of correction in the dominions of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. His next visit was to the prison in the city of Hanau, where the prisoners were divided into classes, the honest and dishonest: the latter had to labour from three to fourteen hours daily, according to the degree of their criminality; the former were set to work on the roads, attended always with a keeper, and guarded by armed soldiers. They were well-fed, and appeared very healthy. Howard remarked this to the brigadier of the police, who replied, "that such was far from being the case some years ago; but that since the use of the dungeons under-ground had been, by order of the regency, discontinued, the prisoners had recovered from the complaints with which they had formerly been afflicted, and had now become remarkably healthy." With testimony such as this, in favour of the entire abolition of dungeons in all prisons, Howard was delighted. He now proceeded down the Rhine till he came to Bonn, a small town

in Lower Saxony, whence he wrote the following letter to his friend, Mr. Symonds:—

"Bonn, June 20, 1775.

"Dear Sir,

"I flatter myself that a line from me will not be unacceptable. I am just come from visiting the prisons in this place; and as one's spirits are likely to be fatigued by incessant application to the same subject, I feel it some relaxation and pleasure to write to a friend. After I had inspected many prisons in France, Flanders, and Holland, it occurred to me that I might gain some additional information by looking into the German police: and by inspecting, which I have done carefully, some Prussian, Austrian, Hessian, and many other gaols. It was with the utmost difficulty that I got admission to these dismal abodes; but through the goodness of God I have been preserved in health and safety. I hope I have gained that knowledge which may be improved to some valuable purpose; and though conscious of the utmost weakness, imperfection, and folly, I would hope my heart deceives me not when I say, I trust that I intend well. My earnest desire is to follow the example of my Saviour; but a consideration how far I fall short of it, humbles and abases me; yet, blessed be God, a recollection of the infinite and boundless love of my glorious and divine Redeemer, fills me with joy and peace. I am now directing my course towards home, and though I am here surrounded by vineyards, I cannot help wishing for my refreshing bath. I have spent some Sundays with the French Protestants, whom I love and esteem: though we form separate societies, yet I trust we are truly united, and shall at last make part of that glorious body of the church triumphant. In which wish,

I remain, truly yours,

JOHN HOWARD.

Howard now proceeded to England with as little delay as possible. He arrived at Dover, about the 23d of July, having been absent more than three months. After visiting the borough-goal at Dover, which, to his great regret, was miserably managed, and so constructed as to be very injurious to the health of the prisoners, he proceeded direct to Cardington. He was most cordially welcomed by all his friends; and had the pleasure to meet his son, then ten years old, who had been spending his vacation as usual at his aunt's, but who had arrived at Cardington, according to his father's wishes, about the time of his own return. Howard was most anxious that his son should suffer no loss by his frequent absence from home in pursuit of his benevolent objects: hence he had taken care to place him at a school where he had reason to believe the greatest attention would be paid to his education, and where he would be treated with the utmost kindness. He was the more pleased with this school because it was within a mile of the residence of his own sister, who took a lively interest in young Howard's education, and with whom, when his father was not at home, he spent his vacations.

Howard remained at Cardington till nearly the end of October 1775, employing himself in arranging the fund of information he had obtained, into a form fit for publication, and in superintending the improvements that were still making on his estate. Much of his time was spent in visiting the poor in his neighbourhood, and administering personally to their wants.

After making that arrangement of the information he had acquired which seemed desirable, he found that there were several points of importance which he had omitted to notice, and others about which he had not been sufficiently accurate in his inquiries; hence he resolved again to make a tour through several counties in England before he sent his work to press.

His first journey was to Chelmsford, expressly to inspect the state of the gaol there; which he was prompted to take from having learned that the fever was raging in that prison; a circumstance which would have deterred every one, except such as were compelled, from approaching it. He found it wretchedly managed, close, and miserably conducted.

On the first week in November he again set off to inspect the gaols in England. The course he took on this occasion was through Huntingdon and Oakham to Leicester; where he was gratified to learn that collections had been made in the different churches for the relief of the unhappy criminals confined in the prisons, at the suggestion of the grand jury, which had been followed by the happiest results: a benevolent practice which, says he, "I wish every county in England would imitate." Proceeding through Nottingham, Derby, and Stafford, where he narrowly and carefully inspected all the prisons, bridewells, or gaols, he passed on through the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Salop, Montgomery, Radnor, Worcester, Hereford, and Monmouth, visiting every prison in these counties which he had not before seen, and re-inspecting those he had previously examined. In a small and badly constructed gaol for debtors at St. Briavels, much out of repair, without yard or water, and where the prisoners had no allowance, nor any firing found them, he saw, to his deep regret, two sickly individuals, who had been shut up in their room for near twelve months, without once being permitted to leave them.

Howard now passed through Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire, revisiting all the prisons in these counties. He then inspected the prisons in Falmouth, Truro, Penryn, and Penzance: all of these, except one, was without a court-yard, and the

last was a wretched prison, happily, however, it contained only one prisoner, to whom Howard was thus introduced: "The door of the room in which he was confined," says he, "had not been opened for four weeks when I went in; and the keeper then began to shovel away the dirt. The individual shut up here seemed to have been robust, but was grown pale by ten weeks' confinement. He had a wife and ten children, two of which had died since he had been there, and the rest were starving." Quitting this scene of misery Howard proceeded to Dorchester, where was another, equally if not more appalling: the small-pox was raging in the prison, and producing sad havoc among the prisoners, and there was no infirmary to check its progress. Howard concluded his labours for 1775, by visiting the gaols at Salisbury and Winchester: the former was a very miserable prison, the latter, he was pleased to find, had been greatly improved.

Our indefatigable traveller commenced the year 1776 by inspecting the gaol of Reading, which had formerly been a church, and was not on the whole a bad prison, and by no means badly managed. The gaoler had half the profits of what the prisoners earned; hence he took care to keep them from being idle.

The bridewell at Abingdon, a close and unwholesome prison, came next under Howard's inspection. He proceeded hence to the bridewell for the county of Oxford, part of which he regretted to find had been used as a workhouse. The part appropriated to the prison was without water, or any other convenience. After revisiting the prison at Aylesbury, which he did without returning home for a single day, though the distance was very short, he again directed his course to the northern extremity of the kingdom; visiting successively the gaols at Northampton and Daventry, the bridewells at Co-

ventry and Chesterfield, the gaols at Sheffield, the bridewell at Thirsk for the north riding of the county of Yorshire, that in the west riding for the same county, the gaols at Durham, at the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and at the city of Carlisle; the bridewells at Appleby and at Kendal, for the county of Westmoreland, the gaols at Kendal and Halifax, the bridewell and gaol at Gainsborough, and the bridewell at Spalding; all of which, with few exceptions, he found miserably constructed and badly managed.

Passing into Cambridgeshire, he next inspected the bridewell at Wisbeach, and thence proceeded to Norwich, where he was much pleased to find that considerable improvements had been made in the prisons since his last visit. He had the same gratification at Ipswich, whither he next proceeded. The bridewell at Woodbridge he describes as dirty, without either straw or water and not safe. After visiting the bridewell at Beecles, which was in a similar condition to that at Woodbridge, he revisited almost all the prisons in the counties of Suffolk and Lincolnshire; and then returned from this most laborious and very extensive tour to his favourite Cardington; not, however, to indulge himself with even that relaxation which he must have needed, for we find him again pursuing his work of benevolence; only two days after his arrival, revisiting the gaol and bridewell at Bedford, and again, on the 14th of February, only four days after his arrival, setting out on another extensive journey.

On this occasion he travelled through the counties of Hertford, Kent, Sussex, and some part of Dorset, scarcely leaving a prison in these districts unvisited. On his way to London he inspected the castle-prison at Windsor, and the gaol at St. Albans, both of which were in a sad state. This took him till the end of February. March and April, and

some part of May he spent in the metropolis, carefully reinspecting all its prisons and those in its immediate vicinity. In the gaol at Newgate, recently erected, he was pleased to find some improvements on the old one had been made, though not so many as seemed desirable. With the plan of the condemned cells he highly approved, as they seldom failed to produce a salutary effect upon those who had been the most bold and hardened during the trial; often bringing them, on their introduction to those gloomy abodes, to tears, and thus answering the purpose for which they were intended. The chapel in the prison, where prayers were daily read, was neat and commodious. On one occasion he attended prayers himself, and was pleased to find them read with great propriety by Mr. Villiers, the chaplain. They were, however, much annoyed by the noise made by the prisoners who did not attend; which he regretted to learn was the case invariably, only because the prisoners were not, as at the bridewell at Blackfriars, which he next visited, all compelled to attend the chapel at least on the Sunday morning.

It was Howard's particular wish that all the statements in his work on prisons, which he had now nearly completed, should be strictly correct. This induced him to revisit many of the prisons he had before seen in England; and to visit repeatedly, often at unexpected seasons, all the prisons in London. The same desire for accuracy of information, and the same caution to avoid misrepresentation, now prompted him, before he sent his work to the press, to make a second continental tour. He accordingly quitted London for Paris on the 25th May, where he arrived in the beginning of June. On a second careful inspection of all the prisons in this city, he was decidedly of opinion that, with the exception of one, they were better constructed and better regu-

lated than ours, and had over them, in many respects, especially in cleanliness, and in the care taken to avoid the spread of disease, an evident superiority. The sexes were invariably kept in separate apartments; the females were always under the management of matrons chosen for the purpose; and the ladies in Paris did not think it any degradation occasionally to visit and relieve them, as their circumstances required. An admirable practice, which it is to be regretted never existed in our country, till within a few years it has been adopted, and successfully pursued, by Mrs. Fry, of London, a truly excellent and most benevolent lady among the Society of Friends, and by a few other ladies belonging to the same society, much to their honour, and greatly to the advantage and comfort of the unhappy individuals whose distress they sought to alleviate.

After continuing three weeks in Paris, Howard set off for Switzerland, to visit, for the first time, the prisons in that country. Passing through Lyons, he inspected the prison de St. Joseph, of that city. Here he had the grief to find, in four deep and close dungeons, where the heat was almost unbearable, nearly thirty individuals confined, many of whom, as might be expected, were suffering under disease, and none of them looked well. In the state-prison of this city, to which Howard obtained admission, he saw much to censure and condemn. One individual with whom he conversed had been imprisoned for the protracted period of fifty years. With the hospital for this city (to institutions of this kind Howard now began to turn his attention) he was much pleased: its situation was airy and pleasant, and its construction in all respects admirably calculated to promote the patients' comfort and recovery.

The next prison visited by our persevering philanthropist was at Geneva; whence he proceeded to

the inspection of several in the Cantons of Switzerland and Bern. In one of the prisons of the latter he found more than a hundred galley-slaves, as prisoners are there termed, whose employment, during the day, was to sweep the streets of the city, which by this means were kept remarkably clean. He was gratified to learn that gaming was forbidden in the prison, and the sale of wine and spirits to the prisoners by the keeper strictly prohibited, and that great attention was paid to the religious instruction of the prisoners. Here too some serious admonitions on the awful nature of an oath, had been printed in a large type, and were suspended in a conspicuous place in the prison; a practice which it would be well to adopt in all such institutions.

Howard now proceeded through Germany, nearly by the same route he had pursued before, revisiting all the prisons he had seen in his former journey, besides some which he had not then inspected. He thence passed into Holland; and on a second survey of all its prisons, was decidedly of opinion, that, with a few exceptions, the treatment of criminals in that country was superior to all others, and far better adapted to answer the purposes of punishment and correction. No criminals were ever transported, but men and women were sentenced to certain periods of labour, the former in their rasp-houses, the latter in their spinning-houses. Repeated proofs had been given of the efficacy of the system in correcting idle, and forming industrious habits. Howard mentions an anecdote of an English shoemaker who, for some offence committed at Amsterdam, was confined for several years in the rasp-house, near that city. By the length of his confinement, and by his being kept constantly employed, he had, before the term of his imprisonment elapsed, lost all inclination for the vice which brought him to prison; and having been allowed, as was the practice,

to work over-hours for himself, he had such a surplus of earnings given him at his release, as enabled him afterwards to commence business in London, where he became a respectable tradesman; often acknowledging to his family and friends, with much gratitude, the valuable lessons he had learned at the rasp-house. Punishment became thus, as it ought always to be, the best means of correction.

The last continental prison Howard visited on this occasion was at Ghent, which was still under excellent regulations. This second tour had fully confirmed him in the opinion he had formed during his first, that the prisons on the continent, generally, were far better conducted than those in England. Adverting to this circumstance in his work on prisons, he says: "When I made the tour of Europe for the benefit of my health, which I did some years ago, I seldom had occasion to envy foreigners any thing, either as it respected their situation, religion, manners, or government. In my late journeys to view their prisons, I was sometimes put to the blush for my native country. The reader will scarcely feel, from my narration, the same emotions of shame and regret as the comparison excited in me on beholding the difference with my own eyes; but, from the account I have given him of foreign prisons, he may judge whether a desire of reforming our own be visionary; whether idleness, debauchery, disease, and famine be the necessary, unavoidable attendants of a prison, or only connected with it in our ideas, for want of a more perfect knowledge and more enlarged views. I hope, too, he will do me the justice to think that neither an indiscriminate admiration of every thing foreign, nor a fondness of censuring every thing at home, has influenced me to adopt the language of a panegyrist in this part of my work, or that of a complainant in the rest. Where I have commended I have mentioned my

reasons for so doing; and I have dwelt, perhaps, more minutely upon the management of foreign prisons because it was more agreeable to me to praise than to condemn. Another motive that induced me to be very particular in my account of foreign houses of correction, was to counteract a prevailing opinion among us, that compelling prisoners to work, especially in public, is inconsistent with the principles of English liberty; while, with a strange absurdity, taking away the lives of numbers of our countrymen, either by the hands of the executioner, or by diseases, which are almost inevitably the result of long confinement in our close and damp prisons, seems to be little regarded. Of such force is custom and prejudice in silencing the voice of good sense and humanity."

Every one will perceive that Howard's object in undertaking these long, laborious, and expensive journeys, often at the risk of his health, and even of his life, was not to gratify a prying curiosity, nor in any degree to subserve his own personal interests, but to obtain at length, by exposing the horrors and cruelties of the prison-discipline then pursued, some alleviation of the sufferings to which unfortunate criminals were subjected. It afforded him no small satisfaction, in another journey which he took, through some part of England, on his return from the continent, about the end of August, to find that his visits had not been useless. In some places he saw symptoms of improvement, and hailed them with great delight.

He commenced his labours on this occasion at Salisbury, where a new prison was erecting on an improved plan. He proceeded thence to the county-bridewell, at Cirencester; and then passed on to that at Devizes, where an infirmary and some night-rooms had recently been built. The route he now pursued was through the counties of Gloucester and Mon-

mouth; and after revisiting all the prisons in these districts, he inspected the castle at Carmarthen; where, to his extreme regret he found two individuals who had been detained in prison till they were nearly starved, for fines which they had no means of paying, not being entitled to the county allowance after the period of their imprisonment had expired. Howard's next stage was at Hereford; and after inspecting the gaol there, he visited successively the prisons at Worcester, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton. The county-bridewell at the latter place was in a disgraceful condition, and very badly managed. His next route was through Shropshire, Flintshire, and Denbighshire. The castle at Chester was in a ruinous state, as was also the bridewell and gaol at Macclesfield, where male and female prisoners were often confined together in the same room, night and day. After revisiting the bridewell at Manchester, he inspected the bridewell at Cockermouth, and the gaol at Whitehaven, both of which were dirty and ill-managed. The prisons at Carlisle, Kendal, Appleby, York, Beverley, Hull, Newark-upon-Trent, and Melton Mowbray, were next re-inspected by our active philanthropist. Proceeding to Nottingham, he was pleased to find both the town and county-gaols there well conducted, and much improved. Here, however, an individual, who had received his majesty's free pardon, was detained in custody for fees which he could not by any means pay. Both the prisons at Oakham, which he next revisited, were in an improved state: but in the gaol at Huntingdon, he was sorry to learn that the magistrate had dismissed the chaplain, though he did duty regularly at the prison chapel twice a week, for the paltry sum of twenty pounds annually. Some slight symptoms of improvement were making in the bridewell at Cambridge; but the gaol remained in a very disgraceful state. From Cam-

bridge he proceeded to Ely, and thence returned home, about the last day of September.

The following month Howard employed partly in looking over his domestic concerns, but chiefly in arranging the information he had collected into its proper order. Towards the end of the month he again left his home, to visit some prisons belonging to local jurisdictions in Yorkshire, the existence of which had but recently come to his knowledge. On this occasion he inspected the prisons at Richmond, Ripon, and Knaresborough: the two former were ill-constructed, and ill-managed; and the latter was in all respects a wretched and disgraceful place, consisting only of one room, through which ran a common-sewer from the town, having no floor but the earth, nor any fire-place. At Batley a new and commodious prison had recently been erected, on a plan which Howard highly approved. Two separate rooms had been provided for female debtors, which it might be supposed common prudence would have dictated on all occasions; but which, strange as it may appear, existed only in this solitary prison in England. The prisons at Leicester, Warwick, Witney, Reading, and Berkhampstead came next successively under his inspection: all of them were dirty unwholesome places, and the last contained a dungeon nine steps under ground, with only a damp earth-floor and no window.

Howard now proceeded to London, to make arrangements for the publication of his Observations on the State of Prisons, for which he had been three years employed in the arduous work of collecting information, having, during that time, travelled at least ten thousand miles. Such was his anxiety to be accurate, that he had often breathed the pestilential air of offensive dungeons; penetrating into those receptacles of misery and disease, into which scarcely any individual dared to enter. He had thus ob-

tained a mass of information of a most important character, which, but for his exertions, would never, perhaps, have seen the light.

In preparing his work for the press, Howard availed himself of the assistance of his friend and former tutor, the Rev. Mr. Densham, who lived near London. Here he continued the next two months, with the exception of a few days spent in two short excursions into the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, to visit some prisons there which he had omitted on his former journeys. In the first excursion, he inspected the bridewells at Wymondham, Lavenham, the borough-gaol at Colchester, the county-bridewell at Halstead, and before he returned to London he revisited the county-gaol at Hertford. On the second, taken about a week afterwards, he inspected the bridewell at Barking, in Essex, and that at Clare, in Suffolk, with the gaol at Sudbury, in the same county. Among the objects of misery which shared in his sympathy, he did not overlook the wretched convicts at Woolwich, whom he visited one Sunday in October, the only day in the week on which a visit was permitted. The scene he witnessed on this occasion grieved him exceedingly. Here were a number of characters of the lowest description, huddled together, many of them nearly naked, all ill-fed, without any means of religious instruction, left to corrupt themselves, and sink, if possible, lower in moral degradation. He next took coach to Newport, to inspect the new bridewell for the county there, with which he was on the whole well pleased. Only a few days afterwards he again set out in pursuit of additional information, and passed through several towns in Gloucester, Somerset, and Wilts, carefully reinspecting all the prisons in these counties. In the bridewell at Bristol he met with a female who had been detained in prison for several weeks, ten

at least, for the gaoler's fees, amounting to three and sixpence. He immediately paid the demand, and set her at liberty; though in narrating the circumstance, as in several similar cases, he conceals the fact, merely remarking, "that her fees were paid, and she was released."

This was Howard's last journey during this year; and terminated his labours for 1776, except the re-inspection of one or two prisons in London. Towards the end of December he retired from his work for a short time, either to Cardington or to the house of his brother-in-law in Cambridgeshire, to spend the Christmas holidays with his son. But so intense was his zeal in the benevolent object he had undertaken, and to anxious was he to bring the information he had obtained before the public, that he scarcely allowed himself any relaxation. Before the end of Jannary, 1777, he proceeded to Warrington, where he had determined to have his work printed, having been recommended to Mr. Eyres of that town, as an individual who had enjoyed considerable reputation for bringing out works of merit. It was Howard's particular wish that the publication should appear in a respectable form; hence he submitted the manuscript to the revision of his friend Dr. Price, who took a lively interest in its success. The Doctor made some considerable alteration in the phraseology, if not in the arrangement, for which Howard ever considered himself under great obligations; remarking, in one of his letters to him: "I am ashamed to think how much I have accumulated your labours; yet I glory in that assistance to which I owe so much credit in the world, and, under Providence, success in my endeavours. It is from your kind aid, my dear friend, that I derive much of my character and influence. I exult in declaring it, and shall carry a grateful sense of it to the last hour of my existence."

Mr. Eyres, the printer, interested himself considerably in the work, and that it might appear as free from errors as possible, directed one of his best compositors to devote to it all his attention till it was completed. That its publication might not be delayed, Howard took lodgings near the printing-house; and with such extraordinary diligence did he apply to the work, that he arose every morning at two o'clock, during the whole of the winter it was printing, though he never retired till ten, and frequently not so soon. On the printers commencing work in the morning, he attended the office, where he continued till the men went to dinner, when he retired to his lodgings, and partook of some bread and a few raisins, drinking a little water, which was his only dinner. He returned again to the office and continued till the men left work, when he repaired to his lodgings to take tea; after which he took no supper. He spent the evening in correcting the sheets with Dr. Aikin, who very kindly offered him his assistance. "At this time," says the Doctor, "new facts and observations were continually suggesting themselves to his mind: he put them upon paper as they occurred, requesting me to clothe them in such expressions as I thought most proper. On these occasions, such was his diffidence, that I found it difficult to make him acquiesce in his own language, when, as frequently happened, it was unexceptionable." The evenings when he had no sheets to correct, he spent with a few individuals among the Society of Friends, and some others, whom he frequently visited, and whom he highly esteemed.

CHAPTER VII.

Publication of Howard's first work on prisons—Death of his sister—Renewal of his philanthropic labours—Visits the hulks at Woolwich—Gives evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, on the subject of the Convict Laws—Embarks for Holland—Providential escape from danger—Severe attack of illness—State of his mind under it—Renewal of his work—Revisits the prisons at Rotterdam, Gouda, Amsterdam, Deventer, Middleburg—Passes into Germany—Enters Silicia—Visits Prague, Vienna—Anecdote of his fidelity—Simple means he took to preserve himself from infection—Visits Venice, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, Florence, Leghorn, Loretto, Rome.

In April 1777, inscribed to the House of Commons, "The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and some Account of Foreign Prisons, by John Howard, F.R.S.," was published. It was a large quarto volume of more than five hundred pages, and was embellished with four engravings. Lest it should be said that he had been influenced by interested motives in the publication, he determined to fix the price so low, that had every copy been sold, he must have lost a considerable sum. The number of copies, too, that he distributed gratis among his friends in London, whither he repaired immediately on the work being completed, was very considerable. Besides his own per-

sonal friends, he sent a copy to almost every public-spirited and influential individual in the kingdom.

In the preface Howard explains his motives for composing the work; and in his masterly and very important preliminary observations, after exposing the evils which then existed, he points out, in a manner which evinced a profound knowledge of the subject, the remedies which ought to be applied for their removal. He first proves that distress of a severe and aggravated character, from want of food and air, want of water and cleanliness, want of attention to the sick, and from legalized extortion in the shape of fees, as well as from various other causes, existed to a lamentable extent; and then, in a strain of Christian benevolence, appeals feelingly to those who commiserate not the cases of unhappy prisoners, but who are ready, as he says, to remark, "Let them take care to keep out;" reminding them "that we are to imitate our gracious and heavenly Parent, who is kind to the unthankful and to the evil; and how apt we are to forget, that in the vicissitudes of human affairs, and the unexpected changes to which all men are liable—the affluent may be reduced to indigence, and become debtors, and then prisoners."

In the course of these observations, which are written with great simplicity, and breathe throughout a spirit of genuine philanthropy, Howard exposes the evil tendency of the pernicious customs which obtained in almost all prisons, and then gives some admirable directions for their management and construction. "The first object," he justly remarks, "must be to find a good, honest, and humane man for a gaoler, taking care not to admit to that office either an innkeeper or a sheriff's officer." Equally important did he conceive it to be, that a chaplain should be appointed to every prison, who should be of a truly Christian spirit, and who would not con-

tent himself with barely officiating in public, but would converse daily with the prisoners; admonish the profligate, exhort the thoughtless, comfort the sick, and make known to the condemned that mercy which is revealed in the gospel. For promoting cleanliness in prisons, so essential to the health of the prisoners, he lays down some excellent rules. He shows the great importance of keeping the prisoners constantly employed, and points out the indispensable necessity of having separate apartments for the sexes. In fact, the whole drift of his observations proved that he was most anxious to make the imprisonment of debtors and felons the means of correction, as well as of punishment.

It was scarcely possible that a volume on so singular a subject should fail to excite considerable interest: the fund of information it contained was so new and important that it immediately came under the notice of the periodical press. All the reviewers pronounced it to be a work of sterling excellence, containing a mass of most valuable intelligence. By his Majesty's government, and by many members of the British Parliament, its importance was soon duly appreciated. All were filled with admiration at the benevolence that had prompted an individual of an elevated rank, to quit the comforts of his own fireside, and the intercourse of his friends, and at his own expense, as well as at the risk of his health, and even life, to endure the toil of travelling so many hundreds of miles, and of visiting so many abodes of disease and suffering, to relieve those whose crimes or negligence had, in most, if not in all cases, been the cause of their distress. Every one looked upon his achievement as unparalleled in the records of benevolence.

After distributing a considerable number of copies of his work to his friends in London, he returned to Cardington and distributed copies among his friends

there with equal liberality. The individuals who had the happiness of his acquaintance before his benevolent exertions had been extended beyond his own neighbourhood, by all of whom he was most sincerely beloved, and who had always hailed his return among them with great delight, now that the fame of his extraordinary labours in the cause of suffering humanity had extended throughout England, and indeed through the greater part of Europe, felt the highest gratification in being permitted again to enjoy his company in the domestic circle. His public labours had not impaired his regard for the enjoyments of social intercourse, to which he was by no means insensible, though an erroneous idea has existed that such was the case. All who knew him best would cheerfully affirm, with a lady who had frequent opportunities of seeing him, that " no man ever enjoyed domestic life more than Howard."

A life of such extraordinary exertion as that which Howard had lived for the last three years, travelling from place to place, was far from being favourable to the cultivation of piety; much more likely was it to have had an injurious rather than a beneficial effect. Aware of this, he took especial care to guard against it, narrowly watching his heart, and daily cultivating a devotional spirit. From a private memoranda which he was accustomed to keep, it appears evident that his mind was habitually serious. It contained many such devout aspirations as the following: " Let me not forget that time is always on the wing; and that the period when I shall have to give up my final account is every moment hastening on! God grant that I may not only live, but die in the faith; approving and heartily embracing the gospel! What will riches and honours avail? Will they give me a hope through grace? Give me, Lord, a new heart, and that firm faith in Jesus which will not permit me to be ashamed of his religion!

O my soul, seek the Lord while he may be found, call upon him while he is near; consider well thy sacred obligations; be not conformed to the world, but die unto sin and live unto righteousness. Think constantly on the things which belong to thy everlasting peace; as one that is dead, but whose life is hid with Christ in God. Let every darling lust be mortified. Let me put off every evil desire, and put on bowels of mercy, as the servant of Christ. Bring home to my heart, O God, the sacred truths of the gospel; and after the great things thou hast done in me, and by me, let not the poor, weak, helpless, and useless instrument be lost and cast into the fire! but for thy name's sake, and for the sake of the Redeemer, let me be an everlasting monument of thy free and sovereign grace. May I not only see the wisdom and power of God in the gospel, but feel it too! And never let me grow weary in well-doing, for in due season I shall reap if I faint not."

The depth of Howard's piety, and his invariable consistency of conduct was such, that he never closed the day, in whatever circumstances he might be placed, without family prayer at an appointed hour, even if there were only himself and the servant who travelled with him present. Thomason was required to enter his room in all places, and under all circumstances, at a certain hour; when Howard, having barred the door, in a strain of devout gratitude would acknowledge his obligations to God for his favours, and earnestly implore a continuance of his merciful interposition; and no one was admitted till this devout exercise was over. This practice he observed in all his travels on the continent, as well as in England.

In August, 1777, Howard sustained a painful bereavement in the death of his sister, between whom and himself there existed an attachment mutually warm and affectionate. By this event he

came into the possession of a considerable accession of property—from ten to fifteen thousand pounds, besides a valuable estate. The sudden accumulation of wealth too often contracts, rather than dilates the sympathies of our nature. The heart, instead of expanding at the calls of benevolence, shuts up itself in the confined cell of its own selfishness. Far different was the case with Howard. He had already achieved wonders in the benevolent cause to which he had devoted his life, and he might now have discontinued his exertions without any impeachment of his sympathy; but he determined to persevere in the good work with increasing zeal, considering that Providence had given him this property to stimulate him to yet greater efforts.

Attempts have been vainly made to fix a stigma on Howard's character, as acting unjustly towards his son, in appropriating so large a portion of his property to the noble cause in which he was engaged. Had he not been aware that his son would be amply provided for by his mother's family, there might have been some ground for the aspersion. But he knew what were his son's prospects, and wisely determined, instead of accumulating immense wealth for his surviving offspring, (one of the greatest pieces of folly imaginable which not unfrequently lays the foundation for the ruin of those whom it is intended to benefit,) to enjoy the luxury of laying out himself, in the relief oft he distressed, that portion of it which he was aware he might do, and still leave his son a fortune fully equal to what he had himself inherited. Well would it be were individuals similarly situated to pursue the same plan! They would thus be laying up treasure in heaven instead of laying it up in earth, frequently much to the injury of those whom they love.

In January, 1788, Howard again commenced his benevolent labours. So grieved had he been at the

wretched state in which he found the transports on board the Justitia hulk at Woolwich, in the autumn of 1776, that he had thought it his duty, having every reason to believe that the mismanagement was owing to the negligence of its officers, to make a representation of its actual state to the government. He was pleased to find, on his second visit, 26th January, that a very decided improvement in the management of these pitiable outcasts from society had taken place; due attention being now paid to their health, clothing, and morals. From the hulks he proceeded to the Warren, where more than a hundred convicts were employed; but owing to the ill manner in which they were regulated they did not perform half the labour they would otherwise have done.

In April of this year Howard was again required to appear before a select committee of the House of Commons, who were appointed to collect information respecting the management of convicts in England. The committee could not have selected an individual so able and willing to assist them in their investigation. Their particular object was to inquire into the expediency of permitting the bill for the maintenance and regulation of convicts in the hulks to expire, which it would soon do, if not renewed. On a question being put to Howard, whether, in this case, he thought the houses of correction in the different counties were in a proper state to receive the convicts; he replied, that there were few, if any, that he could recommend as fit for the purpose: most of them were insecure, and many of them much too small for the prisoners they generally contained. He gave it as his opinion, that it would be much better to continue the hulks, under good management, till more suitable places could be found; but spoke largely in favour of the superior plans pursued in France and Holland; and recommended par-

ticularly the plan of the Dutch rasp and spin-houses, passing a well-merited encomium on the excellent management there pursued.

The evidence given by Howard to the committee in this examination, led to the continuance of the system that had been pursued, and a bill passed the House to that effect. Notice was given by Sir W. Blackstone, a most active member of the committee, of a bill for the establishment of places of confinement for convicts, to be conducted on a plan resembling those in Holland. To facilitate this object Howard determined again to visit Holland, to obtain further information on the internal arrangement of their prisons. That no time might be lost, he set off the second day after his examination, and reached Harwich on the 18th. After inspecting the gaol for that town, which he found in a bad state, he embarked for Helvoetsluys; where, having a fine passage, he arrived in the evening of the following day. He proceeded by the first conveyance to the Hague, and thence, without delay, to Amsterdam.

He had only been two days in this city when a serious accident befel him, which nearly proved fatal. Walking along the street, just as he got to a spot where was a large heap of stones, he was met by a horse running away with a dray; and though he made every effort to clear himself of him, he could not succeed; the corner of the shaft caught his waistcoat, and threw him with great violence on the stones, bruising him so severely that his recovery was for several days considered doubtful. He was confined to his room six weeks. Scarcely had he recovered from the effects of the fall when he was seized with an inflammatory fever, which threatened his life, and which so enfeebled him, that after he became convalescent his recovery was very slow.

The delay occasioned by these afflictive events to

his favourite work, caused him much regret, but he was never heard to complain. The enviable state of his mind at this trying period will be seen by the following extracts from his Journal :—

" May 11.—Do me good, O God, by this painful affliction ! may I see the great uncertainty of health, ease, and comfort, and that all my springs are in thee ! Many are the painful and wearisome nights I have to pass : may I be more thankful for health, if I am again restored to it; more compassionate to others, and more absolutely devoted to God.

" May 12.—In patience may I possess my soul, and say, it is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.

" May 13.—In pain and anguish all night, my very life almost a burden to me ; I cried, help Lord ! vain is the help of man ; in thee do I put my trust, let me not be confounded. All refuges but Christ are refuges of lies. My soul, rest thou upon that rock !

" May 14.—This night my fever abated, and my pain was less, for which I desire to be unfeignedly thankful. Righteous art thou, O God, in all thy ways, and holy in all thy works. Sanctify this affliction; show me wherefore thou contendest with me, and bring me out of the furnace, as silver purified seven times.

" May 15.—O, spare me, that I may recover strength before I go hence and be no more ! Make this affliction the means of trying and proving me, of doing me good in my latter days, of weaning my affections from the world, and of fixing them on the rest that remaineth for the people of God.

" May 16.—I have passed a more quiet night, with less fever, though I suffered much pain till towards the morning. If God should raise me up, may I never forget the days of sorrow ; but may the remembrance of them make me habitually serious

and humble; and may I learn much from this affliction, and have many reasons to bless God on its account.

"Sunday, May 17.—I bless God that I suffered less pain this night; and though I have not yet strength to attend public worship, yet I humbly hope to be raised up a monument of his goodness. O, may I not be a cumberer of the ground, but live to the glory of God, and become, through grace, an honour to my Christian profession, exerting myself with a prudent zeal in his service, and enjoying a humble hope of his mercy, through Christ Jesus!

"This night, May 19, I had less pain, and was less restless. Thou, O God, art putting a song of praise in my mouth: O, perfect the mercy thou hast begun, and never let me forget thy goodness!"

Having felt much the want of public worship during his confinement, Howard was anxious, as soon as his health would permit, again to join in the delightful service, devoutly to return thanks to God for his deliverance and recovery. Accordingly he attended the Protestant church on Sunday, the 31st, though scarcely able to bear the fatigue. His feelings he thus records on the occasion: "I have had a poor night, and feel faint and weak; yet, blessed be God, I feel able to wait on him in his house. Lord, revive me, and put a new song into my mouth; place under me thine everlasting arms for my support, for thy name's sake, O my Saviour and my God!"

The very kind and respectful attention of Sir Joseph York to Howard during the whole of this long affliction in a strange land, made an impression on his mind which he declared he should never, to the latest period of his life, forget. Often did he afterwards, when adverting to this affliction, express his grateful acknowledgments to God for sending him a friend so amiable and affectionate.

An afflictive event like this would have induced almost any other individual to have relinquished his work, however important, at least for a season, even had he been officially employed, and to have returned to the bosom of his family till his strength had been recruited. Howard was under no official engagement, yet such was the ardour of his zeal, that before he was convalescent, he was impatient to be pursuing his philanthropic career; and it was with much difficulty his physicians could persuade him to refrain from exertion till the end of the first week in June. His affliction seemed to have greatly increased his devotedness of soul to the work, and he set off about the 6th June for Rotterdam.

He inspected the prisons in that town, which he found in the same orderly state as most of the prisons in Holland. Being here on the Sunday, he determined to ascertain whether any proper attention was paid in the prisons to that sacred day. He accordingly obtained admission into one of the largest rasp-houses about the time when divine service would be likely to commence, and was delighted to find public worship conducted with all possible decorum. He remained during the whole service. The chaplain read prayers, which were rather short, and then preached extempore, and afterwards catechized for the greater part of an hour. "The decent behaviour and close attention of all present," says Howard, "evidently proved, that the service, though two hours and a half long, was not tedious. The sight inspired me with many ardent wishes that our prisons, instead of echoing with profaneness and blasphemy, might hereafter resound with the harmony of religious worship, and prove the happy means of awakening many careless sinners to a sense of their truly awful condition." Who would not join in a wish so devout?

At Gouda was a large and excellently managed

rasp-house, which our philanthropist inspected. He proceeded thence to Haarlem, where the prison was well-conducted, full employment being found for every prisoner. He now returned to Amsterdam, and carefully re-inspected all its prisons; making it his endeavour to acquire the most accurate information respecting their internal arrangements. He noticed, with merited approbation, the care taken by the government of the orphans of those unhappy criminals who suffer the extreme sentence of the law. "They are sent to the orphan-house," he says, "and there brought up in industry; instead of being left destitute vagabonds, to become the unhappy victims to the wickedness and folly of their guilty parents."

It afforded our philanthropist unfeigned pleasure, that in almost all the rasp and spin-houses, morning and evening prayers were read every day. Such was the regularity observed, that a blessing was craved, and thanks returned before and after each meal. The chief magistrates were accustomed to attend these prisons at stated intervals: and many of the most respectable inhabitants took an active part in their management. This humane and rational method of treating criminals was satisfactory to Howard; because, while it answered every purpose of punishment as effectually as the most rigorous treatment, it was not unlikely to effect another important purpose—the reformation of the offender, which seldom followed on the opposite system. Indeed such had been the happy effects of the correctional system throughout Holland, that few executions had taken place; and in the populous town of Utrecht, Howard was informed that not one had occurred for fourteen years.

Much valuable information was given to Howard respecting the prison discipline pursued in Holland,

by M. Van Goens, an excellent magistrate at Amsterdam, to whom he was introduced by Dr. Brown, and who afforded him every facility in his power. In one of Howard's conversations with this gentleman, on being asked by him what could have induced him to undertake and prosecute with such noble zeal the course in which he was engaged, Howard replied, with tears, that he originally undertook these journeys to divert his attention from the anguish he endured, occasioned by the loss of a beloved wife; and to call him from a spot, though delightful in itself, and endeared to him by a thousand recollections, was nevertheless, after this event, a scene of most painful interest, owing to its melancholy associations. What a striking proof does this afford us, in addition to those we are daily receiving, that the ways of God are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts: had it not been for the death of Mrs. Howard, the noble work which he achieved would, perhaps, never have been accomplished!

From Amsterdam Howard proceeded to inspect the prisons at Deventer. Here he passed Sunday, June 14th: in his Journal of this date we find him devoutly ascribing his preservation to God, and humbly soliciting the continuance of his aid. He next visited, in succession, the prisons at Middleburgh, and at Breda. In both these, though otherwise well regulated and humanely managed, there were torture-dungeons to force confession, in which all criminals were placed after trial and conviction, and cruelly tortured till they confessed their guilt. Howard had now visited nearly all the prisons in Holland, and he thus records his general views respecting them: "I leave this country with regret, as it affords a large field for information on the important subject I have in view. I know not which most to admire, the neatness and cleanliness of the prisons,

the industry and regular conduct of the prisoners, or the humanity and general attention of the magistrates and governors."

Howard now again entered Germany, by way of Osnaburg and Hanover, visiting on his way the prisons of both these towns. The former was a miserable prison, wretchedly managed: its dungeons, of which there were seventeen, admitted of no light, but through a small aperture above the door; its inmates looked the most pitiable objects that can be imagined; filthy and not half fed. One of its apartments was so offensive, that the gentleman who officially accompanied Howard to the prison dared not enter; but with fearless intrepidity, our philanthropist, though at the risk of his health, examined it carefully, and inquired minutely, as was his invariable practice, into all its regulations. The prisons of Brunswick, Magdeburg, and Berlin were next revisited. These were not on the whole ill-managed. He was pleased to find that in Berlin the prisons were clean and convenient, and the prisoners so well employed and managed, that there could be conceived no just ground of complaint. It afforded him satisfaction to learn that the absurd practice of forcing confession by means of torture was here abolished, as it was also throughout the Prussian dominions.

At Berlin Howard was honoured with an interview with Prince Henry, who received him very graciously, remarking, in the course of conversation, "that he could hardly conceive of a more disagreeable task than the one he had undertaken, but the object was indeed great and humane." The prince asked Howard what places of public amusement he usually went to in the evening, after the labours of the day. He replied that he never went to any, as he derived invariably more pleasure from doing his duty than from any amusement whatever. During

his stay here he was on terms of intimacy with individuals of the first rank, by all of whom he was most politely and kindly received. In a letter from this place to his friend, the Rev. J. Smith, he writes, " I am here nobly lodged and most kindly received. This afternoon I am invited to take tea with the Russian ambassador, and I had on Friday an interview with the prince. Still I thirst for the land of liberty, and do not forget my Cardington friends, nor my beloved retreat there. We are here on the eve of an important event; the king of Prussia, and within a few miles of him, the emperor is encamped. Forty thousand men are ready to destroy each other, as the prejudices or passions of an arbitrary monarch may direct. This is indeed matter of deep concern and regret to a thinking mind; and would be most afflicting, had we not a firm belief in a wise and overruling Providence, and were we not assured that the Almighty can bring good out of evil."

About this time many of Howard's Bedford friends wished him again to offer himself as a candidate for the representation of that borough in Parliament; and had he given his consent to be nominated, there is little doubt but he would, in this instance, have been successful. He was, however, not ambitious of worldly honour, but wished unobtrusively to pursue the career of usefulness to which Providence had called him. In the postscript of the letter above quoted, adverting to this project he remarks: " I beg you will remember me kindly to my esteemed friends at Bedford, and inform them that I am well in health, and my spirits are such as to enable me to pursue any project to which I may be called; but I sincerely hope the one they kindly mention will no more be pressed on me, as it would be totally destructive of that tranquillity in which I hope to spend the remaining years of my life."

From the close of this letter it appears that

Howard contemplated, at no distant period, retiring from his benevolent labours, and sitting himself down among his Cardington friends to enjoy, for many years, if it pleased God, the unambitious delights of the social circle. That he did not do so now, was only because he considered it his duty (and the call of duty was by him always obeyed) to pursue, and bring to a successful issue, the benevolent schemes he had planned. He, no doubt, supposed that his labours would soon terminate; not imagining that they would, if possible, become greater every year, and would end only with his life. So short-sighted is man that he can never tell what is to be the result of his present pursuits, be they good or bad. Of this we may always be sure, that a life of benevolence and virtue will end in honour, and a life of selfishness and vice in disgrace. "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."—Galatians, i. 7, 8; Isaiah, iii. 10, 11.

Howard quitted Berlin about the last week in June, 1788, and proceeded to Spandau, where he found a large prison, on the whole well managed. The same was the case with the extensive house of correction for Lusatia, at Lukau, in which there was a large tread-mill for grinding corn. At Dresden a different scene presented itself: the prisons were dirty, and the prisoners, whether sick or well, when not employed, were chained to the wall and heavily ironed. On returning to the grand bailiff to express his acknowledgments for permission to visit the prisons, with his characteristic fidelity, Howard represented to him the neglected and dirty state in which they were kept, intimating, at the same time, that he hoped some improvement would soon be made.

Howard now passed through Silesia unmolested in his work of mercy by the two contending armies that were then devastating that country. The deep

regret which his benevolent spirit must have felt at the scenes of desolation and distress, visible in the seat of war, probably occasioned him to hasten through the country, and was the cause of his giving but a very brief account of its prisons. He next inspected the prisons in Bohemia, but seems not to have seen in them any thing worthy of remark. At the *Maison de Force* of Prague, to which he next passed, the prisoners were employed in the yard in different trades, for which they were paid something less than our men labourers, and were allowed for themselves one-third of their earnings. While thus employed they had chains on one or both their legs, according to the degree of their criminality.

It is related of our philanthropist, that contrary to his usual plan, which was to confine his attention to the inspection of prisons, he went, while at this city, to one of the principal monasteries of the Capuchin friars. He entered just as the monks were sitting down to dinner. He was not a little surprised, instead of a very plain meal which he had supposed would have been prepared, to see a table sumptuously furnished with all the delicacies of the season. He was politely invited to join the party, but declined the civility, remarking to the elder monks, in a tone of dignified but severe rebuke, that he thought they had retired from the world to live a life of abstemiousness and devotion, but was surprised to find that the very reverse was the case; adding, that he was going to Rome, and should think it his duty to make the Pope acquainted with such impropriety. Apprehensive that Howard would carry his threat into execution, several of the monks waited on him the next morning at the inn, to apologise for the previous day's feast, and to assure him that had he paid them a visit at any other time, he would have witnessed a very different scene. They promised not to tolerate the like inconsistency in future, and expressed a hope that he would permit

the circumstance to pass unnoticed. Howard was firm and collected, and could only be induced to promise that, if he heard the offence was not repeated, he might probably overlook it.

Our philanthropist proceeded direct from Prague to Vienna, where he arrived July 1st. He continued a fortnight carefully inspecting all its prisons and hospitals. Of the latter he speaks in terms of high commendation, but not so of the former; most of these were ill contrived and badly managed. In the *Maison de Bourreau*, the largest prison of all, there were several horrid dungeons, into all of which he penetrated. Indeed it was his invariable practice to go into each apartment of every prison he visited, however great might be the danger of infection. In one of these dungeons he found an unhappy prisoner loaded heavily with irons, and chained to the wall, who was so ill as to be scarcely able to speak. "Such was his extreme anguish," says Howard, "that his face was clotted with tears. Believing him to be suffering under the gaol-fever, I examined him and felt his pulse. This, however, did not appear to be the case; but he was evidently in the last stage of some other disease. A fellow-prisoner in the next dungeon said, that he had called for help to be afforded him, but could make no one hear. This," adds our philanthropist, "is one of the evils of dungeons."

The fearless intrepidity of Howard in entering infectious cells excited the surprise of all, even of the gaolers themselves. He would often go into dungeons into which the governors of the prisons dared not venture. Some may imagine that this was daring presumption, unwarranted under any circumstances; but it was a directly opposite feeling; a holy confidence in God, that the path of duty was always the path of safety. He felt assured, that though this path often led him through what might literally be

called the valley of the shadow of death, he need fear no evil for God was with him.—Psalm xxiii. 4. "I have often been asked," he says, "what precautions I use to preserve myself from infection, in the prisons and hospitals I visit. I here answer once for all, that next to the goodness and mercy of God, temperance and cleanliness are my preservatives. Trusting in Divine Providence, and believing myself in the way of duty, I visit the most noxious cells; and while thus employed '*fear no evil.*' I never enter a hospital or a prison before breakfast; and in an offensive room I seldom draw my breath deeply." These simple expedients, with the exercise of humble confidence in the Almighty, preserved this good man in the hour of danger; and we may be assured they will always prove our best preservatives in similar circumstances.

The simplicity of Howard's manners, his known integrity, and the singularly benevolent object he had in view, imparted a lustre to his character that excited universal admiration, and procured him, in every place, the respect of individuals in the highest ranks. While at Vienna he had the honour to be introduced to the Queen of Hungary, and of dining at court with her majesty and the foreign ambassadors. With the British ambassador, then at Vienna, Sir R. M. Keith, he was on terms of close intimacy; dining with him, on one occasion, in company with several distinguished foreign noblemen; the conversation turning on the abolition of torture, one of the party remarked, that the glory of its abolition in the German dominions belonged to his imperial majesty. "Pardon me," said Howard, with his characteristic integrity and love of truth, "his imperial majesty has only abolished one species of torture to establish in its place another more cruel; for the torture which he abolished lasted at the most only a few hours, but that which he has appointed lasts many weeks,

and sometimes years. The poor wretches are plunged into a noisome dungeon, as bad as the black-hole at Calcutta, from which they are not to be taken unless they confess what is laid to their charge." "Hush," said the ambassador, "your words will be reported to his majesty." "What," replied Howard, "shall I be deterred from speaking the truth by any king or emperor in the world? I repeat what I have asserted, and maintain its veracity." Deep silence ensued, and every one present admired Howard's fidelity.

Leaving Vienna on the 15th, he visited successively the prisons of Gratz, Laubach, and Trieste, of which he gives on the whole a favourable report. He embarked on board a small vessel at Trieste, and crossing the Gulf of Venice, after a tedious passage of two nights and days, landed in Italy. "I entered this country," he says "with raised expectations of deriving considerable information, from a careful inspection of the prisons and hospitals of a country abounding with charitable institutions." The cruelties practised in the spacious prison at Venice, the first he inspected, soon convinced him of his mistake. Here he was much shocked to find three or four hundred individuals confined in loathsome dark cells, many of them for life. "I asked them," he says, "whether they would not prefer the galleys, and they all replied in the affirmative. Such invaluable blessings are light and air!" On inspecting the galleys Howard found them all in a filthy and most miserable state: the weight of chain each slave had constantly to carry was twenty-seven pounds.

From Venice our philanthropist passed on to Padua, and thence to Ferrara and Bologna. He made no particular remark on the prisons of these places. At Florence, whither he next proceeded, he was politely and kindly received by Sir Horace More, the

British ambassador, through whose influence the Grand Duke issued orders for his admission to all the prisons in his dominions. His royal highness had just given directions to his physician to inspect the hospitals to see if any thing could be done for their improvement, and Howard accompanied him in his visits. The physician in his turn accompanied Howard to the prisons, which were spacious, well-arranged, and not ill managed. On his first visit to the principal prison Howard left a sum with the governor to purchase some meat for the prisoners, and a little tea for the females; and on his visiting it again a few days afterwards, such was the gratitude of the prisoners to their unknown benefactor, that they greeted him, on his entering their wards, with songs of praise. The state of the hospitals in this city afforded Howard much pleasure. He speaks in terms of high commendation of the great attention paid to the sick by the Catholic priests.

Howard proceeded next to Leghorn, and thence across the country to Loretto. At the former place the galley-slaves were numerous, but they were well clothed. A chaplain was provided to instruct them in their religious duties; a hospital was attached to their prison, and when sick they were comfortably and liberally supplied with every thing they wanted. Our philanthropist now directed his course towards Rome, which he entered the first week in August. The first prison he visited was a noble edifice, recently erected, the external appearance of which he much admired for its elegance and simplicity. Internally it presented a very different appearance; having many miserable objects confined in its close and almost dark cells, of which there were eighteen for males and several for females. The prisoners were never permitted to leave their cells for any purpose, but at the order of the governor, and for examination. The prison had two infir-

maries, one for the prisoners, *a la secret*, both of which were clean, roomy, and well provided with every thing needful for the comfort of prisoners. But, to the disgrace of its managers, and deeply to the regret of Howard, the prison contained a torture-room furnished with the implements of cruelty used for that horrid purpose.

The state-prison in the castle of San Angelo, and the prison of the Inquisition came next under Howard's inspection. In the former he was pleased to find only one prisoner; the latter, with the exception of its outer courts, he was not permitted to visit. The minuteness of his inquiries respecting it gave offence to the holy (say rather unholy) fathers, and awakened their suspicions, which Howard perceived by the nature of their replies, and immediately thought it advisable to depart. It was well, perhaps, that he did, or his temerity might have led to a more intimate acquaintance with the secret barbarities practised in this horrid prison than he would have desired. The priests would have deemed him a noble victim on which to have glutted their rage, by the exertion of their infernal ingenuity.

While at Rome Howard visited the *Hospital de Michele*, an excellent institution, employed not only for the recovery of the sick, but having connected with it a noble correctional prison for juvenile offenders, erected in 1704 by Pope Clement; and an admirably arranged asylum for the aged and infirm. It gladdened his heart, on visiting the infirmary, to find here more than four hundred very old and helpless individuals, who, but for this institution, would have lingered out the evening of life in poverty and misery, all happy and thankful. On inspecting the prison for the young, he was no less delighted to see two hundred boys, most of them orphans, all of whom would otherwise probably have been the victims of crime, under excellent management, instructed in

various mechanical trades. Over its rooms was the following inscription, which Howard much admired, as expressing correctly his views respecting imprisonment: "PARUM EST COERCERE IMPROBOS PŒNA NISI PROBOS EFFICIAS DISCIPLINA."—*It is of little use punishing the vicious by imprisonment unless you reclaim them—make them virtuous by discipline.* So much did our philanthropist admire this inscription, that he is said to have declared he should almost have thought it worth his while to have visited Rome for the sole purpose of obtaining it. With the hospitals in the city he was well pleased. One institution he thought of great benefit—an hospital for convalescents, into which patients, when recovering, were admitted, and provided with airy rooms and suitable refreshments for several days.

CHAPTER VIII.

Continuance of Howard's continental journey—His visit to the Neapolitan prisons and galleys—Remarks on Italian hospitals—Revisits Rome—Inspects the pope's galleys—Sails for Leghorn—Visits several prisons in Lombardy—Enters Piedmont—Passes into Switzerland—Visits many manorial and other prisons —Inspects most of the prisons in Germany—Revisits the prisons in Flanders, with several in France—Noble instance of his patriotism—Returns to England—Benevolent exertions in behalf of the French prisoners of war—Reinspection of English prisons—Again visits Scotland and Ireland——Preparations for his second publication—Mode of travelling.

On quitting Rome, Howard proceeded on his journey of mercy to Naples, and inspected the prisons and hospitals in that city. The largest prison contained near a thousand criminals, half of whom were looking sickly for want of air. In seven small rooms, extremely close and offensive, thirty men were confined; and in six others, equally close and filthy, fifty women. This prison contained an airy infirmary, more attention being paid here, and indeed throughout Italy, to the cure, than to the prevention of disease. "In England," remarks Howard, "both these important objects, except in a few cases, are sadly neglected."

The Neapolitan galleys next passed under Howard's inspection. There were four moored about ten feet from the shore, each containing near three hundred slaves, chained together in pairs. To each galley there was a chaplain; and public worship

was observed every Sunday and holiday. "These holidays," observes Howard, "are of much too frequent occurrence in all Catholic countries." The Seraglio, an immense building, extending thirteen hundred feet in front, (not then completed,) intended for the reception of the aged and infirm, for beggars and idle individuals, and for the confinement of convicted felons, was next inspected by Howard, to ascertain whether there was any thing really worthy of imitation in this novel institution. Only that part of the building appropriated to the imprisonment of felons was finished: prisoners to the amount of near five hundred were there admitted, who were all busily employed in some manual labour; each one having a chain on his leg, varying in weight according to their crimes and the length of their punishment. On the whole, it did not appear to our philanthropist a judicious plan, to bring together three classes of character so numerous and so very dissimilar.

Howard observed that the Italian hospitals had all a separate ward for patients who had been wounded by the stilettoes of the robbers and assassins. These were so numerous in Italy, that in his estimation a greater number of murders were every year committed by these desperados, in either Rome or Naples, than in the whole of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The inference he draws from this is important, and shows how anxiously he endeavoured to turn every event to the improvement of British laws and institutions. "Does not this prove," he asks "that the English are not naturally cruel? and might not arguments be derived from it for the revisal and repeal of some of our sanguinary laws?" Had he lived till now, he would have exulted in the ameliorations that have happily been made in our penal code, though he would undoubtedly have thought that much yet remains to be done.

After spending several days in Naples, Howard returned to Rome, and thence proceeded to Civita-Vecchia, where the pope's galleys were stationed. They were then under the management of an Englishman, named Denham, who kindly gave Howard the fullest information respecting them. There were five galleys, the slaves were divided into three classes:—those convicted as vagabonds, whose term of imprisonment was three years; those convicted of theft, whose term varied from seven to fourteen or twenty years; and those convicted of forgery, who were imprisoned for life, with the additional punishment of always having an iron glove on their right hand. The slaves for life were chained together in pairs, the others had only one chain. Their allowance of food was sufficient, and they were not treated with unnecessary rigour.

It was Howard's intention to have remained in this place for some days, and then to have proceeded to Leghorn by sea, could he obtain a passage. But the day after his arrival, a vessel put into the harbour bound for that port, in which he immediately embarked. They sailed pleasantly along the Italian coast till the evening of the second day, when the captain put into a creek, and the night being fine, he pitched a tent on the shore. "Here," says Howard, "I passed a pleasant night, amidst some beautiful Italian scenery." Getting under sail in the morning, they encountered a severe storm, accompanied with much thunder and lightning, which drove them near one of the small islands in the Mediterranean Sea. They anchored for the night under the walls of a town, the inhabitants of which would not permit them to land; an idle report being current there, that the plague prevailed at the place to which the vessel belonged. The gale increasing, the next day they were driven on the Algerine coast; but were not permitted to land by these piratical tribes,

without performing quarantine. Providentially the wind became favourable during the night, which enabled them, the following morning, though it still blew heavy, to continue their voyage. At the end of the third day's run, they arrived off the island of Gorgona. The governor kindly sent a boat for Howard in the morning; here he continued five days, and was treated with the greatest respect by all the inhabitants. The wind becoming fair for Leghorn, at the end of the fifth day they again sailed, and had a pleasant passage to that port.

After remaining a week at Leghorn, during which he inspected the hospitals and prisons, Howard proceeded to Lucca, and found the convicts, whom they formerly sold to the Genoese, in prison unemployed. He passed hence to Lerice, where he met with the Hon. Phillip York, afterwards Earl of Hardwicke, who accompanied him to Genoa, where they arrived the following day. He stopped here five days, inspecting all the hospitals, prisons, and galleys. He describes them all as excellent institutions, well-arranged and managed, with the exception of the foundling-ward, and the ward for the insane in the hospital, both of which were close and dirty. The prisons and galleys had each distinct establishments for the male and female prisoners. With the prison discipline he was much pleased, as he was also with the pains taken that the rules should be strictly observed. Among other judicious regulations, the chief magistrate was required to inspect the prisons at least once a week, not on a fixed day, but on any day he pleased.

From Genoa, our indefatigable traveller proceeded to Milan; and after visiting its celebrated hospital, (which, though a noble institution, fell short of his expectation,) he inspected the prisons, and considered them an honour to the town. The first and largest contained eighteen secret chambers for hard-

ened criminals, and for such as were condemned to solitary confinement for life; this was judiciously and most humanely conducted. There were two others; both for convicted criminals sentenced to hard labour—some for seven years, some for life. All the prisoners were employed, a few in out-door, but the most in in-door occupations. Many who had not before learned a business had here an opportunity of so doing, thus qualifying them to become useful members of society: effecting by this means what should always be the object of imprisonment—the improvement, as well as the punishment of the criminal. With these well-managed prisons Howard was much delighted: they were exactly such as he wished to have erected in his own country, and might properly be termed penitentiary houses. In examining the prisoners, all of whom were busily employed, he noticed particularly a young man, who was working a very fine gold brocade: he was very intelligent, of prepossessing appearance, and had evidently had the advantages of a good education. So much interested did Howard feel in his welfare, that he generously, on learning that his conduct had not been vicious, paid the sum demanded for his ransom, and set him free: for this unexpected deliverance, through the generosity of his unknown benefactor, the young man, as we may well suppose, was extremely grateful.

After inspecting some small prisons in Lombardy, which, through the kind assistance of Count Firmian, he was enabled to do without difficulty, Howard entered the beautiful province of Piedmont. At Turin he continued five days, visiting its prisons and public institutions. In the citadel he saw with regret a hundred and seventy convicts, who were kept constantly in irons, with no employment; whose unhappy countenances but too plainly indicated the treatment they had received. He was pleased to

find a well-managed prison at Chambery, whither he next proceeded, where he only remained one day, starting the next morning for Geneva. In this city he spent five days, and was gratified with the attention paid to the health of the prisoners in the different prisons, and with the humane treatment they received.

Our persevering traveller, in his benevolent career, now entered Switzerland. Here each manor or bailiwick has its separate prison, and posseses the power of trying and executing criminals. On visiting some of these manorial gaols he found them without occupants. This was the case too with the prison at the town of Freyburg. The house of correction there contained some male convicts, who were employed generally in cleaning the streets, or in some other out-door occupation. The convicts at Bern, both male and female, were similarly employed. Of the practice of thus employing women, he justly and strongly expressed his disapprobation: "I detest the custom of daily exposing females to such ignominy and severity, unless when they are totally abandoned."

The prison for capital crimes at Zurich, which he next visited, was situated in the middle of the river. Instruments of torture were kept ready for use; but it contained only a single prisoner. The house of correction for the town was spacious, well-situated, and carefully managed. The convicts were generally employed by the tradesmen in the town, who paid for their labour at a somewhat lower rate than they paid labourers generally. The females were engaged in some suitable occupations in the prison. The prisoners were humanely treated, and every proper precaution taken to preserve their health. The prison at Schaffhausen, which next passed under our traveller's inspection, contained only three prisoners; and the house of correction was without any.

Quitting Switzerland, and again entering Germany, Howard proceeded to Augsburg, and revisited the prisons in that fine ancient city. He noticed here, with its merited approbation, the liberality of religious sentiment which prevailed; different apartments being appropriated to Lutherans and Catholics in each prison, and the ministers of each religion freely admitted. He next passed on to Munich, and inspected all the prisons in that large and populous city. They were ill-conducted, and had each a room for torture, around which were hung the instruments of cruelty used in that horrid practice. "The barbarities practised here," says Howard, "were too shocking to relate; and the scene so terrible and awful that it seemed the very mansion of death." The state of things in the house of correction was little better; even the governor, before he would accompany him, ordered his servant to procure some charcoal and frankincense which he was to carry before him in the cells; "a sure sign," remarks our visitor, "of negligence and inattention, but too well confirmed by the countenances of the prisoners." Turning from these heart-sickening scenes, Howard felt his mind relieved on visiting the hospitals, to see the utmost attention paid to the patients.

On inspecting the prison at the large town of Ratisbon, whither he next proceeded, he found it far better than many, and well-managed; but it contained three horrid places for torture, which, he regretted to learn, were not unfrequently in use. He proceeded thence to Nurenburg, "where," he says, "was one of the worst prisons I had seen; dark, dismal, and damp, with torture-chambers that were a disgrace to the magistrates." Passing on to Schwabach, he examined the house of correction in that town, which was clean and well-conducted. The governor, a most intelligent man, furnished him with

a book he had written on the management and construction of prisons, which abounded with intelligent and useful remarks, the result of his own experience. Among other things, he ridiculed the idea of imagining that men could long be kept to hard labour with only bread and water; contending, reasonably, that the health of the prisoners can only be secured by allowing an occasional, if not a regular supply, once a day, of more nourishing food. He advocated strongly the importance of cleanliness, and recommended the practice of providing baths in every prison.

Our philanthropist next proceeded to Bayreuth in Franconia, and visited the large house of correction there. The convicts were all well-employed; but, owing to the niggardliness of the governor, were neither kept clean nor sufficiently fed. "The rules of the prison," says Howard, "were excellent; but of what advantage are the best rules if uninforced?" Wurtzburg, whither he next journeyed, he found the prison better managed; all the prisoners were busily occupied in manufacturing a coarse woollen cloth used as clothing for the army; and each were allowed a small part of his earnings. Proceeding to Frankfort on the Maine, he had the gratification to learn, that though there were five prisons in the town, they were all nearly empty. On reaching the city of Cologne he was pleased to find the prisons there in nearly the same state: in the largest there was neither felon nor debtor. The magistrates never permitted the detention of a debtor, after it was satisfactorily proved that they had no effects. After stopping four days at Cologne he passed on to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he arrived in the beginning of November, 1778. On inspecting the prisons he was gratified to see so few prisoners; but regretted to learn that the diabolical system of forcing confession by torture was practised. In one cell he saw two prisoners, an

old and a young man, who were in chains; both had twice suffered the torture, to force a confession of their confederates, though they were only charged on suspicion. Having been preserved thus far on his journey of mercy, he thus briefly recorded in his memorandum-book, under the date of Sunday evening, November 8, his grateful sense of the divine goodness: "Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto God and the Lamb for ever and ever."

Pursuing his benevolent career, Howard next passed on to the large and populous city of Liege. On inspecting the prisons he was grieved to find them in a far more wretched condition than any he had visited. "In the old one," he says, "I saw six cages, made very strong with iron. These were dismal places, but I soon found worse: on descending below the ground from the gaoler's apartments, I heard the moans of miserable wretches in the dark dungeons, having only one small aperture for the admission of light and air. With a candle I looked into one for the sick, which was larger than the rest, and finding a chimney in it, felt surprised at this little escape of humanity from the men who constructed these cells. The dungeons in the new prison are abodes of misery, if possible, still more shocking. Confinement in them often overpowers nature, and irrecoverably deprives the prisoners of their reason. I heard the cry of such pitiable victims as I went down. One woman I saw who had sustained this horrid confinement forty years, without distraction. The cries of the poor sufferers may often be heard by the passengers; and guards are placed to prevent their stopping and listening. A surgeon attends when the torture is applied: who, when the sufferer's life is in danger, orders cordials to be administered. Even the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." It was some relief to Howard's mind, after traversing these

gloomy dungeons, to find the house of correction very humanely conducted.

Entering Flanders, he next visited the prison in Brussels, which was carefully managed by a benevolent keeper. He remained here a fortnight, when he proceeded to Ghent, where he again inspected the noble house of correction in that city. It contained a well-regulated cloth manufactory: the women, who were employed in spinning, all appeared attentive and quiet. A more liberal rate of wages had been allowed the prisoners since his former visit. He now directed his course homewards, and on his way revisited the prisons at Antwerp; where, to his great regret, he was informed that the torture was accustomed to be practised with its greatest severity. The utmost that human nature could endure, without the extinction of life, was inflicted on the unhappy culprit, to extort from him a confession of his guilt; and if he confessed it, he was executed in twenty-four hours. From Antwerp he proceeded to the Hague, to spend a short time, by appointment, with Sir Joseph York. It was his intention to have embarked here; but he altered his plan, and determined to return home through France. On his way he visited the prisons of Lisle, which were dirty, ill-contrived, and badly regulated. Proceeding to Paris, he reinspected all the prisons, hospitals, and other public institutions in that city. He notices with approbation, that no prisoner, after he had received liberty from the king or from his creditors, could be detained a moment longer for his fees, or for any debts he had contracted in prison. Of the hospitals in this gay metropolis Howard gives no very favourable report: two of them, he says, were among the worst he had ever visited, but some were an honour to the city.

It was impossible that Howard could forget the suf-

ferings he had himself endured while in a state of imprisonment in that country. He knew there were then many English prisoners of war in France. Hence he was desirous to ascertain, by personal inspection, what was their actual condition. With this view he proceeded to Dunkirk. On inspecting the prison, he learned with pleasure that the prisoners were treated with much less rigour than formerly. Instead of scanty supplies of bread and water, and a damp floor, without straw to sleep upon, (the treatment he had received when there,) they were regularly and sufficiently supplied with wholesome provisions; and though they had still to sleep on the ground, straw was provided, and a blanket allowed to every three prisoners; to which another comfort was added, the use of firing. Nor were they left as before, when sick, to die neglected and unpitied; but were removed to the hospital and humanely treated.

From Dunkirk our intrepid countryman proceeded to inspect the prisons at Bergues and Calais. The former was not in so good a state as he wished; and the latter was so excessively crowded, that seventeen individuals were thrust into one small room. Perceiving that many of the prisoners were not treated with that humanity which he thought was in accordance with the directions of the government, he mildly but fearlessly spoke to the commissary on the gross impropriety. On a second visit, made before he quitted the town, he was pleased to find that his remonstrances had produced a good effect. The crew of a vessel that had been lost on this coast, during a recent heavy gale, were in circumstances of the greatest wretchedness; they had lost all their clothes, and were nearly naked. With his accustomed generosity he clothed them at his own expense. As in many similar cases, he made no mention of this benevolent act, which would have

been (as many of his good deeds were) known only to Him who seeth in secret and rewardeth openly, had it not been incidentally related by an individual of unimpeachable veracity.

During his stay here, an effort was made by some unprincipled Frenchmen, to persuade the English prisoners, for the sake of getting their liberty, to enlist into the French service. From this Howard patriotically and most strongly dissuaded them; pointing out the gross inconsistency of such conduct, and the certain ill effects by which it must be followed. This noble conduct, which merits the approbation of all well-principled minds, gave offence to some of the French authorities; and accounts in some measure for his always being regarded with suspicion by that nation. There was too much simplicity and integrity in his character for them to admire. It was not, however, what would please men, but what was right, that was the regulating principle of all Howard's actions. No man ever consulted less the opinion which others might form of him, nor more fearlessly contended for consistency and integrity of conduct.

Howard had now travelled, in this continental tour, more than four thousand six hundred miles, solely to mitigate the sorrows of a class of beings overlooked too frequently even by the most humane, and despised by almost all others. His object was not to prevent the guilty from being punished—the well-being of society he knew required this—but to discover the best means of inflicting chastisement, so as to make it subserve the two important purposes—correction and reformation: an object which had been so grossly overlooked, that in a vast number of instances it had produced effects of a totally opposite character; many having come out of prison, after a lengthened term of confinement, more hardened in vice, and confirmed in their evil habits, than when

they went in, and consequently less fit to become members of society—a perversion of the true ends of imprisonment, proving that the plan pursued must be radically bad.

Howard had despatched his servant, Thomason, who accompanied him in all his travels, from the Hague to England, with directions to take his son from school, and convey him to Cardington, and then to meet him in London. After so long an absence from home, he became anxious to see his friends, and especially his son, who had spent his Midsummer holidays with his uncle, and whom he anticipated much pleasure in meeting. He accordingly embarked for Dover, where he arrived a few days before Christmas, 1778. He proceeded direct to London, and made it the first object of his attention to wait on the commissioners of the sick and wounded French prisoners in England, to lay before them the complaints that had been made by several gentlemen in France, of the improper manner in which French prisoners were treated in England; announcing, at the same time, his intention, with their permission, to ascertain, by personal inspection, whether there was any truth in these reports. He was immediately furnished with letters of introduction to all the prisons; and was assured that any impropriety he noticed, would be paid all proper attention to by the commissioners.

He now hastened to Cardington to meet his son, and to delight himself for a few days among his circle of friends there, who all anxiously waited his arrival. Such was his affection for this child, whom he was pleased to find well and much improved, that he never seemed happy except when in his company. Young Howard went with his father in all his rides; sometimes by his side in the chaise, but more frequently on a poney, which his father had purchased for him. He spent nearly five weeks at this favourite

retreat, thus delightfully employed; which contributed much to recruit his strength after his extraordinary exertions. He visited his poor tenants, and made inquiry into their circumstances, especially as to their prospects for the winter; relieving such as needed it, with his accustomed liberality. No sooner, however, was his son sent off to school, than he again entered, with as much zeal as ever, on his work of mercy.

He now commenced a reinspection of the prisons in England, to ascertain whether any and what improvements had been made in them since his last visit. The result of these enquiries, with the information he had obtained in his late continental tour, he intended to publish in an Appendix to the State of Prisons. He determined first to devote his attention to the condition of the prisoners of war in the Mill-prison of Plymouth. On his way thither, he stopped at Exeter, and revisited the prisons in that city, which he regretted to find in the same ill-managed state as on his former visit. In the house of correction there were some slight symptoms of improvement; but the sickly countenances of the prisoners showed how much they were neglected.

On arriving at Plymouth he was grieved to perceive that the reports he had heard in France of the improper treatment their prisoners received were too well founded. The hospital, where humanity ought especially to be displayed, was grossly neglected, and most ill-provided with linen. The prison-ship was, if possible, in a worse condition. The French prisoners seemed to be treated with more rigour than the captives of other nations. Their provisions were of the most ordinary kind, and they were all unemployed. Proceeding to Bristol, where more of these captives were confined, he found them under better regulations. The prison

was less crowded, and the inmates were allowed to work at their different trades. He passed on from Bristol to Cornwall. Here he was delighted to find, instead of the wretched prison which he had justly exposed in his former visit, a new one erected, in a good situation, and on an excellent plan. At Bodmin, too, in the same county, he had the gratification to see a new county-gaol and bridewell erected, on an eligible spot, constructed throughout with the strictest regard to the interests of humanity. "By this spirited conduct," he remarks, (in a commendatory tone, which he never withheld when it was due,) "the gentlemen of Cornwall have erected a noble monument to their humanity, and attention to the health and morals of prisoners."

From Cornwall Howard proceeded home, revisiting on his way all the prisons in the counties of Somerset and Dorset, in which, much to his regret, scarcely any improvement had taken place. He arrived at Cardington the 12th of February, and continued there a fortnight, when he again set off on what he called his southern journey. He commenced his labours at Aylesbury; and after reinspecting the prison in that town, passed on to the castle at Oxford; which was in so wretched a condition, that he remarked, "I should not be much surprised to hear of another fatal assize at Oxford, the wards are so close and offensive;" alluding to what has been termed the *black assize*, held in this town in 1577; when the chief-baron, the sheriffs, and all who attended the court, were suddenly cut off in the course of two days, by a fever which they caught of the prisoners, on their being brought into court. On inspecting the bridewells for this county, at Thame and at Witney, he was glad to find one step made in the march of improvement since his last visit, the prisoners who were then all idle being now constantly employed.

In the bridewell at Marlborough, for the county of Wilts, and in that at Devizes, which were next inspected, not the slightest improvement had been made. The prisoners in both were numerous, but they were wholly without employment. One of them, with evident concern, complained to Howard that he had been shut up thirty weeks, and had not been permitted to earn a penny. On inspecting the prison at Portsmouth, he was pleased that a separation had been made between the debtors and the felons. Proceeding to Winchester, he found in one prison more than a thousand French captives. Though the wards of this prison were lofty and spacious, yet many of them were so crowded as to be exceedingly offensive. The hospital in the same place was well managed, airy and clean, and the governor was a sensible, humane man. In the prison at Forton, near Gosport, no improvement had taken place; but on pointing out several things which required attention, he was pleased to perceive a disposition in the governor to listen to his suggestions. Returning home through the county of Sussex, he inspected the county-bridewell at Petworth; and was much gratified that considerable improvement had taken place here, especially in a more liberal allowance of bread being made to the prisoners; affording unquestionable proof that his labours had not been in vain.

Howard again spent about ten days at Cardington, busily occupied in arranging the materials he had collected for his Appendix to the State of Prisons. About the third week in March he set out upon his eastern journey, commencing his labours at Newport-Pagnel. Here he regretted to find that the only bridewell for the county of Buckingham consisted of two unwholesome cells; from which the prisoners had recently escaped, as there was

every opportunity for them to do, the governor's house not being near the prison. Proceeding to the county-gaol of Northampton he found it, much to his satisfaction, very clean, and under excellent regulations; considerable improvements having been made in it since his last visit. The same was the case, too, in the bridewell at Coventry, next inspected; in which separate rooms were now made for the male and female prisoners, and workshops erected for the men; none of which existed when he was last there. At Oakham he was gratified to perceive, on inspecting the county-gaol for Rutlandshire, that the hints he had given at his former visit had not been unattended to; and though the miserable prison at Leicester, whither he next journeyed, remained still unimproved, many of the bad customs in it had been abolished. The bridewells at Wymondham, at Alysham, and at Acle, which came next successively under Howard's examination, were miserable prisons, without the slightest symptoms of improvement, either in their structure or management. Passing on to Norwich, he reinspected all the prisons in that city, where some improvement had been made in the treatment of the prisoners, but none in the construction of the prisons. From Norwich he journeyed to Ipswich and Woodbridge. Considerable additions had been made to the prisons in these places, which added greatly to their convenience. The bridewell at Lavenham, whither he next proceeded, was still in a most neglected state: it was the same with that at Clare, which had not been visited by the magistrates for fifteen years. In his way to the metropolis, he again examined the prisons at Chelmsford and Barking, and reached London on the 8th of April.

On the 15th he again set out on his message of mercy. The first prson he inspected was at Dartford; where he perceived that the hints he had given

at his former visit, had been attended to; but the prison was still far from being well managed. Passing on to the new gaol at Maidstone, he regretted to find it in a very neglected state, owing chiefly to the keeper's gross inattention. On inspecting the prison at Dover, which came next under his examination, he discovered pleasing symptoms of improvement. He next inspected, for the first time, the temporary prison at Deal, erected for the French captives, unaccompanied, as he always wished to be, by the agent, and had the satisfaction to hear all express themselves pleased with their treatment.

Entering the county of Sussex, our persevering traveller visited Horsham. The wretched prison he had formerly found there was pulled down, and the keeper dismissed. In the gaol at Lewes very little improvement had been made. At Reading in Berks, the bridewell was in a very disgraceful state, as were those also at Wycomb and at St. Albans, which successively passed under his examination. He now returned to Cardington, where he arrived the 24th April. The next ten days he spent partly among his friends, but chiefly in arranging the materials he had collected for his approaching publication. In the first week of May, he again left home for what he terms his northern journey; he reached York about the 8th, and was pleased to find preparations making for the improvement of the prison there. Visiting successively the prisons at Knaresborough, Carlisle, and Lancaster, he had the satisfaction to perceive that improvements, more or less, had taken place in them all, though some were still very far from being what they ought to be. The prison at Manchester came next under his examination; whence he passed to that at Bradford; and in his way homeward revisited the prisons at Hereford, Worcester, and Winchcomb, terminating a tour of not less than nine hundred

miles, in pursuit of his most benevolent object in the space of fifteen days.

Howard reached Cardington about the 20th May, and probably spent the remaining part of the month at that delightful retreat, in completing the manuscript for his new work. On the 1st June we find him at Gloucester castle, where the small-pox had been making its ravages, and where the grossest mismanagement prevailed, owing to there being no separate apartments for the sexes; rendering thereby all attempts to produce among them any reformation ineffectual. The gaol then being erected at Brecon, in South Wales, whither he next proceeded, he regretted to find so ill-situated that it was subject to frequent floods. Passing on to Cardigan he inspected the gaol there, which, though recently built, was most filthy and ill-managed. Gaming was allowed among the prisoners in the gaol at Carmarthen, whither he next proceeded; and as the natural result, almost every evil followed.

Proceeding onwards, he inspected, on the 5th and 6th of June, the prisons at Pembroke, in which the American and French prisoners were confined. He was shocked to find them in a deplorable state, scantily supplied both with provisions and water. The room appropriated to the sick was offensive and dirty, and destitute of every suitable accommodation; convincing him that nothing was more necessary than the appointment by government of an inspector of such prisons, whose duty it should be to report, at regular stated intervals, the true condition of the prisoners. On his way home he visited the prison at Cirencester, and proceeded thence to Cardington.

Scarcely had he been at home a fortnight before he again set out on a journey through Scotland and Ireland. On his way he stopped at Durham; and was pleased to find the bridewell much better managed than on his former visit. The gaol was still

a miserable prison. At Newcastle several rooms had been added to the bridewell; but so ill-constructed were they, that much less benefit was derived from them than would otherwise have been the case. He reached Edinburgh on the 5th July, and found the prisons in that city in a crowded and unhealthy state. At Glasgow, whither he next proceeded, things were a little improved: several of the female prisoners were decently dressed, and employed in spinning. He visited successively, the prisons of Perth, Stirling, Jedburgh, Air, and some others; all of which were sadly mismanaged, and most of them confined and ill-constructed. Little attention was paid them by the magistrates, and the sale of the most pernicious liquors was openly practised.

From Scotland he proceeded to Ireland, and reached Belfast 13th July. The French prisoners there had to endure great privations for want of rooms, and were evidently much neglected. Things were better in Dublin, whither he next journeyed, and where he was pleased to find great humanity displayed towards these unfortunate foreigners. It delighted him to learn that a new and spacious gaol (Newgate) was nearly completed, where the evils he had formerly bewailed in the old one, of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, would be removed; suitable apartments being provided for men and women. There were, however, many bad regulations both in this and in the Marshalsea prison: individuals who had been tried and acquitted were kept in prison for the payment of the fees, which it was utterly out of their power to pay. Some young criminals had been confined in this way for more than two years. Most of them Howard liberated, either by the payment of some portion of the demand made upon them, or by persuading the gaoler to forego his claim.

After inspecting the prisons of several other places in Ireland, most of which were excessively crowded, and of course unhealthy, our persevering philanthropist directed his course towards home; and returned through Caernarvon, Ludlow, and Oxford, to Cardington, where he arrived the 30th July. Here he remained till the 4th of August, when he again visited London to see whether any, and what improvements had been made in the prisons since his last visit. In some cases many judicious alterations had taken place; but still a great proportion of the abuses remained unremoved. On this occasion he again inspected all the prisons in the metropolis, not excepting the Tower: this kept him closely engaged for nearly a fortnight, when he returned home. In less than a week he set off on a tour, as he terms it, into North Wales, to inspect some prisons there, which he could not conveniently take in his return from Ireland.

On this occasion he examined the prisons at Dolgelly, Bala, Denbigh, Chester, Hanmer and Taunton. In some of them he had the satisfaction to find considerable improvement had taken place since the appearance of his publication. In others, many grievous abuses still existed: these he took the liberty faithfully but feelingly to point out, carefully endeavouring to avoid, if possible, giving offence; making it his invariable practice, where he witnessed any improvement, or discovered any disposition to make it, to be liberal in his commendation. About the 2nd September he returned to Cardington, and remained there till the 19th, when he again set off to reinspect the prisons in the counties of Nottingham, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Herts. In the gaol and bridewell at Notham things were much improved. The contrary was strikingly the case at Cambridge and at Thetford. On this occasion Howard visited the workhouses at

the different towns where he stopped. He speaks in terms of the highest commendation of the one at Mildenhall; but the bridewell at this place was in a wretched state. Passing through Essex into Hertfordshire, he was delighted to find a spacious, well-constructed, and airy prison erected there. On his return home, he called at the bridewell at Buntingford, which was confined and unwholesome; though there was ample space for enlargement, by taking in part of the keeper's garden.

On the 8th October he once more left his home on his errand of mercy, and passed through the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Buckingham, and Norfolk. He regretted to find in this journey, which took him nearly a week, that so little improvement had taken place since his last visit. On the 16th, he reinspected the prison at Bedford, which was unimproved. He had now collected a mass of additional information on the state of prisons, which it was his intention to publish as an Appendix to his former work. The valuable assistance, in the arrangement of his materials, which he had derived from his friend, Dr. Price, now determined him again to consult the Doctor; and he proceeded to London for that purpose on the 25th October.

During his stay in the metropolis he occasionally revisited some of its prisons. On the 16th November he reinspected the hulks, and had the pleasure to find a great and decided improvement had taken place. The ships were clean, and the convicts healthy. With the regulations in the hospital-ship he was much gratified; the most humane provision being made for the comfort of the sick, and proper means taken to promote their recovery. Having arranged the materials for his Appendix, after returning to Cardington, and remaining there a week, he repaired to Warrington, to superintend the printing this additional information to his former work, to

obtain which he had travelled little less than eleven thousand miles.

Howard's mode of travelling was generally economical. In England he invariably ordered refreshments at the inns where he stopped, the same as other travellers, but never partook of them himself: as soon as they were brought in, he requested his servant, who accompanied him, to take them away, and to give what he did not choose to take, to the waiter; contenting himself with the humble fare which he found more conducive to his health—some tea and biscuits or bread. On the continent he travelled for the most part in a German chaise, and scarcely ever stopped on the road, till he reached his destination, except to change horses. He would often, when he found it of importance for the accomplishment of his purpose, travel the whole night; sleeping, which he was enabled to do from habit, in the vehicle almost as well as in a bed. He carried with him, on these occasions, conveniences for taking tea, getting a supply of hot water at the posting-houses where he stopped; and where he could not obtain this, he would, if possible, procure milk in its stead, and take with it his usual food of biscuits or bread.

CHAPTER IX.

Publication of Howard's Appendix to the State of Prisons, and of the second edition of his former work —Pamphlet on the Bastile—His appointment of principal supervisor for the erection of national penitentiaries—Great difficulties he met with in the affair—Reasons for relinquishing it—Renewal of his philanthropic labours—Again embarks for the Continent—Revisits many prisons in Holland and Germany—Undertakes to inspect hospitals and public institutions generally, in connexion with prisons —Visits Denmark and Sweden—Enters Russia— State of the hospitals and prisons at Petersburg —Punishment of the knout—Journey to Moscow —Description of its prisons.

HOWARD remained at Warrington two months, with the exception of a few days' absence on another visit to Liverpool, to reinspect the prisons in that town; which he was pleased to find in a state of improvement. On this occasion, the corporation presented him with the freedom of the borough, as a token of their respect for the sacrifice of time, property, and comfort he had made in his extraordinary career of benevolence. During his stay at Warrington he printed, in addition to his "Appendix to the State of Prisons in England, Wales, &c., with Remarks on the State of Hospitals, Foreign and English," a work of two hundred and twenty quarto pages, a new and

cheaper edition of his original work, in which the information contained in the Appendix was carefully introduced. Besides these, he printed a small pamphlet in French and English, containing an account of the Bastile, by a person who had formerly been a prisoner there. He had, with some difficulty, procured a copy of this work on the continent, its publication having been prohibited by the French government, under the severest penalties. That he might not be suspected of interested motives, he only charged sixpence for the pamphlet, though it contained forty octavo pages. He boldly avowed himself as the individual who had authorized the translation and reprint; remarking, "that he presented it to his countrymen, not merely as an object of curiosity, but as affording a very interesting and instructive comparison between the horrors of despotic power, and the mild and just administration of equal laws in a free state."

The publication of Howard's work had excited the notice of the British government. They determined to amend their prison laws, and to profit by the information it communicated. On the appearance of the Appendix, in January, 1780, it was eagerly sought after by all who had seen the former work. Howard had intimated, at the close of the work, that it was his intention, having presented the public with the most accurate information respecting an unfortunate class of the human family, to retire from any further efforts, to the tranquil enjoyment of that competence which a kind Providence had afforded him; "happy," as he says, "that he had been made the instrument of alleviating in some degree the misery of an unhappy portion of the community, and had excited the attention of his countrymen to a most important object of civil polity.

An event, however, now occurred which induced him to rescind his determination. The legislature had resolved on the adoption of one of those great,

useful plans which Howard had recommended, and had appointed him as one of the superintendents. Adverting to this circumstance he remarks: "The resolution I had formed of relinquishing all further concern in this affair was broken in upon, by the urgent persuasion of some, who were pleased to think me a proper person to assist in the superintendence of the useful plans I had recommended to public notice. I was the more readily induced to comply with their solicitations, from a confidence that the persons associated with me had the same general ideas with myself, respecting the execution of the proposed plan, and would co-operate in it with the greatest zeal and intelligence." Unhappily, as the sequel will show, this was not the case.

The extraordinary exertions of Howard in seeking the relief of that unhappy class, so seldom noticed, might be supposed to have drawn off his attention to more private calls on his benevolence. Such was by no means the case. He was most attentive to the comfort of his domestics; and his distribution to the poor in the neighbourhood of his estate, annually, and at other seasons, was as regularly continued during his absence from home as when he was present. He could not endure that the indigent in his own locality should go unrelieved, while he was seeking to alleviate the distress of those whose crimes had been the principal, if not the sole occasion of their misery.

Individuals have rashly accused Howard of indulging a censorious spirit, and of being unduly prejudiced, in his visits of mercy, by first impressions. A careful perusal of his work will remove at once such an aspersion. No one was less willing to censure where it could be avoided. He always reproved faithfully; but, except in a few extraordinary cases, most tenderly and feelingly, and with evident reluctance. In cases where he did it with severity,

it was either when he thought deception was attempted to be practised, or when he saw individuals in authority vauntingly endeavouring to justify conduct which justly merited reprehension. Against deception he deemed it of importance to guard carefully. Hence he invariably visited those prisons a second time, unexpectedly if he could, where his first visit had been prepared for, or to which he had been introduced by the presence or the order of some person in authority.

There was nothing which Howard more carefully guarded against in his work than giving any incorrect statement. He was indeed scrupulously exact, and in some particulars almost unnecessarily so. It was chiefly for this purpose, and to avoid giving statements which he could not quite satisfy his mind upon, that before his first publication he performed a second tour through England and Wales. And the same anxiety to be correct induced him, in his Appendix, and in the second edition of his work, to correct even the most trifling errors into which he had unintentionally fallen, and which, in a work of that nature, it was hardly possible to avoid. "I was determined," said he to a friend, "that no one should have occasion, mad as they might think me," (alluding to some sarcastic remarks that had recently been made on his conduct,) "to accuse me of falsehood, and thus bring a disgrace upon religion."

It was not without considerable difficulty that Howard's friends could induce him to accept the office of principal supervisor of the penitentiaries which government intended to erect. Nor would he yield to their solicitations on any other conditions than that Dr. Fothergill, and Mr. Whatley, then treasurer of the Foundling Hospital, with both of whom he was on terms of intimacy, should be appointed with him. And even after his wishes in this respect

had been complied with, which they were without difficulty, he dreaded the responsibility of a situation, the duties of which every one but himself felt assured he was most competent to discharge. At length, however, after repeated and most earnest entreaties from Sir W. Blackstone, the chief promoter of the design, he accepted the appointment. His reluctance arose not from any unwillingness to help forward the work, which in fact he had originated, but from the mean opinion his own unaffected modesty led him to form of his abilities.

Having overcome his scruples, and finally accepted the appointment, he entered upon the discharge of its duties with his characteristic zeal. The first thing to be decided, was the spot on which the erection should take place. To determine this he surveyed several pieces of ground in and around the metropolis, and finally fixed on one at Islington, which met with the entire approbation of Dr. Fothergill. In the meantime their colleague had fixed upon a spot at Limehouse; and though it was most unfit for the purpose, yet so pertinaciously did he adhere to his opinion, that no step could be taken about the erection. Things continued in this unsettled, and to Howard most unpleasant state, for near two years; and as there seemed no prospect of their coming to an agreement, Howard and Dr. Fothergill thought of referring the affair to the decision of the twelve judges. From this they were dissuaded by Sir W. Blackstone, who, on his death-bed, earnestly entreated Howard to persevere in his intention. At length both Sir W. Blackstone, and Dr. Fothergill died, leaving Howard to contend singly against his colleague, or to give way to an opinion, the absurdity of which he was more convinced of every day.

Unwilling to impede the progress of a project

which he earnestly wished to see carried into effect, and perceiving no prospect of being able to act in concert with a colleague who adhered obstinately to his own plans, unreasonable as they might be, Howard determined to resign an appointment in which he had been most uselessly engaged, and which had been to him only a source of vexation and disappointment. He accordingly addressed the folowing letter to Earl Bathurst :—

" My Lord,

" When Sir William Blackstone prevailed on me to act as a supervisor of the buildings intended to be erected for the confinement of a certain class of criminals, I was persuaded to think that my observations upon similar institutions in foreign countries would, in some degree, qualify me to assist in the execution of the statute of the 19th year of his present Majesty. With this hope, and the prospect of being associated with my late worthy friend, Dr. Fothergill, whose wishes and ideas upon the subject I knew corresponded entirely with my own, I cheerfully accepted his Majesty's appointment, and have since earnestly endeavoured to answer the purpose of it ; but at the end of two years I have the mortification to see that not even a single preliminary has been settled. The situation of the intended building has been made a matter of obstinate contention, and is at this moment undecided. Judging, therefore, from what is past, that the further sacrifice of my time is not likely to contribute to the success of the plan, and being now deprived, by the death of Dr. Fothergill, of the assistance of an able colleague, I beg leave to signify to your Lordship my determination to decline all further concern in the business; and to desire that your Lordship will be so good as to lay before the King my humble request, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to

accept of my resignation, and to appoint some other individual to the office of supervisor in my place.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect,

"Your obedient,

"JOHN HOWARD."

This resignation was of course accepted, though not without considerable reluctance. In the whole of this unpleasant affair, Howard's friends knew not which most to admire, the mildness and respect with which he treated his opponent, or the firmness with which he adhered to what he considered right. Every one regretted that he did not receive the appointment, as it was originally presented, investing him with full power to act as he deemed most proper. He might then have carried into effect the object of his wishes without opposition. By yielding to his timidity, and forming too low an estimate of his powers, he brought himself into circumstances not a little vexatious. There seems to be a point when even humility ceases to be a virtue: it loses all its merit when it enfeebles our powers and frustrates the noble purposes of our minds.

Howard had now an opportunity, if he thought it desirable, to enjoy that retirement which he had promised himself previous to his appointment. But his views, during the two years he had spent in fruitless efforts to carry into effect the benevolent design of the legislature, had materially altered his plans. He had done incalculable good in alleviating the sufferings of an unfortunate class, whom even the most benevolent had hitherto almost entirely overlooked; and had some kindred spirit been excited by his example to active exertion in the work, he would probably have retired. But he saw there was still much to be done; and as no one seemed inclined to undertake it, his ardent mind led him to attempt its accomplishment. He had not yet visited the north of Europe; hence he determined, after some

deliberation, to proceed through Denmark and Russia, in pursuit of his benevolent object.

He embarked for Ostend about the middle of May, 1781, and arrived there on the 27th. Proceeding to Rotterdam, he reinspected the prisons in that town; in some of them he complained much that the rooms where the men had to work were close and offensive. Several English prisoners confined here had recently been discovered (through the treachery of a Jew, one of their accomplices,) in an ingenious attempt to effect their escape; for which they had been severely flogged, while their betrayer, though he had been sentenced to thirty years imprisonment, was set at liberty. After visiting the house of correction at Leyden, our persevering philanthropist proceeded to the populous city of Bremen, in Germany. Here he was refused admission to the prisons, till he had procured a magistrate's order, which he had no difficulty in obtaining. The dungeons and cells, into all of which he entered, were in most of the prisons of a dismal description. The very apprehension of confinement in some of them was terrifying in the extreme.

It was now part of Howard's plan to inspect the hospitals and houses of industry, as well as the prisons, in every place where he stopped. He mentions, in terms of the highest approbation, the poor-house at Bremen. It was admirably conducted, and afforded him a high degree of pleasure, as he said it must have done to any well-disposed visitant. The wants of the aged poor were liberally supplied, as was indicated by their cheerful countenances. In this city Howard mentions another institution, of which he cordially approved. Bremen had been remarkable for the number of children begging in the streets; but a house of industry for their employment had recently been erected by voluntary subscriptions; and he had the gratification to see about

a hundred and seventy children, from the age of about six to nine, all busily employed in spinning, looking contented and happy.

The prison of Harburg, where several convicts were confined, next passed under Howard's inspection; whence he proceeded to reinspect those at Hamburg. Here he was pleased to find evident improvement had taken place since his former visit. His publication had found its way hither, and had been productive of good effects. The house of correction for the confinement of vagrants and petty offenders, which he had before found neglected and dirty, was now very clean, and under excellent regulations, though it contained no less than six hundred prisoners. Great pains were taken to instruct them in their moral and religious duties, and to make their imprisonment serve the double purpose of correction and reformation. Such of them as had given proof of having acquired industrious habits, were dismissed, and generally provided with employment.

The first prison our philanthropist visited in the Danish territories was at Rendsburg. The slaves here were employed in the fortifications. He remarked that the convicts, though prohibited the use of ardent spirits, and rather scantily fed, looked more healthy than many who enjoyed every indulgence. On entering Denmark Howard observed that in a conspicuous spot, at the entrance of almost all their towns, stands a whipping-post, on which the figure of a man with a sword is placed; intimating that punishment would invariably follow crime. One mode of punishment employed by the Danes, to check the commission of petty offences, Howard informs us, is that of parading the delinquent through the streets, dressed in what was termed the Spanish mantle; a sort of tub, narrow at the top, through which the head passed, the weight resting on the neck and shoulders, and which reached about to the

knees. So much was this punishment dreaded, that comparatively few petty crimes were committed in the towns where it was enforced.

Howard reached Copenhagen early in July, 1781, and minutely inspected all its prisons. The citadel-prison was clean, and on the whole not ill-managed. The prison at the state-house contained many damp and close cells: the part occupied by the men was so dirty that he could not refrain from gently remonstrating with the keeper on this gross instance of inattention. In the women's apartments, to his agreeable surprise, he found a striking contrast, which he mentioned in terms of approbation; evincing, as he did on all occasions, a greater readiness to award praise than to pass censure. In another prison, used for the confinement of slaves and criminals from the garrison, he found a number of individuals crowded together in the most filthy, unwholesome place imaginable. One who had attempted to escape, was chained by his wrists to a wheelbarrow, the punishment awarded here to such offenders. In this miserable prison our philanthropist entered seven dungeons, ten steps below the ground, where eleven prisoners were confined, whose pale, sickly countenances excited his commiseration; their deplorable situation, he feelingly remarks, "was shocking to humanity." So much did he feel for the inmates of this prison, that he visited it several times during his stay in the city. At his third visit he had the pleasure to perceive that the mild remonstrances he had summoned up courage to give, had produced a visible improvement. But so offensive did he still find the prison, that it gave him, at every visit, a severe headache, from which he was some hours before he recovered. He attended public worship with the prisoners in the gaol-chapel on Sunday, and regretted that so few were present; though he could hardly be surprised at their absence, as they were

so much overworked during the week, and so wretchedly clothed. Among the individuals present, was the unhappy man chained to the wheelbarrow. A guard of twenty soldiers always attended them in the chapel and at their work.

In the rasp-house, another large prison inspected by Howard, he found from five to six hundred prisoners busily employed in carding, sorting and spinning wool for the king's cloth manufactory. The prison, though it was spacious, was close and offensive, owing to the number of prisoners it contained. In the female ward more than sixty women were confined for life in one room. There was no house of industry in the city; but a part of the great hospital was appropriated to the poor, where near a thousand of them were employed in a spinning-manufactory: they were lodged, and allowed to have for their own use what they earned. Of the state of the hospitals generally, Howard gave a favourable report; but the orphan-house, containing more than two hundred boys, he found in a filthy, wretched condition: the boys all looked sickly, which he attributed chiefly to their mismanagement. On approaching what the director termed the sick-rooms, with his characteristic integrity and firmness, he remarked, that he thought *all* the rooms merited that demomination.

From Copenhagen, where our benevolent traveller remained nearly a week, he passed on to Stockholm. He noticed that the houses in Sweden were neater and cleaner than those in Denmark, and hoped to find a corresponding difference in their prisons; but this was by no means the case. The prison for the southern district was in the dirtiest state imaginable; so much so, that five persons immured in its cells were nearly suffocated by the confined air, there being no place for its escape, but a small aperture in each door. The gaoler was permitted to sell

spirits in the prison; a practice, which, wherever it prevailed, was followed by results the most disastrous. The state of the felons' prison for the city was equally deplorable; and the countenances of the prisoners indicated but too plainly, how severely they suffered from neglect and oppression. In one of the rooms were two individuals nearly starved, owing to their scanty allowance. Howard gave them some temporary relief, which they most gratefully received. The gaoler was an unfeeling wretch, utterly destitute of all sympathy.

The prison for the condemned criminals, in this city, was under better regulations than either of the two former, but its situation was most unhealthy. The general mode of execution practised here was by the axe. Criminals, after their condemnation, had the privilege, as in Denmark, of appealing to parliament, which must confirm their sentence before it could be put in execution. Howard was pleased to learn, that the reigning monarch, Gustavus III., had humanely abolished torture in his dominions; and given orders to have the dark cellar in this prison, formerly used for the cruel purpose, bricked up. Howard's curiosity, though he was much dissuaded from its indulgence by the governor, prompted him to inquire particularly where the place was that had been thus used, not suspecting that the monarch's orders for stopping it up had been disobeyed; which, however, he found on inspection, much to his surprise, was actually the case.

The spin-house for Stockholm, which next passed under Howard's inspection, was not on the whole ill-managed, though he regretted to find the young offenders confined in the same apartments with the most hardened. Some excellent regulations were practised: all were allowed a portion of their earnings, if they did more work than their task; and the length of their imprisonment was abridged in proportion to

their diligence. Owing, however, to their close confinement, and to their being fed mostly on salt provisions, they were afflicted with scrofula, and looked unhealthy. All the hospitals and other benevolent institutions were carefully inspected by Howard, and were generally in that state which he thought worthy of commendation.

Confirmed habit had made Howard decidedly prefer a vegetable diet; and he had, from early life, abstained entirely from the use of wine and spirits. He had found little inconvenience from this in the countries through which he had hitherto travelled. This was not the case in Sweden: in that cold climate no vegetables were to be procured; and the bread was of a most coarse and inferior description; still this was all that he could obtain, and as it was mostly sour, he was reduced to unusual hardships. This induced him to hasten to the less inhospitable climes of Russia.

Petersburgh was the first place at which Howard stopped in the Russian territory. Anxious to avoid notice, and to prevent any preparation being made at the prisons for his visit, he alighted from his carriage a short distance from the city, and walked alone to the hotel. His ingenious method to escape notice, proved unsuccessful, for he had not long been in the city before the empress was apprised of his arrival; on which her imperial majesty immediately despatched a messenger to him to signify her full permission and earnest desire to see him at court, an honour which it is to be regretted, the modesty of our benevolent countryman prevented him from accepting. He very politely declined the invitation, stating, that he came to visit the prisons of the captive, not the courts or palaces of kings.

On inspecting the prisons in this city, Howard found that no regular gaolers were appointed. Each separate prison was under the care of the military:

an arrangement which, in an arbitrary government, was not surprising. Scarcely any attention was paid to the moral improvement of the prisoners. In the fortress, used as a prison for deserters and criminals, who were employed in the fortifications, our traveller had the grief to find thirty-five poor wretches crowded into one small room, with only two apertures not more than ten inches square, for the admission of air. The heat was of course nearly insufferable. In another part of the same prison more than seventy slaves were confined in four rooms, still more oppressive. Both their legs were chained to heavy logs of wood. In the police-prison, which next passed under Howard's inspection, things were in an equally disgraceful condition. On entering two cellars or dungeons, he found fifteen men, most of them in irons, whose only subsistence was the voluntary contributions collected in boxes before their grates, and some collections made at the adjoining church, where, however, they were seldom permitted to go. Things were not at all better, but rather worse in the new government-prison, which next came under his examination. More than a hundred unhappy individuals were confined here in one room. Debtors and felons were alike subjected to close confinement; the former having nothing allowed them but a little fuel. For subsistence, they had to depend on what they could obtain from public charity. One of them told their visitor that he had been confined five years for a debt of not more than three pounds; and another, that his debt was not five pounds, for which he had been imprisoned four years.

No capital punishment was avowedly practised in Russia, except for treason; and as this was not unfrequently vauntingly mentioned to Howard, he determined to ascertain whether there was not some concealment in the case. He suspected that the

punishment of the knout, often resorted to, was in reality, in a great number of cases, and could be made so at any time, at the executioner's pleasure, or according to the orders he received, only a more cruel method of inflicting death; and that it even sometimes happened, that the unhappy culprit, aware of his doom, would endeavour to bribe the executioner to dispatch him early. How to obtain information that could be relied on, he was at a loss to know: to ask it formally of persons in authority, he knew would be of little use, as all seemed to speak of exemption of punishmeut by death, as a circumstance of national pride.

"At length," says his elaborate biographer, Mr. Brown, "he determined to adopt the following expedient. Having ascertained where the executioner lived, he took a coach and requested to be set down at his door. The man was astonished and alarmed at receiving such a visitor; and his confusion was evidently increased by the authoritative tone which Howard put on; proceeding to interrogate him as though he had legal power so to do, assuring him, at the same time, that he had nothing to fear if he gave true replies to the questions he had to propose. "Can you," said Howard "inflict the knout so as to occasion death in a short time?" "Yes, I can," was the reply. "In how short a time?" "In a day or two." "Have you ever so inflicted it?" "I have." "Have you lately?" "Yes; the last man that I punished by the knout, died soon afterwards." "In what manner do you thus render it mortal?" "By one or more strokes on the sides, which carry off large pieces of flesh." "Do you ever receive orders thus to inflict it?" "Sometimes." Thus ended the dialogue, affording proof to Howard of the truth of his suspicions, that the honour of abolishing capital punishment belonged not to the Russians.

To satisfy himself, however, more fully on the

subject, as the punishment of the knout was to be inflicted while he was in the city, he determined, though at the expense of much feeling, to be present. The barbarous scene he thus describes: "August 10, 1781—I saw two criminals, a man and a woman, suffer the punishment of the knout. They were conducted from the prison by fifteen hussars and ten soldiers. When they reached the place of punishment, the hussars formed themselves into a ring round the whipping-post; the drum beat a minute or two, and then some prayers were read, the populace taking off their hats. The woman was taken first, and after being roughly stripped to the waist, her hands and feet were bound with cords to the post. A servant attended the executioner, and both were powerful men. The servant first marked his ground and struck the woman on the back five lashes. Every stroke penetrated deep into her flesh; but his master thinking him too gentle, pushed him aside, and gave all the remaining twenty strokes himself, which were evidently more severe. The man received sixty lashes in the same manner. I pressed through the hussars, and counted the number as they were chalked on a board; both seemed but just alive, the man especially, and they had barely sufficient strength left to evince signs of gratitude on my giving them a small donation. They were taken back to prison in a small waggon; and I saw the woman in a very weak state some days after, but could never more see the man." Thus had Howard additional proof of the severity of this dreadful punishment. This fatal instrument of cruelty, invented by individuals utterly destitute of one spark of humanity, with some others, if possible, of a still more revolting description, he afterwards examined; and his heart sickened while he contemplated the horrid barbarities which by their means had been practised.

From scenes like these our philanthropist was glad

to turn in the same city to spectacles of mercy. His spirits had been depressed at what he had witnessed in the prisons, and he felt himself much cheered to find in the hospitals so much to commend, and even to admire. In scarcely any similar institutions had he seen such wise and humane regulations. The apartments for the insane were admirable, clean, and well-ventilated. One plan, peculiar to this country, he thought was excellent:—the erection of what were termed summer-rooms for the convalescent; thus removing them out of those apartments which were seldom wholly free from an infected atmosphere.

With the institution of the reigning empress, for the education of the female children of the nobility, and a limited number of commoners, which Howard visited, he was much delighted. The plans pursued were admirable, and such as could not fail to be in the highest degree beneficial. Due attention was paid to their health, while the utmost pains were taken to instruct them in every branch of learning, and to fit them for every social and domestic duty. Such was the celebrity of Howard's extraordinary benevolence, even in this northern clime, that on his visit to this noble institution he was most politely received by its royal protégees, who presented him with a curious piece of their work in ivory, which he very gratefully received. On his arrival in England he placed it in his favourite root-house at Cardington, which it long adorned.

This was not the only mark of respect paid to our countryman in this city; so highly was his character appreciated, that he was honoured, a few days afterwards, with another not less gratifying. General Bulgarkow, an individual of a truly noble and liberal spirit, had recently expended very munificent sums in the erection of a seminary, on an extensive scale, for young ladies without fortune, and in the enlarge-

ment and endowment of some other noble and useful institutions. During Howard's stay in the city a public meeting of the principal inhabitants was held to present the general with a gold medal, as a public testimony of the high sense they entertained of his services. This the worthy general politely declined to accept, alleging, with a liberality that did him infinite honour, that what he had done was for the benefit of his own country only, but that there was a philanthropic individual then in their city, whose extraordinary humanity extended to all nations, and who alone was worthy of the distinction. The medal was accordingly sent to Howard, by whom it was most gratefully received and acknowledged.

Nothing could exceed the diligence and care with which Howard inspected the prisons and public institutions in this city. He was unusually anxious that the information he obtained should be of a character that could be perfectly relied upon. He contented not himself with a transient visit, but where the least doubts existed in his mind as to any statement, he repeated his visit to the prison till it was removed. During his continuance in the city he made an excursion to Cronstadt, and inspected the prison and hospital there. Of the former he makes no remarks, except stating that it contained one hundred and fifty prisoners of different descriptions, all of whom looked healthy, though their supply of provisions was short. The hospital was clean, well-ventilated, and exceedingly well managed.

Just as our benevolent traveller was about to quit Petersburgh for Moscow, he was attacked by the ague, probably from too frequent exposure to the damp cells he had visited. A less ardent spirit would have been deterred from pursuing so long a journey, through this bleak and dreary clime, by so unpleasant and enfeebling a visitant; but nothing could daunt Howard. He had five hundred miles

of a bad and dangerous road to travel; yet he respectfully declined the offer of protection which the government kindly pressed him to accept. Having provided himself with a travelling-carriage as light and easy as could be procured, he set off, and performed the journey in less than five days; never exchanging his clothes during the time. Singular as it may appear, this extraordinary exertion cured him completely of his ague; and he afterwards pleasantly remarked, that "he had travelled his ague off."

During this long journey he did not once stop solely for his own convenience; but he could not permit the prisons which lay on his road to pass unvisited. He inspected the gaols at Wyschnei and at Tver, both of which he found in a very sad condition. Into the cells of the latter, the surgeon who accompanied him dared not enter, they were so offensive; though our heroic countryman, firmly relying on the protection of providence, set the example and examined every one. With the extraordinary attention paid him by the Russian peasantry, during this journey, he was much pleased. He evinced his gratitude by rewarding them liberally for their services. Having been driven one stage with great care, he offered the drivers so much more than they were accustomed to receive, that they were afraid to take it, and could only be induced so to do, by his assuring them that he thought it was fairly their due, as they had paid him every attention, and he had entrusted his life in their hands.

Howard reached Moscow about the 30th August, 1781, and immediately commenced the inspection of its prisons. The great gaol, as it was termed, first came under his notice. He found it strictly guarded by the military. It consisted of a number of wooden houses, irregularly built, containing from one to three rooms each, having barrack-bedsteads for the use of its inmates. In one part were four cages, two of

which contained each a male prisoner, heavily ironed, and chained by the neck to the wall. The male prisoners were all in irons, but not the females, who were confined in a separate court. The prisoners were allowed very little for their subsistence from government, but depended chiefly on the voluntary subscriptions collected from the public. On the whole this was a more roomy and better managed prison than any other in this city.

In the new government-prison he witnessed a scene of misery deeply affecting. The most petty offenders were chained by the neck to a heavy log. The debtors' ward was dirty and offensive. In five rooms more than a hundred miserable beings were lying on the floor nearly naked. A little further on, in one of the most offensive dungeons he had ever entered, six felons were confined, whose countenances indicated extreme suffering. Turning from this receptacle of misery, he inspected the military prison, where he witnessed a more melancholy spectacle. The prison consisted of but one room not thirty feet square, about nine feet high; yet it contained no less than one hundred and thirty unhappy men; all of whom, as might be expected, looked pale, sickly, and wretched. A still more distressing scene presented itself in the military hospital attached to this prison, where forty-five sick men were crowded into one small ward. In a smaller prison, which he visited on Sunday, he found fifty-seven men and seventeen women, all huddled together in the same room. They were mostly employed in the gardens belonging to the establishment, from morning to night, except two hours, Sundays not excepted; the women in weeding, and the men in more laborious work.

After inspecting the convent-prison, situated about a mile out of the city, our benevolent traveller visited the hospitals, which were clean, and, on the whole,

well-regulated. Their chief defect was a want of air, owing to the absurd practice of always keeping the windows closed. Shoots of fir were plentifully strewn about the rooms to purify them; an object which would have been much better effected by opening one or two windows, an experiment which Howard took the liberty to make, when walking round the military hospital with the physician.

Howard had always a great aversion to writing letters, which occasioned him to have but few correspondents. His usual practice was to write to his friend, Mr. Smith, of Bedford, once or twice during his continental tours. To him he now addressed the following letter:—

"Moscow, Sept. 7, 1791.

"Dear Sir,

"I am persuaded a line from me will not be unacceptable. I have unremittingly pursued the object of my journey, and have not looked into palaces, or viewed any curiosities; so that my letters can afford little entertainment to my friends. I staid about three weeks at Petersburg, but declined every honour that was offered me there. I was pressed to have a soldier to accompany me for my protection in my journey thence, but did not accept the offer; yet I found my way pretty well in less than five days, though the roads were bad, and the distance five hundred miles. I provided myself with a light and easy carriage, which I bought for about ten guineas.

"This city is situated on a fine plain, totally different from all others; each house having a garden, which makes the city extend eight or ten miles. Most of the carriages have from four to six horses, but I content myself with a pair, though I think I have driven nearly twenty miles to-day, to inspect one prison and one hospital. I am told sad stories

what I am to suffer from the cold; yet I will not leave this city till I have made repeated visits to the prisons and hospitals, as the first men in the kingdom assured me my publication would be translated into Russian as soon as it was in print. The next place I shall visit is Warsaw, distant about seven or eight hundred miles. Every step being homeward, I shall have spirit to encounter it, though it leads through the worst country in Europe.

"I bless God I am well, with calm and easy spirits. I had a fit of the ague a day or two before I left Petersburg; but I travelled it off. I thought I could live where any man could, but the journey in Sweden pinched me much. I could procure no vegetables, and only sour bread and sour milk; but in this city I have every luxury.

"Baron Dimsdale and his lady will be on their return about the same time that I think of leaving; and we propose meeting at Berlin. But I am under a promise to visit Professor Camper and Mr. Hope, in Holland. They have sent me a request that I would visit the prisoners of war in Russia; and I must review some places in Flanders before I return; so that I shall be unable to accompany the baron. A line from you to meet me at Amsterdam would be a cordial. I have no time yet to write to John Prole. Please to inform my son I am well, and will write to him from Warsaw. I hope Mrs. Smith has any thing she chooses out of my garden. Remember me to our friends Gadsby, Belsham, Leach, Costins, &c. How does Mr. —— go on at ——? Shall I find him a useful neighbour, relative to my schools? Accept the best wishes of,

"Dear Sir,

"Your affectionate friend,

"JOHN HOWARD."

"The Rev. Mr. Smith, Bedford."

It does not appear whether our philanthropist visited any places where prisoners of war were kept in Russia. He would doubtless have done so if it had not taken him too far out of his route, both to oblige his friends, and because he always paid a very marked attention to that unfortunate class. Whether he visited any prisons or hospitals in the course of his long journey to Warsaw we have no means of ascertaining. But of this we may be certain, that he would not have passed any unnoticed that lay near his road.

CHAPTER X.

Howard inspects the prisons and hospitals of Warsaw—Passes into Silesia—Enters the capital of Prussia—Anecdote of his firmness—Revisits the prisons in the Hanoverian district—Renewal of his labours in Holland—Enters the Netherlands—Returns to England—Anxiety respecting his son's education—Renews his benevolent labours—Reinspects the prisons in most of the counties in England and Scotland—Increasing activity in the work—Sails again for Ireland to revisit the prisons in that country—Inspects the Protestant Charter School—Returns home—Enters with increasing zeal on his labours—Successful exertions in behalf of the Dutch prisoners of war—Tour through the Eastern counties of England.

On reaching Warsaw Howard immediately commenced the inspection of its prisons. In the first that came under his notice eight new dungeons had recently been made, four on each side of a passage only six feet wide. In another, nearly all the prisoners were in irons, and had only an allowance of food barely sufficient to preserve life. In a third, the entrance of which was through a guard-room full of soldiers, twenty-six criminals were crammed into one room only twenty feet by ten; some of whom were sick, and had nothing to lie upon but the dirt-floor. The prison near the Vistula was a little better managed, more of the prisoners being employed in out-door occupations. In the spin-house, standing in the suburbs of the city, where our traveller hoped to have seen still further improvements,

a deplorable scene presented itself. Many of the prisoners were wholly unemployed, and those that had work were not half paid, and were compelled to return the miserable pittance allowed them to their gaoler for feeding, " or rather," says Howard, " for starving them." The sick were equally neglected; no medical nor any other assistance being afforded them; and having no other but the dirt-floor on which to lie. Accustomed as our benevolent traveller was to scenes of misery, yet so heart-sickened was he with the inhumanity he had witnessed in these ill-managed prisons, that he could not encounter the vexation of revisiting them, as was his usual practice in other places.

Turning his attention to the hospitals, in the anticipation of obtaining some relief to his mind, he was again disappointed and grieved. Except the large institution, containing eight hundred patients, superintended by the Sisters of Mercy with all their accustomed kindness, the rooms of which were all clean and well arranged, every other hospital was in a most neglected state. That of St. Lazarus, he remarks, was the worst he had ever seen. It was his intention to have visited most of the Polish prisons; but as he saw so little benefit likely to arise from his labours, and as he had reason to believe, from the sad specimen of them he had seen, that the visitation would occasion him much painful feeling, and be followed by no good result, he determined to proceed without delay to Breslau, the capital of Silesia. Here he was pleased to find a more humane mode of treating criminals practised. In the city-gaol none of the prisoners were in irons, though strong staples were in the walls, to which, when refractory or meriting punishment, they were chained; two dungeons, ten steps below the ground, being provided for the purpose. Their supply of provisions was liberal. Regulations equally good, were prac-

tised in a smaller prison, the prisoners having the additional comforts of fire and candle allowed them. The spin-house contained a number of poor people, and some prisoners for petty offences, who were kept closely at work. Provision was made for their religious instruction; and they were compelled to attend the chapel every Sunday and Thursday. On inspecting the hospitals, Howard found nothing particularly deserving notice, except in a very noble one belonging to the Brotherhood of Mercy, which was an admirable institution, and did them great honour.

The capital of Prussia was next visited by our philanthropist. The city-prison he was pleased to find under excellent regulations. None but the most atrocious and hardened criminals were in irons; but some of the worst of these were chained to the walls of a dungeon below the ground. Their allowance of provisions was sufficient. A resident inspector was provided, whose duty it was to enforce the observance of the rules; and one of the judges was compelled to examine it every week. An alphabetical list of all the prisoners that had been confined was kept; and those who were committed a second time, were more severely punished. Of this plan, which was pursued in some prisons in England, Howard highly approved, remarking, that he had seen great advantage result from it in every case.

The court-prison, which came next under his inspection, was conducted with equal humanity. In both institutions the rooms were all provided with barrack-beds and German-stoves, firing being found the prisoners when it was needed; a regulation with which our traveller was so highly pleased, that he mentioned it to the governor as meriting commendation, who instantly asked, with surprise, if

firing was not allowed in England; and on learning that in some places it was not, he exclaimed with astonishment, "How then do they exist?" The house of correction, then containing more than five hundred prisoners, Howard found humanely and admirably conducted. In the orphan-house near fifty boys, and almost the same number of girls were employed, all of whom looked cheerful and happy. On inspecting their sleeping-rooms, (for there was no part of any prison he visited which he passed unnoticed) our traveller was pleased to find them clean and airy, as was also the infirmary attached to the prison.

On his way to the Hanoverian district he inspected the house of correction at Spandau. It was well-managed, and the excellent regulation was observed, which he always strongly recommended, of keeping the most hardened prisoners by themselves. The following incident is related of this journey, illustrative of that dignified firmness which, whatever might be the result, he always evinced when he knew he was right, and was insolently and unjustly opposed. Travelling in the Prussian territories, he came to a part in the road so narrow that it would only admit one carriage to pass. At each end of the road notice was given to travellers to blow their horns, to prevent their meeting with any obstruction. He had taken the precaution to do so, but before he had proceeded far, was met, at a place where it was impossible to pass, by a courier travelling on the king's business, who had neglected to blow his horn. The courier instantly, with the insolent authority which individuals of this class are accustomed to exert in that country, ordered Howard's postillion to go back, urging that he was on business of importance, and must proceed. This Howard firmly insisted on his not doing, alleging, that as the courier had omitted

to blow his horn, he must himself take the consequence. The courier imagining that he could intimidate Howard, and relying on that authority which he had on former occasions no doubt successfully exerted, used high words; but all to no purpose, Howard determined not to yield. The courier at first seemed equally inflexible, and both parties sat a considerable time in their carriages, to wait the result. At length the courier seeing no prospect of effecting his purpose, gave up the point to the sturdy Englishman, and Howard proceeded to Brunswick.

On revisiting the prison for slaves in this city, he was gratified to perceive that his former labours had not been useless; considerable improvement having taken place here since his last visit. But on inspecting the house of correction, he had the mortification to find it in the most filthy neglected state, ill-governed, and badly constructed. It was Sunday when Howard called, and divine service was performing in the prison-chapel; but there were few prisoners present. The governor of the prison at Hanover, was an infirm old man, whose inattention to his prisoners increased with his years. Here were a number of criminals who had been imprisoned some for six, and others for near twelve months, without being tried; an evil justly censured by Howard with much severity; and one more practised in England than in any other country. Admitting that none but the guilty are ever committed, which, however, matter of fact often confutes, still the tardy administration of justice, especially in all petty offences, cannot be otherwise than injurious. Justice never effects its ends so well as when promptly executed. Time, except in cases of great criminality, diminishes the moral effect of punishment.

It was to Howard a source of unfeigned regret,

that in this prison, situate in the electoral dominions of that most humane and virtuous monarch, George the Third, the abominable practice of torture, still pursued in some countries, but which he had hoped would never more have disgraced the British name, had been recently resorted to. From the inspection of the torture-room (a dungeon in the prison) and of the engines used in performing these barbarities, (which were usually practised at midnight, an hour befitting such deeds of darkness and cruelty,) our philanthropist gladly turned to visit the noble house of correction in the same city, which had been recently built by a humane burgomaster. This prison was appropriated to vagrants, petty offenders, and children. It was in an airy situation, well arranged, and admirably managed. The children were taught to read and work, and proper time was allowed them for recreation. Alluding to the individual who had built, and who now superintended this prison, Howard remarks, "it was the noblest monument that could be erected to his memory."

Proceeding through Holland on his way home, our benevolent traveller visited several Dutch prisons. As usual, he found them better conducted than any others. After reinspecting those at Utrecht, he passed on to examine the gaol and bridewell at Zwolle. The latter had been particularly pointed out to him by his friend, Professor Camper, as one of the best prisons in Holland; and so much was Howard pleased with the plan, that he procured a copy of it, and afterwards had it engraved for his work. The prisons at Dort, at Breda, at Groningen, and at Leenwarden, were successively reinspected. Most of them were without criminals, though they each belonged to extensive jurisdictions; such was happily the state of crime in that country.

Having promised to visit his friend, Mr. Hope, at Amsterdam, our indefatigable traveller now proceeded thither for that purpose. While there, he inspected the prison for the confinement of English prisoners of war. Most of the men appeared healthy, though several had lately died, owing to their being confined in a close and dirty room that had recently been used for an hospital. The Barker, East Indiaman, had just been wrecked on that coast; and Howard, ever ready to assist the distressed, inspected the pest-house, at Leyden, which had been allowed the crew who were saved, as an asylum. He found it much too small for their accommodation, part of it having been taken from them by the erection of a partition the whole length of the room. To what extent he afforded these men relief we are not informed. He carefully abstained from the least mention of such facts: but we may be assured that to Englishmen, in such distressing circumstances, he gave very liberally.

Passing on to Antwerp, on his way to the Netherlands, Howard reinspected the prisons in that city, and afterwards visited the hospital and orphan-house. The former was not ill-conducted, though, for want of room, it was close and offensive: the latter was an excellent well-regulated institution. Proceeding to Brussels he revisited the prisons in that city. The new house of correction at Vilvorde, a short distance from the city, which he had seen when it was building, was now completed: it contained more than two hundred and fifty prisoners, all busily employed in spinning, weaving, making clothes or shoes. There were three separate work-rooms, but they were all much too confined; and their sleeping-rooms, which Howard did not pass unnoticed, were still worse. The general appearance of the prisoners proved that their treatment was far from being humane.

On visiting the hospital de St. Jean, superintended by the Catholic priests of the St. Augustine order, which he hoped to have found well-conducted, he was grieved to witness a scene of wretchedness much worse than the former. In such a state were the wards, that the surgeon himself described them as "offensive beyond description." This Howard proved, on inspection, to be true. At Alost, whither he next proceeded, he visited the gaol for a territory of more than one hundred and thirty villages: it contained then only a few prisoners, but these few, to his regret, were treated with great inhumanity; some of them being wantonly loaded with irons, and never permitted to take the air in the prison-yard. The house of correction at Ghent came next under the notice of our traveller. The number of prisoners was then three hundred, all of whom were kept constantly employed in the usual way, and appeared cheerful and happy. The governor was a humane and excellent man, and the regulations of the prison were admirable: still there were some things, in the estimation of our benevolent countryman, susceptible of improvement; these he presumed thus mildly to point out: "I hope to be excused," he says, "if I venture to mention some defects in so good an institution, that others may avoid them: the rooms and corridors are too low; the infirmaries are not sufficiently detached; the work-rooms are not so good as they might be; the women have not separate dormitories; the sewers are improperly placed; the distribution of provisions, being but once a day, is not frequent enough, and the bowls, being of wood, cannot easily be kept clean." The above remarks will show that Howard permitted nothing to escape his notice in the prisons he visited: many things which others would have overlooked, he made the subjects of particular inquiry.

At Bruges, whither our indefatigable traveller next proceeded, he visited the rasp-house, under the superintendence of four friars, and the same number of nuns. A man was here who had been confined thirty years, for attempting to fire the prison, which could then with facility be effected; to prevent which proper steps had been subsequently taken. There were not more than sixty prisoners, few of whom, under the management pursued, could earn more than twopence a day, a sum not sufficient for their maintenance. On inspecting the hospital, he found it under the care of twenty nuns. The eldest and chief among them had been resident there more than fifty years. They rose every morning at four, to administer to their patients, which were very numerous. There were two large rooms, one for the men, and the other for the women. Both were well aired. The minuteness of Howard's enquiries, and the gratification he expressed at what he saw, so much interested the Sisters of Mercy, that they enquired particularly if he were not a Catholic. To which he replied indirectly, with his accustomed liberality—that he loved good people of every sect. They instantly rejoined, evidently under the influence of a sincere belief in their own religion: "Then we hope you will die a Catholic."

Howard had travelled during this tour near four thousand five hundred miles, and he now hastened home. He embarked at Ostend about the middle of December, and arrived in London in time to enjoy the company of his son during the vacation, spent partly in London, and partly at Cardington. Such was the zeal of our philanthropist in the cause to which he had devoted his life, that during the few days he stopped in the metropolis, he inspected the new prisons erected in the place of those destroyed in the riots of 1780. In their plan scarcely any im-

provements had been made, much to his regret and surprise. In the King's Bench its projectors had not been humane enough even to erect an infirmary. He was pleased to find that many excellent regulations had recently been introduced, among which were the prohibition of gaming, and the abolition of the pernicious practice of selling spirits to the prisoners.

On reaching Cardington, in company with his son, he was cordially greeted by his friends. Young Howard was now in his sixteenth year; and it was a subject of much anxiety to Howard what further steps he should take in his education. He had always deeply regretted that his own had not been more liberal, on account of which he had frequently been put to great inconvenience. Hence he wisely determined, if possible, that this should not be the case with his son. To secure for the youth a first-rate education, and, at the same time, to preserve him from the pernicious influence of that promiscuous intercourse with the vicious, which it is almost impossible to prevent in large public-schools, was Howard's ardent desire. It probably did not occur to him that the better way to accomplish this would have been to engage a respectable, experienced private tutor, to complete his education, or at least to fit him for the University, whither it was Howard's intention he should afterwards go.

Aware of the eminence of the school at Eton, Howard first thought of sending his son there, and had even agreed with the master as to terms, and made every arrangement for the youth's comfortable settlement; but on enquiring what attention would be paid to his morals, and learning from the master that this was a subject over which they had but a very limited control, he broke off the negociation. He now deemed it advisable to consult his wife's

friends on the point. For this purpose he paid them a visit in the north of England. Meeting there with a highly respectable dissenting minister, he was strongly recommended to place his son for a time under the care of the Rev. J. Walker, of Nottingham, a gentleman of great abilities, and most amiable manners, who kept a select seminary for young gentlemen. With this recommendation he complied, and accompanied his son to Nottingham, the 19th January, 1782. And after staying with him two days, he left him under Mr. Walker's care.

Howard now entered again, without the least delay, upon his benevolent labours. He commenced the reinspection of the prisons in England, at Chesterfield, whither he proceeded on the 21st. After inspecting the bridewell there he passed on to the prison at Sheffield, and thence to the fortress at Hull. Here he had the gratification to find the Dutch prisoners of war grateful for the kind treatment they had received. The same was the case at Lincoln castle, where several of them who had been taken ill in their journey from Hull to Shrewsbury were confined. Passing into Norfolk, he reinspected the bridewell for that county, at Swaffham. Since his last visit the court-yard had been enlarged, but still the prisoners were too much confined to their rooms, and were all unemployed. On examining the gaol at Ely, he could perceive no improvement to have taken place. The debtors and felons were still confined together. A debtor was here who had a wife and five children, and yet was kept in prison for the costs of his debt, and the gaoler's fees, amounting only to eight shillings and threepence, but which he was unable to pay. Howard does not inform us that he paid the demand, and set the man at liberty, but that he did so there cannot be a doubt. In fact, he never mentions any sums that he

distributed, though it is evident that the amount he gave away was very considerable. Often did he secretly relieve those whom he saw suffering under oppression and neglect; and not seldom has he liberated individuals similarly situated to the poor man above mentioned, who, but for his aid, must have continued in prison.

From Ely he returned home, where he remained a fortnight. On the 22d February he again set out, on what he termed his western tour. The gaol at Winchester for the confinement of prisoners of war first passed under his inspection. He was gratified to perceive that considerable improvements had taken place here, the prison being clean and well-ventilated. On making enquiry for the benevolent surgeon, whose kindness to his patients had much interested him on his last visit, he regretted to learn that he had fallen a victim to the gaol-fever, which also had been fatal to many others. Proceeding to Bristol, he was grieved to find the new prison for that city in a much worse state than the old one; dirty and ill-managed: the bread given to the prisoners was far from good. Passing thence to Devizes, he revisited the bridewell for the county of Wilts, in which he could discern but little improvement. The prisoners were all unemployed; though they informed him, in reply to his question to that effect, that they should have been glad to work. With the reinspection of the bridewell at Marlborough, he finished the labours of this journey, and returned to Cardington on the 2nd March.

Our indefatigable philanthropist again set off, on the 25th March, for a tour through Scotland; revisiting, on his way thither, the bridewell at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was still judiciously and humanely conducted. On reaching Edinburgh he found the prisoners of war confined in the castle

well used, though their rooms were rather close. The Tolbooth-prison, which came next under his inspection, was grossly ill-managed. The governor was permitted to sell spirits; and those criminals, who could afford to purchase it, however badly they conducted themselves, were leniently treated, and allowed the use of roomy apartments, while the poor prisoners were crammed into a mere cage, and some of them heavily ironed. The lord provost was, however, using his influence to promote the erection of a new prison. On visiting the royal infirmary, a scene truly gratifying to Howard presented itself. The apartments were airy and clean, and the patients treated with the utmost humanity and kindness; few institutions in England being better contrived or more admirably conducted. With the orphan-house, which he next visited, where all the children were healthy and cheerful, he was equally pleased. During his stay in Edinburgh he had the honour to be presented with the freedom of the city, as a tribute of respect for his unwearied exertions in the cause of suffering humanity,

Quitting Edinburgh, he revisited most of the prisons in Scotland, not omitting one of any importance. The hospitals, too, in the different districts, he very carefully inspected, making such remarks upon each as he thought likely to be useful. The particulars of this journey he has not furnished us with, probably because he thought it would answer no good end. We learn from his journal that Dumfries, Aberdeen, and Inverness, were among the places he visited. From Scotland he returned home early in April, and after continuing there a few days again set off to revisit the prisons in the metropolis. He remained here a fortnight, diligently employed in the reinspection of all the prisons and hospitals in London and its suburbs, when he again set out on

a tour through the north-west and midland counties of England. He commenced his labours at Worcester; but found things so nearly like what they were on his former visit, till he reached Warwick, that he thought them undeserving notice. A showy prison was erecting at Warwick, on a plan the most ill-contrived that could be imagined. Neither convenience nor health seemed to have been in the slightest degree consulted. On inspecting the old gaol he was much surprised to learn, that though a chaplain was appointed here, who was paid his regular salary, yet had not divine service been performed for two years. In the bridewell all the prisoners were busily employed. The gaol at Coventry next passed under his inspection; and he regretted to learn that a felon who had received his Majesty's pardon eight months before was still kept in his miserable confinement, on his pound of bread a day, for the payment of certain fees demanded in such cases, amounting to £3. 7s. 4d., a sum which it was impossible for him to defray. Passing on to Leicester he perceived with pleasure the fruits of his previous labours. The hints he had given had been attended to, and the prison was clean and well-conducted; but there wanted separate apartments for the men and women, who were still confined in the same room. At Huntingdon, whither he next proceeded, employment was found for the prisoners. In the bridewell at Newport he found further symptoms of improvement visible; the prisoners being allowed two pounds of bread a day instead of one. Taking St. Albans on his way home, he revisited the gaol there, where the debtors from the court of requests were confined with the felons, a practice, the results of which are often extremely pernicious.

Howard only allowed himself a fortnight's rest before we again find him in his benevolent work.

Ireland was now again to be the scene of his labours. On his way thither he reinspected the prisons at Chester, and regretted that in both the evils of which he had before complained still existed—a want of separate rooms for the sexes. On his arrival in Ireland, he first inspected the prison at Beaumaris, which he was pleased to see much improved. The prisons at Dublin were still in a condition the most deplorable; being, as Howard sates, "in every respect the reverse of any idea he could form of a well-regulated prison." Much to the honour of the Irish House of Commons, on the arrival of our countryman they took steps, without delay, to further the object of his benevolent visit. A bill was brought in for the instant discharge of all prisoners detained for their fees, and a committee appointed to inquire into the general state of the Irish prisons. At the request of this committee, Howard reported the state of the prisons in Dublin. The new Newgate, he informed them, was in a condition almost inconceivably bad. Some of the prisoners were dying on the stone-floor, unassisted by any one: no proper precautions were taken to keep the sexes separate: divine service had not been performed in the chapel for two years: the prison was in the filthiest state imaginable: spirits were openly allowed to be sold; and the greatest licentiousness prevailed.

Lest these statements should appear exaggerated, Howard prevailed on two of the committee to accompany him to the prison on the 11th June. The scene of wretchedness they beheld confirmed all he had said. They were surprised to find the prison in a state so deplorable and filthy, though it was much less so than on Howard's first visit. With such appalling proofs before them, of evils to be redressed, the committee determined to persevere in their inquiries, the result of which, was the removal of the many

abuses that existed, and the adoption of measures to prevent their recurrence.

During his continuance in this city, Howard had the honour to receive, from the University of Dublin, the degree of Doctor of Laws, in token of the high regard they had for his indefatigable exertions in the cause of humanity. An honour which he declared, publicly, "he should reflect on with pleasure to the latest period of his life." That he had richly merited this distinction none, we are sure, will be disposed to deny. Well would it be were such honours always conferred with equal discrimination.

On quitting Dublin, Howard proceeded to the gaol at Kilkenny, where a number of prisoners of war were confined, who all looked healthy, the prison being very humanely conducted, much better than that at Tuam, which he next visited. It is truly said, that "the liberal soul deviseth liberal things." Howard's benevolence now prompted him to seek out another channel in which it might flow. It occurred to him that he might devote part of his time advantageously to the examination of the Protestant charter-schools in this country. Institutions, the proper management of which he justly considered as of vast importance. Whether he had any intimations that they were in the state in which he afterwards found them, we know not; probably this might be the case. To this new engagement he applied with all his accustomed zeal. The abuses he found to exist in the schools were most gross. So inaccurate were the published official statements respecting them, as to be entirely delusive. The schoolmasters contracted for clothing and feeding the children at such ruinously low prices, that their visitant found them in a condition the most pitiable. The children were not half fed, and their clothing was of such a description, that they looked the very pictures of wretched-

ness, being as Howard justly remarks, "a disgrace to Protestanism in Ireland, and an encouragement to Popery."

On his return to England from the sister country, Howard visited the new gaol at Ruthin, which he was pleased to find was an excellent and well-constructed prison, but wanting a proper separation between the sexes to make it complete. The prisons at Shrewsbury next passed under his inspection. That for the county was not ill-conducted; but the same evil existed as in the one last named. On inspecting the bridewell in this town, he found it much too small; and as the gaol adjoined it, he suggested the propriety of converting the whole into a house of correction, and of erecting a new gaol on a scale that would do honour to the town.

While in this town, Howard learned that more than three hundred Dutch prisoners of war were confined in the building which had been erected here for the reception of children from the London Foundling Hospital. He was informed that they were all kindly treated, but that a large majority were in a wretched state for want of clothing. Being apprised by the surgeon of the institution, that a subscription had been made in the town to supply them with such clothing as they needed, but that the commissary, in order to induce them to enter the British navy, had dared to prohibit their receiving this bounty; he called on the gentleman who was appointed to distribute the clothes, requesting to be allowed to add a donation of ten guineas; adding, that if more was wanted, he would cheerfully answer to a second call, and inquiring what steps were intended to be taken to distribute the articles purchased. The gentleman said he regretted to inform him that nothing could be done, as they had been repeatedly denied access to the prison. In this emergency, our philanthropist, with his characteristic

firmness, promptly replied, that he would speedily remove this difficulty; and that if the gentleman would bring what clothing had been prepared, to the prison the next morning, he would engage to see them properly distributed. Glad of this unexpected opportunity to carry their long-wished-for purpose into effect, many who had taken a lively interest in the case, accompanied Howard to the place of confinement the next morning. On applying for admission, the commissary at first hesitated; but on being informed who the applicant was, and that he had authority from the Transport-Board to demand free admission into every prison, he was admitted. He then assembled the prisoners in a large room, and with the assistance of the gentlemen present, distributed the articles which had been provided, cautioning them all to beware of forgetting their duty to their own country; assuring them, that if it came to his knowledge that any among them entered the British navy, he would take care to transmit their names to Holland; where they might be certain, if they were ever taken, to suffer the full penalties of their crimes.

Among these unfortunate men the conduct of one was so unlike that of a common sailor, that it attracted Howard's particular notice. The activity of this man to relieve the most needy—the very kind attention he paid to the wants of all except his own—and the evident satisfaction he seemed to feel in seeing his fellow-prisoners thus seasonably relieved, induced Howard to inquire whether such was his usual conduct. He was told that he behaved with equal kindness on all occasions; visiting the sick, giving them their medicine, and waiting on them with the greatest attention, conducting himself more like their nurse than their fellow-prisoner; often praying with those who wished it. Thus administering to their spiritual as well as to their temporal

comfort. On hearing this, our philanthropist felt much interested in the welfare of one in whom he discovered a kindred spirit to his own. He delicately hinted that he should be most willing to render his confinement as little irksome as it could be; and begged he would be free, and name any thing that would promote this object, assuring him that it should be immediately procured. The man modestly replied, that his greatest pleasure would be to see the wants of all his fellow-prisoners provided for; and that, when this was done, he should not regret the want of those indulgences he allowed himself at home, but could not expect here. On being pressed to name what these were, he replied that his greatest pleasure, when at home, was to take a comfortable tea with his wife and family. Howard took care, shortly after leaving the prison, to send him a pound of tea, with some sugar, and a tea-kettle, lest he should not be allowed one.

On quitting Shrewsbury Howard proceeded to Birmingham, and inspected the prisons there. Much to his regret he found the prisoners unemployed; and in one of the gaols the governor had even been fined for permitting a debtor to finish a pair of shoes which he had begun before he was imprisoned. Not one of the prisoners were permitted to earn any thing; yet were they compelled to pay eighteen pence a week each for his bed. After stopping for a short time at High Wycombe, to inspect the bridewell there, which was still in a very disgraceful state, he proceeded to London. He remained there a week, revisiting during that time several of its prisons. Thence he proceeded into Norfolk; and was glad to learn that the governor of the county-gaol had been recently fined £20 for putting a woman in irons; a practice which Howard always severely censured.

It was gratifying to Howard, on reinspecting

the city-gaol at Norwich, to find that their daily allowance of bread had been increased since his last visit. He was equally pleased to see considerable improvement made in the bridewell. At Yarmouth he inspected the gaol for the prisoners of war, which was much too small, but well-conducted, the prisoners being all provided with a sufficiency of wholesome food, and very humanely treated. The only prison he visited on this occasion in the county of Suffolk was the bridewell at Lavenham, from which two prisoners had recently escaped, owing to its insecurity. He was grieved exceedingly to be informed that the only means adopted by the magistrates to prevent the escape of others, was to send the governor an additional number of thumb-screws. Thus torturing the innocent for the guilty, instead of taking proper steps to make the prison secure.

Understanding that a new bridewell was erecting at Halstead, instead of the one that had been burnt down in March, 1781, (when four prisoners perished,) Howard proceeded to inspect the plan. Whether he saw nothing in it deserving notice, or whether it was not then in a sufficient state of forwardness, does not appear. He now directed his course towards home, but stopped on his way to reinspect the gaol at Bedford; where he was delighted to hear that the magistrates, during the winter months, had allowed both the debtors and the felons the use of a fire; a practice which he had strongly recommended for adoption in all our prisons, as being only what humanity demands in a climate like ours; essential alike to the comfort and to the health of the prisoners. "I know well," says he, "that the want of a fire, joined to the scanty provisions, has been the cause of great mortality in our prisons during the winter."

Howard returned to Cardington about the 18th of July, after six weeks' indefatigable exertions. It might have been imagined that he would now have

allowed himself some relaxation; but he again set off, on the 25th, on a tour through Devonshire. He reached Exeter by the 27th, and reinspected the prisons in that city; in one of which he found a woman who had been more than forty years imprisoned. The prisons of Plymouth came next under his inspection. The town-gaol was still in a miserable state. Two men were shut up in a small room, with only an aperture in the thick wall of less than eighteen inches, for the admission of air. One of them stated that he had been there seven weeks; and that during that time there had often been four and sometimes even five crowded into the room, when the heat was nearly intolerable. On inspecting the new gaol recently erected for prisoners of war in this town, Howard was delighted to find it eligibly situated, well planned, and humanely conducted. He was equally pleased with the new gaol and bridewell at Bodmin, which he next visited. The situation was excellent; the supply of water abundant. It contained separate courts, and rooms not only for the men and women, but for all classes of prisoners, debtors, felons, and petty offenders. Each prisoner had a sleeping-room to himself, provided with a barrack-bedstead and blanket. A chapel and an infirmary were attached. The more Howard examined this prison the more was he gratified. "The gentlemen of this county," he remarks, "by their spirited exertions, have erected in this noble building an enduring monument to their attention to the health and morals of prisoners."

Passing into Somersetshire he revisited the gaol for that county. Here a scene less interesting presented itself, though even here there was little to censure. He regretted to learn that the chaplain's salary had been reduced both for this prison and for the bridewell at Taunton, (whither he next pro-

ceeded,) which in his opinion ought by no means to have been the case. The gaol in this town was still an insecure and offensive prison. On reaching Shepton Mallet he was sorry to find the bridewell there without a chaplain. The last had been dismissed for inattention, and no other was yet appointed. At Dorchester, where he arrived on the 3d August, the gaol was unimproved. It contained, however, but one prisoner; but his case was truly pitiable. He had a wife, and a family of eight children, had been confined fourteen weeks, and had not been permitted to earn any thing, either for his own or for their support.

CHAPTER XI.

Howard revisits the prisons in Scotland—Persevering exertions in his work—Reinspects the prisons at Carlisle, Liverpool, &c.—Embarks again for Ireland, to revisit its prisons—Pleasing results of his former labours—Returns through North Wales—Reinspects many Welsh prisons—Returns to Cardington—Again sets out to renew his labours in England—Embarks for Portugal—State of the Portuguese prisons and hospitals—Enters Spain—Inspects the prisons of Badajoz, Toledo, Madrid, San Fernando, Valladolid, Visit to the prison of the Inquisition—Proceeds to Pamplona—Crosses the mountains into France—Again inspects the Dutch prisons—Returns to England.

HOWARD now found it absolutely indispensable to allow himself several days' relaxation to recruit his exhausted strength. For this purpose he repaired to Bristol, where he remained till the 15th August, when he set off on his second visit to Edinburgh. He arrived on the 17th; and after carefully reinspecting all the prisons in that city, including the castle, where the prisoners of war were confined, he passed on to Glasgow, and thence suceessively to Perth, Stirling, Jedburgh, Haddington, Ayr, Kelso, Nairne, Bamff, and some other places, inspecting all the prisons with his usual care; but obtaining from them no additional information. Such was the minuteness of Howard's enquiries that he did not pass unvisited a small vaulted subterranean dun-

geon which had been made in one of the piers of the bridge at Inverness, and occasionally used as a prison. The entrance was by a trap-door near the wall, leading to stairs on which was an iron-door. A small window was made for the admission of light; and there were two apertures for dipping water from the river. It gratified our traveller to learn, that before he entered it, it had not been opened for three years.

Howard returned to England, August 30th, and on the 1st September he revisited the city-gaol at Carlisle, which had lately undergone some repairs. The prison had been thus considerably improved, but there was still much inattention to many things of great importance. Some evils, too, were permitted to exist, which indicated in the governor a sad want of care. In the castle at Lancaster, whither he next proceeded, he had the gratification to find very extensive alterations and improvements going on. The magistrates and gentlemen of this county, much to their honour, had come forward in the most spirited manner to avail themselves of his suggestions. If not the first, they were among the earliest to abolish that pernicious practice he had so frequently reprobated—of permitting gaolers to be innkeepers. They now allowed them an additional salary in lieu of the emolument they had thus derived. An improvement which our philanthropist learned, with much satisfaction, had already taken place in most of the prisons in this county.

Proceeding to Liverpool, Howard again inspected the prisons in that immense town. It afforded him pleasure to find that some inhuman practices which he had censured on his last visit had been since discontinued. The state of the prisons in other respects was considerably improved. He again embarked for Ireland, in the first week in September. On his arrival in Dublin he had the pleasure to learn that the two bills

brought into the Irish parliament, when he was there last, one for the regulations of gaols, and the other for the discharge of all prisoners who were detained for the payment of fees, had received the sanction of the legislature, and had now become laws. With equal satisfaction he heard that the committee for the improvement of prisons was still pursuing its enquiries. He indulged the hope that its labours would issue in the entire abolition of all fees, and in the gradual removal of all other prison abuses. During his continuance in Ireland he revisited all the prisons and schools he had before inspected, and was delighted to perceive in them many symptoms of improvement.

About the 20th September Howard again returned to England. The direction he took on landing was through North Wales. He first revisited the county-gaol at Dolgelly. Here was a convict who had been six years imprisoned since he had been sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, but who had not yet suffered any part of his sentence, notwithstanding his long confinement, not having been given up to the authorities by whom alone it could be executed. The next prison inspected by our indefatigable traveller was the gaol at Presteign, in the county of Radnorshire, which was very considerably improved. From the day on which he visited this prison, the 27th September, to the 18th of the following month, we are unable to trace his course: either he found it necessary to allow himself a short season of repose, to enjoy the mountain scenery of Wales, or he was too unwell to pursue his labours. The former is more likely to have been the case, for he would hardly have permitted the latter to pass unnoticed.

On the 18th October he resumed his labours at Brecon, by inspecting the new gaol and bridewell

adjoining, then completed. With the plan of both he was pleased, as convenience and health had been studied; but the low situation of the building exposed it to floods. He had pointed this out at his former visit, and his opinion had proved correct, the water having risen on one occasion three feet on its walls. It afforded him satisfaction to perceive that means were taken to prevent its recurrence. A different scene presented itself in the new gaol erected at Haverfordwest, for the county of Pembroke: there were neither chapel nor infirmary, and the rooms, though large, were low and damp, being four feet below the ground. The new gaol at Pembroke, that had been erected for prisoners of war, was not ill-constructed, but dirty, and grossly ill-managed. Pursuing his journey to Cardiff, he visited the new gaol there, which he regretted to find was neither well-planned nor well-managed. He now directed his course towards home, through the counties of Monmouth, Gloucester, and Oxford; revisiting those prisons which lay in his road, but remarking nothing in them worthy of notice, till he came to the bridewell at Witney, where he was sorry to find some additional cells had been made, on a plan that almost totally excluded the air.

On reaching Cardington, such was Howard's zeal in his work of mercy, that he only allowed himself three days' respite before he set off to revisit the prisons in the counties of Herts, Berks, Hants, Dorset, Sussex, and Surrey. He next directed his attention to the gaol at Forton, for prisoners of war, which he regretted to find dirty and ill-conducted. On weighing the bread, which he never omitted to do, always carrying with him a pair of pocket steelyards for the purpose, he found each loaf deficient in weight many ounces. This injustice he severely censured, and took care to report it to the proper

authorities. Portsmouth now again become the scene of his labours. On his arrival here he learned, incidentally, that the sick in one of the hospital-ships were much neglected by the surgeon. How far the report was well-founded he instantly determined to ascertain. He immediately went on board the ship, regardless of any danger from contagion, and after a most minute enquiry of every patient, found, to his regret, that the charge was true. He then sent for the surgeon, and reprimanded him severely for such gross misconduct. The man excused himself on the ground of the danger he should incur by frequent exposure among a number of individuals suffering under a highly infectious disease. "Ought you, then," says Howard, "to receive your wages from Government for that which you have not courage to do? I candidly assure you, that when I arrive in London, I shall report your conduct to the Admiralty, that you may be dismissed from a station, the duties of which you refuse to discharge."

From Portsmouth Howard proceeded to Horsham, where a new gaol had been erected under the superintendence of a skilful and benevolent architect, who had wisely made himself acquainted with Howard's work, and had followed, as nearly as possible, the plan for prisons there laid down. Our philanthropist was highly gratified at seeing the fruit of what he could not but consider his own labours. He inspected every part of the building, and was delighted to find it perfectly adapted to every purpose of a prison. It added much to his pleasure to find it under the management of an excellent man. On inspecting the bridewell at Kingston, a scene of a totally opposite character presented itself: a more striking contrast could scarcely be imagined. All here was disorder and misery. Many of the sick were lying on the floors, utterly

neglected. Some of the women were in the men's wards, and some of the men in the women's; an inconsistency which no proper precautionary steps were taken to prevent.

Howard now directed his course to London; and without loss of time laid before the Board of Admiralty the particulars respecting the Portsmouth surgeon, who was accordingly dismissed from the service, for inattention to his duty. From London our philanthropist returned to Cardington, but had only been there four days, when he set off on a journey into Yorkshire and some of the midland counties. On reaching Knaresborough, he had the pleasure again to perceive that his previous labours had not been in vain. The exposure he had formerly made of the wretched state of these prisons, had produced the desired effect; both had undergone considerable improvements, and were rendered much more convenient and airy. No improvement had taken place in the gaol at Bradford, whither he next proceeded. This disgraceful prison, in fact, consisted only of four rooms, at the back of an inn, kept by the gaoler. In one of these rooms an unhappy debtor was confined for the paltry sum of four shillings, though he had a wife and five children depending on him for support. And here he must have laid for his sixty days, had not Howard humanely set him at liberty. Proceeding to Nantwich, he found a new gaol had been erected there, but not on a plan which he approved. Passing on to Wolverhampton, he was much grieved to perceive that the bridewell there was in the same wretched state in which he had formerly found it, no notice whatever having been taken of his remarks. He reached Cardington on the 28th November, but was too intent on the great work, to which his life was devoted, to remain there more than a few days.

Learning that there was a gaol at East Grinstead, he proceeded thither on the 1st December. The gaol consisted of only one room, not seven feet square, and less than six feet in height. Of course it did not usually contain many prisoners; but such was its crowded state at the last assizes, that many prisoners were obliged to be confined in the garret of the adjoining inn. After reinspecting most of the prisons in Kent and Sussex, which occupied him nearly a fortnight, he repaired to London, where he continued a week, closely engaged in his labours of mercy. On the 23d he proceeded to Gloucestershire, to revisit the small prison at St. Briavels, which had undergone no improvement. On his way back to the metropolis, he revisited most of the prisons in Oxfordshire and Berkshire; and when he again reached town, he reinspected the hulks, which were still in an improving condition. Here ended his labours for 1782. In the course of which he had travelled, in visiting the prisons under the British government, more than eight thousand miles. He now returned to Cardington with his son, to enjoy his company during the vacation.

While it must have been, to a man of Howard's feelings, a source of deep regret to witness the mass of abuses which still remained in many of our prisons unremoved; yet it could not but afford him a high degree of satisfaction to witness the very different feeeling existing in the public mind on the subject, to the apathy that had prevailed respecting it when he commenced his labours. The numerous improvements to which this feeling, through his instrumentality, had given rise; the almost simultaneous erection of many new prisons, not a few of them on the best construction; and the removal of many abuses which had existed, delighted him exceedingly, while they encouraged him to anticipate

still more happy results. His labours had been severe and arduous, and his expenditure very considerable: but their beneficial effects had more than repaid him for all. Had he now chosen to terminate his exertions, and to spend the remainder of his life in retirement on his estate, he would have achieved a work that must have immortalized his name, placing it among the first, if not the very first on the records of humanity. But such was his benevolence, that nothing could dissuade him, whilst so many flagrant evils remained unremoved, from persevering in that noble cause to which his life had been devoted.

To individuals less vigorous and enterprising than Howard, some difficulty would have presented itself as to where should be the scene of future toil. Such had been the extent of his labours, that a spot could hardly be found in Europe, where information of a useful character was likely to be obtained, which he had not visited. It occurred to him, however, while thinking on what remained to be done, that neither Portugal nor Spain had yet participated in his labours. He accordingly determined to visit these countries; and on the 30th January 1783, he proceeded to Falmouth, where he embarked on the following day for Portugal. On his arrival, after a tolerably pleasant voyage, he commenced without delay his benevolent labours. It afforded him pleasure to find that the attention of the Portuguese to their prisons was far better than he had anticipated. He was gratified to learn that imprisonment for debt was prohibited by law. On visiting the great prison, called Limoiero, containing near eight hundred prisoners, he was glad to perceive that none were in irons. All the apartments were spacious, clean and airy. The poorer prisoners occupied the ground-floor; but in some of the upper rooms were individuals who could

pay for better accommodations. Secret rooms were provided for those who had been sentenced to solitary confinement. This was also the case in the prison at the castle, which came next under his inspection. The apartments here were equally clean and commodious. In both, a careful separation of the sexes was maintained, as well in the infirmaries, as in the prisons. Each prison appeared to be well and humanely conducted. The latter contained a manufactory for the employment of vagrants and deserted children in carding, spinning, weaving, making lace, and embroidery. Not less than a thousand children were here constantly provided with work. Into the ecclesiastical prison Howard had no difficulty to obtain admission; but the prison of the Inquisition, of all others the most disgraceful, he was not allowed to enter.

The next prison he visited in this city was that in the arsenal. It consisted of four rooms for convicts, most of whom were kept from eight to ten hours daily at hard labour. The prison was provided with an excellent infirmary, where even the slaves were treated with becoming attention. He now visited a prison at Bellem, distant from the city about two miles. It was appropriated to the confinement of convicts of a less atrocious description. It was not ill-conducted; but the prisoners, as was mostly the practice in this country, subsisted entirely on charity. The hospitals he found generally spacious and well-conducted: that for English seamen, employed in the merchant-service, was remarkably clean and well-regulated. A society existed in Lisbon, of which Howard speaks in terms of high commendation: it was formed for the relief of the poor in the prisons and hospitals; it was supported by families of the highest rank and respectability; a committee was annually appointed to collect and distribute its funds;

a supply of provisions was sent to the prisons twice every week. The good it was the means of effecting was almost incalculable: it liberated those who were detained in prison for the payment of their fees, many of whom must have remained much longer in confinement but for this relief.

Quitting Lisbon in the beginning of March, Howard visited two other prisons in Portugal, one at Evora, the other at Elvas. In both, the prisoners were begging at the windows and gates of the prisons; their only subsistence being what they could obtain from the humane and charitable. Taking the road to Spain, he reached Badajoz on the 9th March. Most of the prisons in this city were spacious and not ill-conducted: some of them had ample court-yards, with a fountain of water in the centre. The same care was taken here as in Portugal, to provide separate apartments for the sexes; but nothing was allowed them from government for their subsistence. They were permitted to offer for sale what articles they could make, but were compelled to depend principally for their support upon charity. This supply was less precarious than might be expected, owing to the number of benevolent institutions the city contained; most of which, on enquiry, Howard found to be admirably conducted, affording suitable and seasonable relief to objects, many of whom must otherwise have experienced all the horrors of starvation.

Pursuing his journey to Toledo, Howard visited the prisons and hospitals in that city: the former he was sorry to find in a crowded and bad state, the latter were airy and convenient. Passing on to the Spanish capital, he first inspected the principal prison in that city: it was large and airy, but most of the men were in irons, and some were very heavily loaded. Separate apartments were provided for the

women; the governor was a humane man, and paid great attention to the prisoners, providing them with a sufficient supply of wholesome food, and keeping the prison remarkably clean. The city-prison, which he next examined, presented a very different spectacle; the rooms were close, offensive, and dirty, affording proofs of the governor's inattention. On visiting the apartments where the cruelties of the torture were inflicted, he was grieved to witness marks of blood on the walls. "I was sorry," says he, "to see such traces of this most inhuman practice, among a people in other respects so humane and generous."

In another prison in this city, which he visited, one hundred prisoners were confined in one long room: they were divided into three classes, who were differently treated and employed, and had a different daily allowance: one class was chained to the floor, or to their bedsteads; another was employed in the roads, and a third in the docks. It is the practice in Spain for one or two of the chief ministers of state frequently to visit the various prisons, to confirm or alter the sentences passed on the criminals by the inferior judges. Howard was pleased that while he was inspecting this prison, they paid it one of their visits, and he carefully noticed the manner in which they exerted their authority. The commutation they made on this occasion was such, that they reduced the sentence of imprisonment, that had been passed on one prisoner, from eight years to four months; and in another case they acquitted an individual who had been recently sentenced to six months' imprisonment, because he had got a large family solely depending on him for support. A system like this must have been ill-calculated to answer the ends of justice.

During Howard's stay at Madrid he devoted a day to the inspection of an excellent house of cor-

rection at San Fernando, distant from the city about eight miles. It was erected for the reception of petty offenders and vagrants, who were all kept busily employed in different trades, and were supplied with a sufficient quantity of wholesome provision: the building was spacious and convenient, and the excellent governor seemed anxious to promote the comfort of all under his care. A physician and chaplain regularly attended the prison. No fees were demanded either at the entrance or discharge of prisoners. The whole establishment was under the protection of thirty horse, and the same number of foot-soldiers, who were exchanged every month.

An institution nearly resembling this existed in the city, which our traveller afterwards visited. It differed only in being formed on a broader basis. Serving, in fact, the purpose of a prison and a manufactory for the employment of the idle and the destitute. In one room a number of old men were picking wool; in another, more than one hundred and fifty boys were spinning; in another, a considerable number were weaving linen or cloth; some were making stockings or waistcoats; some were employed as carpenters; others were equally busy in manufacturing pins; while not less than fifty children were educated by an individual provided for the purpose.

On inspecting the hospitals in this city Howard was delighted with the humane attention paid to these institutions. He thought some of them, however, were on much too large a scale; and would have preferred them, had they been more numerous and less splendid. One hospital contained nine hundred patients. It was attended by one principal, and eighteen other physicians, six surgeons, with two hundred assistants, and twenty priests. All these had apartments in the house. But although, on the whole, it was managed with great care, yet

such was the number of individuals who were continually applying for admission to visit their friends, that it was difficult to keep the wards clean, and quite impossible to preserve that stillness which is most desirable, and which in smaller institutions could be maintained. Too little attention was paid, both here and in the hospitals at Portugal, to the convalescent, who instead of being allowed airy and pleasant apartments, were too often thrust into the worst rooms.

Availing himself of the authority kindly given him by Count Compomanes, one of the chief ministers of state, which had enabled him without difficulty to inspect every prison in Madrid, Howard determined to try what the same authority would do for him at the prison of the Inquisition. He knew how utterly averse the inquisitors were to investigation; but though he had little prospect of success, he deemed it cowardly not to make the attempt. On applying for admission, he was introduced to the grand inquisitor, who conducted him to the tribunal of his iniquitous court. It was hung round with scarlet. Before it, on a table, stood the crucifix, on each side of which were chairs for the secretaries; and in the centre a stool for the unhappy culprit who was to be examined. All had the appearance of solemnity and justice; but the abominable practices of this cruel court utterly falsified its assumed impartiality, and imparted to the scene an interest awful and affecting. On intimating a wish to visit the prisoners in their different rooms, the inquisitor informed Howard that this could not be permitted; assuring him, at the same time, that it was his invariable practice to go round the prison every month, attended by a secretary, and to ask each prisoner whether he had any complaint to make. This declaration, coupled as it was with the most rigid adherence to secrecy, increased, rather than diminished, Howard's

apprehensions that deeds of cruelty, the most appalling, were perpetrated. Had not such been the case, why was concealment necessary?

On leaving Madrid, Howard proceeded to Valladolid, taking with him letters from the chief ministers of state, authorising him to enter and inspect any prison in the Spanish dominions. There was in this city one large, most ill-constructed, and ill-managed prison, containing an unusual number of damp and close dungeons, into each of which our fearless countryman penetrated. In one he found an unfortunate individual chained to a large stone, having no other place on which to rest himself but the damp and filthy floor. The cruelties of the torture were here practised. An unhappy criminal had recently been executed, only on the confession of murder extorted from him while under the torture, not for the crime of which he was accused; of this he declared himself innocent.

Relying on his authority, Howard made a more successful attempt to visit the prison of the Inquisition in this city, than on any former occasion. But even here, though his success exceeded his expectations, it fell far short of his wishes, as he could not obtain access to its secret chambers. He was accompanied to the prison by two magistrates; and on his arrival at the gate, was received by two inquisitors, and two secretaries. On reaching the principal tribunal-room (for there were two others) he found it nearly resembled that at Madrid; but was, if possible, more appalling and terrific. In another large room was the representation of the horrid barbarities which, under the name of an *Auto de Fê*, had been perpetrated in this city in 1667, under the sanction of this iniquitous court. On that occasion ninety-seven individuals were burnt in the presence of the Spanish court and nobility, under the specious

pretext of defending the faith. Another room contained many of the books which had been seized; the perusal of which had been forbidden, and declared heretical. Of these our traveller noticed that not a few were English. Another was filled with the habiliments in which the unhappy victims of this misnamed holy court were compelled to appear on certain occasions.

On coming to the private avenue by which the prisoners were conducted to the tribunal-room for examination, the inquisitors were unwilling to proceed further. But on Howard's expressing an earnest desire to ascend the staircase, after some deliberation they consented; intimating, however, that his wishes would not be complied with further. This staircase led to a long passage, in which were a number of doors opening to the prisoners' cells. Howard now urged the secretaries to allow him to visit these, but to no effect. They assured him that none but prisoners were ever permitted to enter these rooms. Such was his eagerness to visit these abodes of wretchedness, that he instantly fearlessly exclaimed, "I would cheerfully consent to a month's imprisonment to obtain this favour." The secretaries immediately informed him that no prisoner was ever released in less than three years; on which he desisted from all further efforts. He, however, ascertained, from conversation with the inquisitors, that these cells had all double doors, each of which had two bars; that they were all separated from each other by double walls, to prevent the possibility of communication. That above these walls was a sort of funnel, meeting at the top with small apertures at the sides, sufficient to admit a little light and air to the cells. On enquiring whether any commutation was ever made of punishments after sentence was passed, he was told that this was seldom the case; and was unnecessary, as they never passed a preci-

pitate judgment; and that from that judgment, when once pronounced, there was no appeal. Such was the effect on the public mind of the profound secrecy and rigid severity of this most diabolical court, that the walls of its prison were generally looked upon with terror, as they knew not who might be its next victim.

From Valladolid Howard proceeded to Burgos. The prison here was on such a scale, and under such excellent management, as afforded him the highest satisfaction. It had no torture-room, which added greatly to his pleasure. On inspecting the *Hospicio*, an institution used for a house of correction, and a foundling-hospital, he found it clean, and most humanely conducted. There were some dark-rooms for the punishment of the refractory. In one of these, at the time of his visit, was a woman who had conducted herself improperly. She implored her visitor, with tears, to interest himself in procuring her release, assuring him that she would be careful not again to break the rules. This he readily consented to do; and through his interposition with the superintendent, she was liberated. There were four hospitals in this city, all of which, on inspection, he found to be excellent institutions; clean, convenient, airy, and admirably superintended.

Passing on to Pamplona, he found the prison there an old and ruinous building, much too confined, and ill-adapted to the purpose. The lower part, occupied by the men, who slept in boxes, without any mattress or bedding, was very offensive. The upper-floor was used as a house of correction for women, where near thirty were spinning. Their rooms were clean, and each prisoner was provided with a bed and bedding. One of the magistrates who accompanied Howard to this prison assured him that he regularly visited it every week, to hear if any complaints were made. Little good, however, resulted

from his attention; as he appears never to have visited the prisoners, except in the presence of the gaoler; when, if they had any complaints to make, they had not the courage to make them. Howard mentions a singular practice which had been established here: the viceroy of the province was empowered twice a year to release any prisoners he pleased. Only the day previous to Howard's arrival he had attended, and released thirteen; and, a few years before, he had on one occasion exercised his right so far as to liberate the whole.

On visiting the citadel, where convicts were confined, Howard found no less than one hundred and twenty crowded into about six small and dirty rooms. They all looked unhealthy; and but too plainly proved, by their appearance, how much they were neglected. All were in irons; and the greater part of them were chained together in pairs. The *Miserecordia* in this city, a large building for the confinement of vagrants and abandoned children, came next under Howard's inspection. It contained an extensive cloth-manufactory, where the prisoners were all employed under the direction of experienced workmen, who were engaged to conduct it. The children of the poor were admitted as apprentices to learn the business. Not far from this institution was a hospital for orphans, and other poor children, supported partly by charity, but chiefly by the contribution of those who diverted themselves by gymnastic exercises, in a detached building appropriated to this purpose. A similar plan existed at Madrid, where a certain portion of the money collected at the theatres, and other places of diversion, was applied to charitable uses.

Our philanthropist closed his labours in Spain by the inspection of another spacious and tolerably well-conducted hospital in this city. It afforded him pleasure to find a convenient and airy ward

provided for the reception of sick prisoners, to which they were removed from the different prisons, and attended to with as much care as other patients. One instance of culpable inattention in this excellent establishment came under his notice, which he honestly and candidly pointed out. Observing a number of infants lying in a smoky kitchen, forsaken by their nurse, who was enjoying herself in a comfortable room adjoining, he remarked to the superintendant, in her hearing, on the impropriety of such conduct. The defence she set up was, that her room was too cold. To which Howard replied, with his usual frankness, and love of truth: "Your true reason evidently is, that you do not wish to have them there, lest they should disturb your rest."

Previous to undergoing the fatigue of crossing the Pyrennees, Howard allowed himself a few days' relaxation. In this interim of leisure he addressed the following letter to his esteemed friend, the Rev. Mr. Smith:—

"Pamplona, April 17th, 1783.

"Dear Sir,

"I am still in Spain: the manner of travelling by mules is very slow. I was ten days in coming from Lisbon to Madrid, a distance of only four hundred miles. Travellers in this country must carry all their provisions with them. The luxury of milk for my tea I can very seldom get. To obtain it I one morning robbed a kid of two cups of its mother's milk. I bless God I am well, notwithstanding these privations, and enjoy calmness of spirits. I received the greatest kindness from the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon. He gave me a recommendatory letter to Count Compomanes, at Madrid, who cheerfully furnished me with letters to the magistrates in all the towns I visited, by which all the prisons were flung open to me. I have been in this city three days,

and must stop a few days longer before I cross the mountains. From what I have seen of the Spaniards, I think them very sober and honest; and if a traveller can live sparingly, and lay on the floor, he may pass tolerably well through this country. I have come into many an inn and paid only fivepence for the noise (as they term it) I made in the house. No bread, eggs, milk, or wine do they sell. Peace has not been declared: many will hardly believe it. The Spaniards speak of General Elliott with a spirit of enthusiasm. Never were two nations so often at war, who had such esteem and complacency one towards the other. I travelled for some time with an English gentleman; but finding my stoppages to visit the prisons inconvenient to him, he went forward with his Spanish servant. My future route I intend should be through Bayonne, where I shall only stop one day. I shall then proceed to Bourdeaux, where I am apprehensive I shall find many horrid dungeons; the inspection of which will detain me some days: still I hope to be in Ireland in July, as I promised the provost I would endeavour to be. In England I have little more to do before I go again to press; after which I hope to be in comfort at my own fireside.

"With much esteem,

"I remain your friend and servant,

"JOHN HOWARD."

Howard set out on his journey across the mountains on the 20th April, and after stopping a day at Bayonne, (to make inquiries into the state of such places of confinement or charitable institutions as might be found there,) he reached Bourdeaux on the 1st of May. The prisons in that city, though they fully justified his apprehensions, were not in a worse state than he had imagined. In the gaol for the city, he found fifteen prisoners all in irons,

in three dungeons, twenty-seven steps below the ground-floor, which they were never permitted to leave. In two dungeons, lower still, were ten men; and in another, on the same level, was one solitary unhappy female. Their countenances but too plainly indicated how destructive were the effects of constantly breathing an atmosphere thus damp and impure. The prison for the province, which Howard next visited, was more spacious and far better conducted. Convenient and airy courts were provided, to which the prisoners had access, unless they had forfeited this privilege by any improper conduct. The house of correction was neat and clean, and to all appearance humanely and judiciously managed.

Our indefatigable traveller now proceeded, with as little delay as possible, to the French metropolis, distant from Bourdeaux more than three hundred and twenty miles. He was delighted to find, on his arrival, proofs that his work had been read there, and had produced some happy results. The king had issued a declaration, breathing the most humane and enlightened sentiments on the subject of prisons; enacting, that each prison should have a spacious and commodious infirmary; that there should be separate wards and courts for the sexes; that criminals of different classes should be kept as much as possible apart; and prohibiting entirely the use of dungeons for the confinement of prisoners who had not been tried. It would have afforded Howard far more pleasure, had the prohibition extended to all cases.

The result of this declaration was visible in the abolition of two of the worst prisons in the city the *Petit Châtelet*, and the *For-l'Evêque*, in the horrid dungeons of which, on his former visit, he had found so many unhappy individuals. In place of these a new prison for debtors and petty offenders had been erected, called *L'Hotel de la Force*, well-situated,

and on an excellent construction. Each class of prisoners was provided with separate rooms and courts, and the sexes were properly kept apart. The prison was under very superior management. Chapels, and infirmaries for the men and the women were attached. One of the rules of the prison strictly prohibited the taking of fees: that all might know what the rules were, they were ordered to be read in the chapel on the first Sunday of every month. On revisiting the *Conciergerie* and the *Grand Châtelet*, prisons for the confinement of felons and convicts, Howard found that though they were evidently considerably improved since his last visit, yet were they far from being what he wished. The dungeons were still in use; and in each prison were sixteen prisoners shut up in these horrid abodes, almost totally excluded from the air. The military prison was in a worse state still. Into six small dungeons fifty prisoners were sometimes crammed, to the destruction frequently of their health, if not of their lives.

Besides revisiting those prisons in this city which he had before seen, he inspected some others that he had formerly passed unnoticed. One of these was a prison for females, called St. Eloi, containing near forty prisoners, several of whom had been confined from three to four years. Another was for the confinement of dissolute females, whose conduct had been disorderly, and who were imprisoned a certain number of days, not exceeding fourteen. The *Bicêtre* was another: this was an immense building, situate on a small eminence about two miles from Paris, containing near three hundred rooms, of different sizes. It was used both as a prison and hospital for the poor. Four thousand men were confined within its walls, of whom the greater part were patients. They were divided into classes, according to the nature of their disease, and sepa-

rate courts were provided for each class. The prisoners, who were formerly in idleness, and looked sickly, were now healthy and well, being constantly employed, principally in drawing water from a large and very deep stone well, for which horses had before been used. The whole establishment was in a much better state than at Howard's former visit. Another large hospital and house of correction, situated a short distance from the city, appropriated exclusively for females, and containing not less than five thousand, was next visited by our traveller. Near a thousand girls, who had been guilty of some petty offence, were confined in apartments by themselves. In other separate rooms a considerable number of insane females were kept, and very humanely attended to. The wards for the sick were clean, airy, and comfortable. Entirely separate from any others, and unconnected with these, were a number of rooms for the reception of the convalescent, and the admission of destitute females; who were received here, and employed principally in embroidery, till they could provide for themselves. The whole was under the superintendence of the Sisters of Mercy, and did them great honour. With the hospitals of this city, and other charitable institutions, all of which he carefully inspected, he was on the whole well pleased.

After devoting ten days to his benevolent labours in Paris, Howard proceeded to Lisle, where he arrived May 24th. He first reinspected the small prison for debtors, smugglers, and vagrants, called *Tour de St. Pierre*, which he regretted to find in a most filthy state. Five sick prisoners were confined to a close room, who appeared wholly neglected. On visiting the citadel-prison, he was informed that an epidemic had recently made fearful havoc among the prisoners, and that more than eighty of them were then suffering under its effects, all of whom were in irons,

and several were beyond the hope of recovery. He regretted deeply to learn that the prisoners who were in health, amounting to near three hundred, were unemployed, and that every part of the prison was dirty and ill-managed. Two causes to which he attributed much, if not all, the disease which had been so fatal: remarking justly, that "where prisoners had no employment, humanity to them, as well as to their keepers and visitors, demanded that particular attention should be paid to air and cleanliness."

The general hospital in this city, containing in all about two thousand individuals, was an admirable asylum for the destitute poor: the aged of both sexes were admitted, and comfortably provided for, while employment was found for the young. The girls, amounting to more than three hundred, were making lace; the boys were taught different mechanical trades, and many of them were apprenticed to respectable individuals in the city, while they boarded and lodged in the institution. The *St. Sauveur* and *La Comtesse* were both lofty buildings, designed only for the admission of men. They were most humanely superintended by the nuns; but the rooms were not sufficiently ventilated.

Before leaving this city, our philanthropist again visited the five sick prisoners in the *Tour de St. Pierre*, whose distressing circumstances had excited his tenderest sympathy. He found them much worse than when he saw them before, and evidently languishing under a highly infectious disease. Prompted by a desire to afford them relief, he repeated his visits, till at length he became himself infected with their complaint. For several days he was in imminent danger; but through the blessing of God on the means employed, his life was spared,

to pursue with undiminished activity his course of mercy. Adverting to this event, he thus records his gratitude for the deliverance he had experienced: "I have abundant reason for thankfulness to divine providence, for recovering me from a fever, which I caught of the sick in my last visit to this prison. I would gratefully record and remember the mercy and goodness of God. For many days I have been in pain and sorrow; the sentence of death was, as it were, upon me; but I cried unto the Lord and he delivered me, blessed for ever be his name. O God, do my soul good by this affliction, make me more sensible of my entire dependence on thee; more serious, more humble, more watchful, more abstracted from the world, better prepared to leave it by living a life of faith in the great Redeemer, whom, though I have not seen, yet I hope I love, and desire to serve to the end of my days."

Immediately on becoming convalescent, Howard proceeded to Amsterdam, to pursue his labours in that city. Such was his simple trust in Providence, that while he was yet suffering under the effects of his recent exposure to an infected prison, he fearlessly accompanied the physicians round a prison in which there was no infirmary. The state of the prisons generally resembled so nearly what it was on his last visit, that he found nothing worthy of notice. Thirteen hundred children, of both sexes, were in the orphan-house, all of whom, for want of air and proper attention, were looking unhealthy. The apartments occupied by the keepers were neat and clean, but the rooms of the children, being left to the care of individuals in advanced life, were dirty and offensive. The same neglect prevailed in three other orphan-houses in this city, which Howard visited; and on reaching Rotterdam, whither he next proceeded, he found the orphan-

houses there in a similar condition. The children there were afflicted with a cutaneous disease, occasioned by the want of air, and the filthy state in which their apartments were kept. "On observing this to some of the directors," says Howard, "they replied in words that gave me pain and excited my indignation: 'It is the disorder of the house; all our children must have a seasoning.' Thus do the physicians and governors excuse the abuse of their trust. The consequence must be that few of the children reach manhood; and that such as do, are a feeble and sickly race."

After revisiting the prisons at Utrecht, which he found regulated with the same care as before, he proceeded to Antwerp, where he arrived about the 15th of June. Finding on inspecting the prisons, that he could obtain no additional information, scarcely any variation in their management being perceptible since his last visit, he passed on, with as little delay as possible, to Brussels. The prison, *Porte de Halle*, was still without a court-yard, and the barbarous practice of torture was not discontinued; nor had any improvement been made in either of the other prisons in this city. Passing on to Ghent, he regretted to learn, on inspecting the *Maison de Ville*, that the torture was still practised, and that no steps had been taken to improve this offensive prison. In the house of correction in this city, he was sorry to learn that a considerable alteration for the worse had taken place. The emperor had recently given orders to have no person admitted to visit the prison; and he found that before he could obtain an entrance, he must have a magistrate's order. He accordingly waited on the ruling magistrate for the purpose. The magistrate informed him that a prohibitory order had certainly been given; "but," said he, "you, sir, are an exception to all

rules. You must not, however, impute to me the unhappy changes which you will observe in this prison." It was indeed a most unhappy change: the emperor had injudiciously listened to the petition of a few mercenary individuals, who complained that the manufactory injured their trade, and had hastily issued an order for its destruction: the looms and other apurtenances were consequently taken down and sold; and that department of this splendid prison, which had constituted its chief glory, admirably answering the end which in all such institutions ought to be the leading object in view, employing the prisoners, and training them to habits of industry, was now a scene of desolation. Near five hundred prisoners were, by this inconsiderate step, reduced from a state of comparative comfort to one of misery and want; the reduction of their labour having been followed by a correspondent one both in the quantity and quality of their food.

By an equally cruel and impolitic edict, the emperor had directed that less attention should be paid to the prisoners; and that, instead of keeping their apartments clean, they should be kept filthy. This he did under the mistaken idea, that if prisoners were rendered as miserable as they could well be during their confinement, they would be careful in future to avoid such conduct as would expose them to imprisonment; forgetting that, while he was thus unwisely and cruelly attempting to diminish crime, he was endangering the health, if not destroying the lives both of the prisoners and their keepers; overlooking the fact, that punishment, when unnecessarily severe, especially for minor offences, more frequently hardens than softens the delinquent.

Howard proceeded on the 18th June from Ghent to Alost; and after reinspecting the prison in that city, without eliciting any additional information,

he passed on to Ostend, where he embarked on the 22d for England, having travelled considerably more than three thousand miles in less than five months: not through a country where facilities for dispatch of almost every kind are to be found, and where other accommodations may be had, but through districts where the method of travelling was slow and tedious, and where even the little comforts that Howard's abstemious habits required, could not, in many instances, be obtained.

CHAPTER XII.

Howard again visits Ireland—Is accompanied by his son—State of the Irish prisons, hospitals, and schools —Sails for England—His amiable disposition—Re-inspection of English prisons—Indefatigable zeal with which he pursues his labours—Republication of his work on Prisons—His influence over the unhappy class of men whom he sought to benefit—Care he took to guard against the artifice of gaolers—Motives for becoming an author—Retirement from his labours—Intimacy with the Rev. Mr. Smith—Conduct to his son—Probable originating cause—Is placed at the Edinburgh University—The youth's continued profligacy—Removal from Edinburgh to Cambridge.

Howard arrived at London from Ostend on the 24th June. He immediately set off for Cardington, whither his son, whose vacation had now commenced, had repaired. In this delightful retreat, surrounded by friends who hailed with pleasure his arrival, and associated with one for whose welfare he felt the tenderest solicitude, he was strongly inclined to remain a few weeks. But even of this indulgence, which was really necessary to recruit his health, he determined to deny himself, as it would have prevented him from fulfilling his engagement, to be again in Ireland by the time appointed. Accordingly, after allowing himself only a few days' respite, he once more embarked for Ireland, taking his son, who was now in his eighteenth year, and had finally quitted the academy, for his companion.

They arrived at Dublin about the 2d July, and on the following day Howard commenced his labours, by a careful reinspection of the new prison. He was grieved to find it most grossly mismanaged. Fifteen prisoners were detained for their fees. Offenders of every description were huddled together. The sexes were not properly separated. Intoxication, and all its attendant evils, prevailed to a lamentable extent, owing to the sale of spirits, which was openly permitted. Gaming was tolerated, and even encouraged. The sick were entirely neglected; and an excellent physician, in the vigour of life, had recently fallen a victim to his humanity, having died of a fever he caught in attending the prisoners; whose deplorable case, being without bedding, or a change of linen, or even a nurse, had excited his pity. The prison was very scantily supplied with water, and every part of it was in the dirtiest condition imaginable. As might be expected in such a state of things, the moral and spiritual improvement of the prisoners was utterly disregarded. Divine service was never performed. Much of this inattention was undoubtedly to be attributed to the keepers; but more, in Howard's opinion, to the magistrates who were appointed to visit and inspect the prison at regular and stated intervals, but who had grossly neglected their duty. "Are not such individuals," he very properly asks, "inexcusably guilty? Should they not be considered as accessory to the crimes, and abuses, and miseries occasioned by their neglect?"

Feeling much for the unfortunate men who were detained in prison for their fees, Howard had requested the gaoler to furnish him with a list of their names, mentioning the particulars of their cases: he deeply regretted to learn that several of them had large families, which were left without any means of support; and, in some cases, their poverty was ag-

gravated by affliction. He accordingly paid the fees and liberated such of them whose cases were the most deplorable. The same act of benevolence he practised on visiting other prisons in Ireland, during this tour.

The house of industry for Dublin, with which Howard had been so much delighted on his former visit, he was pleased to find clean, quiet, and orderly; though it contained more than fourteen hundred inmates. On reinspecting the hospitals, our traveller had the pleasure to perceive that some of the hints he had given on his former visit for their improvement had been attended to; and that the wards were consequently less close and unhealthy.

On revisiting the chartered Protestant schools, Howard was grieved to find them still in a most disgraceful state. The children were sickly, naked, and almost half-starved; and the whole system demanded a thorough parliamentary enquiry. The interest he took in these important institutions, indueed him to suggest, with his usual modesty and wisdom, among others, the following excellent hints: —That all the children should have one plain, decent, uniform dress; that there should be distinct schools for each sex; that each child should have clean linen at least once a week; that the masters should be better paid; that rooms should be provided for the sick; that they should have distinct school-rooms, dining-rooms, and work-rooms, with an area for play; that their dormitories should be so constructed as to be within sight of their master's and mistress's bed-room; that premiums should be given to the children whose conduct was the most meritorious; that the schools should, if possible, be situated in the vicinity of large towns; that the rules for every department should be hung up in a conspicuous place; that the whole should be under the direction of local committees; and that a check should be kept on these

committees, by the occasional inspection of a member of the supreme committee, whose travelling expenses should be paid by the society.

It was not a little gratifying to Howard, to learn, on this visit to Ireland, that Earl Temple, the new Lord Lieutenant, had, shortly after his arrival, instituted inquiries into the state of the prisons; with a view to correct, if possible, every existing abuse, and to introduce such improvements as should be thought desirable. The sheriffs of the different counties were requested to furnish his lordship with correct and full reports of the state of all the prisons in their jurisdictions. Copies of the acts recently passed were directed to be laid before him; and it was hoped that the result of these labours would prove highly beneficial.

Howard and his son returned to England in one of the Holyhead packets, about the 16th of August. During the voyage, the following incidents occurred illustrative of Howard's amiable disposition. A child in the vessel had taken more liberties with young Howard than he approved of; frequently playing with his clothes, and pulling his coat, till at length he rather angrily repulsed him for his familiarities; on which our philanthropist, with his characteristic humanity, gently reproved his son for a want of tenderness. On another occasion, his amiable disposition was still more strikingly displayed. Coming to the berth at night in which he was to sleep, and finding that a female servant belonging to one of the passengers, had no bed provided, he immediately yielded her up his own, and contented himself for the night on the cabin floor. Incidents like these prove, irresistibly, that he was ever alive to the feelings of humanity and tenderness; and that his extraordinary exertions in the cause of benevolence, were not the results of an overheated and enthu-

siastic mind, but the spontaneous effusions of a heart glowing with love to mankind.

On his arrival in England, about August the 20th, he immediately proceeded with his son to London. Here he continued for nearly a fortnight, busily engaged in again inspecting the prisons. Early in September he repaired with his son to Cardington, where he remained about ten days, when he again visited the metropolis, to avail himself of the advice and assistance of the same kind friend, whom he had before consulted, on the arrangement of his papers. He was thus closely occupied till the 27th, when he set off for a short tour through Worcester, and Gloucester, to reinspect the prisons in these towns. In the former he found nothing requiring particular notice. In the latter, a new, ill-constructed, and confined gaol was nearly completed, but not yet occupied. He regretted much to perceive that no provision had been made for the separation of the sexes, which appeared the more extraordinary, as the evils of their intercourse in the old prison had been very serious. Scarcely any improvement had been made in the county-gaol and bridewell. Most of the evils he had before pointed out still existed, and many of them it was almost impossible to prevent until some better prison was erected. This he had the satisfaction to learn was now in contemplation, owing to the humane and spirited exertions of Sir G. Paul, foreman of the grand-jury.

From Gloucester Howard returned to London for the further arrangement of his papers. While there he again inspected the hulks; and was pleased to find the convicts in the Justitia, of whom there were more than a hundred and seventy, all looking healthy, which he justly attributed to their being regularly employed, and prohibited the use of spirits or other intoxicating liquors. On board the Censor

he regretted to find near a hundred and forty convicts waiting for transportation; many of whom appeared so sickly that he much doubted whether they would survive the voyage. He censured, with considerable severity, the inhuman practice of exposing criminals, destitute of proper clothing, whose health is delicate and precarious, to the severities of a long and dangerous voyage. He wished much that the practice pursued in Portugal, of preparing, by a proper course of discipline, and providing with suitable clothing, all who were sentenced to transportation, was adopted in his own country; remarking with considerable feeling, "It is surely disgraceful for the British nation to be surpassed in humanity by any of its neighbours."

Finding, on collating his papers, that he wanted some additional information respecting the prisons of Kingston, Hertford, and Chelmsford, he took a trip to each of these places. On the 21st October he was at Kingston, on the 23rd at Hertford, and on the 27th at Chelmsford. Little improvement had been made in either of the two former prisons, and the county-bridewell at Chelmsford was most disgracefully managed. Several prisoners who were sick were lying on the bare floors, almost without any covering, and utterly neglected. Returning to London he revisited, on the 31st, the new gaol for the county of Surrey, where a scene of wretchedness the most deplorable presented itself. A fever had recently been raging in the prison, of which some of the keepers had died; and yet no step had been taken to remove a number of prisoners, who were uninfected, to another place of confinement, but they were left to the impure air of this unhealthy prison.

Howard had now completed, in some degree to his satisfaction, his fourth inspection of English prisons, besides accumulating considerable additional information on the state of foreign prisons,

the result of his indefatigable labours during the years 1781-2-3. A third edition of his original work, and a second of the Appendix were now called for; and having arranged the additional matter under each separate head, he proceeded to Warrington, again to avail himself of the advice of Dr. Aikin, and to superintend the work through the press. Howard was thankful that Providence had enabled him to travel in the last ten years—the time when he had commenced his labours—more than forty-two thousand miles, to alleviate the miseries of a numerous class of individuals, whose sufferings had been well-nigh overlooked. But instead of attributing to himself any merit for these exertions, he devoutly and humbly ascribed all the glory to the Almighty, to whom alone belongs the praise of all our doings, reverently saying, "To God alone be all the praise of my exertions: I do not regret a moment the loss of the many conveniences of life which I have experienced, but bless God who inclined my mind to this scheme, and who has strengthened me thus far to accomplish it."

The superintendence of the press detained Howard at Warrington near four months. The work was now of considerable extent, and the utmost care was taken to bring it out free from errors, both in the statements and calculations. The additional information increased the Appendix nearly a hundred pages; and the whole work together formed a closely printed quarto volume of more than five hundred pages: it was illustrated with several most valuable plates. When the work was completed he took a number of copies with him to London, and distributed them with equal, if not greater liberality, than on the former occasion. Among other distinguished individuals to whom he presented a copy, was his royal highness the Duke of York, then prince bishop of Osnaburgh: he had been introduced to the young

prince on his last visit to that place, and obtained from him a promise that he would inquire into the affair, and would assure him the cruelties should be abolished when he came of age. Aware that he might have forgotten the circumstance, Howard ingeniously reminded him of it, by fixing the ribbon of the elegantly bound copy he presented to the prince, at the page where the cruelties were described.

The indefatigable exertions of Howard to ameliorate the sufferings of prisoners, had procured him the veneration and respect of that unhappy class, and given him an extraordinary influence over their minds; all regarding him as their best and dearest friend. Of this, the following instance, among others, are on record:—Ryland, the celebrated engraver, who was executed for forgery, had seduced a female servant that lived opposite to him. He had induced her suddenly to quit her service, and notwithstanding the strictest search after her, she could never be found. Suspicion attached to Ryland, from some slips of paper in his handwriting, that were afterwards seen in her room, that he was implicated in the affair. Her friends repeatedly applied to him to inform them where she was, but to no effect; all he would tell them was that she was well provided for. With this assurance they were tolerably satisfied during Ryland's prosperity; but on his commitment for forgery, they became increassingly anxious to ascertain what had become of her: still he obstinately refused to give them any information. The time drew near for his execution: in this emergency, one of her friends waited on Howard, to solicit his aid in the affair. With his usual kindness, he instantly undertook the task; promising that he would in a few hours procure the information. He accordingly waited on Ryland, who disclosed to him the secret, informing him that she lived in a house a

distance from London, where she was found and restored to her friends.*

On the same authority the following anecdote is related, illustrative alike of the influence Howard had over the prisoners' minds, and of his own fearless courage, under circumstances not a little alarming. "During a serious riot at the Savoy, (military prison in London,) the prisoners had killed two of their keepers; and such was their rebellious and furious state, that no one dared to enter among them. At this dangerous crisis Howard cheerfully volunteered to enter their prison, though earnestly dissuaded from it by his friends. In vain did the keepers urge him to desist, from what appeared to them a most rash step. Nothing could intimidate him: he determined to go, though he knew he should be exposed to the rage of two hundred ruffians. No sooner did he appear among them, than such was the effect of his mild, benign manner, that they immediately listened to his remonstrances; represented, in a reasonable and submissive tone, their grievances; and at last allowed themselves to be quietly reconducted to their cells."

The benevolent labours of Howard were far from pleasing to those individuals who were interested in the continuance of the evils which he sought to expose and correct. These mercenary beings did every thing in their power, by the practice of deception, to counteract his labours. Of this he was so well aware, that their efforts at concealment generally proved unsuccessful. "An artifice," he remarks, "is not unfrequently practised by gaolers to prevent a proper examination of their prisons. When a gentleman, and particularly a magistrate, has come with an intention to visit the gaol, the keeper has pretended the utmost willingness to accompany him;

* Brown's Life of Howard.

but at the same time has artfully dropped a hint that he fears there may be some danger in it, as he is apprehensive that the fever has made its appearance among the prisoners. The visitor, alarmed, returns thanks for the kind caution, and instantly leaves the house. On such occasions I have always the more insisted on the necessity of a close inspection; and have generally found the prison very dirty, much out of order, but having in it no fever."

In becoming an author Howard was influenced by the same benevolent motives that had prompted him in all his labours. With much modesty, he says, "A person of more ability, with my knowledge of facts, would have written better; but the object of my ambition was not the fame of an author. Hearing the *cry* of the miserable, I devoted my time to their relief. To procure it, I made it my business to collect materials, the authenticity of which could not be disputed. If my publication should be the means of exciting the attention of my countrymen to this important national concern, of alleviating the distresses of poor debtors and other prisoners; of procuring for them cleanly and wholesome abodes, and exterminating the gaol-fever, which has so often spread abroad its dreadful contagion; of abolishing, or at least reducing the fees of clerks of assize, and of the peace; of preventing the sale of liquors in prisons; of checking the impositions of gaolers, and the extortion of bailiffs; of introducing a habit of industry into our bridewells, and restraining the shocking debauchery and immorality which prevail in our gaols and other prisons; if any of these beneficial consequences shall accrue, I shall be happy in the pleasing reflection that I have not lived without doing some good to my fellow-creatures; and shall think myself abundantly repaid for all the pains I have taken, the time I have spent, and the hazards I have encountered."

Nothing could exceed the care and anxiety of

Howard to preserve the strictest veracity and accuracy in all his statements. To prevent the possibility of a mistake, he invariably carried with him, into every prison and cell he visited, a memorandum-book, in which he inserted at the time the various particulars he thought worthy of notice, never trusting to his memory even in the most trivial statement. On no occasion did he rely on the statements of others. Into the most loathsome dungeons he penetrated himself, and was an eye-witness to every scene he described. If he felt dissatisfied with the information he had obtained respecting any prison, or doubted whether his statements were correct, he revisited it till he was assured of their truth. He concealed many details of horror, from the most amiable and commendable motives. "I could," he says, "if I had chosen, have filled a volume with a variety of tortures practised in Europe: but although the horrid narrative would perhaps have insured the rapid sale of my work, I preferred to bury in silence such shocking scenes, lest I should have taught some modes of torture with which they were unacquainted, and have induced the ferocious to introduce them where they were previously unknown."

Having now given to the world a mass of most important and accurate information, on a subject essentially connected with good government, Howard returned to Cardington, apparently with the intention there to end his days. His friends were elated at the prospect of again enjoying his society, of which they had been so long deprived; having felt the loss more, as he corresponded so little, owing to his extreme aversion to letter-writing. His house was now always open to the reception of his social circle, as it had been previous to his travels. Numbers visited Cardington to enjoy the pleasure of walking over his grounds, which they were kindly permitted to do. These were neatly laid out, and always kept remarkably clean; the same attention

being paid to them, by his express orders, during his absence as when he was at home. There was, however, nothing in them that merited particular celebrity, except the interest they excited from being the property of one whose labours in the cause of humanity had been unparalleled. The servants were strictly prohibited from receiving any presents from the individuals who thus sought to indulge a laudable curiosity. Howard having a similar aversion to the practice of giving vails, as he had to the custom of demanding fees of the poor acquitted prisoner.

Howard's pastor, the Rev. Mr. Smith, to whom he had entrusted the care of his house and furniture in his absence, was now his most intimate friend, as he had been almost his only correspondent. The attachment between these individuals was mutually strong and cordial. They were seldom a day without seeing each other. Mr. Smith was accustomed frequently to call on his friend for a ride. On these occasions Howard had no greater pleasure than to beguile the hours till he knew it was too late for his friend's dinner, by the relation of some most interesting anecdotes respecting his travels, when he would playfully remark: "I find, friend Smith, that you can fast as long as I can; and now you must go to Cardington and spend the day with me, as Mrs. Smith will have dined long before now." Often has Mr. Smith been heard to declare, that the hours he spent on these occasions were among the happiest of his life. Howard would then freely relate the various incidents of his travels, the trials he had undergone, the privations he had endured, the dangers he had escaped, the disappointments he had met with, and the support he had experienced, in a manner the most delightful and engaging. Many days of such happy intercourse with this benevolent being did Mr. Smith enjoy.

Howard continued two years in this retired situa-

tion, occasionally spending some weeks in London, at his house in Great Ormond-street; but chiefly residing at Cardington. His liberal heart was continually devising liberal things. Nothing afforded him so much pleasure as the relief of those who were in distress. He still persevered in his abstemious habits, abstaining entirely from the use of animal food. Not because he thought it improper, in general cases, but because he had proved that its use in his own case had beclouded, if not enfeebled, his mind, besides producing invariably considerable irritability. To his abstinence from it he ascribed the calmness of his temper, and that extraordinary presence of mind he on all occasions possessed; which was such, that whatever disastrous event might happen, nothing could disconcert or discompose him. He had thus acquired such a command over his feelings that he could cheerfully forego every comfort that was likely to retard his benevolent schemes. He was not fastidious in his food, but could relish any wholesome vegetable diet; and he always preferred that which could be obtained with the least trouble. Still his table was regularly served up, whether he had or had not company, with a regularity and a style suited to his rank in life, and he allowed the use of animal food to all his domestics.

Young Howard was now constantly with his father. As he increased in years he became a high-spirited youth, and discovered a taste very dissimilar to that of his parent. It is to be regretted that Howard still kept him at too great a distance, exacting obedience to his injunctions, less from a principle of affection than of authority, joining too little with him in familiar and interesting conversation, and denying him, too rigorously, that liberty to which he was now fairly entitled. This arose not from any want of affection to his son. Of this he could never

be justly charged. He had taken the greatest care to place him at those schools where proper attention would be paid to his education and his morals; never acting in this respect without the advice of his friends. But the idea he had unhappily formed of parental authority, led him, not unfrequently, in correcting his son's temper, to suppress the strong affection he felt for him, lest he should relax the discipline necessary to the maintenance of that authority.

It is an acknowledged difficulty to make parental authority and parental affection go hand in hand; never permitting the latter to usurp the rights of the former, nor allowing the former to extinguish the latter. This difficulty is greatly augmented when the female parent is removed. A mother's tenderness can be ill-supplied by a father. The winning graces of the former finds the way directly to the heart of her offspring, and melts down the stubbornness of perverseness much better than the commanding and authoritative tone of the latter. Nature seems to have fitted the father to rule his offspring by power, the mother by love. Happy is it where both are softened into one: authority is then never relaxed by affection, nor is affection diminished by authority. In too many cases, especially in our day, affection is the only rule; every thing else is overlooked. Of this evil Howard had probably seen the bad effects, which he determined to avoid: but in doing so he ran into another extreme, which, though not equally dangerous, except under peculiar circumstances, is never to be commended.

Much, however, as Howard's error in bringing up his son is to be regretted, it can never be assigned as the cause of the youth's subsequent ruin. It would undoubtedly have been better had the father treated the son more familiarly, as this would have increased the youth's attachment to his parent: but had the same causes existed, the same effects would have

followed. Young Howard's misconduct, and ultimate ruin, were owing entirely to the base perfidy of his father's confidential servant, who accompanied him in all his journeys. Taking advantage of the unsuspecting confidence which he knew he had acquired over Howard, he was accustomed, on their visits to London, which were now frequent, after he knew that Howard had retired to bed, either to please the youth, (into whose affections he had ingratiated himself,) or to indulge his own base desires, to introduce him to scenes of folly and dissipation of the worst and lowest character. With such secrecy was this practice carried on, that Howard had not the slightest suspicion of the evil; and so often was it repeated, that those evil habits became at length confirmed, which led, at no distant period, to consequences the most disastrous.

After keeping his son a year at home, Howard determined to send him to the University at Edinburgh, whither he accompanied him early in 1785. He was placed under the immediate care of Dr. Blacklock, in whose house he resided. He was then a youth of a very prepossessing appearance, and seemed likely to sustain a character worthy of his father's reputation. Howard fondly anticipated the pleasure he should derive from his company in the evening of his days; little suspecting how different a scene was to follow. Unhappily he had been so completely initiated into the evil practices above adverted to, that he had now acquired a confirmed vitiated taste; and being under less restraint than formerly, he indulged it as far as he could with decency, till it became an inveterate habit. To such lengths did he carry his excesses, that he was compelled, having still some shame left, to resort to powerful medicinal preparations to prevent detection. He repeated this so often, that its effects upon his constitution became at length too visible to be con-

cealed : symptoms of that mental aberration began to appear, which subsequently issued in the incurable disease which in the meridian of life closed his unhappy career.

These inconsistencies, with the invidious remarks on the peculiarities of others, in which young Howard too frequently indulged, though he was naturally of a good disposition, caused him to be avoided by his fellow-students. Destitute of companions, he was left to the unrestrained pursuit of his vicious courses. Hence his career of vice became the more rapid. Tidings of his conduct having at length reached Howard's ear, he immediately determined to remove him home ; in hopes, that, by taking him from the scene of his vices, he might be made to see the folly of his conduct, and be induced to pursue that path into which he had been so anxious to train him. He was accordingly removed to Cardington, and allowed every indulgence that could contribute to his comfort. But all this proved of no avail. The same servant who had corrupted him was still in his father's confidence, and still abused it in the same way he had done before, on all convenient occasions: yet could not Howard be persuaded to suspect him, though frequent hints were given him to that effect, by his faithful domestics.

The profligacy of his son inflicted a deep wound on Howard's mind, and filled him with most painful apprehensions. It grieved him to perceive that the hopes he had fondly cherished of his reformation were entirely groundless. He became every day more dissipated, and less attentive to parental admonition, though given in the mildest and most affectionate manner.

At length to such an alarming degree did he sink, that he openly despised his father's advice, though he had always spoken of him till now, with the greatest affection, declaring, even in his wildest mo-

ments, that he esteemed it an honour to be the son of such a parent. This undutiful behaviour was, to Howard, a most cutting stroke, and one that affected him most severely; but such was the warmth of his affection for him, that he bore with meekness every resentment. Perceiving, at length, that no good was likely to result from his continuance at home, he determined to exert the little remaining authority he had over him, by attempting to settle him comfortably in the university at Cambridge, hoping that the respectable company to which he would be introduced there, would have a beneficial effect on his mind. He was the more induced to place him there, as he would be under the eye and care of the Rev. Robert Robinson, one of Howard's warmest friends. Accordingly he accompanied him to Cambridge, and he was entered a student of St. John's College, in the summer of 1785.

CHAPTER XIII.

Renewal of Howard's philanthropic labours—Undertakes to visit the principal lazarettoes in Europe—Sails from England for that purpose—Is forbidden to enter France—His determination, nevertheless, so to do—Singular incident—Arrival at Lyons—Expedient adopted to avoid detection—Reaches Marseilles—Visit to the lazaretto—Anecdote of a converted slave—Arrival at Nice—State of the prisons there—Inspects the Genoese lazarettoes, hospitals, and prisons—Passes on to Pisa, Florence Rome, Naples—Embarks for Malta—Sails thence for Smyrna—Touches at Zante—Arrival at Constantinople—State of the prisons and hospitals in that city.

HOWARD's anxiety on his son's account, though it greatly harassed his mind, did not diminish his zeal in the cause of suffering humanity. He had always deeply regretted the havock made among mankind by that devastating scourge, the plague; and he felt surprised that nothing had been done in his own country to prevent its spread, should it again appear on our shores, which seemed to him not improbable. In his work on prisons he had hinted, that if some traveller would furnish plans of the principal lazarettoes in Europe, it might lead to the erection of similar institutions in England. But perceiving that no notice had been taken of this suggestion, he determined to undertake the work him-

self: and aware that it would expose him to great danger, he resolved to perform it alone. "His design now," as has been well remarked, "was probably the most humane and benevolent that ever entered the mind of man, being no less than to check the progress of the devouring pestilence."

Having completed his preparations for this arduous task, and provided himself with a string of suitable inquiries, drawn up by his kind friends, Doctors Aikin and Jebb, to elicit information from the continental physicians, respecting the symptoms of this dreadful disease, and the best means of its cure and prevention; he embarked for Holland towards the close of November, 1785. His intention was to commence his labours at Marseilles, but the vigilance of the French government, to prevent encroachments upon their Levant trade, rendered this extremely difficult. Aware of this, he had taken the precaution to request Lord Carmarthen, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, to apply for permission to the French authorities, which his lordship kindly promised to do, and undertook to forward it to him in Holland. Howard waited the arrival of this document at the Hague for several days, and at length paid a visit to his friend, Dr. Brown, at Utrecht, where he shortly after received his lordship's letter, informing him that the French had not only peremptorily refused him permission to visit the lazaretto at Marseilles, but had intimated that if he entered their territory at all, he would be taken up and committed to the Bastile.

A threat like this would have deterred most men from any further pursuit of the object, but it had no effect on Howard. He read the letter to his friend, the Doctor, who earnestly, but vainly, endeavoured to dissuade him from making any further attempts in France; assuring him, that as the French were now aware of his intention, they would be more

on the watch, and his escape would be impossible. All the Doctor could say was of no avail. "The die is cast," said our philanthropist, with noble and Christian magnanimity, "and I am determined to proceed, in full reliance on the protection of Providence." Acting on this determination, he returned to the Hague, and proceeded thence, by Dort and Antwerp, to Brussels, where he booked himself in the diligence for Paris. On his arrival in that city, that he might avoid detection, he took the precaution to sleep at an obscure inn, a short distance from the posting-house, having first engaged a place in the Lyons diligence, which started early the next morning. During the night the following singular incident occurred. He retired, as was his usual practice, about ten, and was awoke at midnight by a violent knocking at his room door. Somewhat alarmed, he started up and asked what was wanted. Admission into the room being demanded, he immediately unfastened the door and hastened to bed. A man with a huge black cloak, having his hands enveloped in an enormous muff, and a sword by his side, accompanied by the chambermaid with a light in each hand, instantly entered the room. This strange figure authoritatively asked if our traveller's name was not Howard? "It is," replied he, "and what of that?" "Did you not come by the 'Brussels' diligence to Paris, in company with a man who wore a black wig?" was again asked. Howard smartly replied, "that he paid no attention to such trifles, and did not like to be thus disturbed." On which his unwelcome visitors quitted the room. Too much alarmed at this strange incident to sleep, he arose and prepared for his journey. He remained in the house till near the time fixed for starting, when he quitted it, taking his small portmanteau with him to the posting-house, whence the diligence was to

start. He found it in readiness, and taking his seat, set off without interruption to Lyons.

He was pleased to find himself, this stage of his journey, associated with intelligent and interesting fellow-passengers. He now travelled in the character of an English physician, and prescribed successfully for a lady, one of the passengers, who was taken ill during the journey. On arriving at Lyons, he endeavoured to conceal himself as much as possible, visiting only two or three confidential Protestant clergymen. The prisons and hospitals, however, he could not pass unnoticed. The former were considerably improved since he saw them last; but the latter were far more negligently managed than before, except the general hospital, which was an excellent institution, and well-conducted.

Quitting Lyons early in January, 1786, Howard proceeded to Avignon. On inspecting the prison in that town, it gave him pleasure to perceive that none of the prisoners were in irons; their escape was provided against by the security of the prison. The hospital was an excellent institution, well-managed, but not sufficiently airy. Howard did not stop here longer than was really necessary to accomplish his object, but passed on rapidly to Marseilles, where he remained five days. Here he only made himself known to an excellent Protestant clergyman, (Mr. Durand,) with whom he had formerly been on terms of intimacy. On entering his house, this gentleman said to him, "Mr. Howard, I have, till now, always been most happy to see you, and most unwilling to bid you adieu; but I must now entreat you to leave France as speedily as possible; your enemies are searching for you in every direction." Still could not Howard be persuaded to leave the work he had undertaken unfinished; nor could he be dissuaded from visiting the prisons and hospitals, though his principal object

was to obtain admission into the lazaretto: which he found situated on an elevated rock, near the city, at the end of the bay, fronting the south-west, and commanding the entrance of the harbour. It was very spacious, and its situation rendered it very commodious for the extensive trade carried on by the French in the Levant. Besides other apartments, there were twenty-four large rooms, some below and some above stairs, all opening into a spacious gallery: in each room were closets for beds, which the occupants were requested to bring with them. The whole formed a very noble building. It was surrounded by a double wall; in the centre was the governor's house, and a chapel where divine service was regularly performed.

Howard next proceeded to Toulon, to inspect the galleys there. To avoid detection he now dressed in the highest style of fashion, and thus passed safely unobserved. Five of the galleys were moored near each other, in which near sixteen hundred convicts were confined. They were divided into three classes; deserters, smugglers, and thieves. The last are always branded at the prison where they were condemned, previous to their being sent to the galleys; some with the initial *voleur* (thief;) others with *gal.* on the left shoulder. Each one is compelled to wear a cap, to which is attached a tin plate with a number; and the caps of each class are of different colours, grey, green, and red. Some of the convicts had been confined forty, fifty, or even sixty years. All were loaded with chains, and many very heavily. Some worked at their own trade, but the greater part were employed in the arsenal. Divine service was regularly performed, and mass celebrated; which all were formerly compelled to attend; but Protestants were now permitted to be absent.

It had been intimated to Howard that a convert to the Protestant religion, who had been confined for many years, and whose history was interesting,

was among the convicts. He determined, if possible, to find him out, and to obtain from him a correct account of his conversion. After a long search he succeeded, and learned from him that his name was François Condé; that he had been condemned to the galleys for life, when he was only fourteen, though he was lame of one arm, for being concerned with several other boys in an affray with a gentleman in Paris, who had lost his gold-headed cane; and that he had been more than forty years in the galleys. Howard asked him how he came to change his religion. He replied, that after he had been in the galleys about five years, he providentially procured a Bible. He could not then read, but being anxious to acquire a knowledge of its contents, he determined to learn. The result was, that after a close, attentive perusal of the Scriptures, he became convinced that the religion he had been taught was unscriptural. He immediately publicly renounced it, and ably defended his sentiments on all suitable occasions. With the change of his sentiments a correspondent alteration in his conduct took place. He had many years adorned his profession in his very lowly sphere, and was highly respected by his officers and fellow-convicts, as a humble, modest, irreproachable character. The infirmities of age had now crept upon him; and his only employment was to make and tune some homely musical pipes for sale. Of these Howard brought away with him a few; doing himself, at the same time, the pleasure of rewarding the maker bountifully, in token of the admiration he felt for his character.

Howard now felt anxious to get safe out of France, having learnt that the strictest search after him was still made. To return by land without detection, seemed impossible; and as his friend Mr. Durand thought it would be most rash to make the attempt, he determined to sail, if a passage could be procured,

to Nice. After waiting four days at Toulon, he at length prevailed on a captain, who had put in there wind-bound, by the offer of a liberal sum, to take him to that port. He accordingly went on board, and they got under weigh; but had scarcely cleared the harbour when they encountered a foul wind, which drove them to the small island of Port Crosce. Here they were detained some days; and Howard's curiosity led him to inspect the castle which stands upon its summit, where he found an old baronial circular prison, twenty-two feet in diameter, the descent into which was by a ladder, through a small stone aperture. The ladder was drawn up when the prisoner had descended; and it was then a most secure, but a dreadful place of confinement. As this prison resembled most others in the barbarous ages, when security only was regarded, Howard took an exact drawing of it, with which he illustrated his work.

After a tedious passage, Howard arrived safe at Nice, not a little thankful that he had escaped the vigilance of the French police. Whether it was really the intention of the French government to have taken him, or whether they only meant to intimidate him by threats, cannot certainly be known. Some have said, that his apprehensions were on this occasion imaginary; but that the French were averse to his visits, especially after the exposure he had made of the Bastile, cannot be doubted; nor can it be denied that they issued a prohibition and a threat. Probably they imagined that this would answer every purpose without further proceedings, especially as their prohibition came through so high a quarter. Had they known that Howard's courage would have urged him to persevere in face of all danger, they would perhaps have taken more decided steps; his escape would then scarcely have been possi-

ble. But his conduct would have been precisely the same. It is certain that both he and his friends firmly believed that the most diligent search was made for him, and that his escape was owing to the care of an overruling Providence. His opinion of this nation, which he now appears to have determined never more to visit, is thus briefly expressed: "I have taken a final leave of a perfidious, jealous, and unjust nation. Some individuals among them I esteem. Their government I dislike; their national character I detest." Still there were many things among the French of which he highly approved: one was their excellent and well-regulated police.

Shortly after Howard's arrival at Nice, he thus writes to his friend, Mr. Smith. "I persuade myself that a line to acquaint you I am safe, and well out of France, will give you pleasure. I had a nice and most difficult part to act. The character I assumed was that of an English doctor; and perhaps, among the number of empirics, I did as little mischief as any. I never dined or supped in public, and only entrusted the secret of my visit to the French Protestant ministers. Such was the anxiety of the friends at Toulon for my welfare, that last Sunday week, while the whole congregation were assembled for worship, they were much alarmed for my safety by an individual coming in very late to the meeting, supposing I had been found out by my pursuers. I inspected the arsenal twice, a privilege never permitted to Englishmen. Here I saw a slave who for thirty-six years has publicly professed himself a Protestant. He is a sensible, good man; of an unexceptionable, and even amiable character. I am bound this week to Genoa, and then to Leghorn, where a lazaretto has been recently built. I assure you, that to pursue this new attempt of mine, which I know you will not treat as wild or chimerical, requires a steadiness not easily to be shaken. I

write this with my windows open, in full view of an orange-grove, though the mountains, which I can see at a great distance, are covered with snow."

Howard only remained at Nice a sufficient time to enable him to inspect the prisons, and some rooms near the water, where two hundred and fifty galley-slaves were confined. The former were spacious, and not ill-managed. Beds and bedding were provided for the prisoners, and they were not put in irons except as a punishment for any riotous or disorderly conduct. The slaves looked healthy, though the place of their confinement was dirty. They were constantly employed in clearing the harbour, and in making such improvements in it as were thought desirable. On his way to Genoa, he stopped at Savona to inspect an hospital there, which was well-regulated, and under the care of a skilful and humane physician.

Early in February he reached Genoa, and immediately visited the lazaretto, an extensive and noble building, standing by itself near the sea, not far distant from the city. It is built on a regular plan; the centre row equally dividing the areas, which are three hundred and ten feet by twenty-five. At the entrance is a guard-room, and a spacious bakehouse. Towards the areas are many vaulted rooms for passengers, which open into a corridor, where there are doors to separate those belonging to different ships. These rooms are fifteen feet by fourteen, and very lofty. On one side there are ten, and on the other eleven. Each room has two opposite windows, with iron bars and shutters, but not glazed. On the second floor, there are ranges of warehouses, having a window only in front. To these there are spacious brick ascents on the outside, on which bales of cotton are opened and aired. Above this are thirty-six rooms in front, besides twelve for the governor's family. In the front are three towers

or balconies, one in the centre, the others at each end. That in the centre is for the governor, from the windows of which he has a full view of the areas and corridors. At the back of the building is a chapel, behind which are two noble rooms, each a hundred and twenty-five by twenty-five feet. A fine stream of fresh water, from the adjacent mountains, is conducted through the establishment, greatly to its advantage. The whole is surrounded by a double wall, and the space between the two walls, is used as a burying-ground for Protestants. A large garden adjoins the lazaretto, which formerly belonged to it; but which was now sold, subject to the condition that if any epidemic disease should prevail in the city, and the ground be wanted for tents, it should be used for that purpose.

Howard was indebted to the kindness of the magistrates for admission into this noble institution, and for permission to take copies of its plans and elevations, with engravings of which he embellished his work on lazarettoes. The great hospital in this city came next under his inspection; the principal portion of which, he was sorry to find, occupied by a convent of only ten friars. The convent was so situated that it prevented the admission of air into the sick wards; and by this means, in Howard's opinion, occasioned the death of more patients annually than double the number of friars. This hospital was adorned by statues of its benefactors, which are placed in different positions, according to the amount of their bequests. "Many are placed," says Howard, "standing; but the gift of a thousand crowns entitles to a chair. I observed one with one of its feet under the chair: the reason of which I was informed was, that the benefactor had only contributed ninety thousand crowns. These statues were injurious, and only formed a harbour for the dust; and the ambition of having their statues placed

here had been ruinous to many families. From a regard to the health of the patients, I wish only to see plain white walls in hospitals, and no article of ornamental furniture introduced."

After visiting another excellent lazaretto belonging to the Genose, situated on a rising ground at Varignano, near the gulph of Spezia, with a beautiful engraved view and plan of which his work is illustrated, Howard sailed for Leghorn, whither he had a pleasant passage, and arrived the last week in February. Here was a lazaretto newly erected, and two others; all of which, through the kindness of the governor, who accompanied him, he was enabled to inspect. Ships with the plague on board, instead of being chased away, or burnt, as was the practice in many places, were received here; and their passengers and crews treated with the most humane attention, while every thing belonging to them, with the cargoes of the vessels, were kept in perfect order. Every effort had been made, by the express directions of the Grand Duke, to make these lazarettoes as complete as possible. To obtain the best information, he had despatched an individual to the Levant to enquire into their construction and regulation. The result of these exertions was, that they were now the best institutions of the kind in Europe.

On reinspecting the prison and hospital in this city, Howard was pleased to find them managed with the same humane attention as on his former visit. The Grand Duke happening to be in the city at the time of Howard's visit, sent him an invitation to dine with him. But such was the eagerness of our philanthropist to prosecute his labours, that he politely declined this honour, because, without advancing the objects of his visit, it would have occasioned him the loss of some hours; and might, perhaps, have deprived him of a speedy conveyance to Pisa,

the opportunities of conveyance thither being few and uncertain. It would have afforded Howard no small pleasure to have spent some hours in conversation with a prince of a taste so congenial to his own, and whom he had designated as "the true father of his people." But of this, as of every other gratification that was likely to impede the work in which he was engaged, he nobly denied himself.

The hospital at Pisa, whither Howard next proceeded, was an excellent institution. There was an elegance about the women's ward, with which he was delighted. It was furnished with iron grated doors for the admission of light and air. These commanded a prospect into a beautiful botanic garden, and made the scene extremely interesting. On his return from this institution he immediately set off for Florence, where he arrived early in March. In all the prisons and hospitals of this city he had the gratification to find considerable improvements had been made since his last visit. A house of correction, on an excellent plan, had recently been built, which was under the most humane management. The Grand Duke had ordered a copy of his new code of criminal laws to be taken and presented to Howard, with which he was exceedingly pleased. They were wise and salutary enactments, and evinced a sincere desire, on the part of their author, to promote the happiness of his people.

After remaining several days at Florence, Howard proceeded to Rome, and reinspected the prisons in the imperial city, which had undergone some improvement. The noble hospital of *St. Michele*, the examination of which occupied him two mornings, he regretted to find much neglected, owing chiefly to the inattention of the inspectors. A different scene presented itself in an institution for the instruction of young women, to which the reigning

pope devoted much of his attention. "About this," says Howard, "there was a neatness, economy, and industry, which afforded pleasure to every visitor. Hearing that Howard was in the city, the pope intimated a wish to see him. A private interview was accordingly appointed, with an understanding that the humiliating, and in Howard's opinion impious ceremonies usually practised when his holiness was approached, would be all dispensed with. The interview was most agreeable to both parties; and, on taking leave, such was the pope's regard for Howard, that he laid his hands on our philanthropist's head and blessed him; pleasantly remarking: "I know you Englishmen do not regard such things as these; but the blessing of an old man, honestly and sincerely given, can do you no harm." This affectionate testimony of respect from a venerable, though mistaken, old man, was doubtless justly appreciated by Howard.

From Rome our indefatigable traveller proceeded to Naples, and reinspected the prisons and hospitals in that city. They had undergone scarcely any alteration since he saw them eight years before. The lazaretto here was small, and not well-conducted, too little attention being paid to passengers and shipping under quarantine. Howard embarked here for Malta, where he arrived the 30th March, 1786, after a very rough and dangerous voyage. So tremendous a storm beat upon the vessel for some hours, that the captain and crew all thought she must have foundered; but they were mercifully preserved, and reached their port in safety. On their passage they had a fine view of the lazaretto at Messina, and could see the ruins made by the recent dreadful earthquake. Howard regretted that he could not visit it; but the state of the weather made it impracticable. The English consul at Trieste, however, hearing that Howard wished much

for the plan of this lazaretto, very obligingly sent it him, and Howard published an accurate engraving of it in his work.

Being furnished with letters of recommendation from Sir William Hamilton, the British ambassador at Naples, to the grand master, Howard found no difficulty in obtaining admission into the prisons and hospitals. The former were small, dirty, and ill-managed; the cruelties of the torture had recently been inflicted on a Turk to such a degree that mortification had ensued. The hospitals, though large, were in an equally neglected state. "I observed," says Howard, "that the physician in going his rounds was obliged to keep his handkerchief to his face: the wards were all so dirty, as to make it needful to perfume them: the use of perfume I always reckon a proof of inattention to cleanliness and air, and this inattention struck me here very forcibly. The number of patients admitted into these hospitals, during the three weeks I was at Malta, was above five hundred: they were attended to by the most ragged, dirty, unfeeling, and inhuman individuals I ever saw. On one of my visits I found them amusing themselves with the incoherent exclamations of a delirious and dying patient. The horses and mules of the grand master, kept in an adjoining building, were taken much greater care of, and were attended to by a greater number of individuals, all of whom looked decent and clean. I cannot help adding, that in the centre of each range of stables a fountain was constantly running into a stone basin; but in the hospital, though there was a place for a fountain, there was no water."

The hospital for females, which Howard next inspected, was the most filthy for women he had ever seen. The foundling-hospital was under better management, but the children who resided in the house looked pale and delicate, chiefly because their sleep-

ing rooms were too confined, and no play-ground was provided. The two poor-houses which Howard inspected, he was pleased to find on the whole well-conducted. Near to these was the singular convent, *Cassa della Manrisa*, founded by a Spanish prince, where travellers, on conforming to the rules of the house, might be accommodated with board and lodging at a very trifling expense. "I spent," says Howard, "part of two days in this religious retreat, and found all still, quiet, and agreeable. Over the door of each room is a picture of some individual celebrated for his piety. The windows commanded a fine view of the garden: the refectory is a beautiful hall, painted with subjects from Scripture history: the church is kept remarkably clean, and three priests reside constantly on the spot."

During Howard's continuance here he had several interviews with the grand-master. On one occasion the prince asked him for his frank and candid opinion of the prisons and hospitals he had visited in his dominions, on which, with his accustomed openness, he undisguisedly declared them to be in a very wretched state, mentioned several particulars to prove that such was the case, and intimated, at the same time, that if his highness would occasionally condescend merely to walk through them it would be of great advantage. He perceived that the freedom of his remarks were not quite relished; but was gratified to learn, on subsequently visiting the hospitals, that they had not been without their use, greater attention being paid to the cleanliness and health of the patients.

The following extract from a letter, written by Howard to an esteemed friend, dated, Malta, 9th April, 1786, will show the state of his mind at this time:—"One effect of my visit to the lazarettoes I find to be a heavy pain across my forehead; but this always leaves me about an hour after I come from

these places. I am now bound for Zante and Smyrna, and Constantinople: we have here many Turks who give the most unfavourable accounts of these places. Being quite alone I have need to summon all my courage and resolution. You will say it is a great undertaking, and one very liable to a fatal miscarriage: so it is, but I must adopt the motto of a Maltese baron —*Non nisi per ardua.* I will not suspect you to be among those who treat every new attempt as wild and chimerical. It was said by many, that my former attempt would produce no real or lasting advantage; but I still persevere, 'through evil report and good report,' often (as I am now fully aware) at the risk of my life. In the words of Dr. Doddridge, I can declare that 'I have no hope either in what I have been, or what I have done.' Yet is there a hope set before me; my sole trust is in Christ, and in him I have strong consolation. It has given me pain to see inscribed in large gold letters, in almost all the churches, *Indulgentia plenaria;* and on the canvas or stone in the streets, over the crucifixes, *Qui elucidant me vitam eternam habebunt;* while many poor deluded creatures, some almost naked and half-starved, were dropping their contributions into the boxes. In many instances, God has disappointed my fears, and exceeded my hopes. I am thankful to him for the enjoyment of good health, with calm and steady spirits. Remember me to any of my friends, and give me a share in your serious moments."

The lazaretto at Malta, situated on a peninsula near the city, Howard carefully inspected. It had originally been small and ill-adapted to answer any useful purpose; but so many additions had been made to it, that it was now capable of containing the cargoes and crews of six or seven vessels, and was an excellent institution. Two kinds of quarantine was performed by ships at this port—the petty and the great. The former lasts only eighteen days; the

latter forty, and sometimes eighty, according to the circumstances of the case. Separate places of landing are provided, the former being near the health-office, the latter near the lazaretto.

It was several days from the time that Howard wished to leave this port, before he could meet with a vessel bound for Smyrna. He however procured one at length, and embarked on the 20th April. His course now was one of such extraordinary peril that nothing but the most implicit trust in the protection of Providence, could have prompted him to persevere. But he determined, if possible, for the benefit of mankind, to ascertain more correctly the nature, progress, and cure of that disease, than he had yet been able to do, even at the risk of falling himself a victim to its fury. During the voyage, the captain put into Zante, a Turkish port. Vessels coming here from any part, except the Barbary coast and the Levant, are not subjected to quarantine, but the passengers are permitted to pass into the city. The health-office, where the depositions of the captains, as they arrive, are taken, is by the water-side, and adjoins the city. There were two lazarettoes here, about a mile from the city; an old, and a new one: Howard inspected them both, and was much pleased with the one that had been newly erected. He visited the prisons and hospitals, but found nothing in them worthy of remark.

After waiting at Zante for a few days, a fair breeze sprung up, and the vessel had a pleasant run to Smyrna, where Howard arrived about the 16th May. Taking with him an interpreter, whom he engaged for the purpose, he immediately applied for admission into the prisons and hospitals. He was gratified to learn that there were much fewer cases of the plague in the town than he had expected. At the gate of the principal prison sat three Turks, carelessly smoking

their pipes, from whom, on Howard's first application for admission, he received a surly refusal: but on being told by his interpreter that he was a physician, they instantly allowed him to enter, and treated him with due respect. This prison was situate near the sea, and consisted only of two rooms and a court: but so speedily is justice executed here, that it is scarcely ever crowded. "One of the prisoners," says Howard, "was a young man who had been so severely bastinadoed that he was much swelled from head to foot; and it was hardly thought he could recover. I advised him to bathe in the sea; to apply salt and vinegar to his feet. In the use of these means, with the addition of some cooling aperient I gave him, he rapidly recovered; and I acquired a credit which made the keepers, in all my subsequent visits, particularly attentive to me."

The English, the Dutch, the Venetians, the Italians, the French, with the Jews and Greeks, have each a hospital in this city; all of which Howard visited. Most of them were excellent, and some admirable institutions. That belonging to the Greeks was spacious, commodious, and airy; containing several wards specially for the plague, which were seldom without patients. With the excellent governor of the Italian hospital, who had formerly been ill of the plague, Howard was much pleased. He obtained from him much important information. He had made a vow, when suffering under the disease, which he faithfully kept, that if he recovered, he would assiduously attend upon others in similar circumstances. Nothing could exceed the tenderness with which he watched over patients suffering under this malignant distemper. The result was, that of those who had been entrusted to his care, for the last eighteen years, the number that recovered far exceeded the number of deaths.

Howard gladly embraced an opportunity afforded him while in this city, of attending divine service in the chapel of the English factory, and he was pleased with the manner in which the worthy chaplain performed the service. Adverting to this circumstance, he censures the practice of too many of our ambassadors, when they quit their native shore, in a manner alike honourable to his fidelity and his Christian character. "I cannot forbear to mention," he writes, "what appears to me a secret source of contagious irreligion, that most of our ambassadors have no chapels, nor any religious service in their houses. With pain I have observed on Sundays many of our young nobility and gentry, who are to fill eminent stations in life, instructed in their houses, by example at least, (especially in Roman-catholic countries,) to make the Lord's-day a season of diversion and amusement. How have I been mortified by the comparison, when, after calling at their hotels, I have seen, on my return, the chapels of the Spanish and French ambassadors crowded."

Howard's kindness and humanity, with his reputed medical skill, had secured him the respect of all the civil officers in the city. All were anxious to give him as much information as possible respecting their customs. They invited him, on one occasion, to accompany the "*Cadi*" (weight-surveyor,) into the city; which invitation he accepted, and witnessed their very summary, but not very humane method of punishing tradesmen who kept short weights. "One morning," says Howard," "I attended the Cadi, and other officers of the public, when they visited the shops, and examined the weights, and the quality of the bread sold. All false and light weights they cut and carried away. Such of the shopkeepers as were judged to be delinquents, were either sent to prison or immediately bastinadoed; that is, laid on their backs, to receive a certain

number of strokes on the soles of their feet, at the discretion of the Cadi. I was informed that a person had received from four to five hundred; but can hardly conceive it possible to survive a much smaller number. Such hasty execution of what is called justice is highly improper, and very cruel. The terror which appeared in the countenances of all the shopkeepers at these times, implied that the innocent might suffer with the guilty; and it is scarcely possible that this should not sometimes happen, especially as the Cadi, who orders and superintends these punishments, continues only in office one year, and is often young and inexperienced."

Howard embarked for Constantinople in a miserable Turk's boat, about the 30th May, and arrived safe in six days. He continued in this city a month, exposed to imminent danger, from frequently visiting the hospitals and pest-houses, where individuals were constantly dying of the plague; but he providentially escaped the infection. The celebrity he had acquired in Smyrna as a physician, followed him here, and was of essential service to him in the pursuit of his object, making way for his admission into every hospital, and affording him increased facilities for the acquisition of the information it was his wish to obtain. Such was his reputation in this respect, that he was called to visit the daughter of a Turk high in office at the Ottoman Porte, whom the skill of the most eminent Turkish physicians had not been able to relieve. The medicine he prescribed had the desired effect, and she very rapidly recovered. Overjoyed at the result, her delighted parent generously offered Howard two thousand sequins, nearly £900, which he respectfully, but positively refused to accept: stating, that he never took money, but, that if a few grapes from the garden could be conveniently spared, they would

be acceptable. Astonished at conduct so disinterested, and at the moderation of Howard's request, the Turk instantly gave orders that a liberal supply of the finest fruit should be sent him daily, as long as he continued in the city.

On inspecting the prisons in this capital, Howard found them much more humanely conducted than he had anticipated. They were remarkably still and quiet; a circumstance for which he could not easily account, till he was informed that water was the only beverage allowed; wine, and strong drink of all kinds being strictly prohibited. Prisoners of different sects, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Mahomedans, were kept in different rooms. The prison for slaves was very large, but nearly empty; most of the slaves having recently been removed to the galleys. The few that remained were healthy, and evidently under the care of a humane governor. In the prison for the suburbs, eighteen debtors were confined, who depended solely on charity for subsistence. To the celebrated prison of the seven towers, four of which had been recently destroyed by fire, Howard could not obtain admission.

The hospitals in Constantinople, belonging to the Turks themselves, are not numerous. "Those for the sick," says Howard, "are a sort of caravansera, of which there are two or three. In one of them I saw several objects lying on dirty mats on the floor, sick and dying; the surgeon either seeming to be extremely stupid or intoxicated with opium." The French had two hospitals here, one for general purposes, the other for infected persons, which Howard inspected, and with which he was much pleased. The patients in the former have the use of a garden belonging to an adjoining convent, proving of great advantage to the convalescent. The institution for infected patients, consists of several rooms, some of which are appropriated to the performance of quarantine, by

persons who have visited infected families or ships. "The two asylums in the city, for lunatics," says Howard, "are admirable structures, built entirely of stone, and proof against fire. The rooms are all on the ground-floor, arched, and very lofty; having opposite windows, and opening under a corridor into a spacious area. The keeper's rooms are in the middle of the area, whence he has a full view of the entrance, and of all that passes. In the courts is a good supply of water, yet very little regard is paid to cleanliness; nor is there in any other respect, much attention paid to the patients. I was astonished at this neglect of suffering humanity, when I saw the asylum for cats, which this deluded people had erected near the mosque of San Sophia." In the Greek hospital, situate in the suburbs, Howard found the prior himself very ill, and the whole institution miserably neglected. The prior accounted for this inattention, on the ground that none of the faculty would attend the patients. Turning to a young physician, who had accompanied him, Howard respectfully and earnestly urged him nobly to set a charitable example, by making the patients in this hospital the objects of his special and constant care.

Howard continued in the infected city a month, visiting every institution where he thought information could be obtained, and often entering places where his conductors refused to follow him: yet was his health, through the good providence of God preserved. In a letter to one of his friends he remarks: "I am sorry to say, that several die of the plague daily: one is just carried past my window: yet I go where none of my conductors have courage to accompany me. On visiting some of the hospitals, and on going among the sick in other places, I have a constant headach, as in the lazarettoes; but it always leaves me in about an hour after." Howard's chief anxiety respecting his constant exposure to an infected at-

mosphere was, lest he should be the means of carrying the disease among his friends. That such should not be the case, he denied himself the pleasure of their society, in his moments of relaxation, when he especially needed the stimulus of interesting conversation. For the same reason he respectfully declined the generous offer of a residence at the house of our ambassador, Sir Robert Ainslie: but for Sir Robert's kindness, in making him the offer, and in affording him every facility in furtherance of his object, he expressed the greatest obligations.

At the time of Howard's visit to this city, a recent instance of despotic cruelty was the subject of general remark. Complaints had been made to the vizier of the grand chamberlain, whose office it was to supply the city with bread, that it was of inferior quality, and short of weight. A messenger was accordingly despatched to request his attendance before the vizier. He immediately obeyed the summons, and attended at the palace. On his introduction, the vizier asked him "Why the bread had of late been so unwholesome?" "Because the harvest had been so bad," was the reply. Apparently satisfied with the excuse, the vizier again asked, "How does it happen that it is constantly short in weight?" "That," replied the chamberlain, "may have happened to a few loaves out of so large a quantity as are wanted for the whole city." Without saying more, the vizier instantly ordered him to withdraw, and immediately afterwards commanded an executioner to follow him and strike off his head.*

* Brown's Life of Howard.

CHAPTER XIV.

Howard quits Constantinople—Determines to risk the danger of confinement in a lazaretto—Visits the hospitals at Salonica—Proceeds to Scio—Revisits Smyrna—Sails for Venice—Is driven into Modon, in the Morea—Attack of a Tunisian privateer—Howard's courage—Arrival at Venice—Description of the health-office—Confinement in the lazaretto—Regulations of quarantine—Receives intelligence of his son's misconduct—Deep sorrow on the occasion—Efforts made to erect a monument to his memory—His extreme aversion to the measure—Termination of his quarantine—Its effects on his health—Zeal with which he again prosecutes his labours.

It was originally Howard's intention to have proceeded by land from Constantinople to Vienna; a journey which he had ascertained could be performed in twenty-four days; no quarantine being then required of travellers on the confines of the Hungarian dominions, where they were formerly detained more than twenty days. But it now occurred to him that he should be better acquainted with the laws of quarantine, and with the method pursued in the lazarettoes by actual experience than by any other means. Hence he determined to submit to the inconvenience, and risk the danger of a voyage to Venice, the place where lazarettoes were first established. Not satisfied with this, he resolved, in order to obtain the best information, by performing the

strictest quarantine, to return to Smyrna, and to take his passage thence to Venice, in a vessel with a foul bill of health. The plague had so recently committed its ravages in that city, that no vessel with a clean bill was cleared from that port.

Learning that there were at Salonica two large hospitals for the reception of patients infected with the plague, Howard proceeded thither in a small Greek boat, on his way to Smyrna. During this short voyage one of the passengers was taken suddenly ill. The captain conceiving Howard to be a physician, applied to him for advice. Never shrinking from danger, but ever ready to relieve the distressed, Howard visited the man in his cabin. His symptoms were most unfavourable; strongly indicating that he would shortly fall a victim to the prevalent malignant disease. Aware of the imminent danger to which all on board were now exposed, and of the probability that the danger would be increased by any imprudent disclosure, Howard had the presence of mind, and the courage to conceal his fears from the passengers and crew, disclosing them only to the captain and a French officer who was with him in the cabin, whom he advised not to approach too near the infected person, and to abstain from animal food. He gave the sick man such medicines as he thought suitable, and told the captain to keep him in a warm place, as much as possible by himself. They arrived in a day or two at Salonica, and the day afterwards the man died of the plague.

On inspecting the Greek hospital, which was then without a single patient, Howard regretted to find it surrounded by high walls, giving it an oppressive closeness, which affected his head as much as the most crowded prison, or the foulest lazaretto. The Jewish hospital was a striking contrast to this prison-like institution: "Situated on an elevated spot in the midst of their burying-ground, some of the tombs

serving for tables and seats, it is," says Howard, " a sort of spacious shed, divided in the middle by a wall, having the sides supported by pillars. It is lightsome and airy, and better accommodated for its purpose, than any I have seen. It would have greatly pleased my esteemed friend, Dr. Jebb, who says, in his Thoughts on the Construction of Prisons, that lofty walls and iron doors enclose a disease as effeetually as misery of other kinds."

The following extract from a letter, written from this place by Howard, to one of his friends in England, dated 22d July, 1786, describes his feelings, and partly developes his future plans :—" I am now bound for Scio, as the most celebrated hospital in the Levant is in that island : my quarantine of forty days' imprisonment is to be, I hope, at Venice. I could easily have made my route by land to Vienna, but should a lazaretto ever be established in England for our shipping, things which now appear trivial, may then be of much importance. I have therefore procured from the Venetian ambassador the strongest recommendations, to assist me in the minute observations I may make during my quarantine. I have visited all the prisons and hospitals in the places where I have been, but my interpreters are often very cross with me. I bless God that I continue well, with calm and steady spirits : I have indeed, at times, need of the most determined resolution, as, since I have left Helveotsluys, I have never been on board an English ship, nor travelled a single mile with any of my countrymen. I feel assured that I am engaged in a good cause, and am confirmed of having a good God and master. His approbation will be an abundant recompence for all the little pleasure I may have given up. At Smyrna I found the houses of the Franks, (as all are called who are not natives,) shut up. Every thing they receive is fumigated, and even their provisions pass through water. But

at Constantinople, where the disease is often more fatally malignant, and where many drop off suddenly, less rigorous measures are pursued. An instance of the suddenness with which the disease often terminates, recently came under my notice. No longer ago than last Thursday I was conversing with an eminent Italian merchant, and remarking to another gentleman, how sprightly he was; he replied, he had a fine trade, and was in the prime of life: but, alas! on Saturday he died, and was buried, having every sign of the plague."

Shortly after writing the above letter, Howard sailed for the island of Scio, where, after a tedious passage, he arrived safe. The hospital there was for the use of lepers; the only one of the kind he had ever seen. It contained about one hundred and twenty patients, males and females: each patient had a separate apartment, in a long range of rooms elevated above the ground. The situation was airy and pleasant; and most of the lepers had their own little garden, which supplies them with herbs, almonds and figs. A fine spring of water, issuing from the adjacent mountains, had lately been conducted through the institution, by which it was greatly benefited. Perceiving there were no baths, though there was an ample supply of water, Howard took the liberty, with his usual attention to cleanlinesss, to remark how much it would improve the institution, were a convenient bath made for each sex; an alteration which he requested the vice-consul to propose to the directors at their next meeting.

With as little delay as possible, Howard now again proceeded to Smyrna. On his arrival he immediately made inquiries for a vessel bound to Venice, and having met with one that suited his purpose, he sailed for that port. On their voyage the wind was often boisterous and stormy, and seldom in their favour. They put into Modon, in the Morea,

for water; and on leaving it were attacked by a Tunisian privateer, which fired into them with great force. The crew defended themselves for some time with much bravery, but became at length intimidated on account of the numbers that were against them, and the fear of being butchered by the Moors. Rallied, however, by the spirited exertions of Howard and the captain, they determined to make another desperate struggle. They loaded the largest gun they had on board with spikes, old nails, and whatever other missiles they could collect, and discharged it upon their enemy: it was pointed by Howard, and such was the effect it produced, that the privateer immediately sheered off, greatly to the joy of all on board.

The courage of Howard never forsook him on this occasion; amidst the danger to which he was exposed, his mind was peaceful and calm. Indeed, had he been aware of the extent of his danger, and known, as he afterwards learned, that the captain had determined, as the last resource, to blow up the vessel, rather than suffer perpetual slavery, his intrepidity and self-possession would doubtless have been the same. After this engagement, in which they happily lost no life, they proceeded pleasantly on their voyage, touching at Corfu, and at Castel Novo, in Dalmatia. The lazarretto at the former place is finely situated on a rock, surrounded by water, and about a league from the city. At the latter place it is on the shore, about two miles from the city. "At the back of it is a delightful hall," says Howard, "which belongs to a convent of friars. Persons in quarantine are allowed, after a few days detention, to walk there; but being in a vessel with a foul bill, I was not permitted to land, and was hence unable to visit either of these lazarettoes." There was much partiality in the regulations here; and Howard regretted that so little attention seemed to be

paid to prevent infection. The captain and the mate were permitted daily to visit the city, through the connivance of those who had the care of the health-office.

After a rough, tedious passage, they arrived at Venice on the 11th October. Howard accompanied the captain to the health-office, to witness the manner in which his report was made, his examination taken, and his papers delivered. The next day he was taken in a boat to the landing-place for the lazaretto: on landing, he was conducted by the individual appointed to be his guard to the room assigned for his lodging. It was in a most filthy state, without a chair, table or bed, and had been used chiefly for the Turkish soldiers, and the crews of vessels infected with the plague. He immediately employed a person to clean the room, which appeared not to have been done for a very considerable time; but it did not remove that constant headach with which he was always affected on visiting such places. A favourable report was made of his health by his keeper, in a day or two, and he was conducted to the old lazaretto near the city. Here he hoped to be better accommodated, but was disappointed. He had, indeed, two rooms assigned him, an upper and a lower one; but they were equally as filthy and disagreeable as the former. So offensive was the upper room, that Howard preferred sleeping in the lower one, on a brick floor, almost surrounded by water. In this miserable and most unhealthy place he remained six days.

He now presented to the prior the recommendatory letter he had received from the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople; this was the means of procuring him better apartments. Four rooms were allotted him, from which he had a pleasant prospect; but they were without any furniture, filthy, and no less offensive than the sick wards of the worst hos-

pital. "The walls," says he, "of my chamber, not having been cleaned probably for half a century, were saturated with infection. I had them repeatedly washed with boiling water to remove the offensive smell, but without effect. My appetite failed, and I concluded I was in danger of the slow hospital fever. I proposed white-washing my room with lime slacked in boiling water: this was strongly opposed; but, through the kind assistance of the British consul, who furnished me at my request with a quantity of lime, I got this done; and the consequence was, that my room was immediately rendered so sweet and fresh, that I was enabled to take tea in it in the afternoon, and to be in it the following night. The next day the walls were dry and sweet, and in a short time I recovered my appetite. Thus, at a small expense, and to the admiration of the other inhabitants of this lazaretto, I provided for myself and successors an agreeable and wholesome room, instead of one filthy and contagious."

In these apartments, thus clarified, Howard passed, with tolerable comfort, in good health and spirits, the unexpired period of his forty days' quarantine, employing himself chiefly in drawing up an accurate account of the health-office and lazarettoes in this city; this he was the better able to do, being kindly furnished, by the British consul, with documents for that purpose. "The health-office," he says, "was instituted in 1448, when a very destructive pestilence raged. It was subsequently, at various times, improved, till at length it was brought to the excellent order in which it now stands. It is governed by three commissioners, annually chosen by the senate, who should attend every day to the business of the office. To these are added, if required, two assistants, and two, who are termed extraordinary commissioners, who have formerly been elected, and are now considered as men of wisdom

and experience. Their authority is very extensive, their judgment in all affairs relating to the public health being decisive and without appeal. This court is one of the most respectable under government. Persons of the most approved integrity and reputation, and of known wealth, are always selected for commissioners. The court is attended by a secretary, who is notary-public, and advocate fiscal, and has under him several clerks. The priors of this lazaretto, the guardians of health, and the messengers, their servants, are all subject to this board. It maintains overseers in different parts of the city, to inspect the provisions sold in the public markets and shops. These are required to make their report of whatever has a tendency to affect the public health. They are authorised to remove all vagrants to proper places of confinement, and to prevent, as far as possible, distempers being brought on by want and misery, or by any other causes. It is their duty to keep an exact register of deaths that occur in the city; and to see that the bodies of those individuals who die suddenly, without any previous malady, are examined by the surgeons belonging to the institution."

There are two lazarettoes in this city. The old one is situate on a small island about two miles from the city; the new one stands on another small island about five miles off. Both are extensive buildings, and occupy a considerable space. They have only a ground-floor, and one over it, and are divided and subdivided into a number of apartments of different dimensions, for the reception of passengers. Each apartment has its separate entry and stairs; and for every range of them is an open court in front, with plots of grass, which is never suffered to grow high. No trees, bushes, or vegetables, are permitted within the enclosure, nor for some considerable distance from it. Spacious, convenient, and

airy apartments are provided for the reception of merchandize. Each building is separated from all communication with the surrounding neighbourhood, by high walls and deep broad canals. Each lazaretto is governed by a prior (chosen by the board of health), and an assistant selected by himself, and approved by the magistrates. Both have a competent salary, and are obliged to reside in the lazarettoes, having convenient and suitable apartments provided for that purpose. The office of prior is one of great responsibility. His duty is to see all the doors shut by sun-set; to take the keys into his possession, and to prohibit their being opened till sun-rise; to enter in a book, kept for the purpose, the names of all who perform quarantine, accurately describing all the goods belonging to each individual; to take care that quiet and good order be maintained, among the passengers and porters; prohibiting dunkenness, gaming, and all acts of irregularity; to visit every apartment under quarantine at least twice daily, to see that the porters and messengers properly discharge their duties; to look out that no fishing-boats come within a prescribed distance of the lazaretto, and to prevent any communication between those in quarantine, and such boats.

Connected with these institutions, and the health-office, were what are termed guardians and messengers. Of the former there were sixty. Their duty is to superintend the quarantines of ships on their arrival, to take charge of their luggage and merchandise, to see it safely conveyed to the lazaretto, to take care of it while there, to reconvey it back in safety to the ship, and to watch over the porters, lest they should be guilty of any embezzlement. On boarding a ship they are required to take a correct list of the crew which they transport to the office; to see them all mustered every day, that no sickness be concealed, nor elopement made. They must keep

a minute account of all goods on board each vessel, which they must transmit to the office. Nothing must be allowed to be taken out of the ship without their consent, or in their absence. It is the duty of the messengers, of whom there are seven, to conduct all captains of ships to the office and back again; to receive, and smoke, or fumigate, all letters taken from ships; and to carry all messages from the office to the lazarettoes or to the ships.

The following is the method in which the captains of ships are examined on their arrival:—Immediately the ship appears in sight, a messenger is despatched to conduct the captain to the health-office. His boat keeps at a proper distance before the captain's, clears the way for it, and takes care that no improper communication occurs with other boats. On reaching the landing-place for the office, (which is so contrived that the captain can converse with those on shore without coming too near,) he is conducted into an enclosed entry, made on purpose, adjoining the office, where his report is taken by a clerk, from a window at a suitable distance. The usual questions are then put to the captain. He is asked, among other things, whence he came, whether he has a clean bill of health, what ports he has touched at, what vessels he has fallen in with, what intercourse occurred between them, how many hands he has on board, and what number of passengers. If he come from an uninfected port, and has a clean bill of health, and his account is found to be true, he is soon permitted to unload. Should there be, however, any discovery of an attempt to deceive, by any evasive answers, or false statements, he is subject to a corresponding delay.

The regulations respecting the quarantine of passengers prohibits them from remaining on board the ship on any pretence whatever. So strict are the laws in this respect, that if any should be found at-

tempting to remain, by disguising themselves in sailors' clothes, they are instantly sent to the lazaretto, and the vessel commences anew her quarantine from the day of their departure. Their removal from the ship to the lazaretto is most cautiously effected. When it is known how many there are on board, a messenger from the health-office is dispatched to the ship to conduct them to the lazaretto, whither they are taken in the ship's boat, which is towed by that in which the messenger is, at a suitable distance, so as to prevent the probability of infection, till it arrives at the proper landing-place. They are then consigned to the prior; and the messenger takes the boat back to the ship. The passengers find their guardian of health ready to receive them immediately on their landing. Their apartment is assigned them; their clothes, and whatever else they may require for use, are noted; and they begin to count their quarantine from the day after their arrival.

Nothing can exceed the caution taken in the removal of the different articles, from the ship to the lazaretto, subject to quarantine, to which all goods likely to convey infection are liable; none being permitted to remain in the ship but such as are in bulk, or cannot become infected. The lighters employed in removing the goods must have no sails; or if they have, they must be left in quarantine, with the goods they convey. All the ropes used must be well tarred. The sailors belonging to the ships put the goods into the lighters, and then tow them, with their own boats, to the lazaretto, always accompanied with a messenger, going and coming; the prior receives them at the lazaretto; and delivers them to the porters and guardians, to whose care they are then entrusted. One of the sailors remains in the lazaretto, and there performs his quarantine, as a further guard to the goods, and to be responsible for the bills of lading. It is not until the whole cargo is

unloaded, and properly disposed in the lazaretto, that the quarantine begins.

Among the articles deemed most liable to infection are wool, cotton, woollen and linen apparel, and bedding, silk, and every description of furs:—tobacco, dressed skins that are dry, bees' wax, and merchandise of a similar kind, are considered less dangerous, and detained a shorter time. The articles exempt from the laws are grain and seeds of all kinds, minerals, woods, earths, provisions dried or salted; spirits and wines, after pitching the bungs of each cask or bottle, lest there should be canvass or any thing of a similar nature round them. Some provisions are exempt, though contained in canvass-bags, where the articles contained are supposed to expel the effluvia; but in these cases the seams and corners of the bags are invariably well tarred. The greatest care is taken by all the officers in the establishment, except the porters, to avoid too close a contact with infected goods. The messengers, the guardians, and the prior, each carry a cane, with which they give directions to the porters; but they must never touch them with their hands, or if they do, they must themselves perform quarantine, should it even happen to be the prior himself. The process of expurgation pursued differs according to the nature of the different articles. Wool is taken all out of the bags, and ranged in heaps not more than four feet high, and is carefully turned over by the porters during forty days successively; the heaps being removed to a different place every five days. Silk and furs go through a very similar process: bags containing cotton-wool, beaver, or camels'-hair, are not emptied, but unripped, first at one end, when the porters thrust their naked arms into them, as far as the middle of the bags, for twenty days successively, when that end of the bag is sewed up, and the other unripped, and the same plan pursued. Articles less

liable to infection are only turned over occasionally: bees' wax and sponges are purified by immersing them in salt water for forty-eight hours. Animals with short hair are exempt on being made to swim on shore. Feathered animals are purified by being sprinkled repeatedly with vinegar till they become thoroughly wet. While Venice was in its prosperity, being then one of the first commercial cities in Europe, these noble institutions must have been of the greatest importance. The regulations for their government were wise and good: but at the time of Howard's visit, he regretted to find them so ill-observed as to render the quarantine nearly useless, and little more than an establishment for providing infirm and aged individuals with situations, the duties of which they were unable to discharge.

Although Howard, before he quitted England, had left his son comfortably situated at Cambridge, where he had introduced him to a circle of pious, excellent, and most respectable friends; yet he had given him (as he was now of age, and had inherited a considerable fortune independent of his father's) complete control over his estate at Cardington, leaving him at full liberty to spend his vacations there, and to invite such of his fellow-students as he might think desirable; cautioning him, however, to conduct himself with propriety, and to select for his companions only such as were steady and consistent in their conduct. These salutary cautions the unhappy young man entirely neglected; choosing for his associates the loosest characters in the university, and abandoning himself to the unrestrained gratification of his former vices, both at Cambridge and at Cardington. The result was, that after repeated and most affectionate admonitions, which he utterly disregarded, he was forsaken by his friends. Exasperated by the effects of his own folly, instead of amend-

ing his course, he plunged deeper into his extravagances. He became violently prejudiced against those who were his best advisers; he associated with young men the most dissipated; invited them to Cardington; encouraged them in many wild and most outrageous freaks, to the serious annoyance of the inhabitants of this retired village. He even proceeded so far as to accompany his abandoned associates, on one occasion, in a vile excursion to disturb a congregation of dissenters assembled for the purposes of religious worship. Towards his father's faithful domestics, who interested themselves in every possible way to promote his happiness, having known him from his infancy, his conduct was most outrageous. So extremely harsh were his proceedings on some occasions, though it was wholly unprovoked, that they were compelled to request the interference of the Rev. Mr. Smith, who had still more influence over him than any other individual. That gentleman beheld with grief, as some of Howard's friends at Cambridge had done before, in the marked inconsistencies of young Howard's conduct, painful proofs of incipient insanity. He concealed his apprehensions for a time, in the hope that they would prove to be unfounded; but at length such proofs of the alarming fact daily occurred, that he thought it would be unfeeling not to make them known to his parent. Mr. Smith accordingly wrote him on the subject.

The letter containing this melancholy intelligence did not reach Howard till a few days after the commencement of his quarantine. The sorrow it occasioned him may be far better conceived than described. To have his only son, the sole issue of a union with one whose endeared memory he ever cherished with the utmost fondness, whom he had ever been most anxious to train up in the paths of virtue, conduct himself so as to wound the feelings of his friends, and lay the foundation for his own

ruin, was to Howard most distressing. This trouble came not upon him at a time when some kind friend was near to soothe his sorrows, and share his griefs; but when he had none to look to, for counsel or sympathy. Shut up in a receptacle for disease; bereft of comforts, and almost of necessaries, with the certain prospect of remaining there at least another month, what mind in such a situation would not have brooded over its sorrows till it had lost its elasticity, if not its power? Religion alone could support an individual thus circumstanced. Happily for Howard he had ever made this the object of his pursuit, and had felt not a little of its power. He now again experienced its efficacy, and was enabled to say, deep as were the wounds which this affecting intelligence had made, and dark as were his future forebodings respecting his son: "It is with great concern I hear the account of my son's behaviour. A great loss to children is their mother: none can so well check and form their minds, nor so effectually curb the corrupt passions of pride and self-will, which show themselves so early in children. I must, however, while I sigh in secret, leave all in the hands of God, with whom are all hearts: trusting that the blessing of an excellent mother is laid up for him, and saying with holy Job, as I am thankful I feel able to do, 'Shall we receive good at the hands of God, and shall we not receive evil.' Many comfortable Sabbaths I have had in my little cabins; as one to myself is a *sine qua non.* My only library, in all my voyages, is my Bible, the notes of many sermons which I have taken, and two sermons which I bought for a trifle at a stall in Zante."

The letters which conveyed to Howard the distressing intelligence respecting his son, brought him news of a very different character, and such as would, in a mind less humble and spiritual, have counteracted in some degree the sorrow his son's misconduct had

occasioned; but upon him it produced a directly opposite effect. An English gentleman who had incidentally met with Howard in Italy, and had spent an hour in his company, was so charmed with his mild, unassuming, and interesting conversation, that, to use his own strong expression, "he all but worshipped him," declaring him to be the most truly glorious of mortal beings: returning to England in the spring of 1786, he immediately attempted to honour the man he so much admired. He forwarded a letter to the Gentleman's Magazine, which appeared in the number for May, under the signature of "Anglus," proposing the erection of a national monument to Howard, as a tribute to the unrivalled excellence of his character. He had rightly judged, that if the proposal could once be fairly made, it would meet with the cordial support of almost all classes. On its announcement, therefore, it was immediately taken up by several highly intelligent and influential individuals. In the magazine for the following month, appeared a letter from Dr. Letsom, highly approving of the design, and generously offering himself a donation of ten guineas to carry it into effect; and signifying his readiness, in connexion with the printer, to receive any subscriptions that might be presented. The subscription thus commenced went on rapidly: donations and contributions were continually coming in from people of the highest rank and respectability. In subsequent numbers of the magazine, the subject was more largely discussed, and thus brought more fully into notice. All this was done without the knowledge of Howard, and without the consent of his most intimate friends; who, while they were not less willing to do him honour, doubted much whether they should not be most seriously hurting his feelings; apprehensions which, it was proved, they were fully justified in entertaining.

On receiving information of these proceedings, which he did in the same letters that conveyed the afflictive tidings respecting his son, Howard was exceedingly grieved. Hardly any thing could have occurred that would have occasioned him such undissembled sorrow: of the two wounds inflicted on him at once, in circumstances so painful, this seems to have been the most severe. To parade and ostentation he had always been averse; it bespoke that littleness of mind, which he justly thought merited pity, and not seldom, contempt. He had most carefully avoided it in all his conduct; and had expressly desired, when setting off on this dangerous journey, that if he should die abroad, he was by no means to be removed; that his funeral expenses should not exceed ten pounds; that his tomb should only be a plain slip of marble, placed under that of his dear Henrietta's, in Cardington church, with this inscription:—

JOHN HOWARD.

DIED———— AGED————.

My hope is in Christ.

The idea, therefore, of being now dragged from his concealment, and made the subject of monumental display, was most distressing to his mind, and led him to wish himself in England, that, by his personal exertions among his friends, he might dissuade them from the pursuit, of what to him appeared a most objectionable and ill-advised measure.

In his letters to his friends in England, which he despatched by the first conveyance, he earnestly entreated them to desist from all further proceedings in this affair. The following extracts will show how anxiously he felt on this subject: "The very hasty and disagreeable measure that is taken in London, wounds me sadly. Alas, what a mixture of folly and sin is there in our best performances! Such praise is highly displeasing to a thinking mind.

Never have I returned to my country with such a heavy heart as I shall now do, on account of this distressing affair. O, why could not my friends, who know how much I detest such parade, have stopped this hasty measure! As a private man, with some peculiarities, I wished to retire into obscurity and silence. I cannot bear the thought of being thus dragged out, and hope something will immediately be done to stop it. My best friends must disapprove it. It deranges and confounds all my schemes. My exaltation is my fall and my misfortune. Neither here, in this sad infectious place, where I am shut up alone, and where, for a few nights, I was in a room almost swimming with water; nor at sea, when my cabin-baskets floated; nor during an engagement with a Tunis privateer, when I was in very imminent danger, have my spirits and resolution forsaken me; but, alas! I was almost overset on receiving my letters. The intelligence respecting my son, and the information respecting the hasty and unkind measure taken in London, has grieved me much. When I have been desired to sit for my picture, not a moment have I hesitated in showing my aversion to it. I hope I have drunk into the spirit of one of my most admired characters, Scougal, who, on his death-bed, said to his friends, 'If you have the charity to remember me in your prayers, do not think me a better man than I am; but look upon me, as indeed I am, a most miserable sinner.' In the same spirit, I bless God I can say, that I know myself too well to be pleased with such praise. We have nothing of our own but folly and sin. Our best performances are so mixed with these evil qualities, that praise is vanity and presumption, and cannot but give pain to a reflecting mind."

The following extracts from a confidential letter to one of his oldest and most faithful domestics, dated, Venice Lazaretto, 31st October, 1786, while

it illustrates the state of his mind, amidst his dangers and privations, shows that neither these, nor the sorrow occasioned by the recent events that had occurred, had dried up the streams of his benevolence, or diverted his attention from the objects of his bounty, in his own neighbourhood. "When my confinement terminates, I shall have a long journey before me, through bad roads covered with snow: but, through mercy, my calm spirits and steady resolution never forsake me. During the action with the Barbary pirates, I well remember having a good night; and, on a former occasion, when one evening my cabin-baskets floated with water, while thinking it would take me some hours to dry it up, I went to bed to forget it. I hope Sam Preston is well; if not, I am willing to do any thing for the two widows under his care. Tell Mrs. Morgan, that if Nottingham's girl I entrusted to her care, conducts herself properly, she may lay out two guineas for her in any way she thinks proper. You will receive some fine new currants, which I forwarded from Zante, for distribution among my tenants, widows, and poor families at Cardington, about three pounds to each. At Christmas give Mrs. Thompson and Beccles each one guinea; Rayner, what I annually give him, ten and sixpence, but should he not have received it last year, give him a guinea. Give Dolly Basset a guinea; and the blind man's widow, ten shillings. Give to ten poor widows also, where you think it will be most acceptable, five guineas in equal sums of half a guinea each; and distribute the same sum in equal proportions to ten poor families, that are the most proper objects. Of the boy and girl left by Abraham Stevens, I think you said one was dead; enquire privately into the character, disposition, and circumstances of the other; and accept of a suit of clothes for yourself."

Howard's quarantine, which was exacted to the

last day, did not terminate till about the 20th November. His long confinement in a close, unhealthy place, after the fatigue of a most tedious voyage, had very considerably injured his health, and brought on a remitting fever. Anxious, therefore, as he felt to persevere in his work immediately on his release, he found it indispensable, in order to recruit his strength, to allow himself a week's relaxation, before he undertook the long journey that yet lay before him. During this week, however, he could not remain wholly inactive; he inspected the prisons and galleys in Venice. In the former he found the sick prisoners, though separated from the others, confined in rooms on the ground-floor, in a very close part of the prison. The latter were clean and well-conducted, having at hand an easy and good supply of water. During his stay in this city, Howard's extraordinary benevolence was made the subject of general remark. The Venetians, being entire strangers to any similar feelings, were astonished that a gentleman of property, prompted solely by a desire to relieve an unhappy class, most commonly overlooked, should voluntarily endure the fatigue, and risk the dangers to which, in the pursuit of his object, he was continually exposed.

From Venice Howard crossed the Adriatic for Trieste, where he arrived on the 30th November. There were two lazarettoes here, a new and an old one. Both were excellent institutions, clean and well-managed, very different from those of Venice. Through the kindness of the gentleman who was director of the health-office, he was favoured with the rules of the whole establishment, and permitted to copy the plan of the new lazaretto, with an engraving of which he afterwards illustrated his work. The prison here consisted of thirteen strong rooms, arched with brick, having one or two beds in each. The prisoners were not in irons, but were kept constantly

confined in their room, which thence became offensive and injurious to their health. The infirmary was clean, and furnished with six neat beds; and the whole was under the care of an attentive governor. The house of correction for the confinement of the galley-slaves (as convicts are here called) was well-conducted. "I saw them dine," says Howard, "on wholesome bread and soup, and from the placidness of their countenances, I inferred the humanity of their keeper." A dissolved monastery, with lofty rooms, finely situated, having an excellent garden, had been converted into an hospital. The building formerly used for that purpose, was now occupied as barracks. This hospital was convenient, airy, and carefully managed; but the bread provided for the patients, though it was good, was improperly, as Howard justly remarks, and as is too commonly the case in such institutions, given to them too new.

CHAPTER XV.

Howard's journey to Vienna—Revisits the prisons and hospitals in that city—Particulars respecting them—Interview with the emperor—Howard's fidelity—Extreme aversion to the erection of a statue—Letter to prevent it—Melancholy intelligence respecting his son—His deep regret on its account—State of the prisons and hospitals in Frankfort—Reinspects several Dutch prisons—Distressing tidings of his son's mental malady—Concurrence in his friends' measures on the occasion—Return to England—Determined effort to prevent the erection of his statue—Effects of his son's affliction on his mind—Renewal of his philanthropic labours—Revisits the prisons in the metropolis.

ALTHOUGH still suffering much debility from the effects of the fever, brought on by his confinement in the Venetian lazaretto, Howard determined to push on, without the least delay, to Vienna. He arrived the fifth day after he set out, nearly overcome with fatigue, having travelled three nights out of the four, allowing himself only one for sleep. Much as he now stood in need of rest, yet such was his extreme anxiety to prosecute his labours, that he immediately commenced the reinspection of the hospitals and prisons in that city. The great prison first came under his notice. Scarcely a dungeon in it was unoccupied. There were three horrid cells into which twelve women were crowded. All the men were in total darkness, and were chained to the walls; though

such a security was totally unnecessary, their cells being most safely defended by double doors. No clergyman was ever permitted to visit them; a circumstance which the gushing tears of these criminals, while they named it to Howard in the presence of their keepers, greatly augmented, in their view, the misery of their confinement. Below these dungeons was the room for torture, into which Howard entered, but on which he prudently forbore to make any remarks, as the emperor had humanely prohibited their use. The new prison then erecting came next under Howard's inspection. "It consists," says he, "of forty rooms and twenty dungeons, more than twenty steps below the ground, boarded with thick planks, in which are strong iron rings, to which the prisoners are chained. Though larger and less horrid than those in the old prison, they are still horrid enough. Into a few rooms above them more than two hundred criminals were crowded: they had a sufficient daily allowance of food, but were kept much too closely confined.

The great and little Casern, as the prisons for the confinement of the convicts were called, next attracted his attention. In the former, near ninety men were confined in one large room. They were employed in cleaning the streets during the day, and slept here, chained to the floor, in the night. "This room," says Howard, "having no place for the admission of light and air, but two holes in the ceiling, was offensive beyond description, even in the day-time. Indeed, it would not be wonderful if the effluvia from these prisoners, while employed in the streets, should spread through the city an infection destructive to the health, and fatal to the lives of the inhabitants." In the little Casern more than forty prisoners were confined in two small rooms. In the house of correction, exclusively for women, the rooms were clean; but as no

beds were allowed, near forty out of a hundred and fifty were sick; to whom, however, great attention seemed to be paid. The prison for the confinement of vagrants and debtors, was spacious and airy, and under excellent management, chiefly owing to the humane attention of Count Pergen, through whose generous exertions it was constantly kept clean and in good order. It was greatly improved by being supplied with a stream of water, which was constantly running.

The hospitals in this city, which are numerous, were now inspected by Howard. That in the suburbs, called the great hospital, is a spacious and noble institution. Most of the wards were sixty feet long, near thirty broad, and of sufficient height; but some were much larger. In each ward were twenty beds, with a vacancy of three feet between them, where a table was placed. The greatest attention was paid to cleanliness; and the whole was under excellent management. There were more than three hundred and eighty male, and four hundred and twenty female patients. Adjoining this institution was a lying-in hospital, where every requisite accommodation was provided; and all was calm, clean, and commodious. It contained more than a hundred patients. At a short distance stood the lunatic asylum; the wards of which, owing to the badness of its construction, were offensive, though it was clean and well-conducted. There were one hundred and eighty men, and seventy-eight women patients. The military hospital, though an excellent institution, spacious and well-arranged, was not so clean as the others, owing chiefly to the injudicious plan of making soldiers, who had been guilty of drunkenness or other minor offences, serve the sick for a limited period, as a punishment for their crimes. It contained five hundred and fifty patients. The convent *Les Freres de Charité*, standing a short

distance from the city, under the care of the catholic priests, was clean, quiet, and well-conducted, but kept too close, as such institutions mostly are. Adjoining it was a house furnished with every convenience for convalescents, who were allowed the free use of a large, pleasant garden. The convent *St. Elizabeth*, carefully-managed by sixteen Sisters of Charity, was a similar institution. The hospital for invalids, and the house for the aged and infirm poor, Howard was pleased to find were both useful institutions. They were under the especial patronage of the emperor, and did him great honour. The same was the case with a noble convent, which had recently been converted into a foundling-hospital. There were here above eighty infants. To every two a nurse is assigned: but the children are not continued long in the institution, being placed under the care of nurses in the country, at a regular weekly pay. There were, at the time of Howard's visit, near eleven hundred children under the care of this noble institution. No child is admitted without some pay, either from the parents or the parish. The price of admission varies according to the circumstances of the parties. With the order and cleanliness of the orphan-asylum Howard was much pleased; as he was also with a new institution of the emperor's for deaf and dumb children, skilfully and humanely conducted by a clergyman. The boys were clothed in dark grey, and the girls in green; and they were regularly employed in various suitable occupations. On visiting the house where those that are out of work are employed, he found it, though spacious, not sufficiently so to accommodate so large a number as six hundred and fifty, which it then contained.

The numerous charitable institutions Howard had visited in this city, some founded by the emperor himself, and others under his immediate patronage,

induced our countryman to form a high opinion of his majesty's benevolence, and inclined him the less reluctantly to comply with the emperor's invitation to favour him with a private interview. Count Kaunitz, the prime minister, was the bearer of this invitation. He waited on Howard in one of the small apartments he occupied, up three pair of stairs. Howard's first excuse was, that he was sorry the arrangements he had made for leaving Vienna the next morning would prevent his having the pleasure of waiting on his majesty. On receiving this reply, the emperor despatched the British ambassador to Howard, with a second message, stating that he should be happy to receive him at the earliest hour he chose to name, before his departure. The first question Howard then put to the ambassador was: "Can I do any good by going? I have been much delighted with some things I have seen here; yet there are many of which I cannot approve; and if I be not allowed freely to speak my mind, should his majesty interrogate me on these subjects, great as is the honour conferred on me by the invitation, I shall respectfully decline it." On being assured that the utmost liberty would be granted him, he complied with the invitation, and said he would call on his majesty at nine o'clock the next morning.

With that punctuality for which he was always distinguished, he was announced at the palace precisely at the time he had named. He was ushered into a room resembling a counting-house, where he found the emperor, who received him politely, without any of the formalities of court etiquette, to which his majesty had been informed Howard was decidedly averse. No other person except his majesty's private secretary was present on the occasion. The emperor began the conversation by asking Howard what he thought of his new military hospital. Not

knowing what liberty he might take, Howard inquired respectfully whether he might be permitted to speak freely his real opinions. "Most assuredly," said the emperor, in a manner the most condescending and affable. "I must then," said Howard, "take the liberty to state, that in this hospital there are several defects: the allowance of bread is not sufficient, being barely adequate to the support of life; the apartments are not kept thoroughly clean; and the care of the sick is committed to men the most unfit for the purpose." "What is your opinion of the lunatic asylum," said the monarch? "This, also," replied Howard, "is by no means such as I could wish. It is too confined, ill-constructed, and not well managed." The next enquiry related to the prisons: here Howard hesitated, as if afraid to proceed for fear of giving offence. On perceiving this, the emperor requested him fearlessly to declare his real opinion. "I then," said Howard, "opened fully my mind. It pleased God to give me perfect recollection, and great freedom of speech. I declared that there were many things in them which filled me with astonishment and grief. They had all dungeons, which were horrid places of confinement. I rejoice, (said I,) at the abolition of the torture in your majesty's dominions; but imprisonment in these dungeons is in reality worse than any torture." "But," said the emperor, rather abruptly, "*they hang in your country.*" "I grant," replied Howard, calmly, but firmly, "that the multiplicity of her capital punishments is a disgrace to England; but as one fault does not justify another, so neither in this case is the parallel just; for I declare that I would rather be hanged, if it were possible, ten times over, than undergo such a continuance of suffering, as the unhappy beings endure who are chained to the walls of the horrid dungeons in your prisons, and deprived

of all religious instruction. Many of these men have not been tried, and should they be found innocent, it will not be in your majesty's power to make them reparation for the injuries they cannot fail to receive; weakened in their health and enfeebled in their faculties, as they will probably be by their long confinement: two years' imprisonment, under such circumstances, and with such privations, is a punishment too great for human nature to bear."

Convinced of the force of Howard's remarks, the emperor gave the conversation another turn, enquiring what he thought of the workhouses. "In them too," said Howard, "there are many defects. Too little attention is paid to cleanliness; they have not a sufficient allowance of bread; and they are obliged to sleep in their clothes, a practice which never fails to produce distempers in the end." "Where did you find better institutions?" asked the monarch. "Formerly," replied Howard, "I found one better at Ghent, but it is not so now." At this the emperor started, and seemed shocked; but he had the magnanimity to take his faithful reprover by the hand, as he had done several times during the conversation, and cordially to thank him for his advice. The emperor now enquired what was the condition of the prisons in London. "They are in a sad state," said Howard, "but gradually improving. The eyes however, of all Europe," continued Howard, "are upon your majesty, who have made so many alterations in hospitals and prisons. The object of all imprisonment should be, to make criminals better men and useful subjects."* On taking leave, the emperor again expressed his obligations for the judicious hints he had given, and for the freedom of his remarks, assuring him that they should have his best attention. The next day his majesty told our ambassador that his countryman

* Brown's Life of Howard.

was without ceremony or compliment, but that he liked him the better for it, and should immediately make some of the improvements he had suggested.

That Howard was pleased with this interview, will appear from the following remarks in his journal respecting it. "Christmas-day, 1786.—I have this day had the honour of two hours' private conversation with the emperor. His very condescending and affable manner, gave me that freedom of speech which enabled me plainly and fully to tell him my mind. His majesty most cordially shaked me by the hand, and conversed with me freely and openly. I admire his condescension and affability. He has an ardent desire to do good, and to strike out great objects. He was not a month on the throne before he saw every prison and hospital; and now he continually, and often unexpectedly visits these institutions. I have seen him go out in his chariot only accompanied by one footman, without guards or any other attendants. He often drives himself with only his coachman behind. He looks into every thing, endeavours to know every thing connected with his government, and is evidently influenced by the best intentions. He told his prime minister that he was greatly pleased with my visit; stating that I had not pleaded for the prisoners with soft and flattering speech, which meant nothing, but with becoming manliness and spirit; and that he should do many things which I had recommended, though there were some of which he did not then see the propriety."

Indulging the hope, from the manner in which the emperor had expressed himself during his interview with him, that some of the improvements he had suggested would immediately be made, Howard thought it advisable to remain a few days longer in the city. He accordingly once more visited the prisons, hospitals, and other institutions, and was not a

little pleased to learn that orders had been issued for the removal of many abuses he had pointed out. The notice taken of Howard by the emperor, had induced the Austrian nobility to pay him all due respect; and during the few days he stopped, several distinguished individuals paid him a visit. Among these was the governor of Upper Austria, with his countess. After their introduction, the governor asked Howard, somewhat authoritatively, what he thought of the prisons in the territory to which he had recently been appointed. "They are," said the faithful philanthropist, without a moment's hesitation, "the worst in all Germany, especially in the condition of females; and I would recommend your countess now and then to visit them personally, as the best means of correcting their abuses." "I!" said the countess, disdainfully, "I visit prisons! Never will I consent to such degradation." "Remember, madam," said Howard, in a firm, dignified tone, "that you are a woman yourself, and must ere long, like the most miserable female in a dungeon, inhabit but a small space of that earth from which you have equally originated." On his saying which, she instantly quitted the room; descending the stairs with such rapidity that Howard was apprehensive she would have injured herself.

During his continuance in this city, Howard again received letters from England, informing him of the progressive steps taken towards the erection of his statue, notwithstanding the reluctance to it he had expressed. Determined, if possible, to stop all further proceedings, he immediately addressed the following letter to the gentlemen who were the most active in the proceedings:—

"Gentlemen,

"I shall ever esteem it an honour to have my weak endeavours approved by so many respectable indi-

viduals who have devoted their time to the reformation of prisons; and have so generously subscribed towards a fund which I hope will be appropriated to the relief of poor unhappy prisoners; but to the erection of any monument to perpetuate my memory, permit me, in a manner the most determined and unequivocal, to declare my decided aversion; assuring you that if the design you contemplate is carried into effect, it will be to me a severe punishment. It is, therefore, my particular and earnest request that it may for ever be laid aside.

"I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

"JOHN HOWARD."

This letter was inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine, and produced the desired effect. Much as Howard's friends wished to do him honour, and richly as he merited it, they could not proceed in their design at so great an expense of feeling to him. They had persevered in their efforts in the hope that his aversion to it would gradually subside; but when they found such not to be the case, they prudently and wisely, though reluctantly relinquished it.

The accounts transmitted to Howard of his son's conduct were in the highest degree painful; and pressed so heavily on his spirits that he was almost broken-hearted, though his friends (who all witnessed, with alarm, the rapid strides which the young man was making towards insanity) had only furnished him with some general hints on his conduct; avoiding entering on its particulars, lest intelligence so distressing should be too much even for his firmness to endure. Of the melancholy fact, however, which was soon to be realized, he appears himself, even with the partial information he had received, to have had some sad forebodings, as will be seen by the

following extracts from a letter written about this time, to his friend, Mr. Smith:—" My son's conduct is a bitter affliction to me, and almost breaks my spirits. The loss of such a mother as he had, who would have checked and guided his infant passions, the uninterrupted health he has enjoyed, has occasioned me many fears; yet I hope the best. But from the accounts I have received, I almost fear he has lost his senses. If so, calm restraint, with medical treatment, is necessary. I have written to Mr. Tatnall, stating that I shall fully acquiesce in whatever steps he and his uncles may think proper to take. At this distance I can form no proper judgment of the case; and my presence, or commands, would have little weight with him, especially if he be distracted: yet I shall hasten home as fast as possible; but I have, since I entered the Venetian lazaretto, been much indisposed, and cannot regain my strength. Fatigue of body and anxiety of mind have much reduced me: still I have great reason to thank God that my steadiness of resolution does not forsake me, even amid the many solitary hours which I pass. If my night-fever keeps off, I hope soon to reach Amsterdam. Pray let me hear from you there. Give the entire particulars of my son's case, with your advice fully and freely. Is he distracted? and, if so, is it the result of his vice and folly at Edinburgh? What shall I do in his case? Oh, my son! my son! I still suffer so much from the effects of my fever, that I must remain here two or three days longer. I hope the mountain air will take it off, and that I shall get on by the light nights: but I want a month's rest. Nobody knows what I have suffered this journey. For many weeks I had only dry biscuits and tea. Often have I wished, in vain, for a little skimmed milk. I bless God, however, that, amidst all, I have had many comfortable

Sabbaths; and my mind has steadily approved the object of which I am in pursuit. Adieu! adieu!"

Howard quitted Vienna about the 29th December, considerably improved in health. Anxious to reach home as soon as possible, he travelled the first five hundred miles without stopping night or day, except to change horses; his only food being bread and apples, with a little tea once a day. On reaching Frankfort he inspected the prisons and hospitals in that city. The house of correction and poor-house have only one governor: the men are employed in beating a porous stone, brought from the banks of the Rhine, into powder, and mixing it with lime, to make cement. The women are kept constantly at work, in various occupations. There is a chapel, in which divine service is regularly performed. A room is provided, in which the managing committee meet twice a week. The female department is constantly inspected by a number of ladies, annually appointed; and the whole establishment is clean and well-conducted. The lunatic asylum in this city, he was pleased to find humanely and ably conducted. It was clean and quiet, but not sufficiently airy. Attached to it is a Lutheran chapel, with separate seats for the governors and patients, so constructed as to be concealed from the audience, both during service, and while coming in and going out. Howard's feelings on visiting this institution for suffering humanity must, doubtless, have been very acute, as it could not fail to awaken afresh his gloomy apprehensions for the melancholy condition in which he had too much reason to think he should soon, to his extreme regret, find his own and only son.

Leaving Frankfort, Howard hastened with the least possible delay to Amsterdam; on his way thither, passing through Nassau, Aix-la-Chapelle, Bois-le-Duc, and Utrecht. He arrived in this city about

the 20th January, 1787, and immediately commenced the reinspection of the prisons and other institutions. On visiting the rasp-house he found the prisoners had finished their tasks by three o'clock, and inquired whether they were not allowed to continue their work to earn something for themselves. "That liberty is not given us," said an intelligent individual, "and I doubt if it were, whether it would not injure our health. The closeness of the court in which we work, in the middle of the city, and the scantiness of our provisions, makes some relaxation necessary." A new workhouse had been erected since Howard's last visit, and the old one was converted into a marine school, for the instruction of one hundred boys. The governor's apartments in the new institution were neat and clean, and the rooms in which the inmates worked were kept in tolerable order; but owing to some gross mismanagement, their sleeping-rooms, and the whole infirmary, were in a most neglected and disgraceful state; of which the governor must himself have been conscious, as he very reluctantly consented to their inspection.

Howard had only been a short time in Amsterdam, when he received letters from England bringing the most melancholy tidings respecting his son. His extraordinary conduct confirmed the suspicions of all his friends, that he was rapidly sinking into a state of mental derangement. Every possible care was taken to avoid irritating him, and yet he was often in a dreadful state of excitement, on the most trivial and unimportant occasions. Mr. Smith, who had greater influence over him than any one, even to the last, and who was often called in by the servants when they were alarmed at his fury, declared frequently that the time which this unhappy young man spent at home was the most harassing to his mind he had ever experienced. He was always apprehensive of his committing some rash act on him-

self, or on some one else. His conduct at Cambridge was less violent, but equally singular, and equally symptomatic of a disordered mind. On one occasion he accused the person who waited on him at college of putting poison into his milk; and instantly went for Mr. Hollick, one of his father's intimate friends, to come and examine the provision they had brought him for breakfast. After many fruitless efforts to convince him that he must be labouring under a mistake, as nothing could be more unlikely than for this to be true, Mr. Hollick accompanied him to his rooms, where he found every thing as he had expected—comfortable and right. Yet had he considerable difficulty to persuade him that such was the case. Nor could he do this till he had himself taken some quantity of the milk.

Very nearly up to this period Howard's son had invariably spoken of his father with becoming affection; always declaring that he considered it an honour to have such a parent. Nothing could displease him more than to hear any detracting remark made by his vain associates respecting him. Among the other symptoms of his mental malady, one of the clearest was, that he now expressed the greatest aversion to his father, and began to invent and circulate evil reports respecting him. Among other things, he said that his father had once knocked him down, which all the servants knew and declared to be false. Never did Howard inflict any corporeal punishment on his son, as he himself repeatedly and solemnly declared. As it mostly happens in mental maladies, he hated those most to whom he had formerly been the most attached. Even Thomason, who laid the first steps for his ruin, and who had often been slyly his guilty associate in crime, he now detested. On his return from Cambridge, for the Christmas vacation, his conduct became increasingly violent and eccentric. In such excesses of passion did he indulge, that he

alarmed all the servants, who were now afraid to remain with him in the house. At length he suddenly quitted Cardington, without telling any one what were his intentions, and, repairing to Daventry, engaged lodgings at an inn in that town. While here he frequently visited at the Rev. Thos. Belsham's, and so singularly and outrageously did he conduct himself on these occasions, that Mr. Belsham thought it advisable to write Mr. Whitbread on the subject, stating it as his opinion that he ought to be put under restraint; confirming this opinion by giving some particulars of his conduct. On receiving this letter, Mr. Whitbread, without loss of time, laid its contents before young Howard's maternal uncles, and his paternal relative, Mr. Tatnall: all of whom concurred in the advice given, and recommended its immediate adoption. Mr. Whitbread accordingly engaged two keepers from a private lunatic asylum, whom he despatched to Daventry, requesting them to take charge of the young man, and to convey him back to Cardington, and there to remain with him till his father's return: cautioning them to execute their painful task with all possible tenderness. After they had reached Cardington with their unhappy patient, Dr. Munro was called in to give his advice on the case. He immediately pronounced it to be the worst kind of insanity, brought on in the worst way.

These were the melancholy tidings conveyed to Howard in the letters he received at Amsterdam. Concealment was no longer deemed desirable. The tragic tale, painful as Howard's friends knew it would be to him, must now be told: a task which was feelingly performed by his kind friend, Mr. Smith, and his faithful domestic, John Prole, by whom the simple facts of the case were detailed with every alleviating consideration. What were Howard's feelings on opening these letters may be much

better imagined than described. The shock was almost too much even for his firmness to sustain. It was indeed more than he could have borne had not religion afforded her aid. But he who had inflicted the stroke, did not now withhold his support. In reply to Mr. Smith's letter, Howard writes, " The information relative to my unhappy young man is of the most melancholy character; it is indeed a bitter affliction. A son, an only son, in this dreadful situation! Mr. Leeds has kindly done what I think I should have done for the first trial; but in such a situation I cannot live in the house. Let me hear from you again, and inform me particularly how things are really going on at Cardington, for I am most anxious to know."

Howard remained only a short time in Amsterdam, after the receipt of these letters, but made the best of his way towards London, where, after a tedious voyage, he arrived early in February. He continued in town only a sufficient time to consult his most intimate friends on his son's case, and then hastened to Cardington, now become the scene of his bitterest sorrows. To his inexpressible grief he found his son suffering under one of the worst paroxysms of his dreadful malady, and seeking to wreak his vengeance on his best friends. He attempted to soothe and tranquillize him, but it was utterly in vain. His efforts only made him more outrageous, and had he not been restrained, he would have done violence to his parent. A sight so distressing was more than Howard could endure. Grieved at the melancholy spectacle, and perceiving that his presence could be of no avail, he withdrew from the spot endeared to him by many delightful reminiscences, and repaired to London. Here he had the mortification to learn, that notwithstanding the decisive steps he had taken to prevent it, the design of erecting a statue to his honour, was still

persisted in by several individuals, who were stimulated by the not illaudable wish to perpetuate the memory of his great exertions in the cause of humanity, imagining that his antipathy to the measure would gradually subside. But they had evidently formed an incorrect estimate of his character. "Those who had thus reasoned," as Mr. Brown well observes, "knew not the man whom they were attempting to honour; and were ignorant of the fact, that what they called false sensibility, was the result of an estimate of his own character, formed after mature reflection upon the principles of Christianity and not of the world. Under the influence of the humbling views of himself he had thus formed, he wrote the following letter to the committee who had the management of what was termed the "Howardian Fund," a copy of which he sent to all the leading journals, requesting the favour of its insertion.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"You are entitled to all the gratitude I can express for the testimony of approbation you have intended me, and I am truly sensible of the honour you have done me by such intentions. But permit me to inform you that I cannot, without violating all my feelings, consent to the execution of your design. It would be to me a cruel punishment. It is, therefore, my earnest wish that those who desire my future happiness and comfort, would withdraw their names from the subscription, and that the project may for ever be abandoned. I shall always think the reform now going on in several of the gaols in this kingdom, which I hope will become general, the greatest honour, and the most ample reward I can possibly receive. I must further inform you, that I cannot permit the fund, which in my absence, and without my consent has been called the

'Howardian Fund,' to go in future by that name; and that I will have no concern in the disposal of the money subscribed; my situation and various pursuits rendering it impossible for me to pay any attention to such a general plan, which can only be carried into due effect in particular districts by the constant attention of individuals residing on the spot.

"I am, my Lords and Gentlemen,
"Your obedient, faithful servant,
"JOHN HOWARD."

"London, Feb. 1787.

"To the subscribers for erecting a statue to Mr. Howard."

Dr. Letsom, one of Howard's warmest friends, who had been most active in promoting the design, immediately on learning that such was his determination, waited on him, and earnestly entreated him to forbear all future opposition to the design, and to allow it to be carried into effect. He was closely engaged with him in conversation on the subject for some hours, employing every argument that ingenuity could devise, but all in vain. To the execution of the scheme, under whatever modification it could be proposed, he was steadily and decidedly averse. It was evident that he viewed the affair altogether in a serious light. Genuine Christian humility, arising from a view of his own imperfections, and not mere modesty, laid at the foundation of his aversion. This was clear from his whole conduct in the affair; and particularly from the remarks he made to his friends whenever the subject was introduced. On being assured by an intimate relative, that he had withheld his subscription to the statue, solely because he thought the project would not be pleasing to him, he remarked, "My dear friend I

am sure you know me too well to suppose that I could ever have given my consent to such a measure. I thank you, and all my friends who have acted in a similar way, for not assisting to wound my feelings." To another of his friends, who remarked, "So, sir, you refused the honour that was tendered you." He replied, "Who, that knows his own heart, could receive it! Conscious of many sins and imperfections, I must always view with pain and abhorrence every attempt of my friends to bring me forward to public view and public approbation. If, therefore, you love me, and value my peace of mind, you will use your utmost endeavours to prevent any similar attempt in future. Had the design been persisted in, it would have been a constant burden to my mind, and would probably, in effect, have banished me from my country for ever."

These unequivocal declarations of Howard's mind had the desired effect. An official announcement was made from the committee for managing the fund, that as the obstacles to the erection of the statue were at present insurmountable, all those individuals who felt disposed, might have their subscriptions returned. About £500 out of more than £1,500 was reclaimed. Two hundred pounds was subsequently appropriated to the discharge of fifty-five poor prisoners in the metropolis. A further sum was expended in striking a medal to his honour, to be presented to each subscriber. The remaining balance was invested in the funds, and was at Howard's decease appropriated to the purpose for which it was originally contributed.

The distressing malady of his son, of which he continued to hear the most afflicting accounts, who daily became worse, and of whose recovery there seemed now to be no prospect, had withered all Howard's domestic happiness. Had he been dis-

posed to retire from his labours, it would have been impossible for him so to do with any comfort to himself. The remembrance of his son's affliction would have embittered every moment of his existence, and have rendered his retirement one unbroken period of the keenest anguish. Hence, as the best means of diverting his mind from his painful reflections, he determined to persevere in the great work he had undertaken with increasing activity, not even allowing himself that relaxation, which, after his recent extraordinary toils, he really needed. He first attempted to procure the release of the pious Protestant slave, in whose case he had taken so lively an interest, and who had been languishing many years in the galleys at Toulon, more for his religion than for his crimes. He laid the case before the English ministry, requesting they would do him the favour to memorialize the French government on the subject. They did so; directing Lord Carmarthen, the British ambassador at the French court, who kindly interested himself much in the affair, to request of the French court, in his Britannic majesty's name, the release of this individual, which was accordingly granted, greatly to the satisfaction of Howard.

Three years had elapsed since his last inspection of English prisons, and he now determined to visit them again, to ascertain what abuses still remained unremoved. He commenced his labours in the metropolis on the 18th March, 1787. The Tower first passed under his notice: then Newgate, where he found near a hundred and fifty women, young and old, without the least discrimination of character, crowded together. Boys committed for their first slight offence were confined with the most practised and hardened offenders. He declared that unless a reform was made in this prison, an audacious spirit of profaneness would continue to prevail among the lower classes in the city. The Fleet and the New

Ludgate were next examined: the latter was considerably improved, but no alteration had been made in the former. The Poultry, and Wood-street Compter prisons, with the bridewell, were then inspected, and were each found to be unimproved. The new Clerkenwell gaol and bridewell were both ill-managed: no bedding was allowed; the rooms were seldom whitewashed, and gambling was openly practised. The Whitechapel prison, the Tower Hamlets, and the St. Catherine's gaols, with the Savoy, were successively subjected to Howard's scrutiny. The Westminster prison and the Tothilfields bridewell were in a disgraceful state: the prisoners were without either bedding or straw; many were nearly naked, and looked sickly and wretched. In the King's Bench and in the Marshalsea prisons no improvement had been made: spirits were openly sold, though expressly forbidden by a legal enactment. "On observing," says Howard, "to one of the turnkeys, that the prisoners seemed to be drinking," he justly replied, "The chief vice among prisoners is drunkenness: it is that which often brings them here; and while they can drink and riot in prison, they will disregard the confinement." On inspecting the new Borough Compter he was grieved to find it badly constructed, with narrow dark passages, and wards so ill-contrived, that the men and women were scarcely separated.

There was nothing in prison-discipline which escaped Howard's notice; whatever impropriety he discovered in the plans pursued, he was sure to point it out. Having learned, from conversation with one of the keepers, that the practice prevailed of not discharging prisoners till midnight, he very properly remarked, "How much better it would be, were they released after receiving their daily allowance of bread; for many, having neither money nor

friends, are immediately exposed to the temptation of repeating their former crimes."

Howard's next visit was to the hulks on the Thames, which he was pleased to find in excellent order, perfectly different to the state they were in when he first inspected them. Instead of the sickly and miserable objects he then saw, the convicts now all looked healthy and cheerful. The few that were sick, were carefully and humanely attended to on board the hospital-ship, which was well-arranged, and very clean. This gratifying proof of the utility of his former labours revived his spirits, and encouraged him to persevere in his exertions: but he still regretted that so great a number as five hundred and fifty individuals of this description, should be brought together, without, at least, a proper classification, according to their age, disposition, and character. The want of this led to great profaneness, in which they were encouraged rather than checked by their keepers. In the county-gaol for Southwark, whither he next proceeded, he complained of the same evil; remarking, "In this prison there is still a dreadful assemblage of criminals. One cannot but lament that so opulent a county should be disgraced by such a prison. I wish that in all our county-gaols there were a separation of the sexes, and five entire divisions:—debtors—assize felons—quarter-session prisoners—transports— and fines." Many of the prisoners confined here were convicts for transportation; some had been sentenced four years, but had not yet been forwarded to their destination. Their condition was the most wretched: "Many," says Howard, "had worn out their shoes and stockings, and had hardly clothes to cover them; and being associated together in idleness, were almost driven to acts of desperation. Such nurseries of vice have been the principal cause of the increased number of

crimes; laying the foundation for the utter ruin of numbers of our fellow-men. To a great degree this would have been prevented, had penitentiary houses been erected on the spot fixed on at Islington, by Dr. Fothergill and myself. The gentleman, whose continued opposition defeated the design, and adopted the expensive, dangerous, and destructive scheme of transportation to Botany Bay, I leave to his own reflections."

CHAPTER XVI.

Howard again visits Ireland—Attention to the Irish county-gaols—Particulars respecting the prisons and hospitals in the Munster and Ulster circuits—Minute enquiries into the condition of the chartered Schools—Remarks on education—Great importance of cleanliness—Embarks for Scotland—Is presented with the freedom of the city of Edinburgh—Return to London—Continuance of his son's malady—His removal to an asylum—Howard revisits the prisons in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire—Interview with Capel Lofft—Reinspects the prisons in the metropolis—Makes another visiting tour through the northern counties of England.

From the beginning of April till the middle of May, Howard ceased from his labours, and appears to have spent his time at his town-house in great Ormond-street, either in arranging his papers for his next publication, or, which is most likely, in allowing himself that relaxation which the exhaustion occasioned by his anxiety on his son's behalf, added to the fatigue of his long and harassing voyage, had rendered indispensable. About the 20th May he set out on another visit to Ireland. He arrived in Dublin on the 28th, and on the following day reinspected the Newgate prison in that city; which, to his regret, was in a very disgraceful state: many of the women had only flag-stones to lie upon, with a little straw,

literally worn to dust. Juvenile offenders, of the tender age of nine years, were associated with the most hardened criminals. Intoxication prevailed to an alarming extent; not less than a puncheon of whiskey was said to be drunk in this prison in a week. Who can be surprised that riots and quarrels were continually occurring! "Nothing can be more desirable," says Howard, "than to have an act passed, absolutely prohibiting beer, as well as all sorts of spirituous and intoxicating liquors, from coming into a prison: this might be thought severe and cruel, especially to debtors; but though the greatest respect should be shown to such unfortunate persons, yet the restraint appears absolutely necessary. Many individuals who were sober on their coming into prison, have, partly from uneasiness of mind, and partly from the influence of bad company, contracted a habit of drinking in the prison, which terminated in their ruin. Dr. Aikin well remarks, 'that art never made so fatal a present to mankind as in the invention of distilling.' Spirits are seldom if ever necessary, and are always a pernicious article in the diet of men in health. The temporary glow and elevation caused by spirituous liquors, are only fallacious tokens of their good effects, as they are invariably succeeded by a great depression, and tend rather to consume and exhaust than to invigorate the vital system. Another extremely pernicious effect, is the indolence they occasion, rendering men inattentive to their preservation, and utterly careless what becomes of them."

In the Court Marshalsea prison, which Howard next inspected, things, were, if possible, in a more deplorable condition: into dirty rooms, not fourteen feet square, which were never whitewashed, six or eight prisoners were crammed. "The whole," says Howard, "was a scene of disorder, irregularity, and

intoxication. On the night preceding my visit, many had been gambling, drinking, and fighting. Dr. Scott, the physician, informed me that three men had recently died by excessive drinking." Things were in an equally disgraceful state in the City Marshalsea. "An old building," he adds, "dirty, and never whitewashed. Here also," continues he, "there had been a scene of riot and confusion, occasioned by drunkenness the night before, which had brought thither the sheriff and the city-guard, who conveyed three of the prisoners to Newgate." The city-bridewell, the police-prison, and the fore-court Marshalsea prison, successively passed under Howard's inspection. He then visited the house of industry, which he was gratified to perceive was admirably managed. All was clean and orderly, the bread with the other provision was good; and the governors attended with unabated zeal and assiduity to this useful and humane institution. They had recently adopted the Dutch method, of devoting the whole of Saturday to cleanliness; which was conducive to the health, and beneficial to the habits of the numerous individuals committed to their care, of whom there were then near fourteen hundred, and frequently considerably more.

The hospitals in Dublin next passed under Howard's inspection. The Mercers', situated in the middle of the city, formerly one of the dirtiest and worst institutions, much to his satisfaction, was now become one of the cleanest and best. The wards in St. Stephen's were close and offensive. "Simpson's hospital for the blind," says Howard, "is an excellent institution; the rooms are neat and clean, and the managing committee well attended; but the patients are improperly indulged in the use of tobacco and snuff. On inspecting St. Patrick's asylum for lunatics, which he had sufficient courage to

do, notwithstanding the distressing feelings it could not fail to excite, owing to the melancholy state of his son, he remarks, that "though the rooms and passages are sufficiently large and lofty, yet, for such unhappy objects, I would prefer the plan on which those institutions are conducted at Amsterdam, and at Constantinople, where the rooms open into corridors and gardens, which is better than their entering into passages, as here and in England." "The lying-in hospital," says Howard, "is a good institution, quiet and clean; and the greatest attention is paid to the patients. The foundling is a noble institution, but too little attention is paid to cleanliness and order." Of these charities, Howard thus records his opinion: "Foundling-hospitals may be considered in two lights; as charities for the maintenance of poor deserted children, who might otherwise fall victims to ill-treatment and neglect, or as a refuge against the disgrace attending the discovery of illegitimate pregnancy. For both these purposes it is essential that admission should be given with perfect facility and secrecy, without form or delay. Whether such institutions may not do more harm than good, by encouraging licentiousness, is another question; but certainly they are more likely to serve the evil purposes of such as neither need nor deserve relief, if the terms of admission be made difficult, and only to be obtained by powerful interest and recommendation."

Howard now directed his efforts to a reinspection of the different county-gaols in Ireland. The one at Kilmainham, for the county of Dublin, was very dirty; and the windows being in the street, near the ground, spirits could easily be conveyed to the prisoners. The consequence was, that they were often intoxicated. "One evening," says Howard, "I came into this prison, most providentially, just in time to

extinguish a fire, kindled by their own criminal negligence, in the straw on which they lay; but for which probably the consequences would have been serious. I have seen the debtors drinking wine, and some of them drunk before eleven in the morning. After the inspection of this prison, Howard took what he terms his Munster circuit. In the Waterford county-gaol he found that no improvement had taken place. The Clonmel county-gaol was an ill-regulated, dirty prison. The Cork county-gaol was most carefully managed; "and the placid countenances of the prisoners," says Howard, "bespoke the keeper to be humane and attentive." Yet into this prison Howard himself saw spirits conveyed, which he was of opinion the most careful keeper could not, without great difficulty, prevent. A different scene presented itself in the gaol for the city, says our philanthropist. "By the confusion, discontent, and hatred discovered in the countenances of the prisoners, when the gaoler was with me, I am convinced he was negligent and inattentive. A keeper should be firm and steady, but mild and sympathetic. He should visit, every day, all the wards of his prison. Such a man will have more influence and authority than the individual who is violent, passionate, and profane, often inhumanely kicking or beating the prisoners." The bridewell and the house of industry for the city, next passed under Howard's inspection. The former was in a sad state, quite out of repair; the latter was clean and better managed than at his last visit; but still many of the straw-beds were literally worn to dust. During his short continuance in Cork, the mayor and corporation justly appreciated his labours, and presented him with the freedom of the city. A testimony of respect for which he returned his grateful acknowledgments. Proceeding to Limerick, How-

ard visited the gaol for the county, part of which is used as a gaol for the city; and so crowded was it sometimes, that between sixty and seventy individuals were thrust into a room little more than twenty feet square. The bridewell he describes as "a miserable dungeon of the same size." The house of industry and the county-infirmary, he was grieved to find in a dirty neglected condition, most ill-managed, and utterly out of repair.

On the 27th of June, Howard returned to Dublin, where he occupied himself till the 6th July; when he set off to visit what he terms the Ulster circuit. Longford county-gaol came under his inspection on the 9th, which he regretted to find was a bad, ill-managed prison. Here he saw a prisoner who had only been committed for a month, but who had been detained several months for the non-payment of his fees, amounting to £1. 10s. 3d. The impolicy, not to say iniquity of this system, "appears," says Howard, "in this case, as in many others; the expense of provision for the prisoner far exceeding the amount of his fees." In the Mullingar county-gaol which he visited on the 10th, the most humane attention was paid to the prisoners; proofs of which were evident in their cheerful countenances. The Cavan county-gaol, bridewell, and hospital, came next under his notice, on the 11th; all of which were in a most disgraceful state. On the 12th he proceeded to the Enniskillen county-gaol, in which he found some improvement was making. He examined the hospital for the county of Fermanagh the same day; and on the 13th passed on to Armagh, where he inspected the gaol and hospital for the county of Tyrone. The former, though an ill-constructed, was a well-managed prison; the latter was a wretched institution, most disgracefully conducted. Scarcely any bedding was allowed, and on application for it

to the vice-treasurer, he testily replied, "The patients may find their own straw and blankets, if they please." He inspected Lifford county-gaol and hospital on the 14th; and regretted much to find both in a filthy state. The Londonderry county and city-gaols, and the county-hospital, Howard visited on the 15th. In both the prisons little attention was paid to the separation of the sexes, or of the debtors from the felons. Of course every thing was in a condition the most disorderly. Howard remained a day or two in Londonderry, and visited the poor-house, which he was pleased to find a most useful and well-conducted institution. "Here," he says, "were more than sixty aged and infirm persons, all clean and orderly. Their provision is wholesome; they receive it cheerfully, and are allowed the profit of any little work they may be able to do. They are constantly visited by Mr. Young, a dissenting minister, who had been for two years the frugal and faithful treasurer. Mr. Young gives the same assiduous attention to a Sunday-school which he established here in 1785, and to which he had ever since regularly attended two hours every sabbath morning and evening.

On the 20th July, Howard inspected the prison and hospital for the county of Armagh, both built by the munificence of the Lord Primate. The prison is an excellent building, but too small for the number of prisoners it contains. The hospital is a noble institution, but sufficient attention was not paid to keep the wards aired and clean. He visited, on the same day, the prison and hospital for the county of Monaghan. In the latter, he says, "I was glad to see among the rules, 'No patients shall smoke tobacco.'" Dundalk county-gaol and hospital, came under Howard's inspection on the 21st. In this prison he was pleased to find that water had been con-

veyed into each cell; thereby effectually furnishing the means of keeping the prison free from all impurities. The hospital was humanely conducted. Downpatrick county-prison and hospital were examined on the 22nd. The defects of the former Howard thus briefly describes: "Here is no water; the rooms are paved with small stones, and very dirty; the windows are next the streets; an offensive vault is in the passage; and the chapel has not been used for years." Of the hospital he remarks, "It was formerly a barrack, wants whitewashing, and the surgery is in a dirty and most disordered state." To show the importance of cleanliness in these institutions, Howard cites the following observations of Dr. Blane, who, in his work on the Diseases incident to Seamen, says: 'If men are not constrained to keep their persons, and their clothes, and bedding clean, the most efficacious remedies, and the most skilful physicians will be of little avail.' "The same individual," says Howard, "relates the following account of the sick sent from the fleet that arrived at New York, in 1782. 'Each man on the sick list was supplied at the public expense, with four pounds of apples, and half a pound of soap. The supply of soap was entirely new in the service; but the good effect of all the other articles would probably have been defeated, unless the men had been furnished with the means of cleanliness, which is the most essential requisite of health.'"

Howard visited the Belfast poor-house on the 24th. It is finely situated; but many of the sleeping-rooms are ten steps below the ground-floor. The front is quite open, and any persons are admitted at any time. "All such houses," says Howard, "should be enclosed, to prevent the poor from wandering about. On the 25th he inspected the Lisburn hospital for the county of Antrim, where he was gratified to per-

ceive that proper attention was paid to the patients. Religious service was performed here every Sunday; and the clergyman enters it in a book, provided for the purpose, in which the governors, in their occasional visits, insert such observations as they may think desirable. The Carrickfergus county and town-gaols came under his inspection on the 26th. The latter was deficient of almost every requisite for a good prison: the former, which had been recently erected, was an honour to the county. A fine stream of water was conducted through the court, and led by pipes into almost every room and cell; thereby preventing the prison from being the least offensive. "Mr. Campbell," says Howard, "never permits spirituous liquors (too often allowed through mistaken humanity) to be brought into the prison, even to the debtors." On the whole, though there were many abuses in these county-prisons which loudly demanded correction, Howard was gratified to perceive that, in many counties, much greater attention was paid to this important part of civil government than formerly. In several places new prisons were erecting, and in others the erection of new ones was in contemplation. "The grand juries," says Howard, "have granted very liberal presentments for the purpose. But I could not avoid feeling much concern, that many of the gaols now erecting, will be monuments of the unskilfulness of the architects, who are, in too many instances, ignorant of what constitutes a secure and healthy prison. Many of them have pompous fronts, and appear like palaces, while internally they are most clumsily constructed."

During his journeys in Ireland on this occasion, Howard not only visited the prisons, but again made particular enquiries into the state of the chartered schools for the instruction of natives, Popish and

Protestant, in the English tongue. Of these, he informs us, there are thirty-eight in Ireland, besides two called *Ranalegh* schools, where the children of Protestants only are admitted. He had learned, from previous enquiries, that they were disgracefully conducted; and, regarding them as most important institutions, he now determined to enquire more minutely into their state, in hopes that such a step would lead to the correction of their abuses. The Clontorf-stand, and the Santry schools, in the county of Dublin, first came under his inspection. The former was superintended by a negligent old man; the latter had an attentive governor: both were dirty and ill-supplied with linen; and the children's clothes were made of the worst materials, very badly put together. In the Kilkenny school considerable improvement had taken place since his last visit. The school for the county of Waterford, at Killoteran, was perfectly clean, orderly, and well-conducted; but the children were in rags, owing to the wretched clothing with which they were furnished. The state of the Clonmell school, for the county of Tipperary, Howard thus briefly describes:—"House dirty, bed and bedding wanted; pantry empty, children half-starved, and nearly naked; the clothes found them being miserably bad." The Iniscara school, in the county of Cork, was, if possible, in a still more disgraceful state. A new governess had been recently appointed for the Chileville school, which was neat and well-managed. The same was the case at Newport. The Frankfort school was under the care of an infirm governess, and was filthy and disorderly. Equally disgraceful was the state of the Longford and Ballykelly schools. The Ray school, for the county of Donegal, was in nearly the same condition. "In the Dundalk school," says Howard, "the house was clean; but the children seemed, by their countenances, to be scantily fed." At Strongford,

the boys were healthy, having the advantage of frequently bathing in the sea. The school at Castlebar was in an extremely wretched state. "The children," says Howard, "looked puny, sickly objects; many of them were without either shoes or stockings, and nearly naked." The Athlone and Roscommon Ranalegh schools, for the children of Protestants only, were in a state almost equally disgraceful. To improve these schools, and make them as efficient as possible, Howard suggested, among others, the following judicious hints:—"The master and mistress should attend the children at meals, which should be as punctually as possible at the same hour. The whole of the Saturday should be appropriated to cleanliness. A liberal allowance of soap, and every thing proper for cleaning the rooms, should be allowed. Every school should be lime-whited at least once a year; that is, washed with boiling-water in which fresh limestone has been slaked.* The master to be permitted to keep only one dog; and no pigs or poultry to be permitted to enter the house; the time for the children's work not to exceed four hours a day. Large and neat gardens to belong to every school; to keep a sufficient and regular supply of vegetables, and to provide constant and suitable labour for the boys. The Protestant gentlemen and ladies within ten miles of a school should be earnestly requested to become members of the local committee, and to favour the school with frequent visits."

The importance Howard attached to the education of the poor will be seen by the following remarks

* To this circumstance, insignificant as it may appear, Howard attached great importance. "I have," says he, "often recommended lime-washing in prisons, hospitals, and schools. It is attended with little expense, is exceedingly salutary, and tends to inspire young persons especially, with a love of cleanliness. Of this I am convinced from experience; having repeatedly observed that, when I have pulled down old clay cottages, with clay-floors, and have built new ones, that were whitewashed within and without, the very same families that were before always slovenly and dirty, have, by a change of their habitations, become clean and neat in their persons, houses, and gardens."

made in his work, at the close of the account he gives of these schools:—"I cannot forbear here expressing a wish that the benefits of education were more generally extended over Ireland than they are by these schools. If free schools were instituted in every parish, for instructing the children of the poor of each sex, and of all persuasions, in the lower branches of learning, and in the principles of morality, it would, perhaps, more than any thing, tend to soften the manners of the Irish poor, and enable their youth to resist the various temptations to which they are inevitably exposed in their crowded huts and cabins. The lower class of people in Ireland are by no means averse to the improvement of their children. At the cabins by the road-side I saw several schools, in which, for the payment of a trifling sum, children were instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Some of these I examined as to the proficiency the children made, and found them much forwarder than those of the same age in the chartered schools. They were clean and wholesome, and consisted of the children of both Protestant and Catholic parents. As a Protestant dissenter, I hope I shall not be thought indifferent to the Protestant cause, when I express my wish that these distinctions were less regarded in bestowing the advantages of education, and that the increase of Protestantism were chiefly trusted to the dissemination of knowledge and sound morals. In Scotland almost every village has its settled schoolmaster; the beneficial effects of which are evident; for it is principally owing to this that the emigrants from that country appear to so much credit, and make their way so well wherever they go!

Howard embarked at Belfast for Scotland about the 27th July. He crossed the channel to Drogheda, and on the 31st July visited the gaol of Ayr, in which he regretted to find there was no court-yards either

for debtors or felons. The prisoners were never permitted to leave their rooms. Proceeding to Glasgow he found the tolbooth-prison, which he inspected August 3d, in the same sad state. A new prison had been erected here for transports, of whom there were sometimes a considerable number. Each had a separate small room, rendered very offensive by the want of air. As the prison was insecure, they were chained by the neck and feet. "No efforts," says Howard, "were made to reclaim these unhappy objects, whose long confinement, with the severity of their chains, and their scanty food, must reduce them to the extremity of misery and desperation." The house of correction in this city was a dirty ill-managed prison, and no religious service was allowed on the Sunday. In his work on prisons Howard had only given a very brief account of the prisons in this city, as he hoped, from the spirited exertions of Mr. Stuart, that a new gaol would soon be built. Perceiving, to his regret, that such had not been the case, he took the liberty, candidly and honestly to declare his opinion to the Lord Provost. He remarked, in conversation with his lordship, that there were many serious defects in the prisons. "The tolbooth," says he, "has no court; it is never white-washed. The gaoler has no apartments in it, and he is permitted to sell spirituous and other liquors to the prisoners. In the house of correction there were forty-seven women in three close rooms; many of them lying sick: that no magistrate ever looked in upon them; nor did any clergyman ever attend them, or make the slightest efforts to reclaim them." "To this," his lordship replied, "that they were so hardened, it was useless making the attempt." "That, allow me to say," rejoined Howard, "is by no means the case; for on talking seriously with them only a few minutes, I saw tears start from their eyes; a convincing proof that they were not wholly

unsusceptible of good feeling. I am apprehensive," continued Howard, with his characteristic openness, "that the splendid improvements now making in your places of entertainment, streets, squares, bridges, and the like, occupy all the attention of the gentlemen in office, to the entire neglect of this essential branch of police."

Before he quitted Edinburgh he revisited the various benevolent institutions in that city. The royal infirmary was an excellent institution, and not ill-managed. Two wings had been added to the orphan-hospital by the generous contribution of the treasurer, Mr. Tod, much to the benefit of the institution, which was well-conducted, and answered every purpose for which it was established. The charity workhouse, in which there were near six hundred individuals, was clean and well-managed; but not being supported with sufficient liberality, was considerably in debt. The hospital for the aged, Howard was pleased to find was a neat, comfortable retreat. Each person has his own room: the rooms open into a passage leading to a sitting-room, for such as choose to associate with others. A chaplain reads prayers morning and evening. A garden belongs to the institution, of which the inmates have the use. Roast-meat is provided three days in the week, and boiled three; and a sufficient supply of beer, coals, clothes, and linen are found. "But the allowance for washing," says Howard, with his constant regard to cleanliness, "was only sixpence a month. The circumstance of each person having a window at command, was very agreeable to me; as I have frequently observed, that where many lodge in the same room, the infirmity or feverishness of some one or two, has been the cause of half-stifling the rest, for want of the admission of that *cordial of life* —AIR."

During his continuance in Edinburgh the magistrates presented Howard with the freedom of the

city; an honour which he gratefully accepted, and duly acknowledged. They also politely accompanied him in his visit to the poor-house, which afforded him much pleasure. He embraced this opportunity to observe, with his usual discretion, and regard for the poor, on perceiving that several girls were employed in tambour-work, "That he thought the employment of poor children in ornamental work ought not to be the general plan pursued; since, if they are afterwards to come out into the world as servants, or the wives of the labouring poor, it will be found that a readiness in the ordinary and coarser kinds of female work would have been of much greater service than the acquisition of an art which they will have no time nor occasion to practise." Howard left Edinburgh about the 15th August, and proceeded through the counties of Morpeth and Durham, to London, revisiting on his way several prisons in the towns through which he passed. On the 17th he again examined the town and county-gaols at Berwick-on-Tweed, in which no improvement had taken place. The gaol and bridewell for the county of Morpeth passed under his notice on the 18th, and were found in nearly the same state as before. In the gaol was a woman, heavily ironed, committed for receiving a stolen handkerchief of trifling value, though it was known at the time of her commitment that she had very recently been confined. At his request her chains were taken off. He revisited the town-gaol and bridewell at Newcastle, on the 19th, and on the 21st reinspected the gaol and bridewell for the county of Durham. In all these he was pleased to find considerable improvement had taken place.

Howard now returned to London, partly to obtain some relaxation, and partly to advise with his friends what further steps could be taken with his son, of whose recovery there seemed not to be the most dis-

tant prospect, as he progressively grew worse. He had been kept at Cardington for a considerable time; and Howard's friends and medical attendants all urged the propriety of his being placed in an asylum: to which, after much persuasion, the father at length consented; and steps were accordingly taken to place the unhappy young man under the care of Dr. Arnold, of Leicester, who kept a well-regulated lunatic establishment. He was a most experienced man in mental maladies, and treated his patients with all possible kindness.

Howard again resumed his labours on the 16th September. On this occasion he passed through the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. He inspected the Norwich county-gaol, which was clean and well-conducted, on the 18th; and the following day visited the city-gaol and bridewell. The magistrates were so obliging as to accompany him in this visit, when Howard pointed out to their notice the very dirty state the gaol was in; the want of order that prevailed, and the great evils arising from not having separate apartments for the sexes. In the bridewell he was pleased to find that the use of the dungeons had been prohibited, and that the system he had so strongly recommended of employing the prisoners had been adopted. With the Norfolk and Norwich hospital Howard was much delighted. It was spacious, airy, perfectly clean, and neat, and under the care of a very notable matron. "But," says he, with that delicacy of feeling and accuracy of judgment for which he was ever distinguished, "if I might hint at a defect in an hospital which does honour to the governors, I would mention the impropriety of the washhouse being within the house." The hospital for the aged, formerly a monastery, given to the city by Henry the Eighth, contained more than eighty infirm individuals, and was an excellent institution, but not suf-

ficiently airy. Proceeding to Yarmouth on the 21st, Howard revisited the gaol and bridewell for that town. Some slight improvements had been made in the former; but the gaoler was still permitted to sell liquors: in the latter, no alteration had taken place. Passing on to Beccles, he inspected the bridewell there on the 25th. Some additional rooms had been made, but they were not clean. The next day he revisited the bridewell at Woodbridge, which was much improved. He reached Ipswich on the 27th, and visited the gaol and bridewell for the eastern division of Suffolk. The gaol was greatly improved since the removal of the tap. It was clean, and under excellent regulations. The worthy chaplain was most attentive to the prisoners. "I was pleased," says Howard, "to hear him remark, that he attributed the present health and regularity of the prisoners, and their constant and devout attention at the chapel, solely to the abolition of the tap. A new gaol was erecting for the county, which Howard highly approved. The prisons at Bury-St.-Edmunds came under his notice on the 28th. On his way thither from Ipswich, he called on his friend, Capel Lofft, who then resided near Bury, and who would fain have accompanied him on his visit to the prisons, but Howard would not permit him, wishing to go there as a stranger, and unexpected. So much did this distinguished barrister feel himself honoured by Howard's visit, that he planted a laurel the same day, which he ever afterwards called "Howard's laurel." No improvement had been made in the Bury gaol, except that, owing to the removal of the tap, it was much more quiet than formerly. Howard complained that the turnkeys kept several dogs, a practice which he severely censured. It was his wish that no dogs should be kept in prisons, but one for the gaoler. A new bridewell had been built here, which was not, on the

whole, ill-planned; "but," says its vigilant inspector, "the work was not substantial. The wood not having been well-seasoned, the planks in the sides and the floors were so shrunk as to leave considerable vacancies, which ought never to be left in prisons or hospitals, as they afford a harbour for dirt." On the 29th, Howard proceeded to Cambridge, and inspected the gaol for the county of Cambridgeshire, which, as the gaoler lived at a distance, could hardly be a well-conducted prison. Here his labours for this journey ended, and he now repaired to Cardington, his son having been removed to the asylum.

This favourite spot was now bereft of all its former charms. The bereavement of a beloved wife, and the loss of an only son, under circumstances the most distressing, were so vividly brought to mind by every scene, that had it not been for the sake of his friends who resided in the neighbourhood, to many of whom he was most sincerely attached, he would probably never have visited it again, much as he preferred it, in other respects, for his seasons of relaxation, to the noise and bustle of London. Howard's Cardington and Bedford friends were delighted to be again favoured with his company, after so long an absence; and were unremitting in their efforts to sympathise with him in the poignant regret he evidently felt on his son's account. He remained here about three weeks, and then set out on a journey through the midland counties. On the 22nd he revisited the county-gaol for Derbyshire, with the Derby town-gaol and bridewell, and was not a little delighted to find them much improved: the abolition of the tap had led to the happiest results. The gaoler of the county-prison, a highly respectable man, declared it was one of the best measures that had ever been adopted. The county-gaol for Nottingham came under his inspection on the 23rd, where he regretted to find many felons shut up in two dark, offensive

dungeons, which had never been lime-washed. Nottingham town-gaol and bridewell, which he examined the same day, were ill-conducted and unimproved. In this town was a neat hospital, well-situated, and not on the whole badly managed, though sufficient regard was not paid to cleanliness. Proceeding to Leicester he inspected the prisons for the county and town. In the county-gaol, he was surprised to find that the debtor's free ward was a dungeon, though the prison was well-regulated, as was also the county-bridewell. In the town-gaol no improvement had taken place. The county infirmary was a useful institution, but not sufficiently airy. Passing into Northampton on the 27th, he inspected the county and town-prisons, and the county-infirmary. On the 29th the county-gaol and bridewell at Hertford came under his notice: though some improvements had been made in them, they were still very badly managed. Of the gaol at Hitchen, which he visited the same day, he briefly remarks, "A bad prison, not secure, and without apartments for the keeper."

Howard now proceeded to the metropolis, where he continued about a week, diligently employed in the reinspection of several prisons. In the Horsemonger-lane gaol there were fifty transports, who had not been delivered in execution of their sentence: they were in a dreadful state, almost perishing for food, and many of them nearly naked. About the 8th November, 1787, he set off on another journey through the western counties of England. On the 10th he arrived at Plymouth, about four in the afternoon; and though he had been travelling two nights, without taking any other refreshment than a cup of tea in the morning, he appeared as active and in as good spirits, as if he had neither been deprived of food nor sleep. On this occasion he remarked to a friend, that he was sixty-one years old; adding, that he hoped he should hold out four years longer,

which there was indeed every reason to expect.* He found the Plymouth town-gaol, though slightly improved, close and offensive. The royal hospital here, was a noble institution, but "needed," says Howard, "several additions: a receiving house was particularly wanted, and two pavilions at the entrance, contiguous to the steward's and agent's offices." Some improvements had been made in the gaol at Launceston, for the county of Cornwall, which he visited on the 12th: but he regretted to learn that no divine service was performed on the Sunday. Passing on to Tavistock, he visited the gaol there the same day; and the day following the prisons at Exeter came under his inspection.

On visiting the high-gaol for this city, Howard had the satisfaction to learn that a benevolent individual had given £1,000 towards a new gaol, which was forthwith to be erected, under the superintendence of the magistrates, who had wisely selected a most eligible spot for the purpose. In the old prison Howard met with an instance of conjugal attachment of a man to his wife, seldom equalled, perhaps never excelled. "On entering the infirmary for this prison," he says, "I found three sick females, and with them a shoemaker, busily employed at his trade; surprised at the singularity of the scene, I enquired into the cause; and was informed that this man was the husband of one of the sick women. His wife had been committed for a theft, and was sentenced to be transported for seven years. She was ordered to the hulk at Plymouth for that purpose, but on account of lameness contracted by a fever caught in the gaol, she could not be removed. She had given birth to her fifteenth child while in the prison; and such was the attachment of her husband to her, that he declared he would never leave her. Such affection in men is not common, though

* Brown's Life of Howard.

I have frequently seen it in the other sex." On subsequently returning to London, Howard stated the particulars of her case to Lord Sydney, who kindly took the affair into consideration, and granted her a pardon; and Howard had afterwards the satisfaction to learn that the husband and wife proved useful members of the community. The sheriff's-ward prison, the county-bridewell, and the city and county-gaol, came successively under Howard's notice: as did also the poor-house for this city, "which," he says, "is finely situated on a rising ground, a short distance out of the city: it contained about six hundred individuals, but was close and not clean."

Proceeding to Salisbury on the 16th, Howard inspected the county-gaol for Wiltshire, a dirty, unimproved and ill-regulated prison, which had not been whitewashed since the fatal ravages of the gaol-fever, in 1784, when seventeen prisoners and a turnkey died. Dorchester county and town-gaols passed under his notice the same day. The former, though a new prison, was filthy and ill-managed; the latter was unimproved and equally disorderly. He passed thence to Bath, and on the 18th visited the gaol and infirmary there. The former was unimproved, but the latter was cleaner and fresher than when he saw it before; but he still regretted that the upper sashes were not made to let down. "I am," says he, "generally attentive to the staircases, and passage windows in hospitals, that the wards may be freshened by them. I have often remarked on the impropriety of the upper sashes being fixed. The smallest opening of them produces a circulation of the stagnant air, and so imperceptibly, that there is little danger of either the patients or nurses wishing them to be closed." The Bristol-gaol and bridewell came under his inspection on the 19th. The state of the former he briefly describes, "as white without, and foul within: the dungeons were very dirty, and

I am generally most attentive to these, and the felons' rooms; for, though the debtors' apartments are often equally dirty, yet, besides having other privileges, their rooms are opened sooner and shut later: it is seldom that any contagious disorder commences with them." The bridewell, Howard was pleased to find much cleaner than it was before. A new infirmary was erecting for this city, "which," he says, "is in a close, confined situation, and will be a monument to the unskilfulness of the subscribers, or of their inattention to a most important object, in a good hospital. A fine situation was pointed out to them at a short distance, but was declined, though strongly recommended by the gentlemen of the faculty." Colston's hospital, for a hundred boys, now came under his notice; he was pleased to find the bed-rooms clean, the boys looking neat and healthy, and every thing in excellent order; but he thought the daily allowance of bread to each boy—only twelve ounces, insufficient.

On his way home from Bristol, Howard visited the prisons at Oxford, and was pleased to find two new prisons erecting here, one for the county, the other for the town. Both were by the same architect, Mr. Blackburn, and were on the best construction. Here he had the gratification to learn, that an experiment, on the plan recommended by Dr. Fothergill, of employing convicts on public buildings, had been most successfully made, through the persevering exertions of a worthy magistrate; by which the county had saved more than £100. "The lodges, the gateway, and the chapel over it," says Howard, "were to be built entirely by the convicts, who were at work, guarded only by one man, though several of them, for their good conduct, had their irons taken off. This proves that such delinquents are not so entirely abandoned as to be irreclaimable, which too many imagine. The encouragements here

given them, as to their diet, clothes, and term of confinement, was the means of recovering many from their bad habits, and of rendering them useful members of society. Some had been discharged completely clothed, with a little money in their pockets, and a good character; with the promise, that if at the end of a year they brought a certificate of sobriety and attention to their duties, they should be further rewarded." Proceeding through Buckinghamshire, Howard visited the county and town-gaols at Aylesbury. In both these prisons, owing to the exertions of the Marquis of Buckingham, great improvements had been made; but the rooms for the felons in the county-prison were still much too confined. In the town-gaol, each prisoner had a separate room of sufficient size, with bed and bedding; and the noble marquis had interested himself in the erection of a new bridewell, instead of the miserable one at Newport-Pagnel. On the 30th he again inspected the county-prisons at Bedford; the gaol was unimproved, dirty, and disorderly; in the bridewell, a new day-room had been built, and the prisoners were employed.

The 1st and 2nd of December Howard appears to have spent at Cardington; probably, as it was on the approach of winter, his chief object was to make enquiries into the wants of the poor in his neighbourhood, previous to the distribution of his annual bounty. Whilst there, he thus adverts to the state of the poor-house in his own neighbourhood: "I beg leave to recommend to notice and imitation the workhouse in this parish. It is a neat building, with lofty rooms, ventilated by opposite windows. The infirmary, wash-house, bake-house, cow-house, and other out-buildings, are detached. A good garden and drying-ground belong to it. The poor are neatly clad; and their diet, employment, and treatment in sickness and health, are all regulated

with strict order and humane attention. The children are kept clean, and made cheerful and happy, in constant employment; but not to the neglect of their instruction in what regards their best interests. All this exemplary management is chiefly owing to the unabated zeal and attention of a young lady in this parish: giving us a striking proof how much good may be done by well-directed, persevering, individual activity." On the 3rd December we find Howard inspecting the county-gaol at Huntingdon, in which no improvement had taken place. "No chaplain," says he, "has been provided since the dismission of the zealous Mr. Brock, in 1776; though, I would hope, from the books I found the prisoners reading, some of them are well-disposed." The next day Ely gaol and bridewell came under Howard's inspection. Both were in nearly the same ill-managed state as before. He visited the gaol at Newport on the 5th; an insecure and very badly-managed prison. On the 6th we find him at Chelmsford, inspecting the prisons there. The gaol was considerably improved; and he was pleased to perceive, that his animadversions upon it had produced their proper effect. But such was far from being the case in the bridewell, which was a disorderly and most unhealthy prison.

Howard now returned to London, where he remained till the 17th, busily engaged in collecting and arranging for his next publication the additional information he had obtained. On the 18th December he commenced an extensive journey through several counties in England. Chester castle came under his inspection the 21st, where he had the pleasure not only to perceive that the prison was materially improved, but to see an intelligent convict, who had been capitally convicted, but was now reprieved, employing himself in teaching several young prisoners to read. Chester city and county-gaol was

in the same disgraceful state as before. The convicts and prisoners for trial were severely ironed by the neck, hands, waist, feet, and chained to the floor; and at night to their beds, in their horrid dungeons. No proper separation of the sexes was made; and so scanty was the provision allowed them, that Howard remarked, with much severity, "It is a disgrace to such an opulent city that the prisoners are not supplied with necessary food." Some little alteration was made in the bridewell; but it still needed great improvement. On visiting the infirmary for this city he was delighted to find it an excellent institution, most carefully superintended, under the direction of Dr. Haygarth. The prisons at Liverpool came next under his notice. He visited the gaol on the 22nd, in which little improvement had been made. The day following he inspected the bridewell, where the prisoners were all heavily ironed for attempting to make their escape. Because they had made use of their bedding in their efforts to regain their liberty, they were deprived of it, and were compelled to sleep on the floor, though the weather was very severe. "There would be scarcely any attempts made to escape," says Howard, "were the prisoners confined in separate cells during the night. I told the keepers here, and at Chester castle, that steady, lenient, and persuasive methods with prisoners, are the best means to prevent them from breaking out. When their minds are uneasy, and their bodies harassed, they are often driven to make desperate attempts, which will occasionally be successful. I mentioned the good effects of such measures at Oxford castle, where the keepers declared they had now found that much more was to be done with prisoners by mild and firm, than by rough and severe treatment."

Proceeding to Manchester, on the 27th, he had the pleasure to find that a new prison was erecting

on the plan he had so strongly recommended. With his characteristic modesty he thus adverts to it:— "This prison will reflect much credit on the good sense and liberality of the gentlemen in Salford Hundred;" omitting entirely the following interesting circumstance, because it related to himself. The enlightened magistrates, conceiving the merit of the erection of this, as well as of many other prisons, to be due more to Howard than to themselves, had directed the following inscription to be made on the foundation stone:—

THAT THERE MAY REMAIN TO POSTERITY
A MONUMENT OF THE AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE OF THIS COUNTY,
TO THAT MOST EXCELLENT PERSON
WHO HATH SO FULLY PROVED THE WISDOM AND HUMANITY
OF THE
SEPARATE AND SOLITARY CONFINEMENT OF OFFENDERS,
THIS PRISON IS INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF
JOHN HOWARD.

Passing on to Preston, this indefatigable man had the gratification to find another prison erecting on the same extensive and excellent plan, in a fine situation. "By a careful inspection," says he, "of the countenances of criminals in this and in some other prisons, I am fully persuaded that the abolition of the tap is greatly conducive to the health of the prisoners. They spend their little money in the purchase of wholesome food, and do not sell the bread allowed them to buy spirits. If I might advise as to drink, I should say that tea is a good and wholesome liquor; and not only prisoners, but I have often found that sailors are very fond of it."

Howard finished his labours for this year by inspecting Lancaster-castle gaol, which he found quiet, orderly, and clean. "I am persuaded," he says, "from a view of the prisoners, in the prison and at chapel, that the governor is humane and attentive. The good old surgeon positively refuses all application from the debtors for spirituous liquors; well-

knowing the quarrels, riots, and confusion it has frequently occasioned. No vice has brought more families to misery than this. Its effects on tradesmen are such, that before mid-day the unhappy victim is unqualified for business. Artificially exhilarated, he goes on regardless of the consequences; and retires not from the scene of dissipation till his money and credit are gone. In a short time his whole frame becomes debilitated, and he is rendered incapable of any continued labour or exertion. The practice soon becomes a confirmed habit. He must have recourse to the exciting draught on every trifling occasion, to brace his trembling nerves. It is an object worthy the attention of the legislature, and of every friend to mankind, to do what is possible to restrain so great an evil." As Howard happened to be here on the Sunday, he gladly embraced the opportunity afforded him (which he hardly ever omitted, if he could do it conveniently,) of worshipping with them in the prison-chapel. "On this occasion," he says, "I observed some of the debtors much affected with the following passage in one of the Psalms read for the day:—'O let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoner come before thee.'—Psalm lxxix. 12. Which gave me the hint of taking it for a motto to my next publication."

CHAPTER XVII.

Howard revisits the prisons at Kendal, Appleby, Leeds, York, Beverley, and Hull—Inspects the Friends' school at Ackworth—Anxiety respecting the religious instruction of prisoners—Evils of its neglect—Tour through the southern counties of England—Revisits the prisons in South Wales—Continued inspection of English prisons—Pernicious results of confining juvenile offenders with the hardened and profligate—Howard again visits Ireland—Particular attention to the Irish schools—Unsuccessful efforts to benefit these institutions—Returns to England through Wales—Treatment he had received from prisoners and keepers—Continued attention to English prisons.

HOWARD commenced his labours for 1788 by inspecting the bridewell at Kendal, a new but dirty prison. He visited the Cumberland county-gaol on the 3rd; which was still a bad prison, as it could not fail to be, while men and women were confined in the same apartments. It gave him pleasure to learn, that a new prison was about to be erected on a good plan. The county-gaol and bridewell at Appleby passed under his notice on the 4th. Both were in a dirty, disorderly state. "The gaoler," says Howard, "had recently died from hard drinking; and I find in my visits that many others have fallen victims to this destructive vice, to which the taps, while they were permitted to exist, was a strong temptation." The Leeds town-gaol was unimproved.

The Leeds infirmary he describes as one of the best in the kingdom; and the poor-house in this town as an excellent establishment. He inspected the bridewell for the West Riding of Yorkshire on the 9th, where a new house had been built for the keeper. "It would have been better," he remarks, "had a new prison been erected in a suitable spot; this being a very unhealthy one, as the prisoners are often unwell." On the 10th he did himself the pleasure to visit the school belonging to the society of Friends, at Ackworth, then under the superintendence of an excellent, most intelligent individual. The neatness, order, and cheerfulness of the children delighted him exceedingly. "They are," says he, "instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. A small portion of every day is devoted to silent and serious thoughtfulness, which does not seem tedious or irksome to the children, being trained from their infancy to stated seasons of silence and attention. There are generally about three hundred scholars. They all look calm and quiet; and their countenances indicated that this proceeded less from fear of their governor than from respect. Their bed-rooms were clean, and in good order. They sleep on hair mattresses, and in each is an usher or mistress. The only thing I saw of which I did not approve, was their diet-table. I cannot approve of beer for children, nor of meat too often. Of this much-respected class of people, improperly because opprobriously called Quakers, with whom I have passed many agreeable hours of my life, I trust they will believe me, when I assure them, that I cordially join in opinion with Dr. Percival, who says, most truly, 'that they certainly merit a very high degree of esteem from their fellow-citizens, for their industry, temperance, peaceable and catholic spirit.' To which I must add, as an amiable property, their uncommon neatness in their persons and houses."

York castle and York city and county-gaol, came under Howard's notice on the 11th. In the former, several good alterations had been made, the latter was unimproved. The prisoners were however employed; "which," says Howard, "always gives me pleasure, as they are then more healthy; their time passes away more cheerfully, and it is the means of procuring them many little indulgences which they cannot otherwise have. I remember an old gaoler's observation, "that it keeps them out of mischief." Proceeding to Beverley on the 13th, he inspected the prisons in that town. Some additional rooms had been built in the gaol for the East Riding; but the gaols for debtors and felons were unimproved. In the latter Howard discovered that liquors were still sold, though an attempt was made to deceive him on the subject. Passing on to Hull, Howard inspected the gaol for the town and county, which had been recently built on a good plan, in an excellent situation. It was carefully inspected by the magistrates, and was orderly and clean. With the poor-house in this town, Howard was much delighted: it contained fifty men, a hundred women, sixty boys, and fifty girls, all of whom, with the house, were neat and clean. "The placidness of their countenances," says Howard, "bespoke the attention of the notable matron under whose care the institution has been for more than thirty years."

Nothing afforded Howard greater pleasure than to see proper regard paid to the religious instruction of all, but especially the young. Attentive as he was to the temporal welfare of all who were in distress, he ever considered their spiritual interests as of permanent importance. "I would lay great stress," he remarked, on returning from this institution, "on the regular catechising of children in all workhouses, at least twice a-week. The exercise to be performed

in the presence of the adults, to whom also it might prove highly beneficial. Many elderly persons are so ignorant, that they can derive little benefit from hearing sermons; they want some more easy and familar instruction, to inform their minds and enlarge their comprehension. On proper catechetical lessons, connected with plain, serious, and familiar conversation respecting the great principles and duties of the Christian religion, will depend, in a great degree, the benefits of Sunday-schools. Pilfering and stealing are frequently owing at first to the want of proper training in early life. These indulged in, lead to more serious offences. Corrupt as our nature is, robbery and murder are seldom, if ever, the first crimes of the unhappy wretches who commit them; but when once persons have entered upon evil courses, they commonly advance by hasty steps, till they become totally depraved and abandoned to all kinds of wickedness."

The county-gaol in Lincoln castle, the bridewell for the same county, and the gaol and bridewell for the city of Lincoln, passed under Howard's inspection on the 16th. Much to his regret he found them all unimproved. The county bridewell was a most offensive prison, and the prisoners were nearly starved. Through the windows of the cells in the city-gaol, which were next the streets, the prisoners were often supplied with spirits till they became intoxicated.

Howard now returned to Cardington, to allow himself a short, and but a short season of relaxation. The information he continued to receive respecting his son, was of a most distressing character; scarcely any hope of his recovery could now be entertained. To divert his mind from the painful reflections occasioned by this severe trial, Howard, after about ten days' rest, again set off on his benevolent

labours. On this occasion the direction he took was through the southern counties of England. He visited the county-gaol for Gloucestershire on January the 30th, and had the gratification to find, that a new prison, with a bridewell attached, was now erecting under the direction, and chiefly owing to the exertions of Sir G. Paul; "to whose skill, humanity, and most unremitting attention, this prison will be a lasting monument." It afforded our philanthropist much pleasure to learn, that his late majesty, George the Third, had recently visited this prison, and had been so much delighted with its arrangements, that with his accustomed princely liberality, he gave £300 for the relief of the debtors, and a donation of £50 towards the infirmary. On the 31st the gaol for debtors, which was disgracefully conducted by a publican, who made an inn of the prison, came under his inspection. The same day he visited Monmouth county-gaol and bridewell, besides inspecting the gaol for the town. No alteration had been made in these prisons; but he was happy to find that a new county-gaol was building by an able architect, on an eligible spot, given to the county for the purpose, by the Duke of Beaufort.

Howard now made a short excursion into South Wales. On the 1st February he visited the Breconshire county-gaol, a slightly built, and disorderly prison. Here he exercised his generosity by releasing a poor shoemaker, who had been kept some time in prison, for a debt of twelve shillings, the costs and gaoler's fees amounted to £1. 4*s*. A most scanty supply of bread was allowed; and, as Howard suspected, he found they were cheated out of what was really their due, by the baker's dishonesty. "I always weigh the bread at prisons," says he, "and if there be no assize in the town, I examine and weigh the bread of bakers who do not supply the prisons." The bad prison at Presteign, for the

county of Radnorshire, came under his notice on the 2nd. Here he again exercised his liberality, in releasing several debtors who had been imprisoned for debts of less than a pound, whose costs and fees far exceeded the amount of their debts. Returning again into England by the county of Hertford, he inspected the bridewell and infirmary for that county on the 4th. The former was still a bad prison; the latter, recently built in a good situation, was on the whole an excellent institution. The county and city-gaols came both under his notice on the 6th. Considerable improvements had been made in the county-prison, but it was disgraced by the practice of keeping the female convicts in irons; "a practice," says Howard, "indecent, wanton, and cruel, and not pursued in any civilized country that I have visited."

Proceeding into Worcestershire, Howard inspected, on the 5th, the Worcester castle county-gaol, where the late gaoler, and his wife who succeeded him, had died of the gaol-fever. It was still, owing to the keeper's negligence, a close, offensive prison, though several additional rooms had been made. Of the direful effects of the gaol-fever, which originates in a want of attention, Howard thus speaks:—"In the course of my pursuits, I have known several amiable young gentlemen, who, in their zeal to do good, have been carried off by this dreadful disease. This has been one incentive to my efforts for its extirpation. One affecting instance of it, which happened here, is thus related by Dr. Barnes, in his History of Manchester: 'Dr. Johnston, jun., has lately fallen a lamented victim to the noble discharge of his duty, in attending the prisoners ill of a fever, in Worcester-castle. He attained, early in life, to great and merited eminence in his profession, and will ever be regretted as a physician of great ability, and as one of the most benevolent and pleasing of men,

thus prematurely snatched from his friends and the country.' And yet, alas!" adds Howard, "the dreadful dungeon here—the planks of which are literally perished by the damp, and the breath of prisoners—was, at my last visit, preparing for the reception of others." It is gratifying to perceive how readily Howard awarded the mede of praise where it was due. With genuine humility he ever looked upon the exertions of all who interested themselves in the cause of benevolence, as better than his own. But who does not see, in every case, the immense disparity? It was not duty, or, at least, not that duty involved in the acceptance of office for a stipulated gratuity, that induced him, with such fearless magnanimity, to visit the pestilential abodes of misery, into which many of those whose situation imposed upon them the obligation, and to whose neglect frequently much of danger was owing, dared not enter: it was a higher and a nobler principle; being, in fact, the legitimate practical effect of that great duty of our holy religion, that we are to love our neighbour as ourselves.

Worcester county-bridewell and infirmary came under his notice on the 6th. The state of the former he thus describes: "No employment found for the prisoners, and as no blankets are allowed them, they most of them sleep in their clothes." Of the infirmary he says: "In this hospital there were fifty-three patients; not a window was open in the wards or staircases. The men's wards were offensive. The beds were not made at noon. The floors were rubbed, not washed; Ludlow town-gaol and bridewell came under Howard's inspection on the 7th. The former was unimproved, and the latter was still a single dark room in the old workhouse; a dismal, most neglected house. The next day he visited Bishop's Castle town-gaol. On the 9th the Shropshire county-gaol and bridewell, and the Shrews-

bury county-infirmary were all examined. The prisons for the county were in a disgraceful state. In the gaol the women were in irons, and the men were double-ironed; besides being chained to the floor during the night. A publican was admitted on Sunday with cans of beer to serve the prisoners, though they were scantily supplied with bread. The prisoners in the bridewell had of late years been deprived of all religious instruction, being prohibited attending the chapel of the adjoining gaol. The infirmary was an old ill-built house, much out of repair. Howard advised the erection of a new hospital, instead of making some additional wards, which was in contemplation. The poor-house in this town, originally designed for a foundling-hospital, and afterwards used as a gaol for prisoners of war, was perfectly adapted for the purpose. "Neat, clean, and orderly; it is," says Howard, "one of the best regulated houses in the kingdom, and does great credit to those who have superintended it."

Proceeding into Staffordshire, Howard found the gaol for that county in a crowded and shocking state. Only one small day-room was allowed for all the prisoners, men and women. "In the dungeon for the male felons," he writes, "I saw fifty-two felons chained down, only fourteen inches being allowed for each. The moisture from their breath dropped from the walls. The stench, the oppressive heat of this dungeon, and the pale countenances of the wretched men I need not describe. In another dungeon, scarcely less offensive, were the women: these were also in irons. Seven of the felons confined here had died during the last year; and nine out of thirteen debtors confined in the rooms above them." Bad as this prison was, it was made much worse by the keeper's inattention; but he had the pleasure to learn, that a new prison was about to be erected, which he hoped would be under the care of

a more humane governor. On inspecting the Stafford county-infirmary, he found it an excellent institution, quiet, clean, and well-managed. Proceeding to Birmingham, he examined the prisons there on the 13th. Both the town-gaol, and the court-prison for debtors, were dirty and disorderly. The gaoler had still a licence to sell beer, the pernicious effects of which on the prisoners' conduct were too perceptible. "There being," says Howard, "no proper place for the confinement of idle and refractory apprentices, in this town, the punishment of such offenders is so repeatedly omitted through the kindness of magistrates, who dread the consequences of sending them among hardened offenders, till at length they become, in many cases, hardened in crime, and are at last ruined. Some such young creatures I have seen committed for capital crimes, who, by proper restraint and punishment when they committed their first offence, might have been reclaimed; but, owing to the neglect of this, I have met the same boys in the hulks. In all large and manufacturing towns, it would be proper to have solitary cells for the confinement of faulty apprentices and servants for a few days, where they should be compelled to work, and allowed no visitors except clergymen. A few days' imprisonment on this plan would probably do more good than many months' confinement among others; and would not corrupt the morals of the delinquent. It is generally found that in the first two or three days prisoners' minds are most tender and most susceptible of good impressions. I was once told by a magistrate that he had often found it needful to refrain from commitment in such cases, even where some punishment really ought to have been inflicted, from a persuasion of the total unfitness of the usual places of confinement to answer the purposes of correction

and reformation, which in these cases ought especially to be the objects in view."

Aston gaol, near Birmingham, an insecure and a badly-conducted prison, consisting of two damp dungeons and two rooms above them, came under Howard's inspection on the 15th. The same day he passed on to Warwick, and visited the county-gaol and bridewell. The former was excessively crowded. "In a dungeon," says he, "of only twenty-two feet diameter, down thirty steps, I saw more than thirty convicts, all in irons. There were three others in a room very ill, but their irons were not taken off. In two small rooms, with only little apertures in the doors for air, were fourteen women, all of them nearly suffocated. Previous to the removal of the convicts to Plymouth, the dungeons in this disgraceful prison were in a much worse state than they were now. So excessively crowded were they on these occasions, that the unhappy men were compelled in turns to stand up while the others slept; and the steam of their breath issued from the opening into the dungeon, like the smoke of a chimney in winter." The county-bridewell was a new prison, with separate apartments and courts for men and women. The vagrants were separated from the other prisoners, and the whole was tolerably well-conducted. Here the labours of this journey terminated, and Howard returned to Cardington.

During Howard's journeys he evidently made strict enquiries into whatever he thought likely to prove the exciting causes of crime. Experience had taught him that the increase of public-houses had this effect to a considerable extent. "The great and increasing number of ale-houses," says he, "that I observe in my tours through this kingdom, I cannot but lament, as it is one principal and obvious reason why our prisons are so crowded, both with

debtors and felons. The magistrates, many of them at least, are sensible of this evil; yet are they so dreadfully supine and incautious, that they frequently grant new licences often at the intercession of their interested clerks. It should ever be remembered, that it is the spirit of our laws, and should hence be the constant object of magistrates, to prevent the commission of crimes as well as to punish them when committed." Had Howard lived to the present time, he would have had to regret the removal of even magisterial restraint to the increase of this evil; the recent beer-law having deprived them of the power to refuse ale-house licences. The beer monopoly, previously to the introduction of this measure, needed to be broken down. The wholesome beverage of well-made beer cannot be too cheap for the labouring classes, as it is infinitely better than any other strong drink. This might have been effected by putting the sale of beer on the same ground as other licensed commodities, without creating even a single additional harbour for the disorderly. Indeed this measure might, and ought to have been followed by an enactment for the refusal in future of licences for such houses as were too near each other.

The information Howard continued to receive respecting his son was still of a character so distressing, that, after about a fortnight's rest, he again withdrew from his calm and peaceful retreat; delightful to others, but no longer so to him. Ireland was once more to become the scene of his labours. He set out thither about the 20th day of February, revisiting the prisons and hospitals in several towns through which he passed. On the 2nd March he reached Chester, and again inspected the county-gaol, the gaol for the city and county, the city-bridewell, the general infirmary, and the house of industry. The prisons were scarcely improved, but

the infirmary was an excellent institution: the wards were kept so clean that they were not in the slightest degree offensive. The poor-house was finely situated, but badly-managed: there were nearly one thousand individuals of different classes in the house. Passing on to Flint on the 3rd, he examined the county-gaol there: though a new prison, it was neither clean nor well-managed. The county-gaol at Ruthven, which was still a bad prison, came under his notice the same day. On the 4th he visited the county-gaol at Carnarvon, which was in the same miserable state as on his former visit. In a similar condition was the county-gaol at Beaumaris, which he inspected on the 5th. Proceeding into Montgomeryshire, he examined the gaol and bridewell for that county: no improvement had been made in the latter, but some additional rooms had been built in the gaol, though there was still no proper separation of the sexes. Here he was pleased to find, that through the benevolence of a lady, four debtors had been recently released, whose whole united debts amounted to less than £.5, but the costs were more than £6.

As the abolition of the taps in prisons had been effected chiefly through Howard's recommendation, he inquired particularly in every prison what had been the result. In the Montgomery county-gaol he had the pleasure to learn that its effects had been most salutary. "Of one important end answered by it," he says, "the chaplain of this gaol informed me:—'Before it took place,' said this worthy clergyman, 'on an execution-day, while I was labouring to prepare the unhappy criminals for the awful change they were about to undergo, my ears were frequently shocked with the most horrid oaths and blasphemies, uttered by individuals in the tap; which was a scene of constant noise and confusion, occasioned by the numbers who often come

to the gaol that day out of curiosity, many of whom were in a state of intoxication. Since the abolition, all is decency and order; neither the unfortunate convicts nor myself now experience the least disturbance at that solemn time when they are about to be launched into eternity.'"

Howard embarked for Ireland on the 12th, and arrived there on the 19th March. The next day he commenced an examination of the gaols in Dublin. They were but very little improved since his last visit. Drunkenness prevailed in many of them to an alarming extent, so that they were scenes of disorder, irregularity, and intoxication. Howard regretted much that there was in this city no place of confinement for petty offenders, who were hence often made more vicious and depraved by their incarceration; being associated for the period of their imprisonment, were it ever so short, with characters the most abandoned. From the prisons he turned to the hospitals, and minutely reinspected them. Many were still excellent institutions, and in some the evils he had pointed out had been removed: but in others there were abuses which he did not pass unexposed. He complained of the indiscriminate admission of visitants into some of them. "A practice which," he says, "is highly improper, especially of men into the women's wards. All hospitals should have set days for visitants, and only two in a week. The nurse, or other proper persons, should always be present to preserve order and quietness. The regulations should be put up in every ward, and the nurses who violate them should be immediately discharged."

Howard's visit to Ireland on this occasion, was not so much to inspect the prisons and hospitals, (though he invariably did this,) as to make further inquiries into the state of the chartered schools. In a letter to Dr. Price, dated Dublin, 24th March,

1788, he thus writes: "My journey into this country," says he, "is to make a report of the state of the chartered schools, which have been long neglected and abused, as indeed most public institutions are. One has sheltered itself under the wing of a bishop; another under that of a lord; and for party purposes all the barriers of honour and honesty have been broken down. Parliament, however, seem at length determined to know how its grants have been employed, which affords me much satisfaction; I have been endeavouring, since my visits to these schools in 1782, to excite the attention of the legislature to their state; and as some circumstances are now in my favour—a good lord-lieutenant, a worthy secretary of state, who is an old acquaintance, and the provost being my steady friend—I must still pursue it. I shall accordingly set out next week for Connaught and other remote parts of this country, which indeed are more barbarous than the wilds of Russia. My frequent journeys have in some degree abated my strength, but not my courage and zeal in the work in which I am engaged."

After allowing himself a few days' rest at Dublin, Howard set off for Castlebar, where he arrived on the 31st. Such was the confined, yet crowded state of the gaol for this county, that he was apprehensive many unhappy prisoners must have been suffocated. A new prison was erecting, but on too small a scale. The infirmary for this county was in a worse state than the prison. It was an old ruinous house, dirty and wretchedly managed. The school-house was situated on a fine eminence, just out of the town: the internal regulations, however, were any thing but pleasing. The children looked puny, sickly, and miserable. So destitute were they of clothing, that the medical man was afraid to give them the medicine, which they really wanted; and as they were without shoes or stockings, they were

unable to attend the church. The children in the Ballinrobe school, most of whom had been so much neglected, that at the age of eight years they knew not their letters, were now much improved under the careful superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Viridite. Passing into the county of Galway, he found both the county and city-gaols most unhealthy prisons. The bridewell at Loughrea consisted of two damp rooms, and one over them. The windows were towards the street, and there was no water in the prison, except when it was flooded, which was not unfrequently the case. The county-infirmary was an old house, with only two rooms on a floor; filthy and disorderly. The school was miserably conducted. The children were dirty, sickly objects, without shoes or stockings: they were spinning and knitting in a cold room, paved with pebbles. The usher sat with a rod in his hand to see the children work, but not a book was to be seen. The Galway school-house was in good repair, and sufficiently large, but not clean; yet the children looked healthy. Howard embraced the opportunity while here, of visiting the school on the foundation of Erasmus Smith, then under the care of the Rev. Mr. Campbell. "With this worthy gentleman," says he, "I had much conversation relative to a more general and liberal mode of education in this country. Mr. Campbell testified the readiness of many of the catholics to send their children to Protestant schools; and he is of opinion, that many would become converts to Protestantism were the most promising of them enabled, by moderate aids, to pursue their further education in the university. He recommends also, as advisable, the removal from the charter-schools, of some of the most intelligent and forward children to the schools on Mr. Smith's foundation or to such other provincial schools as might be established."

The county-gaol at Ennis came under Howard's inspection on the 3rd April. Though it was nearly a new prison, it had only one day-room for men and women. In other respects it was far preferable to many. The infirmary was a substantial and convenient house, but dirty and ill-conducted. Straw beds only were allowed, with a very scanty supply of blankets. Adjoining this institution was a poor-house for twenty aged persons, which seemed to be under the care of an attentive and honest man. There was no chartered school here, but one on Mr. Smith's foundation, which was carefully managed. At Newmarket Howard was pleased to find a school for eighteen girls and fourteen boys, clean and well-conducted. Shannon-grove school came under his inspection on the 5th. The house was much out of repair, the children looked neglected, but their rooms were clean, and they were not unhealthy. On the 6th, he revisited the gaol and infirmary for the county of Limerick. No improvement had been made in the former, but a new prison was erecting. In the infirmary he was gratified to perceive that the remarks he had made at his former visit, had produced their desired effect. The house had undergone a thorough repair; the rooms were all neat and clean. This improvement had been made chiefly owing to the exertions of Lady Hartstange, who had placed the institution under the care of an excellent and notable matron.

Howard examined Tralee county-gaol on the 8th. It was a ruinous and dirty prison; but a new one was erecting. On the same day he visited Castle-Island school, in which much improvement had taken place. The rooms were clean, the children were carefully instructed; but they were worked too much, and fed too little. Suspecting that the trustees of Erasmus Smith's schools had been unfaithful to their trust, Howard, with that openness for which he was

ever distinguished, puts to them, in a note to his work on lazarettoes, the following pointed questions:—"I beg leave to ask these gentlemen, if a sum of money was not bequeathed for a school in the Isle of Valentia, in the county of Kerry? How has it been applied? Is not a blacksmith the nominal master? Is not the late Mr. Fitzgerald's house the one that was intended for the school-house? and is not the salary continued to his executors for the use of his children?" The Tralee county-infirmary, which Howard inspected on the 9th, was a dirty and neglected institution, in a ruinous state of repair. The Kilfinane school passed under the inspection of our indefatigable traveller on the 18th. "This," says he, "is the best charter-school I have yet seen. The girls were all clean, and neatly clad; but the house is inconvenient." He visited the bridewell of Mitchel's-town on the 11th, which he describes as "a new but offensive prison." The next day he examined the school at Cashell; which seemed, by the appearance of the children, to be well-conducted, though the house was miserably inconvenient. The gaol and infirmary, for the county of Carlow, passed under his inspection on the 14th. In the former no improvement had been made: the latter was well-situated, but not ill-managed. The school at Castledermot came under his notice on the 15th. The rooms and walls were dirty; the house was much out of repair, and the children were greatly neglected. On the same day he examined the Stradbally school, in which fifty healthy boys, who had formerly been very carefully attended to by the Rev. Mr. Foster, were now left without a teacher.

Proceeding to Maryborough on the 16th, he had the pleasure to learn that a new gaol was about to be erected there. Since his last visit to the

prison, many improvements had taken place; but the infirmary was in a disgraceful state. "The lower floor," says Howard, "was dirty, the walls were black and filthy. In two rooms above, were thirteen beds and fifteen patients; in a room above this, were two patients, and a little dirty hay, which they said was the nurse's bed. This room was filthy, the ceiling covered with cobwebs, and so out of repair, as to be in several places open to the sky. Here I saw one poor unhappy man, who was under the necessity of rending up his own linen to make bandages for his fractured thigh. Nothing could exceed the negligence in the management of this institution, and yet it had an income, in addition to the £100 allowed yearly by Parliament, of £200 annually from the county." On the 18th he visited the county-gaol at Philipstown, which was dirty, and though it had only been erected twenty-five years, quite out of repair. Proceeding into the county of Tullamore, he inspected the county-infirmary; a small institution, but clean and carefully managed. The foundation for a new infirmary was laid on a better and more extensive plan, much to the satisfaction of Howard. The Athlone Ranelagh school passed under his notice on the 19th: this was disgracefully managed, though its income was said far to exceed its expenditure.

On the 20th April, Howard inspected the Sligo county-school, which was finely situated; but too little attention was paid to the morals and behaviour of the children, and their allowance of food was scanty. The same day he examined the Roscommon Ranelagh school, and the Roscommon county-gaol and infirmary. The rooms in the school were clean, but the girls, of whom there were forty, were neglected, which could hardly fail to be the case, the governess being very old and infirm. The gaol was

clean and humanely managed; but a new one was erecting on a bad construction. The infirmary was built for the poor, at the sole expense of the benevolent Mrs. Walcott, sister to the late Lord Chief Justice Coulfield: it was an excellent institution, and well-conducted. The infirmary for the county of Sligo, which he examined on the 21st, was in a far different state: "The walls and ceiling," says he, "were black and dirty, the roof was falling in, the bedding was worn out; and, in fact, every thing connected with it was most confused and disordered. The Sligo county-gaol, which passed under his inspection the same day, was dirty and ill-managed. In the county-gaol at Carrick, inspected on the 23rd, the prisoners were in a dark cell, several steps below the ground. Mullingar county-gaol was examined on the 24th, and found to be well conducted. A new prison was built here, on a fine spot, through which a stream of excellent water was to be conducted. The Mullingar county-infirmary, Howard found to be a miserable institution, in a ruinous state of repair. Wilson's hospital, in the county of Westmeath, was next visited. The building was spacious and finely situated, but on inspecting the rooms, he found them dirty and disorderly. This institution was founded by a private gentleman; and was originally intended for lodging, boarding and clothing a hundred boys and twenty old men. The boys were to be educated; but it was now much mismanaged: the boys, though clean, were nearly naked, and though there were numerous petitions for admission, the committee had not met for two years.

After inspecting the Longford county-gool and infirmary, both of which he found ill-conducted, Howard examined the school for the same county, which was greatly improved; the house being thoroughly repaired, and the children carefully attended to. Trim school, for the county of Meath, passed

under his notice on the 25th: the house was clean, and the children in health, though badly fed. They had recently, for want of an infirmary, very narrowly escaped infection from a dangerous disease, with which one of the children had been attacked. The local committee had recommended the erection of a room as an infirmary, but were informed by the supreme committee, that the state of the funds would not support such an expense. On learning this, Howard remarked, "If the funds are too low for the proper support of all the schools, would it not be better that some were suppressed? and if the suppression of any be necessary, those which are attended with the greatest inconvenience, being in a bad state of repair, having a bad supply of water, being in a neighbourhood almost wholly Roman-catholic, situated at a considerable distance from a church, should be selected; and the children of the suppressed schools sent to those which are well-conducted." Howard inspected the Castle Carrbery school on the 26th: there were thirty-seven girls, many of whom were making lace. The rooms were dirty, and the children neglected. In the Maynooth school, which he examined the same day, he had the pleasure to find thirty-five healthy boys, with a house and bedding perfectly clean. A spacious garden was kept in the neatest and best order by the master, with the aid of the boys. "In all schools," says Howard, "boys should be taught to plant, sow, rear trees, &c.: proper utensils for this purpose should be provided for their use, and a part of every garden should be appropriated for their instruction. Exercises of this kind, while they tend to form industrious habits, are sure to promote the health of the boys."

Howard now returned to Dublin, where he remained a few days, which he probably employed in arranging the information he had collected. He set

off on another tour, May the 1st, and the same day he revisited the Wicklow county-gaol, and the county infirmary; where it was in contemplation to build a new gaol. The Wexford county-gaol and infirmary passed under his notice on the 2nd; and on the 3rd he inspected the prisons, hospitals, and schools in Waterford. A new gaol was erecting for the county, too splendid and showy, and on a bad plan. Lord Tyrone's infirmary, and the city-hospital, were both bad institutions; but a new borough-hospital, finely situated, and well-constructed, was erecting. The Clonmel county-gaol passed under his examination on the 5th: the prisoners here were allowed to play at skittles, a practice which he severely censured, as it often occasioned riot and confusion. No separation of the sexes was made in this prison; but a new gaol was building, where he hoped such would be the case. The Acklow school, visited about this time, was in a wretched state; dirty, and disgracefully managed: the children were utterly neglected, and the clothes provided for them were of the worst description. The school at New Ross was better conducted, but the clothes were equally bad. Greater attention, however, was paid to their education here, than in almost any other chartered school. In the school at Innishannon, examined on the 8th, every thing was mis-managed: the house was out of repair, and filthy: the children were dirty, and suffering much from a cutaneous disease; their education was greatly neglected, and they had not been at church for months. With this state of things, the surgeon of the committee had only two days before, greatly to Howard's surprise, made a report that all the boys were healthy; and on its inconsistency being pointed out to him by Howard, he impudently replied, "We do not call the scald head, or the cutaneous eruption which the children now have, sickness."

The school at Dunmanway passed under inspection on the 9th: the house was in a ruinous state of repair: the children were real objects of compassion, dirty and sickly, without shoes or stockings, and nearly naked. Such was the state of their bed-rooms, that the master refused to accompany Howard into them, lest he should become infected by the disorder, which owed its existence, probably, solely to his neglect. The mistress too, for the same reason, very reluctantly consented to become his conductor, though the rooms were empty, with the exception of one poor child, who was suffering from an attack of the ague. "Yet the *humane* and *faithful* committee," says our indignant countryman, "had dared recently to report that the children were healthy, and taken proper care of; and had even recommended these most negligent individuals as deserving the society's bounty."

Howard visited Kinsale town-gaol on the 10th, a dirty and ruinous prison, without a single prisoner. On the 11th he inspected the bridewell at Mitchellstown, a new prison, built by Lord Kingsborough. Owing to the improper construction of the drains, and to the want of frequent whitewashing, this prison was offensive. Much sickness had recently prevailed among the prisoners, chiefly occasioned by the want of a court-yard, an insufficient supply of water, and the want of cleanliness. The Cork house of industry, the north and south infirmary for Cork, and the foundling-hospital for that city, all passed under his notice on the 12th: the house of industry was much improved, though some of the children's sleeping rooms were not attended to with sufficient care: the straw on which they lay was, in some instances, nearly worn to dust. All the wards and rooms in the north infirmary were close and offensive, not a single window being open in the whole

building. "It is the opinion of Dr. Arbuthnot," says Howard, "that renewing and cooling the air in a patient's room is of the utmost importance; and that, in general, the right management of the air in the bed-chamber, is among the chief branches of regimen in inflammatory diseases, provided the intention of keeping up a due quantity of perspiration be not frustrated." Dr. Fordyce also remarks, "that by the officious and mistaken care of silly nurses in this respect, fevers are often increased, and sometimes are so much increased as to become fatal. Numberless are the evils which arise from depriving the patient of a frequent change of cool air." In the south infirmary, a due regard was paid to these things, but there was here a great deficiency of bedding. The foundling hospital was much improved, all the children looked clean and healthy. "I had the pleasure, while here," says Howard, "to learn that the worthy mayor and corporation had abolished the annual public dinners which they had long been accustomed to have, on the election and swearing-in days of the chief magistrate; and had agreed to appropriate the money so uselessly expended, amounting to £.200 a year, to the relief of indigent freemen and their families." The gaol for the county, and that for the city of Cork, Howard visited on the 14th. The former was humanely managed. The latter too was greatly improved, being now under the care of a better keeper.

During the time Howard was in Ireland on this occasion, the Irish House of Commons delivered their report on the state of schools, which was founded chiefly on Howard's evidence. It had been one of the principal objects of his frequent visits to this country, to inquire minutely into the character and condition of these institutions, and, if possible, to correct their abuses, and promote their revisal. To effect this he had accompanied his evidence with some

most important hints for their improvement. But it is deeply to be regretted, that neither these hints, nor the Parliamentary report, produced any immediate salutary effects. For many years afterwards the same system of misrule was persisted in; and notwithstanding Howard's exposure of the wretched clothes provided for the children, and the disgraceful manner in which they were made, clothes of the same description continued to be furnished, and the schools subsequently were much more disgracefully conducted; nor did they improve in any degree till the introduction of Sunday-schools in Ireland; a measure which has been, and still is, productive of incalculable good.

Howard finally quitted Ireland on the 18th May. The serious state of his mind at this period, will be seen by the following brief extract from his memorandum-book. "I herewith renew my vows to serve God, and trust I am sincere. Help me, O God of my salvation!" He returned to England by Wales, and on the 20th inspected the county-gaol at Haverfordwest, where he had the pleasure to find a new prison erected on the castle-hill instead of the ancient loathsome place of confinement. This prison was clean and quiet; but he regretted much to learn that no divine service had been performed in the chapel for a considerable time. The town-gaol, inspected the same day, was close and dirty. The county and town-gaols at Carmarthen both passed under his notice on the 21st. Little improvement had been made in either; but it was in contemplation to build a new gaol for the county. Howard examined the county-bridewell at Cowbridge, and the town-gaol at Swansea, on the 22d. No improvement had taken place in either of these close, damp prisons. Our persevering traveller records here the following particulars respecting the treatment he had met with in the prosecution of his labours, both from keepers and

prisoners. "I would here just mention, that in all my visits to the prisons in this and other kingdoms, I never received any insults either from keepers or prisoners; nor have I lost any thing, except that in one of our prisons I once lost a large new handkerchief out of my pocket, which I did not miss for some hours; but on a subsequent visit to the same prison, about ten months afterwards, it was immediately presented to me by a prisoner, who said he believed I had dropped it when I was last there."

Proceeding to Cardiff on the 23rd, Howard visited the county and town-gaols there. They were unimproved. "It is impossible," as he well remarks, "that a prison can be well-regulated, if the keeper do not reside in it, and have a constant eye over his prisoners." Passing on to Bristol, he revisited on the 27th the gaol and bridewell for that city. They were much cleaner than on any former visit. The new bridewell at Devizes came under his notice on the 29th, which he regretted to find a most ill-constructed prison, built on a close confined spot, and unprovided with a chaplain. No fuel was granted; and so scanty was the allowance of bread, that a prisoner in one of the solitary cells, had recently died suddenly, on whom a coroner's jury was summoned, whose verdict was, that he died of hunger and cold. The next day he visited the county-bridewell at Marlborough, which, much to his satisfaction was greatly enlarged and improved. It had formerly been close and ill-managed; it was now airy and well-governed. One excellent rule was "that the prisoners be compelled to sweep out and clean their rooms every day, and that they should also wash their faces and hands at least twice a-day, for which purpose towels, water, and other conveniences were provided. Turning to the poor-houses for the parishes of St. Peter's and St. Mary's in this town; he was grieved to find them in a

disgraceful condition. The houses were out of repair; the rooms were filthy: no linen was provided for the poor, nor any means afforded them of keeping themselves clean. They had scarcely any bedding, and the children were nearly naked. "It is no wonder," says Howard, "that a putrid fever lately ran through this house. Parish officers so inattentive to what humanity, and even decency require, expose the inhabitants of whole towns to the danger of contagion. I have elsewhere mentioned an instance of a foreign gaoler being hanged for starving his prisoners. Is not a breach of trust in overseers equally culpable and injurious?" The labours of this long journey terminated on the 30th, and Howard spent the next three weeks at Bristol Hot-wells.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Continued inspection of English prisons—Particulars respecting them—Advantages of entire abstinence from ardent spirits—Remarks on solitary confinement—On mortality among different classes of convicts—Distressing state of many prisons in the metropolis—Tour into Norfolk—Remarks on amputation—Publication of his work on lazarettoes—Employment of his time at Warrington—Humbling views of himself—Elevated tone of his piety—Preparation for his last journey—Reasons for undertaking it—Views of the Christian system—Obligations of Christians—Value of religion.

THE information Howard continued to receive respecting his son, was still of the most distressing character, and preyed much on his mind, but he bore it with Christian resignation, and was never once heard to complain. He recommenced his labours about the 25th June, and on the following day we find him inspecting the county-gaol at Bodmin; which he regretted to find less clean and orderly than on his former visits. Lostwithiel gaol, in which no alteration had taken place, came under his notice on the 27th. On the 28th he again inspected the hulk at Plymouth, which was excessively crowded. In one room, about seventy feet by eighteen, and six feet high, were near seventy convicts. The rooms could not fail to be most offensive. All the prisoners were in total idleness, except six or seven, who were building a boat for the captain. One ingenious,

man had, with his knife only, made an inkstand out of a bone given him with his meat. This Howard purchased, and regretted to learn that the man's knife had been taken from him because he had made it the means of his employment. Howard had the pleasure to see some of the men reading their Bibles; but was sorry to learn that they had no chaplain, nor any religious service. Three miserable objects, for attempting to break out of prison, had been confined in a dark cell at the bottom of the vessel, where they lay upon a little straw, nearly naked. At Howard's earnest and repeated requests, these unhappy men were released. The disgraceful bridewell for this town passed under his inspection on the 30th. The chaplain had been dismissed, and the chapel was used for the confinement of the dirtiest prisoners. "I found it," says Howard, "as bad as a pig-sty." Some rooms had been added to the bridewell at Shepton Mallet, visited the next day; but the chapel had here been converted into a sleeping-room for women. Smoking was allowed here, and the prisoners had evidently access to intoxicating liquors. A new gaol was nearly finished at Ilchester, which he surveyed on the 2d. It contained twenty-six cells with four staples and rings in each floor. "Surely," says Howard, "these cannot be to chain prisoners down in solitary confinement; though I can hardly conceive for what other purpose they could have been placed here." The new county-bridewell at Sherborn, passed under his inspection the same day. The passages were so narrow, and the cells so low, that unless the greatest regard was paid to cleanliness, it was sure to be close and offensive. Instead of providing employment for those who were committed for hard labour, they were locked up day and night in their cells, with the exception of one hour out of the twenty-four.

Passing into Hampshire, Howard visited, on the 4th July, the county-gaol at Winchester, which was clean, and well-kept. The magistrates were particularly attentive to it, and visited it frequently. The old city-bridewell, inspected the same day, was unimproved, as it was likely to be, while the keeper had a licence to sell beer and spirits. With the county-bridewell, a new and spacious prison, kept remarkably clean, and constantly visited by a worthy nobleman, he was much pleased. The county-hospital, which he next examined, was an excellent institution, but negligently kept, and rendered offensive by the windows being all closed. With his usual attention to air, he remarks: "I could wish that here, as in the London hospitals, there were large apertures over the doors for the admission of air into the wards, during the night." He visited the Southampton gaol and bridewell on the 5th, and the next day passed on to Gosport. The bridewell here was unimproved. Only one day-room was provided, for prisoners of both sexes. On inspecting the hulks at this port he had the satisfaction to find the prisoners all looking cheerful and healthy. There were near three hundred; and among them were boys not more than ten years old. The royal hospital at Haslar passed under his notice on the 8th. With an engraving of this noble institution he illustrated his work on lazarettoes. "I always," he remarks, "found this well-conducted hospital remarkably clean and quiet. None of the floors were sanded or dry-rubbed; the windows on all the staircases were open; the patients' linen, the hospital clothes, and the linen for the beds are all white. There are in the institution about eighteen hundred beds; twenty in each ward. The wards are sixty feet by twenty, and twelve feet high. The arcades below are twenty-four feet. All the nurses are women; which is highly proper, as

they are more cleanly and tender." With all these excellencies there were defects in this institution, which its vigilant inspector candidly pointed out. He complained that there were no cisterns in the wards; that some of the inside sewers were offensive, that the water-pipes were indelicately conveyed too near the sewers; that the apartments for lunatics were too close, and badly situated.

Portsmouth town-gaol passed next under Howard's inspection. No improvement had been made in this close prison: the sexes were still not separated, though it was much cleaner than at his former visit. He inspected the Chichester city-gaol and bridewell, and the county-bridewell of Petworth on the 9th. Both were new prisons. The latter was spacious and convenient, but not sufficiently aired. There was a good chapel in the centre, so judiciously pewed that the prisoners could not see each other, though the officiating chaplain had a view of them all. Passing on to Horsham, he revisited the well-conducted gaol there; which was, as usual, clean and orderly. All the prisoners were in health; and owing to the great attention to cleanliness, no infirmary was needed. The following fact, illustrative of the benefits resulting from entire abstinence from ardent spirits, under any circumstances, was here related to Howard by the surgeon:—"I have never," said he, "seen any prisoner intoxicated since I attended the new gaol; but I have seen the former gaoler, who had a tap, drunk with several debtors, in the kitchen, early in the day. I remember an intance of a debtor who came here some time since, who had been so addicted to the use of spirits, that he thought he should die if they were refused him; but he was not allowed any, and no ill effects folfowed. He has since been discharged, and has several times called to ackdowledge the benefit he re-

ceived from having been cured of his pernicious habit. Indeed it was invariably the case that the health of the prisoners, after a few weeks' confinement, was greatly improved by entire restriction from all intoxicating liquors; and they remained in prison, if otherwise properly attended to, perfectly well."

Passing into Berkshire, Howard revisited, on the 12th, the county-gaol at Reading, which was perfectly clean and quiet. Lord Craven and several magistrates made a point of frequently visiting this prison, which chiefly contributed to keep it in such excellent order. A benevolent lady, recently deceased, had humanely bequeathed £150 to the corporation in trust, for the purchase of firing annually, for the prisoners' use. The rules of this prison had been drawn up with the greatest care, and met with Howard's cordial approbation. Proper attention was paid to religious instruction. The chaplain read prayers, and preached a sermon every Sunday, and once during the week. The county-bridewell, which he next inspected, was a new prison, not well-constructed. There were six cells for the refractory, and eight for solitary confinement, all of which were close and offensive. The names of the prisoners were written on the doors of their cells, and the terms of their confinement. Observing some who were sentenced to a year's solitary imprisonment, Howard said, " I wish all prisoners to have separate rooms for hours of thoughtfulness and reflection, which are highly necessary. The gentlemen of this county have shown themselves so attentive and zealous in whatever contributes to the real interests of their fellow-men, that I am glad, on this occasion, again to record my opinion respecting solitary confinement. The intention of this, by day or by night, is, to reclaim the vicious, to punish the refractory,

or to make a powerful impression, in a short time, on the minds of inconsiderate young persons: such as faulty apprentices, and individuals of a similar class. It should, therefore, be considered by those who commit petty offenders for a long term of imprisonment in absolute solitude, that such a state is more than human nature can bear, without the hazard of distraction or despair; that it is repugnant to the Act which requires all persons in houses of correction to work; and that for want of some employment in the day, health is injured, and a habit of idleness or inability to labour in future, is in danger of being contracted. It should not be forgotten, that if any benefits result from such punishment they are speedy, proceeding from the horror of a vicious person, left entirely to his reflections. The salutary impression thus made may subside by long continuance, and a sullen insensibility succeed."

On making enquiries into the number of convicts sent annually from this prison, the gaoler informed Howard that eleven had been forwarded to the hulks at Portsmouth the preceding year, eight of whom had died. "Instances of similar mortality in convicts who came from the country, I have," says Howard, "frequently observed. They often pine away and die without any visible symptom of disease. Of equal numbers from Newgate, and from any of our country prisons, three or four of the latter die, to one of the former." To what this extraordinary difference could be ascribed, it is not easy to determine. Howard has not given us his opinion on the subject. Probably it is owing, in no small degree, to the country convicts being in general of a less hardened character than those in London, and in other densely populated places.

Proceeding to Windsor on the 13th, Howard found that the town-gaol there had not undergone

any improvement, except that the keeper had been recently dismissed for drunkenness. The castle-prison for debtors, which had for some time been discontinued as a prison, because the keeper had been murdered in the tap, was again used, though it had not undergone any improvement. The county-gaol at Maidstone passed under his inspection on the 15th. It was clean, and well-managed; but though many improvements had been made, it was still a close, unhealthy prison. The Maidstone county-bridewell he found dirty and offensive. The gaol at Dartford, which he next visited, was unimproved; as was also the Rochester city-gaol, which came next under his inspection. The windows here being next the street, the governor said it was impossible to keep the prisoners sober; so great was the liberality of the pnblic, that individuals had solicited confinement to have the benefit of the begging grate.

Howard now returned to Cardington, where he continued a fortnight, much to the satisfaction of all his friends, who were delighted to enjoy his company, were it for ever so short a period. It was evident to all that his public labours had not rendered him in the smallest degree less amiable, spiritual, or humble. His deportment was still what it had ever been—mild and affectionate; and his zeal in the great cause to which he had devoted his life, was unabated. But his domestic affliction still pressed heavily on his spirits. His son's case became every day more hopeless; and on the 31st July he again left the spot associated with his deepest regrets, and sought relief in his benevolent labours. On the 1st August we find him inspecting the prisons at Nantwich, in which he regretted to find no improvement had been made. With the attention paid to the paupers in the house of indus-

try, he was much pleased. The establishment being inspected by gentlemen in the town every week, in rotation, was kept clean and orderly. Finding, however, that the poor were denied the use of tea, while they were allowed tobacco and snuff, he thus expressed himself respecting it: "I cannot approve of encouraging the poor in the use of tobacco and snuff; and thus initiating the young in an idle custom, the filthy effects of which are more loathsome than can well be conceived, and directly opposite to that spirit of cleanliness one would earnestly wish to inculcate. This indulgence is creeping into prisons; and is permitted, I suppose, with a view of counteracting infection. But where proper means is used by the admission of air, and where proper steps are taken to promote cleanliness, no fumigation will be needed; or, if it be, one of a more salutary nature may be easily adopted. On the other had, tea is rigorously prohibited; though, in my opinion, it is one of the most innocent indulgencies. What can be a more proper encouragement to those who distinguish themselves by their cleanliness and industry, than rewarding them with an indulgeuce which renews one of the comforts of their prosperous days, and which is neither pernicious to themselves nor hurtful to others."

The bad and ruinous prison at Macclesfield passed under Howard's notice on the 2nd, and on the same day he visited the county-gaol at Oakham, which was still unimproved. The small prison at Tideswell, made out of an old house recently purchased, passed under his inspection on the 3rd. He examined Chesterfield bridewell and gaol on the 5th, neither of which were good prisons. The gaol and bridewell at Sheffield he found improved, though they were much too small. Nottingham town and county-gaol, and town-bridewell, were visited on the 6th, and on

the same day, the county-bridewell of Southwell. In the latter considerable improvements had been made; but both the former were improperly conducted. He revisited the small prison at Melton-Mowbray on the 7th, and the next day inspected the Huntingdon county-gaol and bridewell. On the 9th he examined the Bedfordshire county-gaol and bridewell: no improvement had been made in the gaol, but a new one was about to be erected, on an eligible spot, and on a good plan. Passing on to St. Albans, he was pleased to find the prisons for that town had undergone some alterations for the better, and here he closed the labours of this short tour.

He now proceeded to London, where, after a few days' respite, we find him again, with unwearied assiduity, pursuing his object. On this occasion he revisited most of the prisons in the metropolis and its neighbourhood. In the gaol at Barking, examined on the 20th, no alterations had been made. Newgate, which he reinspected on the 25th, was in a most crowded state; criminals of all ages and classes were still huddled together: boys of not more than twelve years old, were still associated with the most hardened offenders. The infirmary was crowded to excess, and consequently in the highest degree offensive; for want of beds, many were compelled to lie on the floor, covered only with a rug. Things were but little better in the gaol at Southwark, and the bridewell at St. George's Fields. In the latter, the magistrates had foolishly ordered some loads of gravel to be taken into the men's courts, which the prisoners were required, in order to keep them employed, to remove constantly from one side to the other. "This reminds me," says Howard, "of a ridiculous assertion I once heard a keeper make: 'I endeavour to plague and teaze my prisoners, by making them saw wood with a blunt saw.'" A greater advocate for the employment of prisoners,

than Howard, there could not be; but he wished to see them employed to a useful purpose. What can more exasperate the feelings of men, than to be toiling for hours in doing that which can answer no end?

The first week in September Howard employed in collecting and further arranging his papers. On the 8th he left London to make a short tour into Norfolk. The county-gaol at Norwich, and the city-gaol and bridewell came under his inspection on the 11th. The next day he visited the county-bridewell at Wymondham: the old prison was added to the keeper's house, and two new wings were built, containing thirteen arched cells, which opened into a passage of sufficient width: every prisoner had his own room, with a bed and proper bedding: the rooms were clean and the prisoners were not in irons: there was an infirmary and a neat chapel, but there was service in it only once a fortnight: the prisoners are kept regularly employed; and no other drink is allowed but water, except in cases of sickness: an accurate list is made out for the inspection of the magistrates at every quarter-sessions; particularizing the names, crimes, punishment, period of imprisonment, age, sex, trade, behaviour, earnings, and expense of maintenance of each prisoner. Howard felt much interested in this prison, as affording one of the best specimens of what he wished a house of correction to be—a place of reformation for the dissolute and disorderly. It was owing to the spirited and unremitting exertions of Sir Thomas Beevor, who had been furnished with the plan by Howard, and who possessed a kindred spirit of sympathy for the unfortunate, that this prison had been made so complete. Every arrangement in this excellent prison met with Howard's entire approbation; except that he thought, as no beverage but water was allowed, and as the prisoners were kept closely at work, the supply of food was too scanty. It was his

intention to have visited several other houses of correction in this county, which he had formerly found in a very disorderly state; being, however, assured, greatly to his satisfaction, that they were all conducted on a similar plan to this, he thought it not desirable, but again returned to London.

Several prisons in the metropolis, which he had not inspected on his former visit, were now examined. The Savoy prison, the Wood-street bridewell, the prison in Whitechapel, and the Westminster prison, came successively under his inspection; much to his regret, he found them all unimproved; the prisons were dirty, and many of the prisoners nearly naked: the sick were utterly neglected, and were left, in some cases, to lie in close offensive places on the bare boards: the refractory were punished with great inhumanity. Howard was occupied from the 15th to the end of the month in again examining, which he did with great minuteness and care, the state of the principal hospitals in the metropolis. He complains that the London hospital in Whitechapel, though clean, had not that neatness about the wards, owing to the want of whitewashing, which he thought desirable. There was an appearance of poverty in the Middlesex hospital, which indicated a want of support, which he was sorry to find, on inquiry, was the case. Howard never visited an institution without carefully looking over its rules, and if he saw in them any thing deserving censure, or meriting commendation, he did not pass it unnoticed. With the following rule in St. Thomas's hospital, Southwark, he was much pleased, as it afforded him an opportunity of recording his opinion respecting the too frequent use of the knife in doubtful surgical cases:—That if any surgeon have any particular or extraordinary operation to perform, he shall give notice of the time of his

performing it to the other surgeons, that they may have an opportunity of witnessing it. "But," said he, "I searched in vain for what I have often wished were a standing order in all hospitals, that no amputation should ever take place till after the consultation of at least three medical men, who shall be of unanimous opinion that it is absolutely necessary, and that there is no possibility of effecting a cure in the case without it. In a county-hospital, I ascertained that one of the most excruciating operations was prevented by the spirited exertions of the house-apothecary, and by his care and attention the patient was cured. And in my experience, several instances have occurred, in which rest, regimen, and proper medicinal treatment have saved limbs, which gentlemen of the faculty were decidedly of opinion must be amputated."

Howard was gratified on visiting the hospital originally founded and endowed at the sole expense of Thomas Guy, esq., and hence known by the name of Guy's Hospital, to perceive that many improvements had been made in some of the wards, and that the committee under whose care it was, were determined to prosecute their spirited and benevolent labours, till every ward was complete. The rooms were neat and clean, and the regulations excellent. After visiting Bartholomew hospital, which was, on the whole, an excellent institution, he inspected Christ's hospital school, and had the satisfaction to perceive, that with some few exceptions, it was carefully and properly superintended. But he thought, though the rooms were clean, they were not whitewashed sufficiently often; and he pointed out the impropriety of placing many of the children's beds next the wall, making them less cleanly and airy than they would otherwise be. All the remaining hospitals in London came successively under How-

ard's notice on this occasion. Their various defects he pointed out, and suggested the propriety of their removal. The following were among the things of which he complained:—the mere formal visits of governors; the heavy fees of admission too often demanded; the inattention frequently paid to the moral and spiritual wants of the patients; the little use made of the baths, hot and cold, arising from the trouble they give to the attendants. The neglect, in a number of cases, of airing and cleaning the rooms; the want of suitable rooms for the convalescent, and the quantity of beer permitted to be brought into some hospitals. "For want of due attention to these circumstances," he remarks, "it is to be regretted that such noble institutions are often rendered of much less public utility than they would otherwise be."

Having now collected that mass of most valuable information which his volume on lazarettoes contains, he made preparations to leave London for Warrington, to superintend the work through the press. But before he quitted the metropolis, aware that he could not for several weeks visit Cardington, lest the objects of his annual bounty in that neighbourhood should suffer by his absence, he wrote to his steward, giving him directions how to proceed. For the prosperity of the schools in that parish, instituted during Mrs. Howard's life, which he had ever since kept up entirely at his own expense, he felt much anxiety. "I am," says he, "endeavouring to get a school-house erected, but have not yet succeeded. I cannot conveniently do it myself at present, having just advanced £600 for the paper and engravings of my approaching publication. But should it please God to prolong my life some few years longer, I will live in a cottage sooner than not accomplish my plan. I still exult in free and vigorous spirits, and am not afraid to undertake any

task. After I have seen my work through the press, I intend again to go abroad. I think it my duty so to do, and regard it as a call of Providence, which I dare not disobey. But I will spend some weeks at Cardington, when my publication is finished. My mind will then be at ease and rest; and perhaps it is the only rest I shall have on this side the grave, for my time of zeal and activity is rapidly passing away."

The first week in October Howard repaired to Warrington, where he continued busily engaged in his publication till near the end of February, 1789. He spared no pains to make the work as free from defects as possible, both in the arrangement of the materials and in the accuracy of its details. During the whole time, though the weather was unusually cold, he was always up and at work before three in the morning. He took breakfast at six, and was at the printing-office exactly at eight; prompting the men by his example, and by his presence, to execute the work with all possible dispatch. He always rewarded them generously for any extra exertions; but he did not, in this or any other case, bestow his rewards indiscriminately. Such was his aversion to the use of impious discourse, that he never rewarded a second time any one whom he had found to be guilty of profane swearing. A practice which he took occasion, in one instance, to expose in the following manner: just as he was preparing one day to leave the office, he heard some individuals, in the opposite public-house, utter some horrid oaths; he immediately buttoned up his coat, remarking at the same time, to a workman that was near him, "I always do this whenever I hear a man swear, as I think that any man who can take God's name in vain, can steal, or do any thing that is bad."

The literary friends whom Howard consulted at Warrington, were Dr. Endfield and the Rev. Mr.

Bealey. To these gentlemen he repaired with his proof-sheets in all doubtful or difficult cases; and from them he obtained many valuable hints. His most intimate associates were, however, among the Society of Friends, a people to whom he was always warmly attached. He permitted no weather to deprive him of his daily walks; but during the hour the printers took for dinner, he enjoyed himself by taking the air, which, with moderate exercise, he had ever found essential to health. On these occasions he would often join in conversation with individuals whom he met, either to learn something from them, or to communicate to them some useful information. With children he was frequently seen to converse; and his conversation with them mostly related to the extent of their biblical knowledge. He was delighted, in one of his walks, to meet with the son of the Independent minister, who, though he was then very young, possessed a very extensive knowledge of the history and doctrines of revelation, as was evident by the answers he gave to his queries. So much was he pleased with his pertinent replies, that he presented him with a small gratuity as a token of his regard.

The humbling views Howard formed of himself, and the ardent spiritual desires of which he was at this time the subject, will be seen by the following remarks made in his diary:—"God will, I trust, accept of my sincere intentions to honour him by doing good; even should I effect nothing. It has been said that I have carried the torch of philanthropy in all my journeys. May I not hope that God, whose arm is not shortened, will enable me to convey it to the Eastern nations. He can work by the weakest of all instruments. To Him, to Him alone, be all the glory of what he has enabled me to effect! God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. It has been well

remarked, that there is in man a strong propensity to fix on some point of time when he will begin a better course of life: may I not hope—do I not earnestly beg of God, that His grace may be sufficient for me, and his strength so perfected in my weakness, that I may from this moment walk with Him, adorn my Christian character more, be more and more serious—watchful—humble; by the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit; be made a partaker of the Divine nature; and thus have Christ formed in me the hope of glory. My earnest desire is to employ every Sunday especially in sacred study; perusing those books only in which the spirit of Christianity, piety, and morality prevail."

On his favourite subjects—benevolence and compassion, he correctly remarks: "Misery is always an object of compassion; and the word of God says, 'that to the miserable compassion should be shown.' Generosity and self-command are the striking aspects of benevolence. Humanity and courage are inseparable friends. A traveller in any cause, but more especially in that of benevolence, should have temperance, prudence, firmness of mind, and fortitude to bear suffering, and meet dangers undaunted. These are requisite for the active duties of life, and for the maintenance of the rights of others. Dejection and despair are the consequences of pusilanimity. The truest pleasure arises from extensive benevolence. Christ has made poverty and meanness, associated with holiness, to be a state of dignity."

On the subject of courage, in the prospect of death, he well remarks: "The enthusiasm of even a mistaken principle, often warms the heart, and sets the mind above the fear of death, which we cannot look upon in our cooler minutes, if we think of it as we ought, without conceiving it to be at least very awful. And shall an erroneous principle do more in

this respect than calm reflection on the gospel? Surely not. The only rational principle by which a man can triumph over death, and be contented to die, is a simple trust in the mercies of God, through the Redeemer's merits." It was this noble principle, —the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, which enabled Howard to enter noisome and infected dungeons, fearing no evil. The same precisely that supported and animated the patriarchs, prophets, primitive Christians, and martyrs. Under the influence of which " they subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword; out of weakness were made strong; endured patiently the trial of cruel mockings and scourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment, of whom the world was not worthy."—Hebrews, xi.

Howard remained at Warrington till his work was completed. He entitled it " An Account of the principal Lazarettoes in Europe, with various Papers relative to the Plague; together with further Observations on some foreign Prisons and Hospitals, and additional Remarks on the present State of those in Great Britain and Ireland." It was illustrated with many valuable engravings, and contained a condensed account of his labours from 1785 to the close of 1788. Every page was enriched with some important hints for the improvement of prisons, hospitals, and schools. He distributed copies among his friends, with all his former liberality ,though the price he had fixed upon the volume scarcely covered the expenditure of the publication. So highly was the work appreciated, that in a short time the whole impression was sold off. With his usual regard for whatever would promote the interests of humanity and benevolence, he suggested, at the close of the volume, the formation of a society for

alleviating the miseries of prisoners, and for supporting the widows and children of all faithful gaolers who should die in that office. "I have known," he says, "some valuable keepers die the victims of the gaol-fever; and is it not distressing that such individuals, though they have properly discharged their duty, should leave families unprovided for. Who would not regret that such men as George Smith, the late keeper of Tothillfields-bridewell, who died in 1786, and who, in my frequent visits to his prison, fully convinced me that he was a man of integrity, humanity, and of unabated zeal in discharging the duties of his important trust, should be exposed to the unhappiness of leaving a wife or children, or both, without any comfortable provision for their support. This object appears the more desirable, as it may be hoped that the abolition of the tap, and the allowance of salaries in lieu of the profit arising from the sale of liquors, will be the means of engaging people of more respectability and humanity to undertake the office. Should a society like this be formed, I will most readily give a donation of £500 towards it; and if it should be formed within three years after my decease, I shall direct this sum to be paid out of my estate."

On quitting Warrington Howard proceeded to Cardington, to allow himself some relaxation. He had now achieved a great work; and his labours in the cause of benevolence had deservedly excited universal admiration. Being somewhat advanced in life, it might have been imagined that he would have discontinued his exertions, and have set himself down for the few remaining years he might live, among his friends: but such was not the case. He conceived himself called by Providence to undertake a journey equally as dangerous as any he had yet performed, as he had intimated at the close of the work he had recently published. "It is my in-

tention," he says, "again to leave my country, to revisit Russia and Turkey, and some other countries in the East. I am not insensible of the dangers that must attend such a journey; but I trust in the protection of that kind Providence which has hitherto preserved me; calmly and cheerfully committing myself to the disposal of unerring wisdom. Should it please God to cut off my life in the prosecution of this design, I trust none will venture uncandidly to impute my conduct to rashness or enthusiasm, but to a serious deliberate conviction that I am pursuing the path of duty, and to a sincere desire of being made an instrument of more extensive usefulness to my fellow-creatures than I could be in the narrow circle of a retired life."

This very dangerous journey, the last which Howard performed, he did not enter upon till the ensuing July. He wisely employed the interval in making suitable preparations; and as he appears to have had some presentiment that he should never again return to England, he very carefully settled his affairs, giving directions for the disposal of his property in case of his decease. Though he was uniformly cheerful, and expressed unshaken confidence in God, yet it was evident to all his friends that a deep seriousness pervaded his mind. That such was the case will appear from the following reflections made in his diary:—"It is my ambition to put on the Lord Jesus, and to have the same mind in me which was in him. Health, time, powers of mind, and worldly possessions are all from God. Do I consecrate them to Him? Help me so to do, O God! Thou, God, seest me; and as thy providential hand directs all things for the general good, so may I be enabled to engage in works which shall tend to increase the happiness of mankind, and to Thee will I ascribe all the praise. I come to Thy throne for mercy and help in time of need;

and that I may finish my course in peace. Succour me, O God, in the time of trial, and help me to maintain my integrity. My eyes are up unto thee; help me to encounter danger. Leave me not to my own strength; but make me diffident of myself, and willing to rely on Him in whom is everlasting strength."

Adverting to the inconsiderate, ill-natured, disparaging reflections, which some individuals had made on his labours, he writes: "My deliberations are more swayed by what I think right myself, than by what may be thought so by others. A fearless temper and an open heart are seldom strictly allied to prudence; but an approving conscience adds pleasure to every act of piety, benevolence, or self-denial. It inspires its possessor with serenity, and brightens every gloomy hour; disarming adversity, disease, and death of their terrors. God considers what weak creatures we are, and hence gives us every motive to do good. Aim, O my soul, at what is praiseworthy, and then at the approbation of God, who alone is an infallible judge! I am not at all angry with the reflections which some persons make, as they think, to my disparagement; because all they say of this kind gives God the greater honour, in whose almighty hand no instrument, however contemptible in itself, is weak, and in whose presence no flesh must presume to glory. But the whole of this affair, from first to last, must be ascribed to Providence alone: God by me, weak and unworthy as I am, has intimated to the world that he espouses the cause of the poor prisoner; and to him, to him alone, be all the praise. In all my difficulties and dangers may I have full confidence in this unseen power, and be enabled always to believe in hope. He it is that orders all things with perfect wisdom, therefore I leave all to him: trusting that he will always give his angels charge concerning me; and that I am

equally safe in every place, I will fear no evil. Retirement from labour, in certain circumstances, is criminal. With holy zeal I desire to proceed in my course. Shall I desert the cause of God? Rather let me, through grace, persevere to the end of my journey, which I feel to be approaching. Do thou, O God, again visit the prisoners and captives, through my instrumentality; manifest thy strength in my weakness; help me, for in thee put I my trust: thou art my rock, and I rejoice in a sense of thy favour! Jacob speaks of the angel who had been his guide in all his journeys, and had delivered him out of all dangers; and Jacob's God, I trust, is my God, my guide, and my portion for ever. Let it be my earnest inquiry, how I shall best serve God in the station in which he has placed me; and may the angel which accompanied the Israelites through the desert accompany and bless me."

That Howard's sole dependence for salvation rested on the finished work of the Redeemer, and not on human merit, will be seen by the following remarks: "The peculiar doctrines of Christianity, the degradation of human nature, our inability to restore ourselves, our need of a mediator to expiate our guilt, and of divine aid to renew and sanctify our hearts, are doctrines which strike at the root of vain glory; we are justified by faith, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. By grace are we saved, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God: 'Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay, but by the law of faith.' Rom. iii. 27—My desire is to be cleansed and justified, through faith, in the blood of Christ; and to dedicate myself to that Saviour who has bought me with so costly a price." The same principles were expressed in his conversation on religious subjects. "He always," as the daughter of his esteemed pastor informed Mr. Brown, "disclaimed every idea of merit, and spoke of

his best works as coming far short of what the gospel required. He had indeed formed a very exalted idea of the obligations under which Christians are laid, to abound in every good word and work: in these too, he did abound; but such was his humility that he ever seemed anxious to conceal his virtues from public notice; and the more rapidly he advanced in religion, the more ready was he to exclaim, 'Not unto me, O Lord, but unto thy name be ascribed all the glory.'"* Illustrating the truth of his own remark, "That where there is more religion, there will ever be more humility."

Of the obligation under which he conceived himself to be laid, and not himself only, but every one who bore the Christian name, to consult less his own interest than the divine glory, some idea may be formed by the following remarks:—"Our superfluities should be given up for the convenience of others; our conveniences should give place to the necessities of others; and even our necessities should give way, in some degree, to the extremities of the poor." That he felt the temptations common to our nature, to pursue a different course is certain. "Ease, affluence, and honours," he writes, "are baits which the world holds out to allure us from a life of holiness and self-denial; but let us remember, that the fashion of this world passeth away; and that fatigue, poverty, sufferings, and dangers, with an approving conscience, are infinitely more valuable than all the world can bestow. I trust I can say, O God, thou art my God, my heart is fixed, trusting in thee. These are glorious words; there is a treasure in them, in comparison of which all things in the world are dross."

* Brown's Life of Howard.

CHAPTER XIX.

Settlement of Howard's affairs previous to his last journey—Parting interview with his friends—Presentiment of his death—Last visit to Cardington—Quits England for the last time—Observation on the original cause of the plague—Revisits the Dutch hospitals and prisons—Unimproved state of the Hanoverian prisons—State of the prisons, hospitals, and schools in Berlin, Koningsburg, Memel, Riga—Continued preference to a vegetable diet—Revisits Petersburg and Moscow, particulars of the prisons in these cities—Visits the Russian military hospitals—Is robbed of his portmanteau—Arrival at Cherson—Mortality among the Russian recruits.

BEING about to leave England, on a periluus journey, from which it was but too probable he would never return, Howard felt unusually anxious respecting his son. He wished to make a suitable provision for him, according to his rank in life, that should he ever recover his reason, he might spend the evening of his days in tranquillity and comfort. But there was at present, unhappily, no symptom of improvement; on the contrary, young Howard's dreadful malady progressively assumed the character of incurable insanity. Hence, after making several charitable bequests to his faithful domestics, and to some afflicted or infirm individuals, who had been almost solely dependent on his bounty, Howard left the residue of his property in trust for his son, with the exception of a few legacies to some of his choicest

friends as tokens of respect. He appointed Mr. Whitbread as his son's guardian, who discharged that most difficult task with the greatest kindness, till young Howard's decease, which did not occur till ten years afterwards, when he died in the asylum, in April 1799, in his 35th year, having never recovered his reason.

Howard's parting interview with his friends was serious and affecting. Calling upon the Rev. Mr. Palmer, a little before his departure, he affectionately bade him adieu, expressing at the same time an opinion that he should not live to return; adding, "but I am perfectly easy as to the event, be it what it may. It must be well, for whatever pleases God, pleases me." On taking his leave of his old pastor, Mr. Townsend, he cheerfully said, evidently under an apprehension that he might fall a victim to the plague in Egypt, "We shall not perhaps meet again on earth, but we shall soon meet in heaven; and the way thence from Grand Cairo, is as near as from London." The last time he saw Mr. Lucas, of Shrewsbury, whose ministry he always attended when in that town, he said to him, probably in allusion to a saying of Philip Henry's, "I hope if we meet again on earth, we shall be nearer heaven; and if we meet not again here, we shall there." To the Rev. Mr. Lewin, of Liverpool, he said, "I am going on a most dangerous journey; and though I have escaped many disorders, yet I feel persuaded I shall not return to my native country; but if I should, I shall then think I have done all that has been required of me, and shall seek a peaceful retirement for the residue of my days." To a friend who started some objections to his undertaking so long and dangerous an enterprise, he remarked: "You will, perhaps, never see me again, but be that as it may, it is matter of little concern to me, whether I lay down my life in Turkey, in Egypt, in

Asia Minor, or elsewhere; my whole endeavour is to fulfil, according to the ability of so weak an instrument, the will of that benevolent Being, who has graciously condescended to give me a firm persuasion that I am employed in what is agreeable to him." His last interview with his Christian friends in London, and at Cardington, was particularly affecting. To an intimate friend, who sat near him the last time he attended Dr. Stennet's chapel, he remarked at the close of the service: "Well, we shall not perhaps meet one another again till we meet in that place where there will be no parting." Only the day before he embarked, he said to a lady, "I am going on a very arduous journey, probably we shall never meet again in this world; but I regard the course I am pursuing as the path of duty; and with respect to myself, am quite resigned to the will of God."

Nothing could be more affecting than Howard's parting visit with Mr. Whitbread, to whose care, during his absence, he had entrusted his afflicted son, and to whom he had commended his schools, and other dependants on his bounty. Under Mr. Whitbread's superintendence all went on for many years, precisely according to Howard's directions. The conversation between Howard and his most intimate friend, Mr. Smith, the last time they met, was mutually serious, and their regret at parting mutually strong. Howard adverted to the impression he felt that he should not return, with that calm dignity which Christianity can only inspire, in terms expressive of entire confidence in the favour of God through the Redeemer's merits. A day or two before he quitted Cardington, he visited his tenants, his schools, and every individual, even the humblest and poorest who had been a recipient of his bounty, affectionately bidding them all adieu. The evening before his departure, he walked over

his grounds and garden, with the confidential and esteemed domestic to whom they had been entrusted, and gave him directions how he wished things to be done during his absence; observing, that he had got every thing exactly in the order in which he wished it to be, but he was now about to leave it; adding, that if he returned to his native country, he intended there to end his days. His parting interview with his respected friend, Dr. Price, says Dr. Aikin, "was an interesting scene. They took an affectionate and pathetic leave of each other. The age of the one, and the dangers the other was about to encounter, justified the apprehension that they should never meet again in this world, and their farewell corresponded with the solemnity of the occasion."

It has been the subject of much conjecture and inquiry among Howard's biographers, what could have induced him to undertake so arduous a journey at this period of his life, and with such a presentiment as he evidently had, that he should never return. That the melancholy condition of his son, in whose company he had fondly hoped he should have spent the evening of his life, may have had some weight in his determinations is not improbable. One of his most intimate friends, who enjoyed his entire confidence, has averred, that though he seldom mentioned this calamity, yet he felt it most acutely. Indeed, such was the severity of his distress when residing at Cardington, that notwithstanding all his Christian submission, it dried up his spirits, and did more to sap the vigour of his constitution than his most arduous labours. Parental anxiety had on some occasions well nigh overcome his efforts to suppress his acquiescence in the Divine will. It cannot, however, be asserted with any degree of certainty, that he would not have undertaken this journey had it not been for his son's affliction. So

firmly was he impressed with the idea that Providence had called him to this additional labour, and so accustomed was he now become to an itinerant life, that he would probably have taken this course under any circumstances. He viewed the whole affair in a conscientious light, and could not be dissuaded from pursuing it by his dearest friends, though he was often affectionately cautioned by them to beware of suffering himself, through an earnest desire of doing good, to be precipitated beyond the clear line of duty.

Howard's specific object in this journey, was much less clearly marked than on any former occasion. So far as it could be ascertained by his friends in their conversation with him, his object was to be absent from England from two to three years, by which time he perhaps indulged a hope that favourable symptoms would have appeared in his son's case. "I had various conversations with him," says Dr. Aikin, "on the specific object of his journey; and found that so far was he from having any plan of his own, that he had rather a wish to hear subjects suggested to him by others. His great object evidently was to be useful, and to collect that information which would promote the great ends of humanity, and the well-being of mankind. Aware what a dreadful havoc had sometimes been made by that scourge of the human race, the plague, he was desirous, though at the risk of his own life, to collect some information respecting it, that might lead to a discovery that would arrest its progress. His intention too was to visit the forsaken prisoner in countries where he had not yet travelled, that he might elicit further information on the subject of prison discipline, and expose such abuses in the management of these and other public institutions as he found to exist. These were objects which

none but an individual actuated by the purest benevolence could have contemplated, and which none but the most heroic and self-denying would have undertaken.

Howard quitted his native shore on his last errand of mercy in the beginning of July, accompanied by Thomason, the servant whom he usually took with him in his travels. Notwithstanding the strong presentiment he felt, that he should never again return, he enjoyed, as he himself states, much confidence in God, and was enabled cheerfully to enter on his journey. He arrived at Amsterdam on the 7th, and on visiting the prisons was pleased to find that though the torture was not yet abolished, yet several improvements had been made since his last visit. On visiting the rasp-house on the Sunday morning, he attended divine service with the prisoners in the chapel, and was delighted with the very orderly manner in which they conducted themselves. The service commenced at nine in the morning. Near eighty prisoners came in and seated themselves on benches provided for them. The chaplain first offered up a short prayer, then gave out a psalm, which they sung. After that he prayed about fifteen minutes, and then preached. At the conclusion of his sermon he catechised several of the prisoners, making some pertinent expository remarks on the questions. This done he again prayed, sung a hymn, and thus concluded the service, which occupied near two hours.

After inspecting the hospitals in this city, which he found clean, but complained that the patients had not a change of linen sufficiently often, Howard proceeded to Utrecht, where he spent two or three days with his esteemed friend, Dr. Brown, to whom he explained more fully than he had done to any other friend, the object he more especially had in

view in his journey. He wished particularly, for the benefit of mankind, to acquire accurate information respecting the symptoms and nature of the plague, with the best methods of cure. He humbly hoped that the world might be benefited by his labours; and this prospect was a sufficient incentive to ensure his diligence and perseverance in his course, even at the risk of his life. That his scheme was not chimerical but rational, will be seen by the following remarks, written in his journal about this date. "I do not consult books on the nature of this singular disease; wishing to draw my inferences from close observations on the disorder itself; and not from the theories of persons who never visited patients in that distemper, and indeed my general opinion of it differs from any other I have yet found. It seems probable that the plague flies from one country to another, as what we term accident or negligence gives it opportunity. Thus the disease seems to arise spontaneously, without our being able to trace its imparted infection; though probably there was only one place in which it arose spontaneously, which perhaps was Egypt, or the coast of Barbary. Whether in more cases it is ever found thus to arise, is an important inquiry. As to the specific nature and cause of this malady, I do not entertain much hope of seeing that ascertained with precision, any more than that of other infectious diseases. But I would look at the moral source whence all evil and suffering have been derived, and would at least endeavour to diminish their bitterness. And O, how should I bless God, if such a worm as I am can be made the instrument of alleviating the miseries of my fellow-creatures, and of exciting mankind, by mutual exertions for mutual relief, to connect more strongly the social bond by which they should ever be held together! If any individual has received good, spiritual good by my

labours, it is an honour for which I cannot be sufficiently thankful. But let us bless the Lord for all things." *

At the time of Howard's visit to Utrecht on this occasion, there was residing there a humane gentleman, named Lotin, who had for many years been the Dutch governor of Ceylon, and who expressed to Dr. Brown an ardent desire to have an interview with Howard. As Mr. Lotin's indisposition prevented the possibility of visiting him at Dr. Brown's, he requested the Doctor to give Howard a pressing invitation to dine with him the next day. To oblige his friend, the Doctor consented to do this, though he had but little hopes of success, being aware of Howard's aversion to such visits when on his travels. In this instance, however, he succeeded; and Howard spent some hours very agreeably with the Doctor, and his friend; but he made no alteration in his common regimen—a purely vegetable diet, and entire abstinence from wine.

Aware of the extreme danger connected with the course Howard was now pursuing, Dr. Brown used his utmost efforts to dissuade him from it; but all his entreaties and arguments were in vain. "With his usual decision," says the Doctor, "he replied to all I could say, that, placing his confidence in that Providence which had hitherto so wonderfully protected him, he was fully resolved to undertake the journey, convinced of its probable utility to mankind. Adding, that if his life was spared, he should be enabled to enlarge the sphere of his usefulness; and if he was appointed to terminate his earthly career in this journey, he rejoiced to reflect that his life had not been wholly passed in vain: others might, perhaps, be prompted, by his example, to complete what he had left unfinished. When I bade him farewell, taking

* Brown's Life of Howard.

me by the hand, he said: 'Well, my dear friend, if we meet not again in this world, we shall, I trust, meet in heaven.'"

From Utrecht Howard proceeded to Osnaburgh, where he was pleased to find some slight improvement had been made in the prison discipline. The provisions given to the prisoners, which he had complained of greatly before, were now excellent. On his remarking that the prison was less clean than it ought to be, and recommending the allowance of the Saturday for keeping it clean, the chief magistrate assured him that such should in future be the case. He entered every dark cell in the gaol, however close and offensive: in one of the worst, he was grieved to find a man heavily ironed, hands and feet, and chained to the wall of his cell: in another cell was his wife, weeping and bitterly lamenting her unhappy situation. Deeply deploring her case, her benevolent visitor waited on the chief magistrate, and solicited some abatement of the rigour practised towards her, which was promptly granted. It gratified Howard to find that great attention was paid in the prison to the regular observance of public worship, without any mixture of intolerance; Catholics, Protestants, and Jews being permitted to worship in the way each thought most proper.

On the 22nd July Howard reached Hanover, where he felt discouraged and vexed at perceiving that no improvement had been made in the prisons since his last visit, notwithstanding all his efforts at that time to effect it. The torture was still continued, as was also the evil of having a gaol-delivery only once a year. One poor, pale, and sickly looking prisoner, who had not yet been tried, had been confined in his cell for more than forty weeks, as appeared by the marks he had made every week on the wall. Adverting to this evil, and to the great inattention shown to his remarks in this part of the Bri-

tish dominions, he feelingly, and somewhat despondingly remarks: "Have I not reason to say, I labour in vain, and spend my strength for nought? But, even if this be the case, I have resolved, by the help of God, to give myself wholly to the work." On inspecting the house of correction, he found it less dirty and better managed than before. Such was not the case with the excellent orphan-house for the suburbs: its noble founder, who, while he lived, most carefully attended to its management, was now dead; and Howard could perceive by the countenances of the children, at dinner, that something was wrong, as most of them looked pale and unhappy; a circumstance which he was not surprised at, when he saw the filthy state of their beds; and was informed that they were fed by the master by contract, at twopence a day. With the hospital for the widows and daughters of poor freemen he was much pleased: but he regretted to find that the one for the sick in the town generally consisted of only a large room, into which were crowded patients of both sexes. The plan pursued here, for assisting the poor with medical help in time of sickness, he thought excellent. The town was divided into seven districts, each of which was superintended by a respectable individual, to whom the poor in sickness were to apply; he then inquires into their case, and makes his report to the chief magistrate, who orders the physician of the district to pay the patient proper attention.

Passing on to Brunswick, Howard found that the tower over the gates, formerly used as a prison, was taken down, and the prisoners removed to the stadthouse. On applying for admission into the house of correction, he was informed that no person could be allowed to enter, without paying a florin, (about two and sixpence,) to assist discharged vagrants on their journey, that they might have no excuse for begging

or stealing; with this order he very cheerfully complied. He complained that the prison was dirty, though there were more women than men, who would have kept it clean, had it not been badly managed. He was pleased to learn, on inspecting the gaol, that though the torture was not actually abolished, it had not been inflicted for the last eighteen years. Into the dungeons where these cruelties were practised, which had scarcely been opened since that time, he descended by a flight of fifteen steps; this led to a dark room, in which were some instruments of torture; at the end of this was another large dungeon or cellar, black and dark, where the horrid cruelties were practised: on one side was a bench for the judge, lawyer, secretary, and surgeon; near to them stands a table on which the books and candles are placed. The place for the unhappy individual who is to suffer the torture, is before them, about the centre of the room, where stand the executioner and his men. Midnight is always chosen to perform these deeds of darkness, lest the shrieks of the unhappy victims should be heard in the street; though, from the thickness of the walls and doors, and the depth of the place, Howard did not think this possible. The principal engines of torture were kept at the executioner's house, where Howard inspected them. The executioner readily answered any inquiries put to him by his visitor, explaining the mode of applying the various degrees of torture. On Howard's expressing disgust at the description of some of them, which the ingenuity of demons could only have invented, the executioner remarked, "Sir, the Osnaburgh torture is ruder still."

After visiting the hospitals in Brunswick, all of which were clean and well-managed, Howard hastened to Berlin. The court-prison in that city, he found quiet and in excellent order: but the prison for the city was in a filthy state, and seemed never

to have been whitewashed ; only one court was provided for men, women, and boys, and the gaoler openly sold liquors of all descriptions. Most of the prisoners were smugglers, who were frequently punished by being compelled to stand at the prison-gate, with a machine round them, called a Spanish mantle. The *Maison de Travail*, he was pleased to find in the same excellent order as on his former visits : he only regretted that so great a number of individuals should be employed in one room, when a separation into classes might easily have been effected. The orphan-house was under the best regulations; sixty boys, and the same number of girls were here comfortably provided for.

In the general hospital, an institution well-conducted, a large room was provided for convalescent patients, which Howard considered of great importance, and often wished for in all similar institutions.

Our indefatigable traveller visited the prison in the fortress of Spandau, on the 4th August. It then contained one hundred and seventy prisoners, many of whom were condemned for life. Those that were contentious and quarrelsome were punished by being made to wear an iron-collar round their necks, of which class there seemed to be a considerable number. Their rooms, which were under the ramparts, being much crowded, were close, dirty, and offensive. The keeper was a humane Englishman; and on his expressing a desire to improve the prison, as far as it was practicable, Howard kindly gave him some excellent advice how to proceed, and furnished him with a number of most important rules. The house of correction our visitor was pleased to find in the same excellent order as at his former visit.

The prisons at Koningsberg came under Howard's inspection on the 13th August. In the house of correction there was no separation of the old from the young. For their first offence the young were

improperly associated with criminals, the most hardened. No inducement was held out that by good behaviour their term of imprisonment might be shortened. The prison was without an infirmary. The sick were in irons, with hardly a blanket to cover them; and the surgeon was void of all humane feeling. From three unhappy men, who were evidently dying, their irons were taken off, at Howard's particular request. The whole prison was dirty, beyond description. Things were a little better in the gaol; but this was a close prison, situated in a crowded part of the city. The men were not in irons, nor were irons ever put on till after conviction. In an upper room were eleven sick women, who were not prisoners, but who had no other asylum; "and seemed," says their kind visitor, "as I should conjecture, sent here to perish." It was far from Howard's wish to express himself in the language of censure. When he did so it was always with kindness; and because he thought it the best means to effect a reform. "I hope it will not be thought by any gentleman," he modestly remarks, "because in several places I take the liberty to mention what seems to me the best remedy for some defect that happens to strike me, that I do it in a dictatorial style. If I am asked why I did it not in my first publication, I reply, because my object then was to collect what was good in foreign prisons, with a view to reform those in my own country. I did not then think that any observations of so private an individual would either reach the eye or excite the attention of foreign magistrates. But it has pleased God to order it otherwise; it would therefore be, on my part, refusing to do the good offered to my endeavours, were I to abstain from such remarks as may correct abuses, and alleviate misery, in the places I visit."

At Koningsberg was another house of correction, with which Howard was much pleased. It was situ-

ated near a pleasant lake, and had belonging to it a large neat garden. The prisoners were all in separate, clean rooms, and looked very healthy. Passing on to the castle at Memel, where he arrived August 17th, he found most of the prisoners in dark, damp rooms without bedding. Many of them looked pale and languid, owing to their very filthy and neglected state. At Mittau, in Courland, whither he next proceeded, the slaves were at work in their irons, hewing or sawing timber for rebuilding the palace, part of which had been recently burnt. They conducted themselves with propriety, and appeared to perform their work as well as others. Entering the Russian territories at Riga, he next inspected the large square building in the citadel, forming the prison and house of correction for that town. That part appropriated to the prison seemed to be entirely neglected. No attention being paid to cleanliness, the rooms were exceedingly offensive, and disorder was conspicuous in every department. A pleasing contrast presented itself in the house of correction: the rooms were clean, and the prisoners, who were kept constantly employed, and provided with a sufficient supply of wholesome food, looked cheerful and healthy. In the stadt-house Howard found but few prisoners. The military hospital, which he next visited, about three miles from the town, was much crowded. More than four hundred patients were crammed into four double wards, which had no opposite windows, and were low and offensive. Between four and five hundred recruits had died here during the year, at which Howard did not feel at all surprised, when he considered the neglected state of the institution, and the improper diet allowed the patients,

During his stay at Riga, he inspected a spacious prison for convicts and slaves, situate about ten miles from the city, formed principally of houses built of

wood, resembling the prison at Moscow, and surrounded by a high pale-fence. The whole was guarded by the military. There were near four hundred prisoners, all of whom were kept constantly employed on some public work. The prison was divided into a number of apartments, or distinct buildings of equal dimensions; each containing about forty prisoners. Every prisoner was allowed a separate bedstead, and some bedding to himself. In one room were a number of foreign debtors, who were compelled to work the same as the slaves. Several of them were confined for debts of a very trifling amount; some not exceeding twelve shillings. These their benevolent visitor would have liberated, had not some unfavourable circumstance prevented the possibility of their discharge till a stated period. "In a small inner room," says Howard, "I found two unhappy men, who had been here about four years. A guard was stationed at the door of their room, which they were never permitted to leave. They had each suffered the punishment of the knout, and were branded on the cheek as a signature of their condemnation for life." Howard deeply regretted that no attention was paid to the religious instruction of the prisoners. They were only required to attend public worship one Sunday in the year. The whole of the other sacred days they were permitted to spend as they pleased, which was chiefly in various acts of amusement and diversion.

Howard's preference for a vegetable diet still continued, and under this date of his diary, he thus records his opinion respecting it:—"I am firmly persuaded that herbs and fruits will preserve our health and sustain nature far beyond the best animal food. Is there any comparison to be made between an herb and a meat-market? In the beginning God planted a garden for mankind, and replenished it with all manner of fruits and herbs. This was the place pre-

pared for man; and if his food had still been of this kind, he would neither have contracted so many diseases in his body, nor cruel vices in his soul. The taste of most sorts of flesh is disagreeable to those who for any time abstain from it. But of this none can be competent judges except those who have made the trial." Whatever exceptions may be made to Howard's peculiar views respecting entire abstinence from animal food, and it is certainly open to many that should not be overlooked, yet the almost exclusive use of it, in which some indulge, cannot fail to be highly injurious, both to their bodily and mental powers: moderation in this, as in all other things, is a much more difficult task, and requires far more self-control, and is more to be commended than abstinence.

On Sunday, August 23rd, 1789, Howard being still at Riga, he made the following interesting entry in his diary, illustrative of the high tone of his religious feelings, and especially deserving notice as the last private record of his Christian experience: "I hope I have sources of enjoyment, not dependent on the particular spot in which I am placed. A rightly cultivated mind, under the power of religion, and a readiness to exert beneficent dispositions, are grounds of satisfaction little affected by time or place. My soul thirsts for the ordinances of God's house, of which I am this day deprived, but I will make it a day of rest. The mercy of God has brought me thus far in safety. I have this morning read over some solemn transactions between God and my soul, on which I entered many years ago; and in the most serious and devout manner, have renewed those vows, which, alas! I have too often broken. I acknowledge thee, the almighty Jehovah, for my Lord and my God. O hear my prayer, and let my cry come before thee!"

A more elevated tone of devout and pious feeling than the above, associated as it was with Howard's

indefatigable activity in the cause of benevolence, it is hardly possible to conceive. With such sentiments did this devoted man persevere in labours, regardless of whatever danger he might encounter. He next directed his course to St. Petersburgh, revisiting all the prisons and hospitals in that city, which he had inspected eight years before. The prisons, he regretted to find, had undergone no improvement; but in the hospitals many excellent alterations had taken place. A spacious and splendid one had recently been erected, a short distance from the city, opposite a fine canal: the rooms were large and lofty, a number of men and women convicts were sent thither daily from the prison; the former to keep the yards and outward offices in proper order; the latter to clean the wards and other rooms. All were under the direction of a careful superintendent; and the result was, that every part of the institution was thoroughly clean.

The school for the education of young ladies he found still under the care of Madame Lason. At the foundling-hospital, and at the noble institution for the military cadets, he spent several evenings, commending what he deemed praiseworthy, and faithfully pointing out what he thought faulty, enforcing his observations by describing the more improved plans, in these respects, adopted in his own and in other countries. His object was evidently different to that he had in view on his former visit. Then he was seeking information for the improvement more especially of the prisons in England; now he wished to give foreigners the benefit of his experience, and to suggest such improvements as he thought were needed in every institution he inspected. Before quitting Petersburgh he spent some pleasant hours with General Bitskoi, the enlightened and liberal director of some of the best institutions in Russia.

On the 9th September he reached Cronstadt, and regretted to find that the new prison in contemplation when he was there last, was not erected, owing to the lamented death of Admiral Greig, who was its most active supporter, and whose motto was, "*If I cannot do what I would, I will do what I can.*" In the old prison there were three hundred criminals, all of whom were without beds or bedding. Their rooms were dirty, and their appearance proved them to be utterly neglected. On visiting the marine hospital, the entrance to which was by dark and very offensive rooms; he was grieved to find the wards narrow and low, and the beds placed so close to each other, that little hopes could be entertained of a patient's recovery. Adjoining this building were eight summer lazaretts. These formed a pleasing contrast to what he had just witnessed, being airy and spacious. In both, however, the floors were sanded, to which Howard always objected, as well for the dust it created, as because he found it more frequently used as a cover for the dirt which would otherwise have been removed. All the attendants on the sick were men; an impropriety which he did not fail to point out. There were near six hundred patients in the institution. Their prevalent complaints were intermittent fever, diarrhœa, and the scurvy. A most improper alteration had recently been made in the diet of the patients: so injudicious was it that Howard thought it far more likely to prevent than to promote their recovery. The regret he felt on the occasion led him feelingly to exclaim, "What deep concern does it occasion to see so many individuals looking for help here, when even the probability of a cure is thus cut off!" The upper floor in the barracks, which had been converted into a temporary hospital, though it contained more than three hundred pa-

tients, he had the pleasure to find was clean, and carefully attended to by a humane English physician. But as the rooms were low, he suggested the propriety of having apertures made in the walls or ceiling, for the purpose of more effectual ventilation.

On his way to Moscow, Howard again visited the prison and hospital at Iwer. In the latter there were very few patients. In the former the men had separate rooms, and were amply supplied with bread, besides being allowed the proceeds of the charity-box fixed on the outside of the prison. There were no dungeons; but the prison was very dirty, never having been whitewashed since its erection. At Moscow our traveller found the Ostrog, a large irregular wooden prison, pulled down, and a spacious new brick one, with a surrounding brick-wall, built in its place. He complained of the passages leading to the prisoners' rooms, being narrow and dark; but was pleased to find that each room was provided with a stove and a bedstead. At the end of each passage was a door into a neat chapel in the centre of the building. Beer and bread are sold in the prison, but no wine or spirits. There was an infirmary, but it consisted of only one room for both sexes. Eighteen men were in it, several of whom were suffering severely from fever. No bedding was allowed them; and so grossly were they neglected, that they declared that they had not that day received any sort of provision, though it was then five o'clock in the evening. Proceeding to the city-prison, he found it in the same disgraceful state as at his former visit. The rooms were damp and dirty; men and women were confined in the same rooms, without any distinction; and without any allowance of food, except the precarious supplies they obtained from charity. Things were no better in the military prison for deserters. The miserable objects confined in both these houses really deserved pity.

"Such prisons," says their benevolent visitor, "are a disgrace to any civilized country."

Turning to the hospitals in this city, Howard found a new and very commodious one, erected on the spot where that called the Grand Duke's formerly stood, which had been burnt down since his last visit. With this small institution he was much pleased. On inspecting the military hospital he found the bread very bad; so bad indeed, that he thought it advisable to expose it to the superintending physician. In his conversation with him, respecting it, he took occasion to inquire whether he did not think the recent alteration made in the diet of the patients in the military and marine hospital most injudicious; but the physician cautiously avoided giving any decided opinion on the subject. Observing the great inattention paid to the admission of air into the wards, (the windows being all closed, though it was a mild day,) Howard pointed out its ininjurious effects; but he regreted to perceive, that what he said appeared to have little weight. He was pleased to find, on visiting the hospital for deserters, that proper attention was paid to this circumstance. Of the botanic magazine in the garden, belonging to this hospital, he speaks in the highest terms. The herbs are strewed on the floor, or hung upon poles, and diffused a perfume so odoriferous and pleasant that he visited it several times.

During his continuance in Moscow, he wrote the following letter, nearly the last he wrote at all, to Dr. Price:—

"Moscow, Sept. 22, 1789.

"My dear Friends,

Your kind desire of hearing from me, encourages me to write. The first place at which I stopped, after leaving England, was Amsterdam. I proceeded thence to Osnaburgh, Hanover, Brunswick, and Berlin; then to Koningsberg, Riga, and Peters-

burgh. At all these places I visited the prisons and hospitals, which were all flung open to me; and in some the burgomasters accompanied me into dungeons, as well as into the other rooms. I arrived in this city a few days ago, and have commenced my labours. The hospitals are in a sad state; thousands of sailors and recruits died in them last year. I am seeking to bring the torch of philanthropy into these distant regions. In the hand of God no instrument is weak, and in His presence no flesh must glory. The route I intend to take in future, is through Poland and Hungary. I hope to have a few nights of this moon for my journey to Warsa, distant from hence about a thousand miles. I am well in health; the weather is clear, and the mornings are fresh. The thermometer is at 48, but we have not yet begun fires. I wish for a mild winter, and hope then to make some progress in my European expedition. My medical friends give me but little hope of escaping the plague in Turkey; but my spirits do not at all fail me. I have no inclination to turn back, but would readily endure any hardships, and encounter any dangers to be an honour to my Christian profession.

"Most affectionately and sincerely,

"JOHN HOWARD."

It will be seen by the above letter, that Howard's intention was to have proceeded through Poland, and thence through Hungary, probably pursuing nearly the same route he had traversed before. Circumstances, however, now occurred, which induced him to alter his plan. The Russian military hospitals which he had visited, were in a crowded and wertched state. Disease was committing sad ravages among the recruits of the army; and he had strong reasons to suspect, from intimations given

him, that things were, if possible, in a worse state in several other places which he had not visited. Hence, he determined, on quitting Russia, to proceed through the deserts of Tartary to the confines of the Euxine Sea; in which direction, he was informed, he would be able to obtain the information he was seeking. The first hospital he inspected was at Crementschouk, where a new one had been erected for the reception of recruits, who fell sick on their march to the army. It was built of wood, and was situate about half a mile from the Nieper. The floor was raised about three steps above the ground. It was divided into six wards, more than thirty feet wide, in which were four rows of beds, each row containing about twenty beds. The number of patients was about four hundred. The rooms were clean; but owing to their crowded state, and to their improper diet, and general treatment, from one-half to one-third of the patients fell victims to the prevalent diseases—scurvy and intermittent fever. Nothing could be more improper than the drink given, composed of a mixture of honey, water, vinegar, pepper, with a little brandy. Their bread was very bad.

On his way to Cherson, whither he next proceeded, two of his portmanteaus were stolen from behind his carriage. Immediately on discovering his loss, he recollected having passed a number of Russian recruits, and it occurred to him that they were the party who had committed the theft. He hastened back without delay to the next village, where he overtook the party, and charged them with the robbery. While waiting till a magistrate could be found, the stolen portmanteaus were brought into the village, having been found by two men, nearly concealed in the middle of a field, which they were ploughing. On opening them, every thing was in its

place; but so strong was the evidence adduced against seven of the recruits, that the magistrates exiled them to Siberia for the crime.

On his arrival at Cherson, Howard was grieved to find the military hospital in a worse state than even the one he had last visited. No regard whatever was paid to cleanliness. The wards, rooms, beds, and patients' linen were all alike dirty. The beds were never cleaned or aired after the death of a patient, whatever might have been his disease. There was no proper classification of the patients according to their complaints: and the sick had only for their attendants, men who "had been sent from their regiments as useless individuals, either from stupidity or drunkenness." No female nurses were allowed in any of the Russian military hospitals. It can excite no surprise that the result of this neglect, coupled as it was with the very improper diet allowed, was the prevalence of great mortality among the patients. "The primary objects in all hospitals," says their benevolent visitor, "seem here entirely lost sight of:—cleanliness, air, diet, separation, and proper attention. These are such essentials, that humanity and good policy equally demand, and no expense should be spared to procure them. Care in this respect, I am persuaded, would save many more lives than the parade of medicines in the apothecary's shop."

In the rooms for the sick soldiers, quartered in this town, which Howard now inspected, and which were close and offensive, very little more attention was paid to cleanliness. Several patients were here who had been brought from the greater hospital, after having been there many months without any benefit: and there seemed to be here a greater probability that their disease would terminate fatally rather than favourably. Much of the disease which prevailed was owing to the extreme unhealthiness of the spot. In a letter written to a friend, Howard says: "Many

are shivering here with the ague, which perhaps you will not think surprising when I tell you that a morass of twenty miles extent is before my window. In all cases where I have prescribed, I have given bark with snake-root and wormwood in suitable proportions, and with uniform success." While here, news was received of the destruction of the Bastile, in Paris, at which Howard exceedingly rejoiced; though he wished it had been effected by other means, being justly apprehensive that the populace would soon commit outrages of a less merciful character. But so delighted was he with the news, that this inaccessible and hitherto imagined impregnable prison, which he had taken so much pains to expose, had been demolished, that he determined, should he survive his present journey, to visit Paris for the express purpose of beholding its ruins. This gratification, however, he was not permitted to enjoy. Little, perhaps, did he imagine, habitually prepared as he was for the event, how soon a far higher degree of joy awaited him, in the welcome plaudits of the Master whom he had laboured so indefatigably to serve: "Well done good and faithful servant; enter into the joy of thy Lord."

CHAPTER XX.

Howard's continued attention to the Russian military hospitals—Their distressing state—His last illness—Particulars respecting his death—His burial—Tributes to his memory—His statue—Remarks on his character—Decision—Self-denial—Sensibility—Humility—Noble principle by which he was actuated—Religious sentiments—Christian liberality—Imperfections—Eccentricity—Great benefits arising from his exertions—Remarks on prison discipline—Its importance—Hints for a national measure to that effect.

PURSUING his journey to Bokoiaulenskoe, a new settlement, about forty miles from Cherson, Howard inspected the military hospital erected there. It consisted of eight long lazaretts, enclosed with reeds, situated near the river Bog, a most desolate spot, where firing of any sort is with the greatest difficulty obtained; there being no trees for some hundreds of miles around it. The sick here, of whom there were about two hundred and thirty in each room, laid in rows, on barrack-bedsteads, without any partition, and so close to each other, that within thirty feet Howard saw seventeen, and sometimes eighteen men. One old blanket for a covering was made to serve for three, and sometimes for four. Their beds and linen were extremely dirty, and in every respect they seemed to be utterly neglected. "When I saw so many brave men," says Howard, "suffered to perish here with filth and neglect, my heart melted within me."

In the hospital, consisting of four rooms, about a mile from the new town of St. Nicholas, which was then erecting, whither Howard next proceeded, he found every thing in an equally disgraceful state. Three hundred patients were literally crammed into these rooms; their bread was black and heavy, and their quas (the name given to the beverage allowed them) was sour, and of the worst description. Some attention was, on this occasion, paid to the state of the rooms, and the patients had been supplied, the day before, with several new coverlets, as this visit was made by appointment, it being arranged that Howard should be accompanied by Prince Potempkin's physician; but it was evident that the usual state of the hospital was altogether different to that in which it now appeared. Howard clearly perceived that there was an intention on the part of those individuals, on whom the management of this institution devolved, to deceive him: this put him the more on his guard against their tricks, which he determined if possible to defeat.

Suspecting that there was one ward into which they had not been conducted, he urged the physician, after they had quitted the prison, to return and make particular enquiries on the subject. After some entreaty, he at length succeeded; and on their return, they found his suspicions but too true. They were now shown into a room, "where," says Howard, "were fifty of such miserable objects as I had never before seen in one place: most of them were recruits in the prime of life; all were laid on hard, coarse reeds, and were allowed no linen nor coverlets; the clothes they had on were worn to rags, and dirty beyond description." Howard's indignation at such culpable negligence in those who had the care of these men, prompted him to make some severe remarks: addressing the managers, he requested they would look on their fellow-creatures, who were thus inhu-

manly treated; he assured them that in no countries had he found such inattention paid to the military as in Russia. "I was aware," he remarks, "that what I said, would probably have no other effect than to make them despise me; but I assured them, that I should not fail to publish what I had, with so much concern and indignation beheld." As our traveller suspected, such reproof was to these miscreants most unpalatable, and they soon walked away.

Scarcely had Howard quitted this scene, than, on turning to visit the recruits at their work, he was again struck with the inhumanity of making the men, many of whom looked pale and sickly, carry loads of sand on their backs, to fill up a mole, which might have been done, as he took the liberty to hint, with wheelbarrows, or light carts, with much greater ease and dispatch. The awful effects of that dire evil, war, which now forced themselves on Howard's notice, wrung from him the following reflections:—

"Let a contemplative mind reflect but for a moment, on the condition of these poor destitute individuals, forced from their homes and all their dearest connexions, and compare them with a happy group he may sometimes have seen, cheerful, clean, and happy, at a wedding, or village festival; let them be viewed quitting their native town or village, with all their little wardrobe packed up, and their pockets stored, perhaps, with gifts of their relatives, who never expect to see them again; now joining their corps, in a long march of one or two thousand versts; all their money gone to the officer who conducts them, and who, perhaps, defrauds them of the government allowance, arriving fatigued and not unfrequently half naked, in a distant, dreary country, exposed immediately to military hardships, with harassed bodies, and dejected spirits; and who can wonder that so many droop and die, in a short time, without any apparent illness? The devastations I

have seen made by war, among the inoffensive inhabitants of this immensely extensive country, are shocking to human nature."

Howard spent some weeks in the neighbourhood of Bokoiaulenskoe, and at St. Nicholas new town, reinspecting, almost daily, the hospitals in these places, till at length he made in them a very considerable improvement. On the 6th January, 1790, he returned to Cherson, where he intended to remain a short time, to pursue the same plan. On examining the wards of the hospital here, he was pleased to see the beneficial results of his former visit. Many of the hints he had given had evidently not been without their use; both the linen and the bedding of the sick were now clean. Some judicious alterations too had taken place in the sick-rooms of the barracks, but not to that extent as in the hospital. Here, however, notwithstanding what had been done, there was great room for improvement: abuses of a very flagrant character still existed: the provisions given to the patients were of the worst description; the groats used for their gruel was mouldy; all their attendants were still men; some of these Howard saw intoxicated while attending the sick: "One," says he, "had a bottle of brandy, holding near two quarts, which I had too much reason to think he sold to the sick; thus defeating the best means that could be taken to promote their recovery. Many disorders, I am persuaded, proceed from the use of spirituous liquors: what care should be taken that none is sold in the hospitals! Greatly to my surprise, I have seen undiluted spirits given to sick and even dying patients, by their intoxicated attendants; and, when I remonstrated with them for such conduct, I was told that it was given as a treat to the patients, by the physician's orders.

This was the last entry Howard made in his journal; he was shortly afterwards, as he had foreboded,

attacked and carried off by the epidemic. It is singular that he should have caught the disease, not from the infected air of a crowded hospital, but, as was his opinion, from attending a private individual. A young lady of distinction, who lived more than twenty miles from Cherson, by imprudently exposing herself to the night air, in attending the balls, then frequently given in the neighbourhood, in celebration of the Russian victories, had caught the prevailing disease. The celebrity Howard had acquired as a physician, induced her parents earnestly to request he would attend her. He declined doing this at first, on the ground that he gave advice only to the poor; but, on learning that she grew worse, and being again pressed to pay her a visit, he at length consented, and saw her twice, about the end of December, 1789. At his second visit he requested that if the medicine he prescribed had the desired effect, he might be sent for in a short time: this was happily the case, and a letter was accordingly dispatched the next day, to inform him of the result, and to request his further aid: owing to some neglect, this did not reach him till a week afterwards. The weather was then most unfavourable, the cold was intense, and the rain heavy and incessant: but though there seemed to be little chance of his being now of use, he determined instantly to proceed. On reaching the house, he found the young lady in the last stage of the disease. His anxiety to ascertain the particulars of her case, and to do every thing for her that was possible, led him, imprudently, to remain too long in her room: the consequence was, that he caught the distemper. She died on the following day, and he returned to Cherson, regretting much the event. Two days afterwards, about the 8th January, 1790, he was attacked with the fatal epidemic. On perceiving the symptoms, he instantly took proper medicines to check its progress, but

without effect. On hearing of his illness, Prince Potempkin promptly desired his physician toattend him.

Howard was now fully sensible of his danger, but his mind was tranquil and happy. Death was not to him an object of terror; he enjoyed the same confidence in God that had sustained him in all his trials. About this time he made the following entries in his memorandum-book:—"May I never look on present difficulties, or think of future ones in this world, since I am here only a pilgrim or wayfaring man, that tarries but for a night. This is not my home. But may I think always upon what God has done for me, and rely fully on his power and grace, since his promise and his mercy endure for ever. I am sometimes faint and low, yet I trust I am pursuing the right way, though I am too apt to forget my almighty Friend. Remember, O my soul, and put it upon record, how often God has sent an answer of peace to thy prayers! How many have been his mercies at the most seasonable times! How often has he exceeded thy expectations, and been to thee better than thy fears!" In another part of his memorandum, he traced in ink, at this time, the following sentence, in his notes of a sermon he had heard Dr. Stennet preach:—"It is one of the noblest expressions of real religion, to be cheerfully willing to live or die, as it may please God." On the cover of the book, he had written the same day, or a day or two later, the following sentences:—"Why should I distrust my good and faithful God? His command is, 'In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy steps.' Lord leave me not to my own wisdom, which is folly; nor to my own strength, which is weakness. Help me to glorify thee on earth, and to finish the work thou givest me to do; and to thy name alone shall be all the praise." Inside the cover was the following inscription, faintly written in pencil, rendered peculiarly

interesting, as the last words he ever wrote:—"O that the Son of God may not die for me in vain. I never look into myself, but I find some corruption and sin in my heart. O God, do thou sanctify and cleanse the thoughts of this depraved heart! O that Christ may be magnified in me by life or by death."

Howard's conversation with the few individuals who visited him during this illness, was most interesting. Admiral Priestman, then residing at Cherson, one of his most intimate friends, called upon him, and found him seated before the fire in his bedroom, exceedingly ill. To the admiral's enquiries after his health, he replied, that he found his end fast approaching; and as he had many things to say to him, he was much obliged to him for having called. The admiral imagining that, perhaps, he was suffering more from depression than from disease, endeavoured to revive his spirits. On which Howard mildly addressed him: "Priestman, you style this dull conversation, and endeavour to divert my mind from dwelling on death; but I entertain very different sentiments. Death has no terrors to me; it is an event to which I always look with cheerfulness, if not with pleasure; and be assured the subject is now more grateful to me than any other. I am well aware that I have but a short time to live. Had I lived freely, I might, perhaps, by altering my diet, have a chance of recovery: but my abstemious mode of living has rendered this impossible. The subject upon which especially I wished to see you, is that of my funeral. There is a spot, near the village fo Dauphigny, where I should like to be interred; there let me be buried: but let me earnestly beg of you, as you value an old friend, not to allow any pomp or parade at my funeral, nor to suffer any monumental inscription whatever to be placed over my grave; but lay me quietly in the

earth, place a sun-dial over the spot, and let me be forgotten."

The admiral, at Howard's earnest request, made immediate enquiries whether the spot could be obtained; and finding such to be the case, he lost no time to communicate it to his dying friend. He found Howard much weaker than before; but on hearing that the admiral had succeeded, he expressed much pleasure. Just at this time a letter from England was received, bringing the pleasing intelligence that there was some hope of his son's ultimate recovery. He listened eagerly to this information, and was highly delighted to receive it. Turning his languid eyes to the admiral, he said, "Is not this comfort to a dying father?" He repeatedly desired Thomason, should his son, by the blessing of God, recover his reason, to tell him how much, and how fervently, he had prayed for his happiness during his last illness. Then turning again to the admiral, he expressed much concern lest he should be buried according to the rites of the Greek church, to the ceremonies of which he had a great aversion. He begged the admiral not only to prevent the interference of the Russian priests, but to read himself the funeral service of the English church over his body. These were almost the last words he spoke. On Monday the 18th he became insensible, and so remained till about eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th, when he expired, a victim to his unparalleled exertions in the cause of suffering humanity. How delightful must have been his sensations when his happy spirit found itself in those regions where misery and sorrow, which it was ever his endeavour to alleviate, were unknown!

Immediately his death was made public, though he was among strangers, on the borders of the Tartarian desert, fifteen hundred miles from home, yet the deepest

sorrow was evinced by all classes. He was regarded by all as the friend of mankind. He was buried on the spot he had selected near the village of Dauphigny, eight miles from Cherson. The rich honoured him with a more costly funeral than accorded with his wishes. He was followed to the grave by the Prince of Moldavia, by Admirals Priestman and Mordvinof, by the general and staff-officers of the garrison, by all the magistrates and principal merchants in Cherson and the neighbourhood, and by numbers of the peasantry, the soldiers, the sailors, and the slaves, whose benefactor more especially he had been. Thousands of the latter shed tears over his grave. Instead of the sun-dial which he had given directions should be placed on the spot, a small bricked pyramid was erected, fenced in by posts and chains. This was the sole memorial where rests the remains of the world's great philanthropist.

It is painful to reflect, that this monument, in a few years, was suffered to fall into decay. When the late Dr. E. D. Clarke, in his travels in Russia, visited the grave, the posts and chains had begun to disappear. Subsequently, when the spot was visited by the late Bishop Heber, not a vestige of them were to be seen. The obelisk only remained, amidst a bleak desolate plain, where dogs were gnawing the bones of a dead horse, whose putrefying carcass added horror to the scene.

Howard had always refused to have his likeness taken during his life. After his death Admiral Mordvinof caused a plaster mould to be taken of his face. This was afterwards sent to his friend, Mr. Whitbread, in whose family it now remains.

On the news of Howard's death reaching England, every one felt it to be a public calamity. Demonstrations of regret, the most unfeigned, were given by the highest authorities. Funeral sermons were preached in many places on the occasion. It is

singular that three individuals, the Rev. Mr. Bull, the Rev. Mr. Palmer, and Dr. Stennett, made choice of the same most appropriate text on the occasion: —"Who went about doing good." The able discourses of the two latter were published, and met with a rapid sale. An immense congregation from the neighbourhood of Bedford assembled to hear the funeral discourse by Mr. Smith, expecting, from his known intimacy with Howard, that some interesting particulars respecting him would then be made; but as that gentleman was under an injunction from Howard to abstain from all laudatory statements, he wisely directed his remarks chiefly to the improvement of the living. At the close of his sermon, however, he made the following remarks: "My intention is not to make any laboured encomium on Mr. Howard's character. I am not at liberty to do this were I inclined, and able. But I think myself at liberty to say, that his piety was uniform and consistent, displayed in the even tenour of an honourable walk with God, without parade or ostentation. He had a lively zeal for the Redeemer's cause, which he was never backward to avow; but ever ready to defend and support. He lived beloved by all; but most by those who knew him most intimately. His benefactions to the poor were numerous and liberal. He devoted his time, his fortune, and his life, to schemes and labours, which had for their object the alleviation of misery in its most wretched forms. God grant that we may all of us imitate his piety, purity, and usefulness. Let us be concerned, as far as human infirmity will admit; and looking to God for help to be holy, vigilant, and active. It is by a patient continuance in well-doing we are to seek for glory, honour, and immortality. The gospel teaches us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we are to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world, and then to look for the blessed hope, and glorious

appearing of the great God, and our Saviour, Jesus Christ."

In all the leading periodicals of the day the event of Howard's death was referred to as a serious loss. Poetic tributes to his memory were published in different forms, and of various merits. Several appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine. Among the rest was the following from the pen of Dr. Aikin, his friend, and afterwards his biographer :—

"Howard, thy task is done! Thy Master calls,
And summons thee from Cherson's distant walls:—
Come, well-approved! my faithful servant, come;
No more a wanderer, seek thy destined home.
Long have I mark'd thee with o'erruling eye,
And sent admiring angels from on high,
To walk the paths of danger by thy side,
From death to shield thee, and through snares to guide.
My minister of good, I've sped thy way,
And shot through dungeon glooms a leading ray,
To cheer, by thee, with kind unhop'd relief,
My creatures lost, and whelm'd with guilt and grief:
I've led thee ardent on, through wond'ring climes,
To combat human woes, and human crimes.
But 'tis enough! thy great commission's o'er:
I'll prove thy faith, thy love, thy zeal no more.
Droop not that far from country, kindred, friends,
Thy life, to duty long devoted, ends:
What boots it where the high reward is giv'n,
Or whence the soul, triumphant, springs to heav'n?"

This applause, most deservedly and liberally as it was bestowed, would have grieved the meek and unobtrusive spirit of Howard, had he been living. His wish was to be forgotten, or to have his memory perpetuated only by the simple inscription, written by himself, with the blank lines left to be filled up, below the monument he had erected for his beloved wife, in the sequestered church of Cardington :—

JOHN HOWARD.
DIED AT CHERSON, IN RUSSIAN TARTARY,
JANUARY 20, 1790, AGED 64.
In Christ is my hope.

It was impossible that the British public could permit Howard's glorious deeds to be thus forgotten.

This would have been a national disgrace. No sooner was his death known, than the most active exertions were made to add to the amount collected during his life, for a monumental testimony to his worth. In a very short time a sum sufficient for one of suitable dimensions, was raised. A noble statue of him, in marble, was erected in St. Paul's Cathedral; the first that graced the interior of that magnificent edifice. On the pedestal is the following concise, yet comprehensive record of his achievements :—

"This extraordinary man had the fortune to be honoured whilst living,
In the manner which his virtues deserved:
He received the thanks
Of both Houses of the British and Irish Parliaments,
For his eminent services to his country and to mankind.
Our national Prisons and Hospitals,
Improved upon the suggestions of his wisdom,
Bear testimony to the solidity of his judgment,
And to the estimation in which he was held
In every part of the civilized world,
Which he traversed, to reduce the sum of human misery;
From the throne to the dungeon his name was mentioned
With respect, gratitude, and admiration.
His modesty alone
Defeated various efforts that were made during his life
To erect this statue,
Which the public has now consecrated to his memory.
He was born at Hackney, in the county of Middlesex, Sept. 2d, MDCCXXVI.
The early part of his life he spent in retirement,
Residing principally upon his paternal estate
At Cardington, in Bedfordshire;
For which county he served the office of sheriff in the year MDCCLXXIII.
He expired at Cherson, in Russian Tartary, on the 20th Jan. MDCCXC.
A victim to the perilous and benevolent attempt
To ascertain the cause of, and find an efficacious remedy
For the Plague.
He trode an open, but unfrequented path to immortality,
In the ardent and unintermitted exercise of Christian charity.
May this tribute to his fame
Excite an admiration of his truly glorious achievements."

Human applause is seldom so well-bestowed as in the case of Howard. It has scarcely ever a benevolent course of action for its object: very often exactly the reverse: then it loses much, if not all its value. Even when it has a course of virtue for its commendation, if it looks not beyond the instrument to the great Agent, it is delusive and dangerous. It was impossible to extol too highly a course like

that which Howard pursued. But what, after all, was the praise of mortals, compared with the welcome plaudits he received from his Redeemer, in whose steps he had trodden, the moment his happy spirit took its flight from Cherson to the regions of unclouded light and glory! plaudits to be renewed before the assembled universe of angels and men, when he will thus address him, and all who pursue a like course of conduct: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was an hungered and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me." The fame of the mightiest warrior will soon be forgotten; but achievements like Howard's will be chronicled in heaven, and be had in everlasting remembrance.

"How mean the triumphs shown by haughty Rome,
When march'd her heroes to the trophied dome,
Compared with those celestial spirits yield
To men who vanquished in a nobler field!
Howard, for thee heaven opes her portals bright,
Where welcome thy approach the sons of light;
Sublime, around they stand, in burning rows;
Some braid with amaranth thy hallowed brows.
Now, as they roll th' harmonic tide along,
As swells on virtue's ear the lofty song,
Entranc'd, thou tread'st the star-emblazon'd road,
To where the pure in heart behold their God."

Howard's personal appearance was by no means prepossessing, but rather the contrary. In his smile, however, there was an indescribable sweetness and benevolence, which rendered his address very interesting, and sometimes extremely engaging. He was below the middle stature, very thin, with a pale, and somewhat sallow complexion. His features were large, his eye keen and penetrating, and his whole countenance such as indicated much intelligence, energy, and decision. In conversation with stran-

gers, he was somewhat reserved; but all this disappeared in the social circle, where he would often relate many most interesting anecdotes respecting his journeys. To the weaker sex his manners were polite and engaging. He was much delighted with the company of intelligent virtuous females, towards whom his conduct was most respectful and pleasing. His dress was stiff and singular, giving him the appearance of a foreign, rather than of an English gentleman. His whole deportment showed that what he undertook he executed with promptness and dispatch. Adverting to this trait in his character, it was well said of him, "Give him a hint of any improvement in the work he was performing, or of any new object to be attained, and while you might imagine he would be deliberating about it, you were surprised to find it was done."

Never was an individual more distinguished for decision of character. "In this respect," says Foster, in his unrivalled Essays, "he never has been, nor ever will be exceeded. The energy of his determination was so great, that if, instead of being habitual, it had been shown only for a short time, on particular occasions, it would have appeared a vehement impetuosity; but by being unintermitted, it had an equability of manner which scarcely appeared to exceed the tone of calm constancy. So totally reverse was it of any thing like turbulence or agitation, it was the calmness of intensity kept uniform by the nature of the human mind, forbidding it to be more, and by the character of the individual, forbidding it to be less. The habitual passion of his mind was a pitch of excitement, and impulsion almost equal to the temporary extremes and paroxysms of common minds: as a great river in its customary state, is equal to a small or moderate sized one, when swelled to a torrent. The moment of finishing his plans in deliberation, and commencing them in action, was the

same. I wonder what must have been the amount of that bribe, in emolument or pleasure, that would have detained him a week inactive after their final adjustment. The law which carries water down a declivity, was not more unconquerable and invariable than the determination of his feelings towards the main object. The importance of this object held his faculties in a state of determination, which was too rigid to be effected by lighter interests, and on which, therefore, the beauties of nature and of art had no power. He had no leisure feeling which he could spare to be diverted among the innumerable varieties of the extensive countries which he traversed: his subordinate feelings nearly lost all their separate existence and operation, by falling into the grander. There have not been wanting trivial minds to mark this as a fault on his character: but the mere man of taste ought to be silent before such a man as Howard; he is above their sphere of judgment. The invisible spirits who fulfil their commission of philanthropy among mortals, do not care about pictures, statues, or sumptuous buildings; no more did he, when the time in which he must have inspected them would have been taken from the work to which he had consecrated his life. The curiosity he might feel was compelled to wait till the hour should arrive when its gratification could be presented by conscience (which kept a scrupulous charge of all his time) as the duty of that hour. If he was still, at every hour when it came, fated to feel the attractions of the fine arts but the second claim, they might be sure of their revenge; for no other person will ever visit Rome under such a despotic acknowledged rule of duty, as to refuse himself time for surveying the magnificence of its ruins; such a sin against taste, is very far beyond the reach of common saintship to commit. It implied an inconceivable severity of conviction that he had one thing to do, and that

he who would do some great thing in this short life, must apply himself to the work with such a concentration of his forces, as, to idle spectators who live only to amuse themselves, looks like insanity. His attention was so strongly and tenaciously fixed on his object, that even in the greatest distance, as the Egyptian pyramids appear to travellers, it appeared to him with a luminous distinctness, as if it had been nigh and beguiled the toilsome length of labour and enterprise by which he was to reach it. So conspicuous was it before him, that not a step diverted from the direction, and every movement and every day was an approximation. As his memory referred every thing he did and thought to the end, and as his exertion did not relax for a moment, he made the trial,—so seldom made,—what is the utmost effects which may be granted to the last possible efforts of a human agent; and, therefore, what he did not accomplish, he might conclude to be placed beyond the sphere of mortal activity, and calmly leave it to Providence."

Nothing can be more just and striking than the above beautiful delineation of Howard's unswerving determination to carry into effect what he had undertaken. But it must not be imagined (nor did Mr. Foster imagine) that, because Howard stopped not in his course to inspect the splendid monuments of science, in the countries through which he passed, that he was destitute of a taste for the fine arts. The very reverse was the case; and his house at Cardington was better filled with paintings and drawings than almost any gentleman's of the same size. But the fact was, he was so entirely devoted to the accomplishment of his most benevolent object, as to deny himself every gratification that would, in the slightest degree, impede its execution, or suspend its completion. For this he cheerfully forsook all the endearments of home—the sweets of rural retire-

ment, in a most lovely spot, to which he was most ardently attached—the society of a circle of friends whom he sincerely loved, and the pursuit of science, for which he had a prevailing taste. Cowper in his poem on "Charity," adverting to the sacrifices made by Howard, thus sings:—

"I may alarm thee, but I fear the shame
(Charity chosen as my theme and aim)
I must incur, forgetting Howard's name.
Blest with all wealth can give thee, to resign
Joys doubly sweet to feelings quick as thine;
To quit the bliss thy rural scenes bestow,
To seek a nobler, amidst scenes of woe;
To traverse seas, range kingdoms, and bring home,
Not the proud monuments of Greece or Rome;
But knowledge, such as only dungeons teach,
And only sympathy like thine could reach;
That grief, sequestered from the public stage,
Might smooth her features and enjoy her cage;
Speaks a divine ambition, and a zeal,
The boldest patriots might be proud to feel.
Oh, that the voice of clamour and debate,
That pleads for peace, till it disturbs the state,
Were hush'd in favour of thy generous plea—
The poor thy clients, and heaven's smile thy fee!"

To this elegant poetic eulogy we add the following most eloquent one, delivered by Burke in one of his unrivalled speeches—as just as it is glowing and beautiful. "The labours and writings of Howard have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has visited all Europe—not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples—not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur; nor to form a scale of the curiosity of modern arts—not to collect medals, or to collate manuscripts; but to dive into the depths of dungeons—to plunge into the infection of hospitals—to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain—to take the guage and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt—to remember the forgotten—to attend to the neglected—to visit the forsaken, and to compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. His plan is original; as full of genius as it is

of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery: a circumnavigation of charity; already the benefit of his labour is felt, more or less, in every country. I hope he will yet anticipate his final reward, by seeing all its effects fully realized in his own."

Howard possessed the keenest sensibility. The scenes of wretchedness and misery which he witnessed invariably gave him pain; and nothing but an overwhelming sense of duty could have prompted him to pursue a course which so repeatedly brought them before him. Tears of pity would start into his eyes at the mere relation of victims of inhumanity he had visited; and indignation would flash from them, while he recounted deeds of oppression and cruelty he had seen; but with all this he had the most perfect self-command. He never allowed his feelings, even when they were the most agitated, to hurry him into imprudent, intemperate, or bitter remarks. In administering reproof, which he on no occasion failed to do, to kings as well as gaolers, when he thought it proper, he did it with so much benignity, with such sweetness and tenderness, and with such a happy mixture of pity for the unhappy objects of his compassion, that it could not possibly give offence. In circumstances the most irritating, his prudence never forsook him, nor was he ever thrown off his guard. With coolness and intrepidity he steadily pursued the object he had in view, by whatever dangers it was beset: what might be the result to himself, never seemed to have had the least weight in his deliberations: to follow the leadings of Providence was the sole object of his solicitude, from this no peril could ever induce him to shrink; his self-denial was equal to his self-controul. He never allowed himself the slightest self-indulgence that was in any way likely to impede the progress of his great work. Like the Redeemer, in whose

footsteps it was his highest ambition to walk, he seemed to feel that "his meat and his drink was to do the will of God." His most abstemious habits fitted him to encounter the hardships, and to endure the toils of travelling near sixty thousand miles, much of it amidst the rigours of winter, through tracts the most dangerous, and over roads almost impassable. Such was his benevolence, that he expended, in the prosecution of his glorious object, not less than thirty thousand pounds. None could imagine for a moment, that he refrained from self-indulgence from mercenary motives; his object evidently was to qualify himself for his labours. To prevent his receiving any injury by exposure to a cold damp atmosphere, he plunged himself daily, where it was convenient, into a cold bath; and when he could not do this, he would sometimes lay himself down for a time between two damped sheets. For the same reason he never permitted his linen to be aired; and he thought it an unnecessary practice in all cases. That he was justifiable in acting with such extreme rigour, we pretend not to assert; but that his motives were pure we are assured. Perhaps a less determined self-denial would not have sufficed for the accomplishment of his great object.

The character of Howard's mind eminently fitted him for the arduous task he had undertaken. His judgment was sound, clear, and correct, rather than profound; qualifying him more for curious and accurate detail, than for philosophical research. "He had not in a high degree," says Dr. Aikin, "that extensive comprehension, and faculty of generalizing, which is said to distinguish a man of genius. He possessed qualities more for laborious accuracy, and minute examination. These were best for one who was to lead the way in researches, where all before was ignorance and confusion. Of this peculiarity Howard was himself aware. With his characteristic

modesty, he would frequently remark, "I am the plodder who collect materials for men of genius."

To literary attainments Howard made no pretensions. His early education had evidently been much neglected. Writing did not appear to have been with him a favourite employment; but rather the reverse. He would never have been an author had it not been essential to the accomplishment of his plan. The sole design of his works was to bring to light information respecting an unhappy and unthought-of portion of suffering humanity; which, but for his exertion, must probably ever have remained unknown. But the cast of his mind showed itself to be masculine and naturally strong, by his entire avoidance of that inflated style in which little minds, in proportion as they are uncultivated, are sure to indulge. He expressed his thoughts with a natural simplicity; and the chief blemishes in his writings were orthographical.

Without in the slightest degree descending from the dignity becoming Howard's rank in life, he was ever accessible to the poor and the unfortunate. These were sure to find in him a most kind friend. He inculcated constantly the cultivation of industrious and frugal habits: he never encouraged idleness in his own domestics; but expected from them prompt obedience to his commands. These were on no occasion unreasonable; but were always peremptorily, though not harshly given. He suffered nothing that looked like designed neglect or inattention to pass uncensured; but his censure was invariably given with tenderness, making ample allowances for human weakness and imperfection. He took a lively interest in the welfare of his tenants, and was ever pleased to hear of their prosperity. He expressed his approbation of conduct that pleased him, by the distribution of suitable rewards, and his displeasure by withholding them.

No one ever formed a more correct estimate of the proper use of wealth than Howard. The moderate expenditure of his establishment would have enabled him with ease to accumulate a large fortune; but he disdained to apply it to purposes thus ignoble. He regarded it as given him to employ for the benefit of others, much more than for his own gratification; considering that all he possessed came from God, and that he was rather to be considered as the steward entrusted with its distribution, than as its rightful owner.

In all his conduct he was influenced by principles purely Christian. He distributed his wealth for purposes of benevolence, not because he undervalued it, or affected to despise it, as some have foolishly done. On the contrary, he looked upon it as a distinguished blessing; and was grateful for its bestowment, because it enabled him to do a greater amount of good than without it he could possibly have effected. Love to the Redeemer was the animating principle of all his conduct. He ever seemed to feel the full force of the apostle's reasoning: "We thus judge that if one died for all, then were all dead; and that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but to him that died for them, and rose again." The sentiment happily expressed in the following lines seems most entirely to have regulated his conduct:—

> "Wealth, honour, pleasure, and what else
> This short-enduring world can give,
> Tempt as ye will, my soul repels,
> To Christ alone resolved to live."

To individuals not acquainted with the sacrifices which Christianity requires us to make, nor with the noble feelings which it enkindles in the breast of those who feel its power, Howard's conduct must appear singular. A lady who highly esteemed him, once expressed surprise that he should interest him-

self so much on behalf of characters so depraved and vicious as prisoners and convicts mostly were. "I do so," said he, "because I consider that had it not been for Divine grace, my conduct might have been as profligate and as vile as theirs." "You must," said the same lady, "have witnessed many distressing and heart-rending scenes in the course of your travels." "I have indeed, madam," he replied, with a voice of the tenderest sympathy, "seen many more objects of misery than I could possibly relieve, over whom it grieved me that I could only drop a tear of pity."

The secret of Howard's extraordinary philanthropy lay in the depth of his piety;—in that exquisite combination of grace with true elevation of mind, so rarely to be found; produced only by the cordial surrender of the heart to Christ, and the constant recognition of the Divine presence, through the aid of the Holy Spirit. This deep piety was not an evanescent feeling, seen only on public or extraordinary occasions; it was a steady principle, diffusing itself through every part of his conduct, private and public, at home or abroad. Dr. Chalmers, in one of his happiest flights of eloquence, thus beautifully describes it:—"I can conceive of an individual, the aspiring of whose heart for the good of men knows no limitations, whose longings and whose conceptions on this subject overleap all the barriers of geography; who, looking on himself as a brother of the species, links every spare energy which belongs to him with the cause of its melioration; who can embrace within the grasp of his ample desires the whole family of mankind; and who, in obedience to a heaven-born movement of principle within him, separates himself to some big and busy enterprise, which is to tell on the moral destinies of the world. Could such a man mix up the softenings of private virtue, with the habit of so sublime a

comprehension; could he, amid those magnificent darings of thought and of action, by the mildness of his benignant eye, still continue to cheer the retreat of his family, and to spread the charm and the sacredness of piety among all its members; could he even mingle himself in all the gentleness of a soothed and smiling heart, with the playfulness of his children: and also find strength to shed the blessings of his presence, and his counsels, over the vicinity around him; would not the combination of so much grace, with so much loftiness, only serve the more to aggrandize him? Would you not pronounce him to be the fairest specimen of our nature, who could so call out all your tenderness, while he challenged and compelled all your veneration? Were I in search of that fine union of grace and of greatness, in virtue of which the enlightened Christian can at once find room in his bosom for the concerns of universal humanity, and for the play of kindliness towards every individual he met with, I could nowhere more readily expect to find it than with the worthies of our own land. The Howard of a former generation, who paced Europe in quest of unseen and forgotten wretchedness; or in such men as Wilberforce, who lifted his unwearied voice against the biggest outrage ever practised in our nation, till he wrought its extermination."

"Breathe all thy minstrelsy, immortal harp!
Breath numbers warm with love, while I rehearse—
Delightful theme, resembling most the songs
Which, day and night, are sung before the Lamb!—
Thy praise, O Charity! Let me record
His worth, the man of great benevolence,
Who pressed thee closely to his glowing heart,
And to thy gentle bidding made his feet
Swift minister. Of all mankind, his soul
Was most in harmony with heaven, as one
Sole family of brothers, sisters, friends.
He needed not a law of state, to force
Grudging submission to the law of God.
The law of love was in his heart alive:
What he possessed he counted not his own;
But, like a faithful steward in a house
Of public alms, what freely he received

He freely gave, distributing to all.
Nor did he wait till at his door the voice
Of supplication came; but went abroad,
With foot as silent as the starry dews,
In search of misery that pined unseen,
And would not ask. And who can tell what sights
He saw! what groans he heard in that cold world
Below! where sin, in league with gloomy death,
Marched daily through the length and breadth of all
The land, wasting at will, and making earth,
Fair earth! a lazar-house, a dungeon dark;
Where disappointment fed on ruined hope,
Where guilt, worn out, leaned on the triple edge
Of want, remorse, despair; where cruelty
Reached forth a cup of wormwood to the lips
Of sorrow, that to deeper sorrow wailed;
Where mockery, and disease, and poverty,
Met miserable age, erewhile sore bent
With his own burden; where the arrowy winds
Of winter pierced the naked orphan babe,
And chilled the mother's heart, who had no home;
And where, alas! in midtime of his day,
The honest man, robbed by some villain's hand
Or with long sickness pale, and paler yet
With want and hunger, oft drank bitter draughts
Of his own tears, and had no bread to eat.
Oh, who can tell what sights he saw, what shapes
Of wretchedness! or who describe what smiles
Of gratitude illumed the face of woe,
While from his hand he gave the bounty forth.
The prison-house of guilt, and all the abodes
Of unprovided helplessness, revived
As on them looked the sunny messenger
Of charity. By angels 'tended still,
Who marked his deeds, and wrote them in the book
Of God's remembrance: careless he to be
Observed of men, or have each mite bestowed
Recorded punctually, with name and place,
In every bill of news. Pleased to do good,
He gave, and sought no more, nor questioned much,
Nor reasoned who deserved: for well he knew
The face of need." *Pollock.*

Howard's religious sentiments were orthodox. He was what is usually termed a moderate Calvinist. But it is remarkable that in his letters and memorandums the doctrines of predestination and final perseverance are seldom introduced, and when they are it is with studied caution. Not the slightest ground is there for the calumny attempted to be cast on his character by some individuals—that he was so rigid a predestinarian as to have pursued his object more like a Mahometan fatalist, than like one who was acting

from a rational conviction of its attainability. The truth is, as Mr. Brown well remarks, "Howard never acted, on any occasion, as though he had been irresistibly compelled so to do. All his designs were the subject of most mature deliberation, and often of much friendly consultation. He knew that the course he proposed to pursue was one of great risk and danger. He felt no enthusiastic persuasion that he should be miraculously preserved; though he enjoyed a delightful conviction that God would protect him while pursuing what he conceived to be the path of duty, by whatever dangers that path might be beset. "Being in the way of duty, I fear no evil," was the language he invariably held, and the principle on which he invariably acted. A principle as scriptural as it is noble and supporting.

Howard was a dissenter of the Independent denomination; but so liberal were his views that he could in no respect be called a sectarian. No individual could possibly have been less narrow-minded. He never scrupled to conform to the mode of worship practised in our national church, when circumstances required it. He was always delighted to commune with those whom he believed to be Christians, to whatever church they belonged. Bigotry and intolerance he ever held in utter abhorrence. He regarded with brotherly love all of every community, and of every country in whom he discovered a Christian spirit. Hence the affectionate attachment he felt for many Roman Catholics, with whose Christian sympathy and benevolence he expressed himself much delighted, though he considered their system as a strange compound of superstition and error; often leading to results fatally pernicious and dangerous. He did not, however, think it a wise measure, even could it have been effected, to attempt at once the entire extinction of this corrupt church. Abuses of so formidable a character as were connected with

this spiritual hierarchy, arising almost inevitably from its long-continued existence, he knew had so linked themselves with the interests of humanity, that it would be cruel, in many cases, rashly and suddenly to root them up. He advocated mild and gentle measures, and the gradual abolition of these evils. "Nor did the principles of Protestant dissent, in which he had been educated," says Mr. Brown, "induce him to view with any complacency that hasty dissolution of the monasteries and convents, which formed one of those sweeping measures of reform pursued by Joseph the Second of Germany, in his dominions. He pitied the aged inmates, male and female, of these quiet abodes, who were driven from their beloved retreats, into the wide world, with a very slender, and often ill-paid pittance, for their support. 'Why might not these,' he would say, 'be suffered gradually to die away, and be transplanted from one religious house to another, as their numbers lessened.'"

That Howard's character was unspotted by a single imperfection it would be absurd to assert. He felt, and sincerely bewailed in himself the workings of that evil which is common to our fallen nature. This it was that made him shrink into nothing in his own estimation, and led him to dread, more than any thing, the honour which was most justly his due. But so habitually watchful was he over his own spirit; with so godly a jealousy did he scrutinize his own conduct; so perfect was the command over himself he had attained; and so completely did he appear to have imbibed the very spirit of Christianity, that even those frailties which are inseparable from our corrupt nature, were not externally visible, and could be known to exist only by himself. John Prole, Howard's faithful, intelligent domestic, who had been with him all his life, and could not fail to know him most intimately, in a short

address which, after Howard's death, he printed for the use of his children, thus records his humble, but honest views of his lamented master's worth :—"I have lost my much-esteemed master a little more than two years and a half; in whose service I enjoyed all the happiness that a rational mind could wish. My sincere desire and earnest prayer is, that you, my children, may make it your study to copy his example; especially his diligence and activity in promoting the honour and glory of God, and the real good of mankind. What an example has he left! No time was lost by him; every moment was improved for the most valuable purposes. He indulged in no parade of equipage nor outward show, nor superfluities in eating and drinking; but strictly abstained from every thing that was in the least likely to obstruct him in the performance of his duty as a rational immortal being, who was conscious he should be called to give an account of the manner in which he had improved the talents with which he had been endowed by his gracious Creator. Let us endeavour to imitate his conduct; ever remembering, that in a little time we shall have to render a strict account of all, especially of our spiritual gifts, and opportunities of religious improvement."

It must be acknowledged that there was in Howard some appearance of eccentricity: but much of this was perhaps owing to the very singular, though most useful course of action he pursued. His eccentricities, however, seemed to be less the result of a love of singularity, than of a conscientious desire to do good. His whole life shows what may be effected by an individual, who calmly and steadily pursues one object. We are not required to follow him in precisely the same path he so nobly trod;—though it would well become statesmen, and individuals of rank, occasionally to visit the unhappy, and too much forgotten prisoner, in his dark and loathsome cell,

to make enquiries how far the confinement he is suffering is likely to promote his reformation;—but we are required to cultivate the same spirit, the same diligence, the same activity, and the same self-denial. The time allotted us for exertion is short; the work we have to do is most important; the difficulties we have to surmount, arising mostly from our own waywardness, are great; the enemies we have to encounter, in pursuing a virtuous course of action, are wily and formidable. How needful then is it that we should exert ourselves with the utmost vigilance, and work while it is day, remembering that the night cometh when no man can work. It becomes us not to spend our time, and waste our energies, in looking at the work to be accomplished, and the difficulties to be surmounted. Still more improper is it that we should refuse to do any thing, because we cannot achieve some splendid work: rather let us enter at once on the course of honourable and useful exertion which providence has allotted us, whatever be our sphere of life. None can claim exemption from obligations to activity in the cause of benevolence. All are bound, according to their ability, to loose the bonds of wickedness; to undo the heavy burden; to let the oppressed go free; to break every yoke; to deal their bread to the hungry; to bring the poor, and them that are cast out, to their house, and when they see the naked, to cover them. If we thus draw out our soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall our light rise in obscurity, and our darkness be as the noonday. The Lord shall be our guide continually, and satisfy our soul in drought, and make fat our bones; and we shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring whose waters fail not.

It is impossible to calculate the amount of good effected by Howard's individual exertions. Had he looked upon it in the outset, he would never have

imagined it possible that any one, much less himself, could have travelled so many miles, and endured so much fatigue, in so short a time. But he wisely entered at once on the course of action he intended to pursue; and proceeding steadily onwards, not permitting his attention to be diverted from his purpose by any consideration, he achieved a work that will immortalize his name, as one of the greatest benefactors of mankind. Before unwearied diligence and determined perseverance all difficulties, in all cases, must disappear. Nothing can defeat the purposes of a man who steadily, humbly relying on Divine aid, resolves to pursue a virtuous and honourable course of useful action; and no design can be more magnanimous.

Previous to Howard's exertions most of our prisons were in a state the most wretched, insecure, ill-constructed, and ill-managed; a reproach to the magistrates, and a national disgrace. Felons, debtors, men and women, individuals for their first offence, often only for a misdemeanour, those who were known to be incorrigible villains, the sick and the healthy, and even the lunatic were crowded together in the same promiscuous assemblage. The poor unhappy beings confined in these receptacles of misery, were utterly disregarded, their health destroyed, their morals vitiated; treated as if they had been a race of creatures of another species, instead of being our brethren, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh. Much to Howard's satisfaction, his exposure of these evils led to the almost simultaneous erection of new prisons in nearly every county; many of which were on an excellent construction. Had no other effects followed his exertions, the benefits of his labours would have been incalculable; but public sympathy for the hitherto forgotten prisoner was roused into action, and many flagrant abuses in prison discipline were corrected. It was Howard's hope,

that after his death some individual of a kindred spirit would have followed up his labours, till they were crowned with complete success: unhappily this was not the case, until after the lapse of many years that most benevolent lady, Mrs. Fry, commenced her exertions, which, though on a limited scale, compared with those of her predecessor, have been most useful. Since that time some others have caught the same spirit. The Society for Inquiry into Prison Discipline has done much to enlighten the public mind on the subject, and would have done more, had the information it has collected been more extensively circulated. It is matter of deep regret, that this excellent society has hitherto pursued its most Christian career more as if it courted concealment than publicity. Very much, however, remains yet to be done in our own prisons. Evils of the most flagrantly pernicious character still exist unremoved.

In this reforming age, it is hoped, that as nothing needs reformation more than the abuses in our prisons, some decided steps will be taken by the British Parliament, to establish a system of prison discipline worthy of an enlightened nation. Mr. Buxton, in his work on this subject, published in 1818, a work which well deserves the attention of every legislator, clearly proves that the most flagrant evils then existed; the scenes he witnessed on inspecting some prisons in London were most distressing: since that time little comparatively has been done to remedy the evils. The most important objects to be attained, are the classification and separation of the prisoners: the treatment of these unhappy individuals as beings susceptible of the same feelings with ourselves; showing them that their present degradation is owing to their own misconduct; and convincing them that we continue them under restraint, as much to promote their future welfare as to punish them for their past conduct: the careful inculcation of religious instruc-

tion, furnishing every prisoner with a Bible, and a few judicious compilations of Christian truth, written with the greatest simplicity, and without the slightest sectarian bias: the provision of constant employment for all the prisoners, suited to their ages, characters, and circumstances; not overworking any, especially the young and feeble: forming proper rules for their conduct, to be strictly but not harshly enforced.

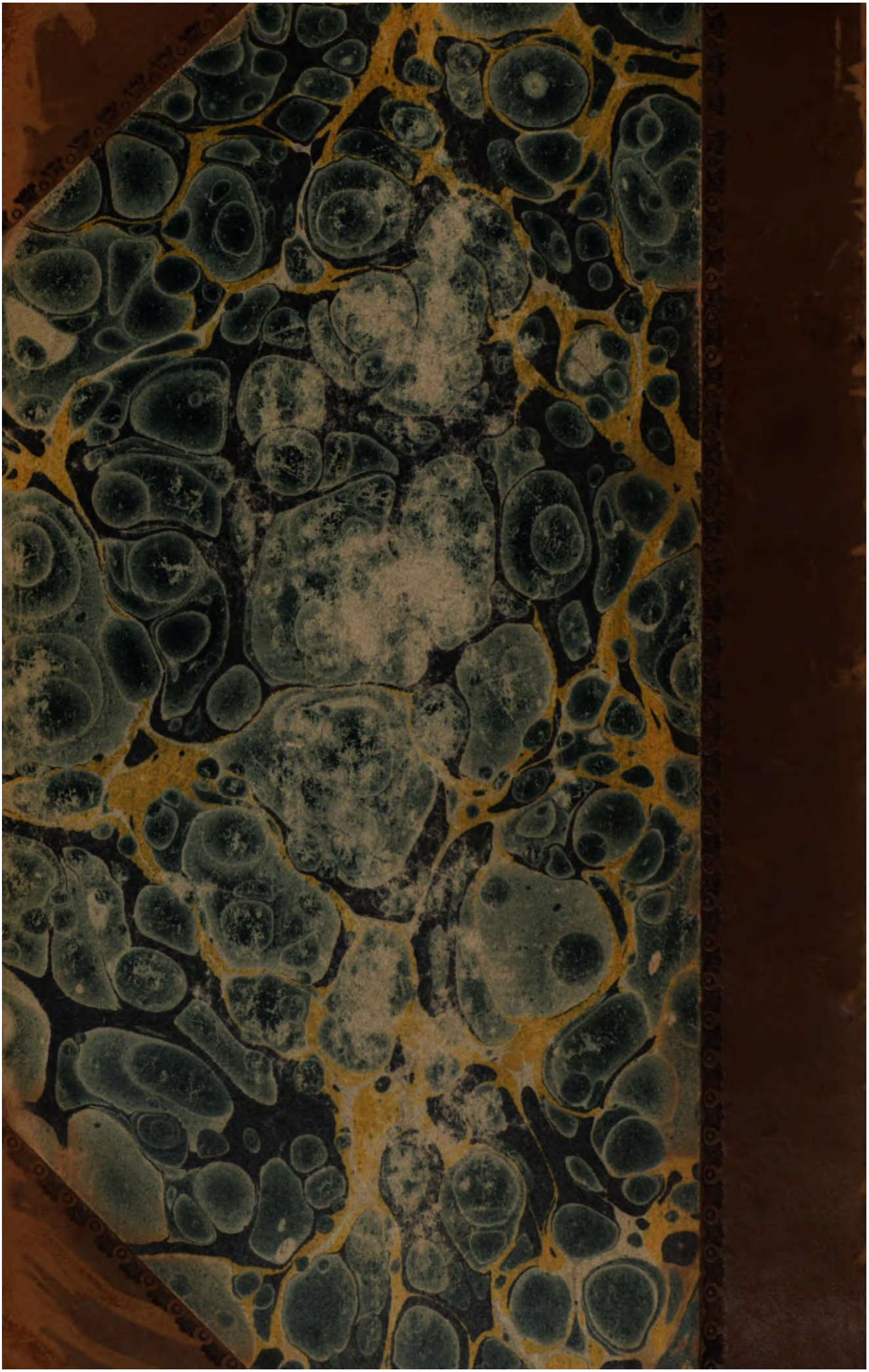
A proper classification of prisoners is, perhaps, the most important measure of all. This can hardly be extended too far: until this has been effected, it is almost useless attempting to do any thing else, as a good writer on the subject has well observed:— "It is when the magistrate has done his duty in this respect, that the minister of the gospel will find himself at liberty to act. In a prison where revelry and mirth abound, what place can there be for most grave and sober counsel? Where there exists unreserved intercourse among criminals of every species and degree, who by this means not only render each other callous and insensible to every good impression, but are further strengthened in their wickedness by the daily encouragement they receive from the visits of their profligate companions who are at large, what effect can be hoped for from the exhortations of a spiritual instructor? Where obscenity, oaths, and blasphemy reign uncontrolled, what persuasive power will be able to insinuate the language of penitence and prayer? How shall the passions be subdued when the imprisoned criminal, even sometimes when on the very precipice of eternity, is allowed to indulge in sensuality, and to riot in luxurious gratifications, supplied from the contributions of his worthless associates, or procured by the spoils of his own villany?"

Next to classification, constant and suitable employment is of the utmost importance. "What hope can there be," as the above writer very properly ob-

serves, " of producing right feelings, while the delinquent is condemned to absolute inactivity for hours and weeks together?" " I soon found," says the excellent Mrs. Fry, in her first visits to Newgate, " that nothing could be done, or was worth attempting, for the reformation of the women, without constant employment: the idle were confirmed in their indolence, and those who had been industrious lost their good habits. In short, they seemed to have been placed there to have the work of corruption completed; and subsequent examination discovered to me, that many, who before their committal were almost innocent, turned out afterwards, when they were liberated, depraved and profligate to the last degree."

To classification and labour, a regular course of religious instruction is essential in a perfect system of prison discipline. Were proper attention paid to these three things, perhaps they would insure the correction of all minor abuses. One great advantage would arise from the entire prohibition of all books of an immoral or doubtful tendency; and the formation, in every prison, of a select library, consisting of works of an interesting character, that should all have a most decidedly religious tendency. " Robinson's Scripture Characters," a well-selected assortment of anecdotes, with the lives of some holy and good men might be introduced. To all of which the prisoners should have access through the governor. But a work of so great a magnitude is a national measure, and ought to be carried into effect by the legislature. Perhaps the most useful step that could be taken to ensure permanent attention to this very important department of civil polity, would be the appointment of a limited, but sufficient number of commissioners, say not more than four or six, who, in addition to a moderate salary, should be allowed their travelling expenses. They would require to

be experienced men, of sound understandings, who could give the most satisfactory testimonials as to their humanity. It should be their duty to inspect each prison in their district, at least twice in the year, at intervals of some months apart; which they should do, not at a fixed or appointed time, but when, and as frequently as in their judgments appeared most desirable. They should be required to make a report of their labours to the grand jury at the assizes in every county, recommending the correction of such abuses as existed in any of the prisons, and accompanying their recommendation with remarks to show the best method of carrying them into effect. The commissioners themselves should meet once a year in London, to consult with each other on the subject, and to draw up a joint report of their proceedings; which should be printed at the expense of the government, and a copy sent to each member of both houses of parliament, and to the twelve judges. This would lead to the correction of abuses in our prisons, and to the establishment, ere long, of a well-regulated, uniform, and, it may be hoped, permanent system of prison discipline; and at a very moderate expense would wipe off that national disgrace which attaches to us for our inattention to this subject.

THE END.

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