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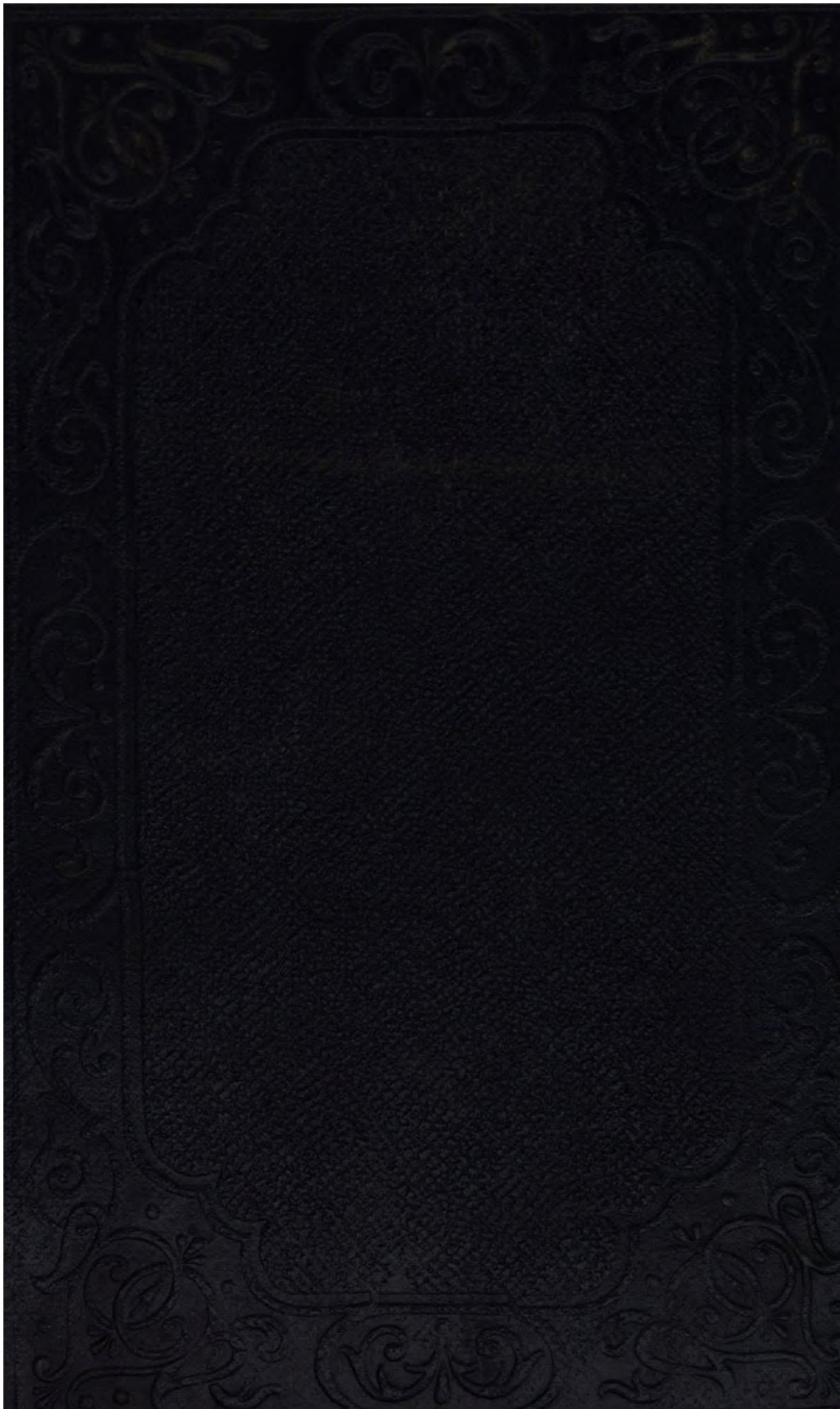
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THE LIFE
OF
JOHN HOWARD,
THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Abridged from the Life of Howard, by

THE REV. J. FIELD, M.A.

“ Health, time, powers of mind, worldly possessions, are from God.—Do I
consecrate them all to Him?—So help me, O my GOD!”—HOWARD.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following Life of John Howard is abridged from the Life of Howard, with the addition of some Letters extracted from the Correspondence of John Howard, by the Rev. J. Field.*

Care has been taken to preserve all, or nearly all, the documentary evidence comprised in these volumes. It is always to be remembered, that the Life of such a person as Howard must be one of documents and details.

The general assertion of his religious principles will produce but a faint impression of his character, unless accompanied with some of his own notes and memoranda, of which he left so many behind him. The mere enume-

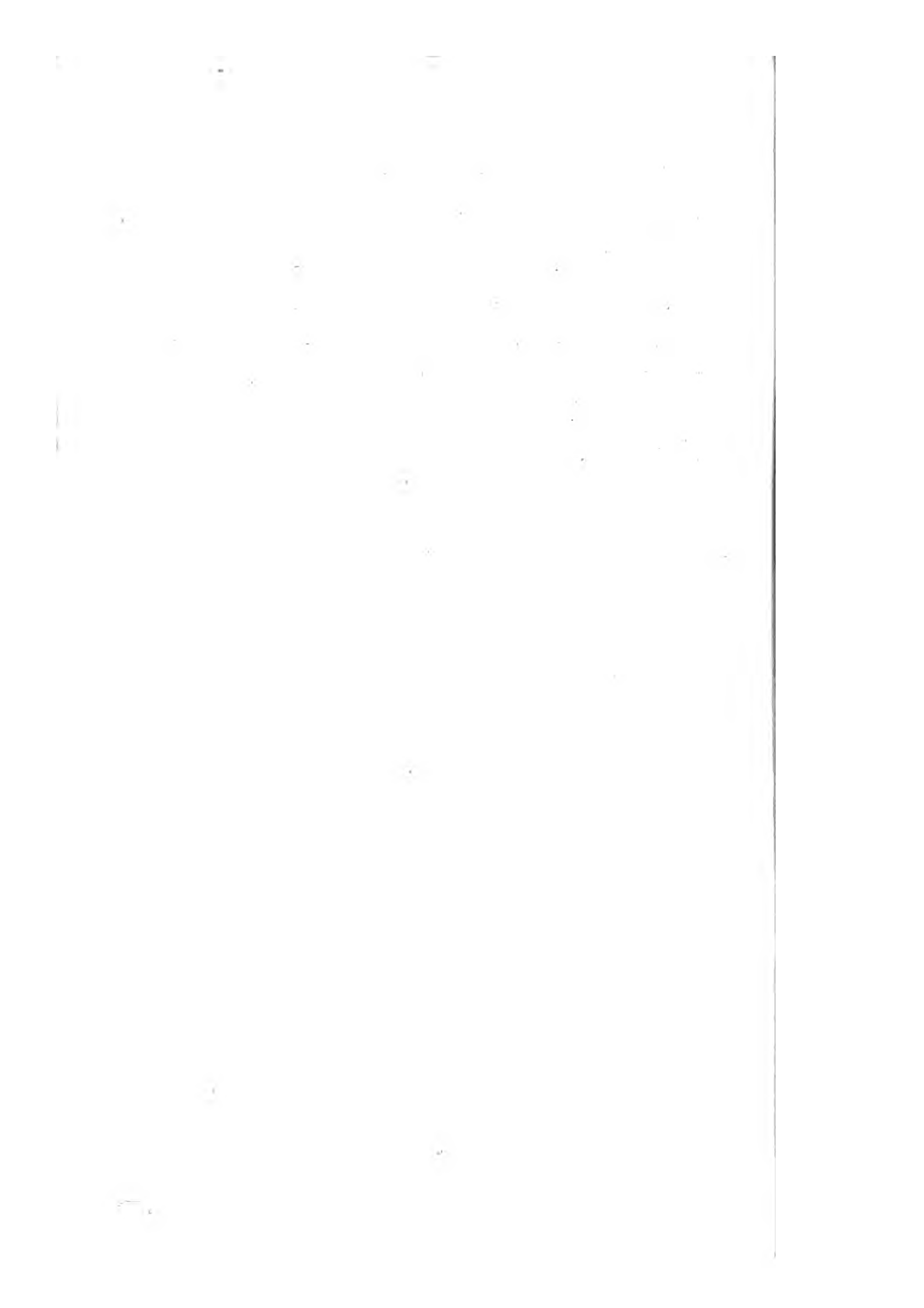
* "The Life of John Howard." By the Rev. J. Field, M.A. London, 1850.

"Correspondence of John Howard." Edited by the Rev. J. Field. London, 1855.

ration of the prisons visited, and the statement that these were miserable and corrupt, will convey to the reader little idea of the degree of their wretchedness, or of the extent and value of Howard's labours. To estimate these aright, we must enter into the details of the subject; and if these details are painful and shocking, they are not the less instructive. We need not shrink from setting forth those plain statements, which, under God, produced so striking a reformation in the worst and most disgraceful of our national institutions.

It is well to keep alive the memory of a Great and Good Man, and to this title John Howard may not unfairly lay claim; but besides the honour justly rendered to the individual, the particulars of his life will show what evils may be around us, and in the midst of us, unknown, or at least only half known, even by those whose business it is to correct them. They will teach us that it is our duty, not patiently to acquiesce in the social evils of which we are half conscious, but fearlessly to search them out with the purpose of doing our part towards their removal. They will exhibit

the true way both of discovering and redressing such evils—viz., by patient, laborious, systematic, and continued efforts, prompted by the love of God and man, and based upon the humble imitation of His example who “Himself bore our infirmities and carried our sicknesses.”



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L I F E
OF
J O H N H O W A R D.

CHAPTER I.

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HOWARD'S DEATH.

THE name of John Howard is one which will be for ever honoured by all who know how to estimate the exertions of devoted and energetic men directed to the alleviation of human suffering.

The beautiful words of Scripture, "I was sick and in prison and ye visited me," may well occur to us when we read the history of one who possessed, perhaps, as just a claim as any Englishman who ever lived to the appellation of a Christian Philanthropist.

John Howard was the son of a London upholsterer, who had acquired considerable property

1726. by his trade. He was born at Enfield on September 2, 1726. His mother died during his infancy. He was naturally of a weak constitution; and although educated at a respectable school, does not appear to have been at all remarkable for his literary attainments. In after years he used frequently to lament the defects of his education. At the age of sixteen, young Howard was bound apprentice to a wholesale grocer in Watling-street, London. Shortly after this his father died, leaving his son an ample fortune, including an estate at Cardington in Bedfordshire, and a house at Clapton, where the family had of late resided. Young Howard was (according to his father's will) not to have the full control of the property until his twenty-fourth year. The executors, however, intrusted him at once with the management of it to a considerable extent.

1743. Howard's first occupation in this capacity was the superintending the repairs of his father's late residence at Clapton. For this purpose he visited it every other day; and, connected with these visits, there is an anecdote not unworthy of notice:—"An old man who had been gardener to Mr. Howard the father for many years, and who continued in that situation until the son let the house, would, in the year 1790, when he had attained the age of ninety, take pleasure in relating, as an instance of his young master's punctuality and goodness of disposition, that he

never failed to be at the long buttressed wall, which separated the garden from the road, just as the baker's cart was going past, when he would purchase a loaf, throw it over the wall, and on entering the garden, good-humouredly would say, 'Harry, look among the cabbages, you will find something for your family.'"*

The appointed term of apprenticeship was not yet completed, but Howard, on coming of age, purchased the remainder of his time, and set out upon a tour through France and Italy. Of his travels at this time some memorials were traceable in after years, in the pictures and other works of art which adorned his seat at Cardington. These sufficiently prove him to have been by no means deficient in taste, although in his subsequent travels higher objects engaged his attention.

Howard's continental tour did not occupy longer than one or two years. On 1745. his return, the delicate state of his health induced him to take lodgings at Stoke Newington, where he passed his days in agreeable and useful reading, living strictly by rule, in order to the restoration of his strength. The subjects of his study were the less abstruse branches of Natural Philosophy, and the theory of medicine. From the latter especially he derived great and permanent advantage. It enabled him in after years to adopt the necessary precautions for his own health when

* Brown's Life, p. 12.

visiting the numerous prisons and hospitals in which disease so terribly prevailed, and qualified him to prescribe for, and to be of essential service to many sufferers. At this time he was put upon a rigorous regimen of diet, which laid the foundation of that abstemiousness for which he was afterwards remarkable.

This illness had a marked effect in confirming his religious principles. He had been educated as a Nonconformist, and never abandoned the opinions in which he had been brought up. But these did not prevent him from joining in the public services of the Church, and even receiving the Holy Communion at the hands of her ministers. It is plain from his writings that he assented to the leading doctrines of religion as contained in the Creeds, and that his belief in them was with him an actuating principle throughout his life. He was not merely charitable and liberal, but he based his charity upon the words of our Lord Jesus : " It is more blessed to give than to receive."

He soon removed from his first lodgings to the house of Mrs. Lardeau (or Loidoire), a widow of small independent property residing in Church Street, Newington.

Here he was ere long attacked with a severe and lingering sickness, during which the constant and kind attention of his landlady formed a contrast to the indifference and neglect which he had

experienced in his former residence. Howard's life was preserved, and, strange as it may appear, he no sooner regained health than, actuated probably by motives of gratitude, he proposed to marry this lady, although her years numbered more than double his own, and she was very sickly. It was to no purpose that the prudence of the widow prompted a refusal. Howard pressed his suit; and, in 1752, in his twenty-fifth year, the marriage was celebrated. It ^{1752.} appears that he lived happily with her about three years, at the end of which she died, when his regret for her loss was sincere, and he ever afterwards spoke of her in terms of affection and respect.

CHAPTER II.

EMBARKS FOR LISBON.—CAPTURED BY FRENCH PRIVATEER.—
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1756. BEING now a widower, Howard resolved to travel, intending to go to Lisbon, which had recently been visited by the terrible earthquake, the history of which is so well known. He embarked for Portugal in 1756, in a packet called the "Hanover," which had not made much progress before it was captured by a French privateer, and he became a prisoner of war. His captors treated him with great cruelty; for, after having been kept forty hours without food or water, he was carried into Brest, and confined with the other prisoners in the castle of that place. Here his hardships were not at all diminished; for, after being cast, with the crew and the rest of the passengers, into a loathsome dungeon, and there shut up a considerable time longer without nourishment, a joint of mutton was at length thrown into the midst of them, which, for want of even a single knife, they were obliged to tear in pieces, and gnaw like dogs. Howard, never inclined to

dwell on his own personal sufferings, omits this circumstance in the description he has himself given of this event and its consequences. 1756.

“In the castle at Brest,” he says in a note found in his *First Book on Prisons*,* “I lay six nights upon straw; and observing how cruelly my countrymen were used there, and at Morlaix, whither I was carried next, during the two months I was at Carpaix upon parole I corresponded with the English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix, and Dinnan; at the last of those towns were several of our ship’s crew, and my servant. I had sufficient evidence of their being treated with such barbarity that many hundreds had perished; and that thirty-six were buried in a hole at Dinnan in one day. When I came to England, still on parole, I made known to the commissioners of sick and wounded seamen the sundry particulars, which gained their attention and thanks. Remonstrance was made to the French Court: our sailors had redress; and those that were in the three prisons mentioned above were brought home in the first cartel ships. A lady from Ireland, who married in France, had bequeathed in trust with the magistrates of St. Maloes sundry charities, one of which was a penny a day to every English prisoner of war at Dinnan. This was duly paid, and saved the lives of many brave and useful men. Perhaps what I suffered on this occasion increased my sympathy with the unhappy people (prisoners) whose case is the subject of this book.”

In the foregoing statement we are told that at Carpaix he was released on parole. He returned to England, and by an exchange of prisoners shortly obtained full liberation.

Howard now purchased a farm, adjoining his estate at Cardington, where he 1757

* *State of Prisons*, 2nd ed. p. 14.

generally resided. His friends and acquaintances in Bedfordshire were, for a considerable time, very limited in number. This circumstance was probably occasioned by his want of taste for those sports to which most country gentlemen were devoted. He appears to have spent his days in superintending the necessary alterations upon his estate, advancing the welfare of his tenants, and especially in administering to the wants of the poor and dependent. He found pleasure, too, in literary pursuits, and having become a fellow of the Royal Society, paid some attention to philosophical subjects, on which he afterwards communicated Papers to that Society.

1758. On the 2nd of May, 1758, Howard married, as his second wife, Henrietta, daughter of Edward Leeds, Esq., of Croxton, in Cambridgeshire, a serjeant-at-law; a lady whose religious principles accorded with his own, and who zealously seconded her husband in his efforts for the benefit of his poorer neighbours.

They lived at Cardington for a while, but his wife's health beginning to fail, the air of that place was thought unfavourable, and an estate was purchased at Watcombe, near Lymington, whither they shortly removed. It was soon found that the change of residence was in no way beneficial to his wife's health, and they again returned to Cardington.

In his character as a landlord, Howard's con-

duct was exemplary. The village of Cardington is reported to have been sunk in profligacy and vice at the time he went to his estate. He did not witness this without a vigorous effort for its correction. Some causes of the existing depravity were easily discerned. Amongst the most conspicuous was the want of accommodation in the cottages of the poor.

“It seems,” says his friend, Dr. Aikin, “to have been the capital object of his ambition, that the poor in his village should be the most orderly in their manners, the neatest in their persons and habitations, and possessed of the greatest share of the comforts of life, that could be met with in any part of England. And as it was his disposition to carry everything he undertook to the greatest pitch of perfection, so he spared no pains or expense to effect his purpose. He began by building a number of neat cottages on his estate, annexing to each a little land for a garden and other conveniences. In this project, which might be considered as an object of taste as well as of benevolence, he had the full concurrence of his excellent partner. I remember his relating that once, having settled his accounts at the close of a year, and found a balance in his favour, he proposed to his wife to make use of it in a journey to London, or any other gratification she chose. ‘What a pretty cottage it would build,’ was her answer, and the money was so employed. These comfortable habitations he peopled with the most industrious and sober tenants he could find; and over them he exercised the superintendence of master and father combined. He was careful to furnish them with employment, to assist them in sickness and distress, and to educate their children. In order to preserve their morals, he made it a condition that they should regularly attend their several places of worship, and abstain from

public-houses and from such amusements as he thought pernicious; and he secured their compliance with his rules by making them tenants at will." *

It is interesting to be able to add, from a contemporary periodical, a passage showing the success of his plans:—

“Cardington, which seemed at one time to contain the abodes of poverty and wretchedness, soon became one of the neatest villages in the kingdom; exhibiting all the pleasing appearances of competency and content, the natural rewards of industry and virtue.” †

Howard had now been married nearly
1765. seven years, and was still childless. On the 27th of March, 1765, his wife gave birth to a son. Notwithstanding previous weakness, she appeared to be strong and doing well. The pain and peril seemed past. Four days after, the husband, full of joy and gratitude, went to the house of God, and there gave thanks. Shortly after, his wife became worse, and suddenly expired in his arms.

In his family register is the following entry:—

“John, my son, was born about four o'clock, March 27, 1765. Sabbath evening, March 31, 1765, died the dear mother. Unaffected piety, meekness, and goodness ran through her whole life. Oh! God sanctify the dear memorial! Thy grace imparting the same temper and mind; that we both, by Thine unbounded goodness in and through Jesus Christ, may be followers of her faith and patience, and be for ever with the Lord. Oh, glorious day!”

* Aikin, pp. 27—29.

† Universal Mag. vol. lxxxvi.

A tablet in Cardington Church bears the following inscription:—

In hope of a resurrection to eternal life,
Through the mercy of God by means of 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. xxxi. 26.

Howard had no female relative who could reside with him and assist in the management of his infant child; and he seems to have been naturally not very well fitted for the task. He had himself lost his mother at an early age, and had neither experienced the force of maternal endearment nor otherwise learnt its paramount importance. He believed that education should commence with the dawn of the mental faculties; but his theory was based upon constraint rather than love. He strove to inculcate from the very first implicit obedience, but did not take sufficient pains to secure the affections of his child. This has given occasion to several stories of his severity, and even cruelty, as a parent, which are without foundation. It is plain that in this as in his other conduct he was actuated by principle: but the principle was a mistaken one; and in after

years he had sad reason to lament the absence of that dutiful love which can scarcely grow up in one who has been trained to submission, but has felt the want of parental tenderness. The melancholy history of his son will be touched upon in the following pages. In early years his conduct was fair and promising; but when he was released from outward restraint he gave way to vicious inclinations, and ultimately ruined his health and shortened his life by profligacy. To what extent this lamentable result is to be ascribed to the defects of his early education, He only can know to Whom the secrets of all hearts are open. That the method which Howard pursued was faulty, cannot be denied; and he seems at a later period to have seen his error and the disadvantages under which his son laboured at the commencement of his life.

Writing from Venice, upon being informed of his son's misconduct, he says:—

“It is with great concern I hear the account of my son's behaviour. I fear he gives you as well as others a great deal of trouble. The loss of a mother is a great loss to children! The mother checks them, and forms the mind, curbing the corrupt passions of pride and self-will, which are seen very early in children. I must leave it to Him with Whom are all hearts, and sigh in secret; trusting that the blessing of such an excellent mother is yet laid up for him.” *

An anecdote related by Dr. Aikin will illustrate

* Brown, p. 491.

his treatment of his child when an infant. He always prohibited his servants from giving the child its way to stop crying:—

“ I give an instance of it,” says Dr. Aikin, “ which I had from himself. His child one day, wanting something which he was not to have, fell into a fit of crying, which the nurse could not pacify; Mr. Howard took him from her, and laid him quietly in his lap, till, fatigued with crying, he became still; this process a few times repeated had such an effect that the child, if crying ever so violently, was rendered quiet the instant his father took him.”*

This was both sensible and patient. But we are told by another friend, that—

“ By firmness he is said to have brought his son to that habit of implicit obedience which induced him to express the opinion that he would have put his finger into the fire, if he had ordered him to do so.” †

And a person who paid a visit to Mr. Howard at this time says :

“ When I was with some friends on a visit to him, he took us into his garden; and as we were walking, he bid the child put off his shoe, which he did, and walked as well as he could upon the ground for a short time, till his father desired him to put it on again.” ‡

It does not appear that Howard was quite satisfied with the result of his management even at the first; and his health failing, he gradually left the boy more to the care of confidential servants. He was often absent from home to recruit his strength; and when the child was about four years old, he placed him under the charge of a lady at Cheshunt. 1769.

* Aikin, p. 44.

† Brown, p. 58.

‡ Ibid. p. 62.

CHAPTER III.

PREPARATIONS FOR ANOTHER TOUR.—HOWARD'S JOURNAL.—REFLECTIONS AT TURIN.—LETTER.—MEDITATIONS ON A SUNDAY EVENING.—PIOUS REFLECTIONS AT LYONS.—DESCRIPTION OF HIS ROUTE.—ARRIVES AT ROME.—DESCRIPTIVE LETTER.—SOLEMN ACT OF SELF-DEDICATION.—DIARY AT ROME, NAPLES, HEIDELBERG, STUTGARD, THE HAGUE, AND ROTTERDAM.

1769. HOWARD now again turned his thoughts to travel, and resolved to revisit Italy. He broke up his establishment at Cardington, appointing a coachman and his wife, who had been the maid of the late Mrs. Howard, to take charge of the grounds, and not omitting to make provision for every one of his old and faithful domestics.

These arrangements completed, Howard embarked alone, and, landing at Calais, went through France to Geneva, where he remained a few weeks, and thence proceeded to Milan. And here he began to make those reflections upon the scenes he visited, the feelings they excited, and the effects produced, which happily have been preserved. They are written with much simplicity, earnestness, and sincerity:—

“ 1769, Nov. 26.—Having bought an Italian Almanack, I counted the holy days in Italy—thirty-one besides the fifty-two Sabbaths. Oh! how is pure religion debased in these countries — preventing on so many days the providing for a family by work, and allowing every species of wickedness at little cabarets on the Sabbath-days! How different to the primitive sacred Sabbath! When men

leave the Holy Word and set up their own inventions, God often leaves them—then how do they fall! Blessed be God, who has called us Protestants out of darkness into his marvellous light—make me more sensible, more thankful, O my God! How much reason have I to bless God for the Reformation! How is religion debased into show and ceremony here in Italy! Twenty Saint's days near together at Christmas!—poor creatures prevented from getting their daily bread, thousands idling and miserable in the streets.”

The following extract from his journal gives us the reasons which induced him to return to England without extending his tour, and much earlier than he proposed:—

“Turin, 1769, Nov. 30.—My return without seeing the southern parts of Italy was after much deliberation. I feared a misimprovement of a talent spent for mere curiosity, at the loss of many Sabbaths; and as many donations must be suspended for my pleasure, which would have been, as I hope, contrary to the general conduct of my life; and which, on a retrospective view on a death-bed, would cause pain as unbecoming a Disciple of Christ, whose mind should be formed in my soul;—these thoughts, with distance from my dear boy, determine me to check my curiosity. Oh! why should vanity and folly, pictures and baubles, or even the stupendous mountains, beautiful hills, or rich valleys, which ere long will all be consumed, engross the thoughts of a candidate for an everlasting kingdom! A worm ever to crawl on earth, whom God has raised to the hope of glory, which ere long will be revealed to them who are washed and sanctified by faith in the blood of the divine Redeemer! Look forward, oh, my soul! how low, how mean, how little is everything but what has a view to that glorious world of light, life, and love! The preparation of the heart is of God. Prepare

the heart, O God ! of Thy unworthy creature, and
 1769. unto Thee be all the glory through the boundless
 ages of eternity !

(Signed) “ J. H.

“ This night my trembling soul almost longs to take its flight, to see and know the wonders of redeeming love—join the triumphant choir—sin and sorrow fled away—God my Redeemer all in all—oh ! happy spirits that are safe in those mansions !”

We shall, as we proceed, admire his energy and perseverance in doing good ; and it is well, at the commencement of his career, to discover the cause, as, in his progress, to observe its continued operation.

1770. By the following letter, addressed to a friend at Bedford, we are enabled to trace Howard’s route homewards :—

“ Abbeville, Jan. 4, 1770.—Dear Sir—Having an opportunity, by an Italian gentleman with whom I have travelled, I thought a few lines would not be unacceptable. After I landed in France my first object was Geneva, where I spent some time before I went to Italy. The luxury and wickedness of the inhabitants would ever give a thinking mind pain ; amidst the richest country, abounding, as it does, with the noblest productions of human power and skill. I was seven days recrossing the Alps. The weather was very cold, the thermometer eleven degrees below the freezing point. The quick descent by sledges on the snow, and other particulars, may perhaps afford a little entertainment some winter’s evening. I returned to Geneva. There are some exemplary persons ; yet the principles of one of the vilest men (Voltaire), with the corruptions of the French, who are within one mile of the city, has greatly debased its ancient purity and splendour. I spent

about ten days at the dirty city of Paris. The streets are so narrow, and no footpaths, that there is no stirring out but in a coach: and as to their hackney coaches, they are abominable. There were but few English at Paris. I dined with about twenty at our ambassador's (Lord Harcourt). I am now on my route to Holland, a favourite country of mine; the only one, except our own, where propriety and elegance are mixed. Above all, I esteem it for religious liberty.

“Thus, dear Sir, I am travelling from one country to another: and I trust, through abundant grace, to a yet better. My knowledge of human nature should be enlarged by seeing more of the tempers, tastes, and dispositions of different people; but as to dignity and excellence, how is the gold become dross!

“I bless God I am well. I have a calm and easy flow of spirits. I am 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. But I must conclude with my affectionate remembrance of them, and my ardent wish, desire, and prayer for your success in promoting the honour of God and the love of our divine Redeemer.

“ I am truly yours,

“ JOHN HOWARD.”

The following extract from his journal describes his meditations at this period, on a Sunday evening:—

“Hague, 1770, Sunday Evening, 11th Feb.—I would record the goodness of God to the unworthiest of his creatures. For some days past an habitual serious frame—repenting my sin and folly—applying to the blood of Jesus Christ,—solemnly surrendering myself and babe to Him,—begging the conduct of His holy spirit. I hope for a more tender conscience, and a greater fear of offending

God—a temper more abstracted from this world,
 1770. more resigned to death or life,—thirsting for
 union and communion with God, as my Lord
 and my God. Oh, the wonders of redeeming love! Some
 faint hope have I, even I! through redeeming mercy, in
 the perfect righteousness—the full atoning sacrifice—that
 I shall ere long be made the monument of the rich free
 grace and mercy of God, through the divine Redeemer.
 Oh! shout, my soul, grace, grace, free, sovereign, rich,
 and unbounded grace! towards me, an ill-deserving, hell-
 deserving creature! But where sin has abounded I trust
 grace superabounds. Some hope I have—and what joy
 in that hope—that nothing shall separate my soul from the
 love of God in Christ Jesus. And my soul, as such a
 frame is thy delight, pray frequently and fervently to the
 Father of spirits to bless His word, in thy retired moments,
 to thy serious conduct in life.

“Let not, my soul, 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 to death. My soul, walk thou with God!
 be faithful, hold on, hold out,—*and then—what words can
 utter!*”

“J. H.”

Howard was mistaken in supposing that he had
 sufficiently recruited his strength to allow him
 to return. His constitution was enfeebled, and he
 felt obliged to act upon his original intention, and
 revisit Italy. Some extracts from his journal will
 give an account of his route on leaving Hol-
 land:—

“When I left Holland, the beginning of March, I went
 to Paris, and travelled through Champagne and Bur-
 gundy, to Lyons on the 1st of April, the best view of
 which city is from a monastery, on a hill to the south-west
 of the town.”

“1770, Lyons, April 4th.—Through repeated instances of the unwearied mercy and goodness of God, I am preserved hitherto in health and safety! Blessed be the name of the Lord! endeavour, oh, my soul! to cultivate and maintain a thankful, serious, humble, and resigned frame and temper of mind. May it be thy chief desire that the honour of God, the spread of the Redeemer’s name and gospel, may be promoted! Oh! consider the everlasting worth of spiritual and divine enjoyments—then thou wilt see the vanity and nothingness of worldly pleasures! Remember, oh, my soul! St. Paul, who was determined to know nothing in comparison of Jesus Christ and Him crucified. A tenderness of conscience I would ever cultivate—no step would I take without acknowledging God. I hope my present journey, again into Italy, is no way wrong; I should rejoice if in any respect I could bring the least improvement to my own country. But oh, my soul! stand in awe and sin not! Daily, fervently, pray for restraining grace: remember, if thou desirest the death of the righteous, and thy latter end like his, thy life must be righteous also. In a little while thy course will be run, thy sands finished;—a parting farewell with my ever dear boy, and then, my soul shall be weighed in the balance—wanting, wanting! but oh! the glorious hope of an interest in the blood and righteousness of my Redeemer and my God! In the most solemn manner I commit my spirit into Thy hand, O Lord God of my salvation! My hope in time, my trust through eternity!

“JOHN HOWARD.”

We have the following short note of Howard’s route on quitting Lyons:—

“I then descended the Rhone to Avignon, the great beauty of which place is its walks: from thence I went to Aix—thence to Marseilles, whose course is elegant, and its harbour commodious: the road to Toulon is romantic and pleasant. I saw many of our flowering shrubs in the

hedges, and in most gardens oranges and lemons.

1770. From Toulon I travelled to Antibes—from thence I sailed in a felucca to Nice and Monanco. I then travelled over the mountains to Genoa. I went to Pisa, remarkable for its elegant church, the gates of which were brought from Jerusalem; from thence I went to Leghorn and Florence; from Florence by a pleasant though depopulated road to Rome, where there are many monuments to humble the pride of man, and show how luxury and wickedness will sink a nation.”

A letter addressed to a friend,* about the same time, gives further interesting details of his journey:—

“Rome, May 22, 1770.—Dear Sir,—With great pleasure I received your obliging letter as I passed through Flanders. The esteem you and some of my friends have for me humbles me, and causes me to think what I ought to be. How mean and defective I am! Yet, amidst all, a sincere love I hope I have to all who bear the impress of our Divine Master.

“Since I left Holland, and through all the southern part of France, and over the Apennine Mountains into Italy, I travelled not a mile with any of our countrymen. Those mountains are three or four days in passing: for many, many miles there is hardly a three-foot road, with precipices into the sea, I should guess, three times the height of St. Paul’s; but the mules are so sure-footed there is nothing to fear, though the road is also very bad. Through the mercy and goodness of God I travel pleasantly on. I have an easy, calm flow of spirits. A little tea equipage I carry with me, with which I regale, and little regard if I have nothing else.

“Florence being the seat of the arts, I visited the famous gallery many days, from whence I travelled to this

* The Rev. Joshua Symonds.

renowned city. The amazing ruins of temples, palaces, aqueducts, &c., gives one some faint idea 1770. of grandeur; but all is now comparatively a desert: the description of them, as also of St. Peter's Church and the Vatican, I must defer till I have the pleasure of seeing you. The Pope passed very close by me yesterday; he waved his hand to bless me. I bowed; but not kneeling, some of the cardinals were displeased. But I never can or will bow down to any human creature or invention, as I should tremble at the thought of the adoration I have seen to him, and to the wafer. My temper is too open for this country, yet an important piece of news of this court (expuls—n of the J—s—ites), that I now know, I durst not commit to writing. That cruellest of all inventions, the inquisition, stops all mouths.

“I set out to-morrow for Naples. As I return to see the great procession of the 15th of June, I intend staying about a fortnight. Afterwards I am bound to Loretto, Ancona, Bologna, and Venice; at which last place it will be a great pleasure to receive a line from you. My thoughts are often with my Bedford friends. I beg to be remembered to them; and as they and I know it is the divine presence and favour that makes every place happy and comfortable, I return my most grateful acknowledgments for any interest I have had in their sacred moments.

“Thus, my dear friend, am I travelling over desolate places of ancient grandeur, and feel it overpower that selfish and vain principle that is rooted in my constitution, and humble the pride of one's heart! And when at other times I view, in statues, paintings, architecture, &c., the utmost stretch of human skill, how should one's thoughts be raised to that glorious world, that heavenly city, the city of the living God, where sin, sorrow, and every imperfection will be done away! Oh, the free, sovereign and unbounded grace of our Lord Jesus Christ! how thankful should we Protestants be for this glorious gospel which we have in our hands! The happiness we are exulting in,

millions in this country are denied. But I must
 1770. conclude. I remain, with much esteem, dear
 Sir, yours, &c. "J. HOWARD."

A document possessing much interest was drawn up by Howard, when he reached Naples. He was now in a country where he could not enjoy the privileges of public worship, or profit by the ordinances of the church. Deprived then of outward means of grace, he was most diligent in private devotion; and to promote the steadfastness of his faith, and ensure its effects, he adopts a plan which has been common amongst the most exemplary Christians. By a solemn covenant he dedicated himself—his powers of mind and body, and all his possessions—to the service of God.*

"Naples, May 27, 1770.—When I left Italy last year, it then appeared most prudent and proper. My return, I hope, is under the best direction — not presumptuous,

* Howard's biographer (Brown, p. 93.) describes him as following the example of the earlier Nonconformists in this particular; but it is a practice which has been equally commended and pursued by Christians in our own and other churches. Bishop Jer. Taylor provides a suitable form for those who may require it. "O my God, my goods are nothing unto Thee: I will be Thy servant all the days of my life, and remember Thy mercies and my present purposes, and live more to God's glory, and with a stricter duty. And do Thou please to accept this vow as an instance of my importunity, and the greatness of my deeds; and be Thou graciously moved to pity and deliver me! Amen.

* * * * *

"Miserable man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of sin?"

"Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God. Thou that prayest for me shalt be my judge."—*Holy Living*, chap. iv.

through being left to the folly of a foolish heart. Not having the strongest spirits or constitution, 1770. my continuing long in Holland or any place depresses me ; so I thought returning would be no uneasiness on the review, as sinful and vain diversions are not my object, but the honour and glory of God my highest ambition. Did I now see it wrong as being the cause of pride, I would go back. I am deeply sensible it is the presence of God that makes the happiness of every place. Oh my soul ! keep close to Him in the light of redeeming love, and amidst the snares thou art particularly exposed to in a country of such wickedness and folly. May I stand in awe and sin not—commune with mine own heart—see what progress is made in my *religious* journey ! Oh my soul ! art thou nearer the heavenly Canaan ? the vital flame burning clearer and clearer ; or are the concerns of a moment engrossing thee ? Stop ! remember thou art a candidate for eternity—daily, fervently pray for wisdom—lift up thine eyes to the Rock of Ages, and then look down to the glory of this world. A little while and thy journey will be ended ; be thou faithful unto death. Duty is thine, though the power is God's. Pray to Him to give thee a heart to hate sin more, uniting thy heart in His fear. Oh ! magnify the Lord my soul ! and my spirit rejoice in God my Saviour ! His free grace ; unbounded mercy ; love unparalleled ; goodness unlimited ! and oh ! this mercy, this love, this goodness exerted for me. Lord God, why for me ! When I consider and look into my heart, I doubt, I tremble ! such a vile creature—sin, folly, and imperfection in every action ! Oh dreadful thought, a body of sin and death I carry about me, ever ready to depart from God, and, with all the dreadful catalogue of sins committed, my heart faints within me, and almost despairs ; but yet, oh my soul ! why art thou cast down ? why art thou disquieted ? Hope in God ! his free grace in Jesus Christ ! Lord, I believe, help my unbelief ! shall I limit the grace of God ? can I fathom His goodness ? Here on His sacred day, I once more, in the dust before

the Eternal God, acknowledge my sins, heinous
 1770. and aggravated in His sight. I would have the
 deepest sorrow and contrition of heart, and cast
 my guilty and polluted soul on Thy sovereign mercy in the
 Redeemer! O compassionate and divine Redeemer, save
 me from the dreadful guilt and power of sin, and accept
 of my solemn and free, and I trust unreserved, full sur-
 render of my soul, my spirit, my dear child, all I am and
 have, into Thy hands,—unworthy of Thy acceptance, yet,
 O Lord God of mercy! spurn me not from Thy presence
 —accept of me, vile as I am—I hope a repenting, return-
 ing prodigal: I glory in my choice, acknowledge my obli-
 gations as a servant of the Most High God. And now may
 the Eternal God be my refuge, and thou, oh my soul!
 faithful to that God that will never leave nor forsake thee.

“Thus, O my Lord and my God, is even a worm hum-
 bly bold to covenant with Thee! do Thou ratify and con-
 firm it, and make me the everlasting monument of Thy
 unbounded mercy. Amen, Amen, Amen. Glory to God
 the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost for
 ever and ever. Amen.

“Hoping my heart deceives me not, and trusting in His
 mercy for restraining and preventing grace, though re-
 joicing in returning what I have received of Him into His
 hands, yet with fear and trembling I sign my unworthy
 name. JOHN HOWARD. Naples, May 27, 1770.

“N.B. This solemn covenant renewed at Moscow, Sept.
 27, 1789.”

During Howard's stay at Naples, he indulged
 his taste for philosophical investigation to some
 extent, and made some observations on the heat of
 the ground on Mount Vesuvius, which afterwards
 formed the subject of a Paper read before the
 Royal Society. He describes them in the follow-
 ing letter addressed to Lady Mary Whitbread on
 his return to Rome:—

“ Rome, June 13, 1770.—Madam, I have just received a very obliging letter, on my return from 1770. Naples. When ladies condemn, we must plead guilty, and hope our judges are merciful ; so I enter not on my defence. Since I had the pleasure of writing to Mr. Whitbread from Genoa, I have visited Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. In those places, as indeed both in Rome and Naples, I often see statues, paintings, and buildings of the first and second class, leaving all inferior ones. I confess that I had seen nothing before I came to Rome. I had often read of the Laocoon, the Apollo, the Gladiators, the Pantheon and Coliseum ; the paintings of Raphael, Titian, and Guido, yet the description fell far short, as it does also of the magnificence and elegance of St. Peter’s. To that church and the Vatican, I go most evenings, the views from the latter being inexpressibly fine. The Pope I have often seen ; the worthy good man dispenses with my kneeling. I should tremble to pay that homage to any human creature that I have seen paid to him.

“ The Pretender passed close by me yesterday, and I had a full strong view of him ; he had the look of a mere sot, very stupid, dull, and bending double ; quite altered to when I saw him twenty years ago in France.

“ The situation of Naples is fine. As I have the best cartes, it may afford your Ladyship pleasure to see them. I ascended Mount Vesuvius, and when I was up three parts of the hill, the earth was, by my thermometer, somewhat warmer than the atmosphere. I then took the temperature every five minutes till I got to the top. The heat was continually increasing. After I had stood the smoke a quarter of an hour, I breathed freely ; so, with three men, I descended as low as they would go with me, where the earth or brimstone was so heated that in frequent experiments it raised my thermometer to 240 degrees, which is nearly 30 degrees hotter than boiling water ; and in some places it fired some paper I put in. As those experiments have never before been made, I

thought the account of them might afford your
1770. Ladyship some entertainment.

“As we begin to have hot weather here, so I shall make my pilgrimage in the night to Loretto, and from thence to Venice, where I shall stay about a fortnight, when I think I shall take my route through Germany to my favourite country, Holland. When at Rotterdam, I shall hope to be favoured with a letter, though I believe I shall hardly be there till the middle or latter end of September, as I seldom fix any route, or time in any place. This uncertainty prevents my hearing so often from my friends as I could wish. Permit me to say I am, with much esteem, your Ladyship’s obliged and most obedient servant,

“JOHN HOWARD.”

“P.S.—My best compliments to Mr. Whitbread.”

From Stutgard, whither Howard now went, he addressed an interesting letter to the same lady:—

“Stutgard, July 26, 1770.—My Lady,—I received a very kind letter at Venice; accept a very poor return, my thanks—and also for your obliging visit to my boy. When I left Rome, I steered my course to Loretto. The immense riches that are there locked up are as surprising as the folly of the votaries. The superstition, folly, and nonsense that one there hears and sees must give any thinking mind pain; and that such a gross imposition should be carried on such a number of years. They say the Virgin’s chamber was brought over the Venetian Gulf, A. D. 1290; and they told me it was brought by a miracle, and supported from falling by a miracle, though enclosed by a marble case, and many iron bars to prevent its falling in. I could not help saying, in their *holy* chamber, it would be another miracle to make me believe either one or the other.

“I went from thence to Bologna, and spent a few days there. The city is no otherwise remarkable than for the

piazzas (as in Covent Garden) to every house. There are some fine pictures; and one rich 1770. monastery of the Olivetano, from whence is one of the finest views in Italy. Thence I came to Venice, the situation of which, amidst many, as it were, floating islands, is surprising; yet when I saw the Rialto, St. Mark's Place, &c., I was much disappointed. Prints, &c., had raised my expectation; but they fell far short. The streets are all alleys; in many places two people cannot pass. The houses are all dirty; the canals quite offensive, so that it required some patience to stay eight or ten days; and I was not singular, as an English family there told me they were never so tired of a place in a week's time.

“As few English will cross the Tyrol into Germany, I set off by myself, and in nine days I came to Munich. The most pleasant journey (I must except when I had the ladies' company) I ever had in my life. The road is good betwixt the mountains, which are cultivated to the very top, making the most charming views. The inhabitants, I need not say, are industrious, honest—as one never hears of any robbery—cleanly and neat, very different from the Italians. Indeed, were I to form the idea of a despicable character, I think on an Italian.

“I spend a few days here. The mode of travelling is very fatiguing in Germany, unless you have your own carriage. I have been two days and two nights coming from Augsburg; but whilst everybody complains of heat, it is so very different from Italy (betwixt twenty and thirty degrees by my thermometer), that I think it cool and pleasant. I am moving to Holland; but shall be some weeks before I get there: probably I shall spend a week at Spa. Your Ladyship has been so good, I can hardly desire or expect to hear at Rotterdam, yet it is my greatest pleasure. I beg my best compliments to Mr. Whitbread; and permit me to remain, with great esteem, Madam,

“Your obliged and obedient servant,

“To Lady Mary Whitbread.”

“J. HOWARD.

1770. On reaching the Hague, another letter was written to the same friend:—

“The Hague, August 28, 1770.—My Lady,—On my arrival last week in Holland, I had the pleasure to find a very obliging letter from you. I greatly rejoice to hear of your own and Mr. Whitbread’s health, yet I feel some concern for my young friend.

“I came down the Rhine, and stayed some time both at Mentz and Cologne, which were not new to me, nor were Aix-la-Chapelle or Spa, though the great alterations made me hardly recollect that place. It seemed an English colony—there were 400; but I give the preference to many of our own public places, as Scarborough, Matlock, Bristol, &c. Indeed in Italy, however magnificent the objects, and highly elegant the curiosities may be, we in England have the solid, the substantial, and important, which we ought to value above all the rest.

“I have been well gratified with foreign elegance, and shall sit down at home in peace; as the comfortable, useful, and honourable life should be our aim. I am sure I require the most favourable allowance of my friends. I intend to be in England in about a fortnight; yet permit me on this side of the water to present my thanks for the favour of your very kind letters. I beg to be remembered to my friend, who need not fear growing too fat. In expectation of the pleasure of so soon seeing him, I am, my Lady,

“Your Ladyship’s obliged and obedient servant,

“JOHN HOWARD.”

In the following we have Howard’s reflections on the last Sunday previous to reaching his native land:—

“Rotterdam, Sunday Evening, Sept. 2, 1770.—This morning, on the review of the temper of my mind, how

humbled I ought to be before God—an evil and wicked heart, ever ready to depart from Him, 1770. starting aside like a deceitful bow ; mourning yet trusting in my Lord and my God ! When in calm retirement I hope I am one step forward in my Christian journey ; yet alas ! in company, how many steps backward ! God give me wisdom—may mercy and goodness compass my paths ; yet how insensible ! Oh ! hard and obdurate heart ! with such a heart, how watchful, how careful, how earnest at the throne of Grace ought I to be, that as Jesus Christ died for such as I am, I may have an interest in the glorious salvation He has wrought out. On the review of the temper of my mind, on probably the last Sabbath before I return to my native country, I desire with profound veneration to bless and praise God for His merciful preservation of me in my long journey ; no danger, no accident has befallen me, but I am among the living : I trust ever to praise Him : and as to my soul, with all its weakness and folly, I have some hope it has not lost ground this year of travelling. Now I am very desirous of returning with a right spirit, not only wiser, but better ; a cheerful humility ; a more general love and benevolence to my fellow creatures ; watchful of my thoughts, my words, my actions ; resigned to the will of God, that I may walk with God, and lead a more useful and honourable life in this world.”

CHAPTER IV.

DEPRESSED STATE OF MIND.—VISIT TO SOUTHAMPTON, TO BRISTOL.—CONTINUED ILLNESS.—RETURN TO CARDINGTON.—OCCUPATIONS AND CHARITIES.—PRESERVATION FROM AN ASSASSIN.—GUERNSEY AND JERSEY VISITED.—APPOINTED SHERIFF OF BEDFORDSHIRE.—BEDFORD GAOL INSPECTED.—STATE OF PRISONS IN THE LAST CENTURY.—VICE AND CRUELTY IN THE FLEET.—REASONS FOR VISITING PRISONS.—NOTICES OF THE GAOLS OF HUNTINGDON, CAMBRIDGE, NORTHAMPTON, NOTTINGHAM, WARWICK, WORCESTER, AND GLOUCESTER.—MR. RAIKES.—OXFORD AND AYLESBURY GAOLS.—HOWARD RETURNS TO CARDINGTON.—ANOTHER EXCURSION.—NOTES OF GAOLS AT HERTFORD, READING, SALISBURY, DORCHESTER, HORSHAM, AND GUILDFORD.—SPENDS VACATION WITH HIS SON.—VISITS GAOLS OF OAKHAM, YORK, LINCOLN, ELY, COLCHESTER, SOUTHWARK, EXETER, LAUNCESTON, HEREFORD, AND MONMOUTH.—BILL FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF GAOLER'S FEES.—HOWARD EXAMINED BEFORE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—RECEIVES THE THANKS OF THE HOUSE.

1770. VERY soon after his arrival in England, Howard proceeded to Cardington, resolved to submit himself entirely to God's will, and prepare zealously to pursue those plans of benevolence which were before in operation. But the return to Cardington produced a depression which again obliged him to leave home.

He at this time visited Southampton. There he became acquainted with the Rev. W. Kingsbury, who was thenceforth one of his most intimate friends. That friendship was first occasioned by a request for the prayers of the congregation under his charge—Howard himself being too ill to join them in public worship. He was too wise to undervalue

Christian intercession, and too pious to disregard the admonitions of Holy Scripture on this subject. 1770.

From Southampton he went to Ireland; then through a part of Wales, and thence he crossed to Bristol Hot-wells, where, on the day after his arrival, he was attacked with gout so severely, that he was confined to his chamber for six months. At this time he determined to abstain altogether from wine or other alcoholic beverages, believing them to be injurious to his health; and this resolution he is said never to have broken.

Having in some measure recovered his strength, Howard returned to Cardington, where he continued in ill health for several months. At length, when convalescent, though still weak, his own spirit was revived by personal efforts to promote the comfort of others. At this time he would go and hold friendly converse with his tenants; sit for a while in the cottages he had provided—always carrying pence in his pocket for the children, and something more for their parents. The sick and distressed were the special objects of his care; he could now further sympathise with them, and had learned by his own sufferings how to console. His very manner of bestowing his gifts had much to enhance their value. None served Howard for nought, even when their own advantage was the only object of that service. Thus the milk from his dairy, which,

1771. excepting the little consumed in his own house, was the property of the poor, was sent round to them; lest, in fetching it, a waste of time should lessen its worth; or if they came for it themselves, they received some recompense for their trouble. The tranquillity of his life, and his quiet endeavours to do good, promoted his bodily health, while the burden of his sorrow was also relieved by the activity of his benevolence. What wonder when it could be said of him —“ he hardly ever took one of his daily rides in the neighbourhood without enjoying the delightful satisfaction on his return, that he had contributed to the relief, the welfare, or the consolation of a fellow-creature. Whilst living in retirement, it was his meat and drink to make his neighbours happy !”

A visitor at Cardington, about this time, has left us an account of Howard, as seen in his own house :—

“ He was not disposed to talk much; he sat but a short time at table, and was in motion during the whole day. On the Sabbath he ate little or no dinner, and spent the interval between divine services in a private room, alone. He had prayers in his family every morning and evening. He was very abstemious, lived chiefly upon vegetables, and drank no wine or spirits. He hated praise; and when his works of benevolence were once mentioned, he spoke of them slightly, as a ‘whim of his,’ and immediately changed the subject.” *

* Rev. S. Townsend.

About this time his life was in imminent peril. It was his constant practice, on ^{1771.} the Sunday, to walk alone to and from Bedford, where he attended divine service; and an idle and dissolute wretch, whom he had often, but in vain, reproved for his vices, determinèd to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded for way-laying and murdering him. But, as it was wisely said at a later period, "*Providence* remarkably interposed to preserve so valuable a life, by inclining him that morning to go on horseback a different road."*

In 1772, Howard visited Guernsey and ^{1772.} Jersey, and the smaller islands of the Channel. He returned to London, and there spent part of the winter of that year, but the greater portion of it he passed in retirement at Cardington.

In 1773, Howard was nominated to the ^{1773.} shrievalty of Bedfordshire. In Howard's day, the office of High Sheriff was regarded as one conferring dignity rather than obliging to the performance of duty. Whatever might call for investigation, or occasion trouble, it was presumed the Under Sheriff would satisfactorily arrange. But with Howard the possession of power, and the opportunity for its exercise, were ever attended by a sense of his responsibility, and a determination to act up to it. Hence, no

* Funeral Sermon by Rev. S. Palmer.

1773. sooner was he invested with that authority than he sought how he might best perform the duties of the office. An opportunity was immediately presented. The county goal was under his jurisdiction.

It may be interesting to the reader, and serve to show the necessity which had long existed for Howard's investigation and philanthropic efforts, if a short description of the state of prisons in this country during the last century, with one or two illustrations, be here inserted.

1701. The earliest authentic records which are known on this subject have been recently discovered amongst the minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. From those documents we learn, that in 1701-2, a committee of some members of that society was formed for visiting Newgate and other prisons. A report was subsequently drawn up by Dr. Bray, who stated that they "had visited the prisons and would go thither again; and that being affected with the sight of so many miserable objects of pity, they had thought fit to distribute some monies amongst them." He also wrote an essay, enforcing the better regulation of Newgate and other prisons, in which he described the mismanagement, cruelty, and crime which prevailed in them; and concluded with the following earnest appeal:—

"It is very much hoped that the right hon. the Lord

Mayor and the Sheriffs of the city of London will take this whole matter into their special consideration ; considering that the reformation of prisons may much contribute to the reformation of the public. For prisons are one great part of our correction for criminals, and, if well-managed, may prove effectual to their amendment : whereas, for want of discipline, it now generally happens that prisoners are made much worse by them ; and if an innocent person be committed by misfortune or mistake, he is commonly corrupted and turns profligate."

Humanity must have overlooked our prisons during the next quarter of a ^{1729.} century, or the dominant cruelty defied correction, for we find in 1729, when the Parliamentary Committee, whose labours the poet Thomson has so justly celebrated, gave the result of its inquiries, the most atrocious practices were common even in our metropolitan prisons. From the "Report relating to the Fleet Prison" is extracted the following notice, which may be read as descriptive of our gaols, and their keepers in general, at that time. We may in some measure estimate the extortion which was permitted, from one of the first circumstances reported :—

"That John Huggins, growing in years, and willing to retire from business, and his son not caring to take upon him so troublesome an office, he hath for several years been engaged in continual negociations about the disposal of the said office, and in August last concluded a final treaty with Thomas Bambridge and Dougal Cuthbert, Esqs. ; and for 5000*l.* to be paid unto him, obliged himself

to surrender the said patent for his and his son's life, and procure a new patent for the said Bambridge and Cuthbert, which the said Huggins did accordingly obtain."

How monstrous and absurd were many of the exactions whereby compensation for this immense sum—paid for only a life-interest—was obtained, may be inferred from one which is mentioned in a Table of Fees:—

"To the tipstaff for being taken into custody, 1*l.* 10*s.*"

As to the state of the prison, the Report says—

"That the lion's den and women's ward, which contain about eighteen persons, are very noisome, and in very ill repair.

"That in some rooms persons who are sick of different distempers are obliged to lie together, or on the floor; one in particular had the small-pox, and two women were ordered to lie with her; and they pay 2*s.* 10*d.* each for such lodging."

With reference to the treatment of the prisoners, it is reported—

"That every prisoner pays at his entrance into the house of the tipstaff 6*s.* towards a bowl of punch."

And so lawless were those extortioners, that even the attempt to relieve their poor victims was perilous, for we further read—

"That Thomas Hogg, passing by the door of that prison, stopped to give charity to the prisoners at the grate, and being seen by James Barnes (one of the said Bambridge's agents and accomplices), the said Barnes seized and forced him into Corbett's sponging-house, where he

hath been detained ever since (now upwards of nine months), without any cause or legal authority whatsoever."

The Report proceeds with a description of the atrocities which were perpetrated; and lest the statement should be incredible unless given in the words of the document itself, it is transcribed literally—

"And notwithstanding the payment of such large fees, in order to extort further sums from the unfortunate prisoners, the said Bambridge unjustly pretends he has a right as warden to exercise an unlimited power of changing prisoners from room to room; of turning them into the common side, though they have paid the master's side fee; and inflicting arbitrary punishment by locking them down in unwholesome dungeons, and loading them with torturing irons, some instances of which follow, viz.—

"Jacob Mendez Solas, a Portuguese, was, as far as it appeared to the Committee, one of the first prisoners for debt that ever was loaded with irons in the Fleet. The said Bambridge one day called him into the gate-house of the prison, called the lodge, where he caused him to be seized, fettered, and carried to Corbett's, the sponging-house, and there kept for upwards of a week, and when brought back into the prison, Bambridge caused him to be turned into the dungeon, called the strong room of the master's side.

"This place is a vault, like those in which the dead are interred, and wherein the bodies of persons dying in the said prison are usually deposited till the coroner's inquest hath passed upon them; it has no chimney nor fire-place, nor any light but what comes over the door, or through a hole of about eight inches square. It is neither paved nor boarded; and the rough bricks appear both on the sides and top, being neither wainscotted nor plastered: what

adds to the dampness and stench of the place is, its being built over the common sewer, and adjoining to the sink, and where all the nastiness of the prison is cast. In this miserable place, the poor wretch was kept by the said Bambridge, manacled and shackled, for near two months. At length, on receiving five guineas from a friend of Solas's, Bambridge released the prisoner from his cruel confinement. But though his chains were taken off, his terror still remained, and the unhappy man was prevailed upon by that terror, not only to labour gratis for the said Bambridge, but to swear also at random all that he hath required of him. And the Committee themselves saw an instance of the deep impression his sufferings had made upon him; for, on his surmising, from something said, that Bambridge was to return again, as warden of the Fleet, he fainted, and the blood started out of his mouth and nose.

“The desire of gain urged the said Bambridge to the preceding instances of cruelty; but a more diabolical passion, that of malice, animated him to oppress Captain David Sinclair in the following manner:—

“At the latter end of June, or beginning of July last, the said Bambridge declared to the said James Barnes, one of the agents of his cruelties, that he would have Sinclair's blood: and he took the opportunity of the first festival day, which was on the first of August following, when he thought Captain Sinclair might, by celebrating the memory of the late king, be warmed with liquor so far as to give him some excuse for the cruelties he intended to inflict upon him. But in some measure he was disappointed, for Captain Sinclair was perfectly sober, when the said Bambridge rushed into his room with a dark lanthorn in his hand, assisted by his accomplices, James Barnes and William Pindar, and supported by his usual guard, armed with muskets and bayonets, and without any provocation given, ran his lanthorn into Captain Sinclair's face, seized him by the collar, and told him he must come along with him. Captain Sinclair, though surprised, asked

for what, and by what authority he so treated him. Upon which Barnes and the rest seized Captain Sinclair, who still desiring to know by what authority they so abused him, Bambridge grossly insulted him, and struck him with his cane on the head and shoulders, whilst he was held fast by Pindar and Barnes. Such base and scandalous usage of this gentleman, who had in the late wars always signalised himself with the greatest courage, gallantry, and honour in the service of his country upon many of the most brave and desperate occasions, must be most shocking and intolerable ; and yet Captain Sinclair bore it with patience, refusing only to go out of his room unless he was forced ; whereupon the said Bambridge threatened to run his cane down his throat, and ordered his guard to stab him with their bayonets, or drag him down to the said dungeon called the strong room, the latter of which they did, and Bambridge kept him confined in that damp and loathsome place till he had lost the use of his limbs and memory, neither of which has he perfectly recovered to this day. Many aggravating cruelties were used to make his confinement more terrible ; and when Bambridge found he was in danger of immediate death, he removed him, for fear of his dying in duress, and caused him to be carried in a dying condition from that dungeon to a room where there was no bed or furniture, and so unmercifully prevented his friends having any access to him, that he was four days without the least sustenance.

“ It appeared to the Committee by the evidence of a surgeon and others, who were prisoners in the house, that when Captain Sinclair was forced into that loathsome dungeon he was in perfect health. Captain Sinclair applied for remedies at law against the said cruelties of Bambridge, and had procured a habeas corpus for his witnesses to be brought before the sessions of oyer and terminer, when the said Bambridge, by colour of his assumed authority as warden, took the said writs of habeas corpus from the officer whose duty it was to make a return of them, and

commanded him to keep out of the way whilst he himself went to the Old Bailey, and immediately indicted Captain Sinclair and such of his witnesses as he knew he could not deter by threats or prevail with by promises to go from the truth.

“Captain Sinclair had temper enough to bear patiently almost insupportable injuries, and to reserve himself for a proper occasion, when justice should be done him by the laws of the realm.

“But the said Bambridge has forced others, by wrongs and injuries beyond human bearing, to endeavour the avenging injuries and oppressions which they could no longer endure.

“And it appeared to the Committee that the said Bambridge, in order to avoid the punishment due to these crimes, hath committed greater, and hath not only denied admittance to the solicitors, who might procure justice to the injured prisoners, and in open defiance to the law disobeyed the king’s writs, but hath also seduced some by indulging them in riots, and terrified others with fear of duress, to swear to and subscribe such false affidavits as he thought fit to prepare for them, on several occasions ; in all which wrongs and oppressions John Everett also acted as one of the said Bambridge’s wicked accomplices. That the said Bambridge, being asked, by the Committee, by what authority he pretended to put prisoners into dungeons and irons, answered, that he did it by his own authority, as warden, to preserve the quiet and safety of the custody of the prison.”

Whatever diminution of cruelty, or amendment of discipline resulted from the exposure of these enormities by the Parliamentary Committee seems to have been temporary, and to have almost passed away before the subject of our memoir resumed the task, and—

“ ——— touched with human woe, redressive search'd
 Into the horrors of the gloomy jail ;
 Unpitied and unheard where mis'ry moans ;
 Where sickness pines ; where thirst and hunger burn,
 And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice.”*

Scarcely had Howard entered upon his office before it was his duty to attend the ^{1773.} Judges of Assize, and to be present in the court whilst prisoners were tried. The introduction to his first Book on Prisons, to which and the subsequent volume we shall in the sequel have frequent occasion to refer, thus begins:—

“The distress of prisoners, of which there are few who have not 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 in their behalf was the seeing some who by the verdict of juries 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, dragged back to gaol and locked up again till they should pay sundry fees to the gaoler, the clerk of assize, &c.

“In order to redress this hardship, I applied to the justices of the county for a salary to the gaoler in lieu of his fees.† The bench were properly affected with the grievance, and willing to grant the relief desired ; but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the ex-

* Thomson's Winter, 360—365.

† The following printed paper was suspended in Bedford gaol : —“All persons that come to this place, either by warrant, commitment, or verbally, must pay, before discharged, fifteen shillings and four-pence to the gaoler, and two shillings to the turnkey.”

pense. I therefore rode into several neighbour-
1773. ing counties in search of one; but I soon learned
that the same injustice was practised in them;
and, looking into the prisons, beheld scenes of calamity,
which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate.
In order, therefore, to gain a more perfect knowledge of
the particulars and extent of it, by various and accurate
observation, I visited most of the county gaols in Eng-
land."

It will not be supposed that although one special grievance induced Howard to visit other gaols, his observation was therefore confined to that single vicious custom, when so much besides required correction. On the contrary, he saw many defects both in the construction of Bedford gaol and in the punishment of its unhappy inmates, and he perceived the like generally in other prisons; at the same time he was ever quick in discerning improvements, and as anxious to adopt them. This brief description of the gaol under his own jurisdiction will be read with interest:—

“ In this prison there is a day-room for debtors, which is used as a chapel; and three or four lodging-rooms,—one for men, the other for women,—without fire-places; two dungeons, down eleven steps, and often very damp. Five pounds a year is allowed to the gaoler for straw, which is not on the floors, but on frames or bedsteads. The justices, in winter, upon application, grant coals both to debtors and felons. The court is common to both, and small. No apartment for the gaoler, nor any salary. Clauses of the act against spirituous liquors are not hung up. I was, when sheriff, culpably ignorant of that act. No infirmary. About twenty years ago, the gaol fever

was in this prison; some died there, and many in the town; among whom was the surgeon who attended the prisoners. His successor judiciously changed the medicines from sudorifics (generally used before) to bark and cordials; and a sail ventilator being soon after put up, the gaol has been free from the fever almost ever since. 1773.

“This prison is kept very clean, but the act for preserving the health of the prisoners is not hung up.* Besides the fees extorted, if possible, by the gaoler, the debtor must pay garnish five shillings. The allowance of food was two quartern loaves a week each; and for felons two half-peck loaves.”

November 4, 1773.—Howard’s inspection commenced with the neighbouring prisons of Huntingdon and Cambridge; but seeing like evils to those at Bedford, and having derived no advantage from this excursion, he again started on the 15th of that month, and visited several more distant gaols. Northampton came first in his tour, where the keeper of the Bridewell received 36*l.* as his salary, but paid 40*l.* for his office of gaoler. The prison was close and confined; there was a dungeon, in which were several prisoners. The allowance of food was about the same as at Bedford; but no bedding, nor even straw, was granted to lie upon. The chapel was at the top of the gaoler’s house; and upon this the humane visitor remarks, “it must be painful for prisoners loaded with irons to go up and down the stairs.”† Leicester was next visited. The prison here was bad in almost

* State of Prisons, 1st Bk. p. 241.

† Ibid. p. 295.

1773. every respect. Its dungeons were damp, dark, and offensive. The prisoners slept on mats, but had no coverlets. There was no chapel, and but a small court. An annual collection was made by the clergy for the clothing, food, and firing, of some debtors, whereby, Howard tells us, great relief was afforded.* Nottingham was his next stage, where he says, “Down twenty-eight steps are three rooms for criminals who can pay. Down twelve steps more are deep dungeons cut in the sandy rock, very damp.”† The sight of these most wretched dens presented a contrast to apparent benevolence towards their inmates, since a commodious bath was provided, which could be warm when required, and abundant nourishment was ordered for the sick. Upon this, Howard—always glad to promote good by commendation rather than censure—observes, “Gentlemen so remarkably considerate and humane will, I hope, abolish the unwholesome dungeons.”‡

At Warwick gaol he found some more miserable dungeons,—“close, damp, and offensive.” A keeper had died of the gaol distemper. Some cruel practices had been abandoned,—amongst them that of loading females with irons, and Howard again pleads for the extension of compassion on this account.§

Thence he proceeded to Worcester. Here were

* State of Prisons, 1st Bk. p. 271.

† Ibid. p. 279.

‡ Ibid. p. 280.

§ Ibid. p. 265.

many gross practices. The keeper was the widow of one who had before held the office. The felons' dungeon was twenty-six feet under ground. The surgeon of this prison had caught the gaol fever, and was fearful of going again into this pit of corruption. ^{1773.}

The county gaol at Gloucester was next visited, and the following is the description given of it:— .

“Only one court for all the prisoners, and one small day-room, 12 feet by 11, for men and women—felons. There is a chapel, but all the endeavours of the chaplain to promote reformation among the prisoners must necessarily be defeated, by the inattention of the magistrates, and their neglect of framing and enforcing good regulations. . . . Of the felons, &c., thirteen were transports; about twenty were fines; and not having the county allowance, nor any employment, were very pitiable objects indeed; half naked, and almost famished. Mr. Raikes and other gentlemen took pity on them, and generously contributed towards the feeding and clothing them.”*

Howard's description of this prison has been given, because, as will be hereafter seen, the improvements effected there were amongst the first fruits of his labours.

Mr. Raikes, whose piety and philanthropy were conspicuous not only in the relief of criminals, but also in the establishment of Sunday schools, by which so much crime has been prevented, was not long without additional support, nor were

* State of Prisons, p. 314.

1773. other authorities allowed to remain “inattentive and negligent.” Something of Howard’s spirit was imparted to a distinguished and most intelligent magistrate of this county—Sir G. O. Paul, who, in a manner worthy of his own character and of the occasion, a few years after protested against the continuance of such enormities, and, as the sequel will show, prevailed in his endeavours to correct them.

From Gloucester, Howard proceeded to Oxford and Aylesbury; and in the prisons of both places he found malpractices and miseries similar to those described. With the last this tour was completed. On his return to Cardington, the frightful retrospect would not suffer him to remain in his peaceful home. The original purpose of his journey had not yet been accomplished, but he had seen so much of crime, cruelty, and distress in the management and condition of the prisons he had visited, that he determined at once to resume his inspection. He was no stranger to oppression and wretchedness when he began his investigation, but he had discovered more than former experience led him to think existed in his native land. With Howard the knowledge of woe was enough, not merely to excite a wish for its removal, but to forbid rest until the effort had been made. After an interval of only ten days, he entered afresh upon his work of mercy. On this excursion, Hertford gaol was first visited.

Here were two small rooms, and two dungeons, in which the felons were continually kept, without fresh air or exercise of any kind. Reading was next visited. Here a woman was keeper, and it was no wonder that the felons had a short time before broken prison. Neither straw nor water was provided; but a person had charitably given thirty-six coverlets, six years before, which were then rags.*

Over the debtors' grate were these lines—

“O ye, whose hours exempt from sorrow flow!
Behold the seat of pain, and want, and woe;
Think, while your hands th' entreated alms extend,
That what to us ye give, to God ye lend.”†

At Salisbury, whither Howard next went, he found prisoners were allowed coal, but had no chimneys in their wards. It was burnt in the middle of them upon a raised brick. He further tells us that—

“Just without the prison gate is a round staple fixed in the wall: through it is put a chain, at each end of which a debtor, padlocked by the leg, stands, offering to those who pass by nets, laces, purses, &c, made in the prison. At Christmas, felons, chained together, are permitted to go about; one of them carrying a sack or basket for food, another a box for money.”‡

Both here and at Dorchester, which was next

* State of Prisons, p. 299.

† These lines are now inscribed over a charity box connected with the debtors' gaol at Dover Castle.

‡ State of Prisons, p. 337.

1773. visited, if at the assizes a bill against any supposed felon were ignored, or if, upon his trial, he were found "not guilty," he was not discharged until 23s. had been paid; so that the verdict of acquittal might entail a longer imprisonment than would have been imposed upon a conviction.

At Horsham was a prison with small rooms, and no court for air and exercise. No straw allowed. In a note Howard tells us that when he entered with the keeper, they saw a heap of rubbish. The prisoners had been two or three days undermining, and a general escape was intended that night. "Our lives," he adds, "were at their mercy: but (thank God) they did not attempt to murder us and rush out."*

The bridewell at Guildford was no better constructed. There was indeed a small court, but no prisoner had access to it excepting on payment of a shilling. Having thus far explored these haunts of tyranny, corruption, and vice, some recreation became necessary. Howard, therefore, returned to London; and the Christmas holidays having arrived, he proceeded to Pinner, where his child had been for about a year at school, and thence he accompanied him to Cardington.

1774. It appears that on the very day of his son's return to school, January 17, 1774, Howard again left home on a tour of further in-

* State of Prisons, pp. 27. 229.

spection. Oakham gaol was first visited ;
whence he proceeded to York, Lincoln, ^{1774.}
and Ely.

At the last-named city the gaoler had been guilty of most atrocious practices. The prison was unsafe ; and in order to secure its inmates, he had chained them down on their backs upon the floor, across which were several iron bars, with an iron collar with spikes about their necks, and a heavy iron bar over their legs. An excellent magistrate, J. Collier, Esq., presented an account of the case with a drawing to the king, with which His Majesty was much affected, and gave immediate orders for proper inquiry and redress. The prison had in consequence been rebuilt.

After visiting Norwich and Ipswich, Howard went to London, whence he made an excursion to Colchester, and having there inspected the prison, he returned for the purpose of examining the county gaol at Southwark. He describes it as having "eighteen large rooms, yet not sufficient for the number of prisoners. No bedding : no straw : no infirmary : no chapel."*

From London he proceeded to Exeter. The gaol there was private property, and the keeper paid 22*l.* per annum for his privileges, which consisted of the "tap" and the extortion of fees. Every criminal had to pay 14*s.* 4*d.* before he could be released. On this visit, two sailors, fined only 1*s.* for

* State of Prisons, p. 205.

1774. their offence, were detained for fees which they had no opportunity or prospect of being able to pay.

The gaol for Cornwall at Launceston was in a wretched condition. These are Howard's notes—

“ This gaol, though built in the large green belonging to the old ruinous castle, is very small. The prison is a room or passage, $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $7\frac{1}{2}$, with only one window 2 feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$: and three dungeons or cages on the side opposite the window: these are about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep; one 9 feet long; one about 8 feet; one not 5 feet: this last for women. They are all very offensive. No chimney: no water: no sewers: damp earth floors: no infirmary. The court not secure; and prisoners seldom permitted to go out to it. Indeed, the whole prison is out of repair, and yet the gaoler lives distant. I once found the prisoners chained two or three together. Their provision was put down to them through a hole (9 inches by 8) in the floor of the room above (used as a chapel); and those who served them there often caught the fatal fever. At my first visit I found the keeper, his assistant, and all the prisoners but one sick of it, and heard that a few years before, many prisoners had died of it, and the keeper and his wife in one night.”*

At Hereford gaol, which was soon after visited, there was no better provision for the inmates; but on proceeding to Monmouth he found much worse misery. The felons were all confined at night at the top of the gaoler's house, in darkness and filth; for as Howard observes, “it was difficult to carry water up and down a narrow staircase with iron fetters on.” The consequence

* State of Prisons, p. 351, 352.

of this was, that the gaol fever was raging with virulence. The keeper, several of the prisoners, and some of their friends, died of it. From Monmouth, Howard proceeded to London. He there visited the Wood Street compter, and found it crowded, dark and dirty, vermin swarming in it. No bedding or straw was allowed for felons: those who could pay 1s. a night obtained a bed. There was a chapel, and under it the tap-room. No wonder that in this close and offensive scene of wretchedness the prisoners were sickly, and eleven had recently died. Howard had by this time not only seen enough to satisfy his own mind that the evils he witnessed in Bedford gaol were equalled in almost every other, and very far surpassed in many, but he had now collected an amount of evidence on the condition of our English prisons which was calculated to arouse the most indifferent, and to excite in every humane mind an earnest desire for their improvement. An opportunity for making known the result of his observations was ere long presented.

The iniquity of extorting fees, especially from innocent persons, had impressed the mind of a benevolent member of the House of Commons—Mr. Popham, and during the last year he had introduced a bill providing for their payment out of the county rates. The bill, after having been read a second time, was dropped in committee, because adequate compensation to some parties deriving

1774. emoluments from the existing system was not secured. But it appears that Mr. Popham, having in the meantime held communication with Howard, renewed his motion in the next session, March, 1774, with an additional measure for the more effectually securing the health of prisoners confined in gaols. A friend of Howard's, Mr. St. John, and his relative, Mr. Whitbread, appear to have taken an active part in the preparation and support of these bills. A committee was formed, and Howard was examined.

The evidence adduced seems to have astonished the Committee, and to have secured the passing of these important measures. This was the first step towards the correction of vicious regulations; it cheered Howard with the conviction that his labour had not been in vain. But lest these, like so many acts of Parliament, should be too obscure and misunderstood, we are told he had them printed at his own expense, in an intelligible form, and sent to every keeper of a county gaol in England. "By those acts," he writes, "the tear was wiped from many an eye; and the legislature had for them the blessing of many that were ready to perish."*

Upon the meeting of the House of Commons, the chairman of the Committee, Sir Thomas Clavering, reported that "he was directed to move the house, that John Howard, Esq., be called in to the bar, and that Mr. Speaker do acquaint him,

* Introd. to State of Prisons, p. 2.

that the House are very sensible of the humanity and zeal which have led him to visit the several gaols of this kingdom, and to communicate to the House the interesting observations he has made upon the subject.” 1774.

The motion was carried unanimously, and the voices of men of every party were united in one general applause.

CHAPTER V.

HOWARD RESUMES INSPECTION OF GAOLS.—THE MARSHALSEA.—DUNGEONS AT DURHAM AND MORPETH.—HORRIBLE DUNGEONS OF CHESTER CASTLE.—OTHER PRISONS VISITED ON RETURN TO CARDINGTON.—ANOTHER TOUR.—VISITS GAOLS AT MAIDSTONE, CANTERBURY, CLERKENWELL, TOTHILL-FIELDS.—AN EXEMPLARY GAOLER.—THE FLEET.—THE KING'S BENCH.—GAOLS IN WHITECHAPEL.—TOUR OF PRISON INSPECTION THROUGH WALES.—VISITS THE BRIDEWELLS IN ENGLAND.—THEIR WRETCHED STATE.—HOWARD A CANDIDATE FOR BEDFORD WITH MR. WHITBREAD.—VISITS AGAIN PRISONS IN SEVERAL COUNTIES.—LONG IMPRISONMENT BEFORE TRIAL.—GOES INTO SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.—REGULATIONS FOR IRISH GAOLS.—COMMITTEE ON BEDFORD ELECTION.

1774. HOWARD now resumed his labours. Going first to London, he visited the Marshalsea, a gaol in which pirates, and persons arrested for the lowest sums within twelve miles around London, were confined. Many prisoners had no beds, nor any place to sleep in but the chapel and the tap-room. There was no infirmary. Howard adds—

“The Tap was let to a prisoner in the rules of the King's Bench prison; this prison being just within those rules. I was credibly informed that one Sunday 600 pots of beer were brought in from a public house, the prisoners not then liking the tapster's beer.”*

A few days after the above visit we find Howard at Durham, where the County Gaol was in a horrible condition. The following is his description:—

“Felons have no court, but they have a day-room, and two small rooms for an infirmary. The men are put at

* State of Prisons, p. 212.

night into dungeons : one seven feet square for three prisoners ; another, the *Great Hole*, seven- 1774. teen feet by twelve, has only a little window. In this I saw six prisoners, most of them transports, chained to the floor. In that situation they had been many weeks ; and were very sickly. Their straw on the stone floor almost worn to dust. Long confinement, and not having the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week, had urged them to attempt an escape ; after which the gaoler chained them as above." *

At Newcastle, Howard had the enjoyment of seeing some prisoners treated with justice and compassion. The gaoler had a salary. The prison was remarkably clean, strewed with sand. The prisoners had sufficient coals and candles—

“ Every one had a chaff bed, two blankets and a coverlet. Debtors and felons were not thus accommodated in any other prison in England. No prisoners have fetters unless they be riotous. For some years past, prisoners acquitted have been discharged in court ; the Corporation paid the gaoler's fees if the prisoners were poor. A physician of the town visited the prisoners very assiduously, without fee or reward. This is the only instance of the kind I have met with.” †

He had gone but a few miles further, when, in the dark dungeon of Morpeth gaol, he found three wretched creatures chained down and deprived of everything but just food enough to preserve their miserable lives.

Having visited the prisons of Carlisle, Westmoreland and Lancaster, Howard proceeded to Liverpool

* State of Prisons, p. 379.

† Ib. p. 383.

1774. and then to Chester : the Castle, which was the county gaol, he thus describes—

“ This Castle is the property of the King. The first room is a hall, or chapel : Down eighteen steps is a small court, which was common to debtors and felons. It is lately divided ; but the high close pales which separate the two courts, now so very small, deprive both debtors and felons of the benefit of fresh air. The former, in their free ward, the Pope’s Kitchen ; the latter in their day-room, the King’s Kitchen. Both these are six steps below the court : near the former is the condemned room. Under the Pope’s Kitchen is a dark room or passage : the descent to it is by twenty-one steps from the court. No window : not a breath of fresh air : only two apertures with grates in the ceiling into the Pope’s Kitchen above. On one side of it are six cells (*stalls*) each about eight feet by three, with a barrack bedstead, and an aperture over the door about eight inches by four. In each of these are locked up at night sometimes three or four felons. They pitch these dungeons two or three times a year : when I was in one of them, I ordered the door to be shut, and my situation brought to mind what I had heard of the *black hole* at Calcutta.” *

And, whilst thus loathsome, it was likewise insecure, and the prisoners had recently escaped through the decayed walls.

Howard now directed his course homewards. On his way he revisited the prisons at Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, Northampton, and Leicester. In the borough gaol of the last town he found that women, as well as men, were confined in dungeons.

* State of Prisons, p. 400.

A single week's rest at Cardington was sufficient to recruit one so ardent in 1774. work as Howard; and, on the 13th of April, he travelled into Kent. We there find him inspecting the prison at Maidstone; where, for the first time, he discovered an instance in which a salary had been assigned to the gaoler in lieu of the "Tap." The gaoler was likewise more humane than most of his fraternity of that day; and it is observed that only two prisoners were in irons.*

Thence Howard proceeded to Canterbury, and visited the bridewells in that city. That for the county he found clean, though defective in some respects; but the city prison over the west gate was not only dirty, but confined and ill-regulated. This was a certain consequence of the gaoler's keeping a public house adjoining. Rochester prison seems to have been equally bad. There were "three rooms, all close and offensive. No court: no water." †

Returning to London, Howard's attention was directed to the large gaols which he had then an opportunity of inspecting. The bridewell at Clerkenwell was first visited. Here he found mere sheds for the day-rooms, and the sleeping places were so crowded that some were obliged to sleep in hammocks suspended from the ceiling.

Yet even these arrangements were preferable to

* State of Prisons, p. 224.

† Ib. p. 228.

1774. those for the women, none of whom were allowed beds, or even straw to lie upon, unless they could pay. They had twelve very small, dark, unwholesome cells, in which they were crammed together during the night, there being as many women of the poorest class as men in this prison. Some were seen picking oakum, which their considerate visitor speaks of as salutary, because the scent of the tar counteracted the contagious and unhealthy effluvia.*

Tothillfields bridewell was next visited. Here very little provision was made either for the spiritual or bodily welfare of the inmates: there being no appointed chaplain; very inadequate accommodation; no infirmary; insufficient food; and no straw allowed. But the exemplary conduct of the keeper formed a pleasing contrast to the culpable negligence of his superiors. He appears to have been a man who feared God, and therefore felt anxious for the comfort and improvement of his prisoners. Hence the observation, "I found this prison clean, washed every day, and quite wholesome."

There was a chapel in which, in the absence of the chaplain, we are told, the gaoler "read a chapter and prayers every morning;" and no person was admitted into this prison on a Sunday, after nine o'clock in the morning, until five o'clock in the evening.

* State of Prisons, p. 196.

Howard next visited the Fleet. What were his feelings when visiting the Fleet ^{1774.} we may infer from the description he has given of the prison, its occupants, and their pursuits. Howard begins by referring to the gaol committee of 1729, when he tells us that "many abuses were the subject of inquiry." It would appear, however, that if the punishment of the warden prevented future cruelty, yet gross irregularities were not permanently corrected. There are, he says, four floors—they call them *galleries*—besides the cellar floor, called Bartholomew Fair.

"They also play in the court at skittles, mississippi, fives, tennis, &c.; and not only the prisoners: I saw among them several butchers and others from the market, who are admitted here as at any other public-house. The same may be seen in many other prisons where the gaoler keeps or lets the tap.

"Besides the inconvenience of this to prisoners, the frequenting a prison lessens the dread of being confined in one. On Monday night there was a wine club: on Thursday night a beer club; each lasting usually till one or two in the morning. I need not say how much riot these occasion, and how the sober prisoners, and those that are sick, are annoyed by them.

"Seeing the prison crowded with women and children, I procured an accurate list of them, and found that when there were 243 prisoners, their wives (including women of an appellation not so honourable) and children were 475."

Grieved and disgusted as Howard must have been by this visit to the Fleet, we find that the same day he visited the King's Bench Prison: there also profligacy and wickedness prevailed to

1774. an extent scarcely less flagrant. There was a wine club and beer club, and gambling, and a code, concerning which he says—

“There are besides in this prison, as in the Fleet, certain printed rules made by the prisoners themselves, ‘to be obeyed and observed by every member of *this college*’ (as they are pleased to term it). Many of them are arbitrary and improper.” *

The next place inspected was the Poultry compter; which, like the two last described, was crowded with prisoners for debt, and the scene of similar depravity and vice. But Howard’s researches were not confined to the large and populous prisons like the Fleet, the Bench, and the Compter, which were to some extent known: he inspected also small and obscure dens and dungeons in which the rod of oppression was wielded unobserved and without restraint. One of these secluded habitations of cruelty was discovered in Whitechapel. It was a prison of some manor court, for those whose debts did not exceed five pounds; and the miserable inmates, notwithstanding such proof of poverty, were the victims of extortion or cruelty. Although unable to pay their just debts, they must pay their gaoler: 2s. 6d. a week was the price of a half bed in this wretched abode, besides various contributions in the way of garnish, &c. A begging-box was hung out in the street, but poverty—the very plea for soliciting alms—was

* State of Prisons, p. 211.

really a preventive to its victim from any share in the collection. The prisoner^{1774.} must, by some means, pay his gaoler and his garnish before he could assert his claim to such a privilege.

It is a proof of the unwearied diligence with which Howard prosecuted his inquiry, that there was a small prison for debtors, called St. Catherine's, which he found *empty*. Yet this did not prevent another call: on four several occasions he visited it with the same result.*

The gaols of North and South Wales had not yet been explored, and, having now inspected most of the important prisons in this part of the kingdom, Howard directed his attention to the Principality. His notes upon the gaol at Flint, which appears to have been first inspected, are dated June 25, 1774. There he found that—

“For felons and petty *offenders* there were two dark closets, the *black holes*; they are each 5 feet by 4, and were the only receptacles for criminals till a few years ago, when a dungeon in the yard was added, which is 16 feet by 11. This is down eight steps.” †

Women, we are further told, were occasionally confined in those dismal holes, which were too small for even one prisoner to recline and rest in. At Ruthin, which was next visited, some cells were found only *three feet* wide. The gaols at Caernarvon and Dolgelly were both insecure, dirty, and very

* State of Prisons, pp. 200—214.

† *Ib.* p. 410.

1774. offensive, the necessary consequence of their having neither water nor sewerage provided. Those at Montgomery and Presteign were in little better condition. Some event probably stopped further progress at this time, and Howard returned, revisiting on his way the prisons of Ludlow, Worcester, and Oxford.

We have no account of his proceedings during the three weeks preceding; but on the 28th of July we find him again engaged in his benevolent research. His immediate object of inquiry at this time we learn from the Introduction to the First Book on the State of Prisons:—

“ Seeing in two or three of the county gaols some poor creatures whose aspect was singularly deplorable, and asking the cause of it, the answer was, ‘ they were lately brought from the *bridewells*.’ This started a fresh subject of inquiry. I resolved to inspect the *bridewells*; and for that purpose travelled again into the counties where I had been, and indeed into all the rest; examining *houses of correction and city and town gaols*. I beheld in many of them, as well as in the *county gaols*, a complication of distress; but my attention was principally fixed by the *gaol fever* and the *small-pox*, which I saw prevailing, to the destruction of multitudes, not only of *felons* in their dungeons, but of debtors also.” *

Having again visited Reading and Ilchester, he passed on to Taunton and Shepton Mallet. In the former the gaol fever had not long before destroyed nearly one half of the prisoners, and yet the prison was not now kept clean, and no

* State of Prisons, p. 2.

infirmary had been provided. Here and in some other gaols it is observed that a chaplain had been recently appointed. The bridewell at Devizes, though badly constructed, was clean. The keeper was also landlord of a public house. At Marlborough the prison is thus described:—

“ All the rooms are on the ground floor ; and by a sewer within doors they are made very offensive, especially the men’s night-room ; in which, when I was there first, I saw one dying on the floor, of the gaol fever. The keeper told me that just before one had died there, and another soon after his discharge. Upstairs are three rooms for those who pay. No court : no water accessible to prisoners : no straw. Allowance to petty offenders, none ; felons, two pennyworth of bread a day.” *

Even the new prison at Cardigan was no better:—

“ This gaol, which is also the bridewell, was just finished when I was first there. Too slight a building. The rooms are low, and close glazed : no casements : a *dungeon* down eleven steps : all very dirty, and abounds with vermin, as is often the case where there is no water.” †

At Haverfordwest were two low damp dungeons, in one of which a prisoner lost the use of his limbs, and afterwards died. At Carmarthen was a filthy and offensive gaol, in which Howard found a number of idle and profane men admitted to play at tennis. The borough prison was in a worse condition ; neither had any water, and this is described as “ *full* of vermin.” ‡

At the bridewell of Cowbridge many had died

* State of Prisons, p. 339. † Ib. p. 419. ‡ Ib. p. 422.

1774. of the gaol fever: the keeper and his daughter had lately suffered from it.*

Returning by way of Usk, Howard there visited the bridewell, where, he says, the keeper's wife told me that "herself, her father, who was then keeper, and many others of the family had had the gaol fever some time before: three of them and several prisoners died of it."†

Thence proceeding to Berkeley he found a prison much out of repair, and insecure. No allowance for prisoners. No straw. The smaller prisons at Bristol are reported as being equally defective. In this city Howard appears to have remained about a fortnight, probably again deriving advantage from the hot-wells, which had before relieved him. During this time he revisited the prisons. Thence on the 10th of August he passed on to Taunton and Bridgewater. The prison of the latter place was one miserable room, in which twenty-seven prisoners had been confined. The bridewell of Exeter and that of Bodmin were both dilapidated. In the latter place the gaol fever had been very fatal, and not only in the prison, but also in the town.‡

At Plymouth the town gaol is thus described:—

"Two rooms for felons; and a large room above for debtors. One of the former, the *clink*, 17 feet by 8, about 5½ft. high, with a wicket in the door 7 inches by 5, to admit light and air. To this, as I was informed, three

* State of Prisons, p. 428. † *Ib.* p. 3 2. ‡ *Ib.* p. 352.

men who were confined near two months under sentence of transportation, came by turns for 1774. breath. The door had not been opened for five weeks, when I with difficulty entered to see a pale inhabitant. He had been there ten weeks, under sentence of transportation, and he said he had much rather have been hanged than confined in that noisome cell. No water: no sewer: no court. The gaolers live distant; they are the three sergeants at mace. Fees 15s. 10d., no table. Allowance to debtors, none but on application: felons, two-pennyworth of bread a day. No straw." *

One week after this we find Howard again in Dorsetshire, where he visited the bridewell at Sherborne, and rejoiced that the humanity of the magistrates had induced them to order that prisoners should ride to the place of their trial instead of walking with heavy irons." †

He then revisited the gaols of Dorchester, Salisbury, and Winchester. The bridewell of the last city he describes as close and much too small. He adds—

"This prison has been fatal to vast numbers. The misery of the prisoners excited the compassion of the duke of Chandos, who, for some years past, has sent them every week about thirty pounds of beef and two gallon loaves." ‡

At Gosport he found the prison dirty. No straw allowed. He mentions a wise provision of an oven to purify the clothes, but, with a strange inconsistency, the county would not allow fuel for the purpose.

* State of Prisons, p. 350. † Ib. p. 343. ‡ Ib. p. 332.

From Hampshire, Howard went to
1774. Petworth, where he found the prison
too small. No chimney; no court; no water;
no employment.”*

At Horsham the prisoners were confined in one small room, and the keeper had died of the gaol fever.

Two months had now been spent in these painful investigations; and fifteen counties having been traversed, and about fifty prisons carefully inspected, relaxation was again necessary, and he returned to Cardington.

Howard had not returned many days from his last tour, when a large proportion of the inhabitants of Bedford waited upon him with the proposal, that he would come forward to represent them in Parliament. He consented and was nominated, but not elected; but was induced, with Mr. Whitbread, to petition against the return of their opponents. But, in prosecuting this scrutiny, he would not consume time which might be more profitably spent in the great work to which he had devoted himself; and therefore no sooner was the election declared, than, before the excitement had subsided, he again started on another expedition of mercy. He now resumed his travels through the counties of York, Lancaster, and Warwick, visiting the bridewells of Folkingham and Huntingdon on his way, and inspecting the gaol at

* State of Prisons, p. 231.

Aylesbury on his return. At this time it was a frequent but most cruel practice ^{1774.} to confine lunatics in the common gaols; and at Folkingham, Howard found a poor insane creature, who had been immured for some years in a damp place under the keeper's house!

At Peterborough, the prisons were insecure, and the provision for their inmates equally defective. Thence Howard went to Hull, where he found arrangements equally bad; filthy and offensive prisons without any court or sewer, and no allowance of either food, water, or straw to their wretched occupants, one of whom was "a raving lunatic, and another insane." Justice and mercy were alike violated in these horrid receptacles: for "at Hull they used to have the assize but once in seven years: they now have it once in three years." Thus for any term short of that, the innocent might be consigned to languish in squalor, thirst, and hunger, without even straw to lie on, their rest forbidden by the screams of madmen; and, should the wretched victim survive that time, the cruel injury might well be deemed too great for compensation, and none was granted. On the other hand, the most guilty might escape. Again, death might seal the lips of many a witness during that long interval, and thus even the murderer might escape with impunity. Such a case had then occurred.—"Peacock, a murderer, was in prison there nearly three years; before his trial, the prin-

1774. cipal witness died, and the criminal was acquitted." *

Other prisons in Yorkshire were then visited in succession; viz., those of Beverley, York, and Wakefield, in some of which Howard observed a regard to cleanliness—disease and danger might enforce it: yet even this was rare; “dirty and offensive” are the terms more frequently employed, whilst clemency and kindness were nowhere found. At Manchester a new bridewell had been erected, and some improvements introduced. The gaol for the borough of Liverpool was next inspected. The authorities of this town conferred the honour of its freedom on Howard upon this occasion. The condition of this gaol assures us that it would have been more gratifying to him, had they *imitated* the humanity they admired. Passing into Cheshire, at the bridewell of Middlewich, he found some dark rooms, where, to prevent suffocation, there were “perforations in the door of about two inches in diameter.” † Thence he returned to Warwick. The county bridewell, he writes, was “small, close, and offensive; no water; the handle of the pump is on the *outside* of the wall.” ‡ Howard might well be amazed at such an arrangement without any assignable reason. The town gaol at Birmingham, properly called “the Dungeon,” was very offensive; in the small court, besides the litter from the gaoler’s stable, there was a stagnant puddle

* State of Prisons, p. 373. † *Ib.* p. 404. ‡ *Ib.* p. 267.

for ducks. "There were above 150 prisoners confined here in the winter of 1775." * Aylesbury gaol was the last he visited on this tour, where he found that since his former visit—less than twelve months before—six or seven prisoners had died of the gaol distemper. †

Another short interval expired on the first day of the succeeding year. He then ^{1775.} set out upon a tour of prison inspection in Scotland and Ireland. On his way he did not overlook the gaols which had been before visited, nor pass by the bridewells which had not been previously examined. Amongst the latter, that of Southwell was visited, and here was a damp dungeon in which some time before seven criminals had died of the gaol fever. ‡

There can be little doubt that Howard made notes of what he saw during this excursion, but they have not been preserved, and we have in his works only a brief record of his visit. He there shows that his perseverance in well-doing was somewhat appreciated at Glasgow, where he was welcomed and entertained with much hospitality, and the freedom of the city presented to him.

We have only a few incidental notices of

* State of Prisons, p. 269.

† A few years after this, the same distemper prevailed in this prison; and on the return of a criminal to his parish at Stoke, the disease spread and almost depopulated it.

‡ State of Prisons, p. 282.

1775. Howard's journeyings in Ireland at this time. Some good regulations are described, and several clauses of Acts quoted, the provisions of which certainly might well have been adopted in England. Of these, one prohibited the sale of spirits or beer by any gaoler; another forbade the keeping of cattle in prison yards; and a third empowered the clergyman of the parish in which there was any gaol to order sufficient bread for the felons therein confined.*

The petitions against the return at the late election being now proceeded with, one of the seats was declared vacant, and was filled by Mr. Whitbread; but Howard himself was not successful.

We are enabled to discern the wisdom of Him who was constantly promoting His designs of mercy towards the prisoner and the captive, by the various disappointments which Howard experienced. He himself, as we learn from Thomasson's notes, upon reflection, saw that the event had been wisely overruled, and cheerfully acquiesced in the result. "He seemed to rejoice that it left him at liberty to pursue without interruption his investigation of accumulated sufferings in foreign climes, as well as in his native country."

* State of Prisons, pp. 39, 40.

CHAPTER VI.

HOWARD'S MOTIVES FOR A CONTINENTAL TOUR.—ARRIVAL AT PARIS.—ATTEMPT TO ENTER THE BASTILE.—ALLOWED TO VISIT OTHER PRISONS.—THE BICETRE.—PROCEEDS TO BRUSSELS.—VISITS VILVORDE, GHENT, BRUGES PRISONS, ETC.—INSPECTS THE PEST-HOUSE.—PRISON AT THE HAGUE.—FEW DEBTORS AT AMSTERDAM.—EXECUTIONS AT AMSTERDAM.—THE RASP-HOUSE.—PRISONS AT BREMEN AND HAMBURGH.—CONVICTS AT LUNENBURGH AND HANAU.—MAISON DE FORCE AT MANHEIM.—PRISON AT MENTZ.—LETTER TO A FRIEND.

HOWARD had by this time ascertained the condition of almost every prison in Eng-^{1775.}land, Wales, and Ireland. He had not only made himself acquainted with the enormities which were perpetrated in many of them, but had observed in all the absence of any proper discipline. The repugnance of his own mind to the cruelties he had discovered naturally disposed him to believe that if made known to authorities they must be restrained; and if this were accomplished, then improvements upon what was defective would ere long follow. His philanthropy had been exerted in a new sphere; and whilst pursuing his investigations he had frequent proof of the general ignorance which prevailed upon the subject of them. He determined, therefore, to publish the result of his experience, and to suggest such changes in the treatment of criminals as he hoped might relieve their miseries, correct their morals, and at the same time be conducive to the welfare

1775. of the community. But Howard would not risk success by precipitancy, and therefore, as he tells us in the Introduction to his account of Foreign Prisons—

“ I designed to publish the account of our prisons in the spring of 1775, after I returned from Scotland and Ireland. But conjecturing that something useful to my purpose might be collected abroad, I laid aside my papers, and travelled into France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany.”*

Howard embarked about the middle of April, 1775, and proceeded first to Paris. One of the first places to which he directed his steps was the Bastile. He tells us that the description he had given of this prison was—

“ Chiefly with the design of inculcating a reverence for the principles of a *free constitution* like our own, which will not permit in any degree the exercise of that despotism which has rendered the name of bastile so formidable. I was desirous of examining it myself; and for that purpose knocked hard at the outer gate, and immediately went forward through the guard to the drawbridge, before the entrance of the castle. But whilst I was contemplating this gloomy mansion, an officer came out much surprised; and I was forced to retreat through the mute guard, and thus regained that freedom which, for one locked up within those walls, it is next to impossible to obtain.”†

The secrecy with which punishment was then inflicted in France threatened to prove an insurmountable obstacle to Howard's inspection of

* State of Prisons, p. 51.

† Ib. p. 148.

other prisons; but he discovered that one article in the code for the regulation of 1775. prisons provided for the admission of persons who should distribute alms amongst the inmates. Concerning which he says:—

“ Many of my readers, acquainted with the strict police of France, would have supposed that the other prisons would have been as inaccessible to a visitant as the *Bastille*. And, indeed, my first application for admittance at the *Grand Châtelet* was unsuccessful. But fortunately remarking the tenth article of the *Arrêt*, 1717, I pleaded it before the *Commissaire de la Prison*, to whom I was referred, and by its means gained admission as well into that prison as those of *Le Petit Châtelet* and *Fort l'Evêque*, and had an opportunity of seeing almost every individual confined in them.”*

Although many of the prisons in Paris appear to have been better constructed, and their occupants were under better discipline, than those in England, yet, in some, atrocious deeds were perpetrated scarcely surpassed by any which Howard had before witnessed. A part of the *Bicêtre* is thus described:—

“ In the middle of *La Cour Royale* are eight dreadful dungeons down sixteen steps, each about thirteen feet by nine, with two strong doors, three chains fastened to the wall, and a stone funnel at one corner of each cell for air. From the situation of these dreary caverns, and the difficulty I found in procuring admittance, I conclude hardly any other stranger ever saw them.”†

From France, Howard proceeded to Brussels,

* *Foreign Prisons*, p. 149.

† *Ib.* p. 145.

1775. where he addressed the following letter to a friend* at Bedford :—

“ Bruxelles, May 17, 1775.

“ Dear Sir,—The very kind part you take in my affairs makes me flatter myself that a line will not be disagreeable. Since I left England I have visited several gaols in French Flanders, as almost every one in Paris; and, indeed, with no little trouble or resolution did I get admittance into those seats of woe, as at this time both at Paris, Versailles, and in many provinces, there have been the greatest riots and confusion.

“ The military patrol the streets of Paris night and day. There are daily executions, one of which with pain I attended last Thursday. I came late last night to this city. To-day I have been employed in visiting the gaols, and collecting all the criminal laws, as I did those of France. However rigorous they may be, yet their great care and attention to their prisons is worthy of commendation: all fresh and clean, no gaol distemper, no prisoner ironed: the bread allowance far exceeds that of any of our gaols; *e. g.*, every prisoner here has two pounds of bread a day, once (a day) soup, and on a Sunday one pound of meat.

“ But I write to my friend as a relaxation from what so much engrosses my thoughts; and, indeed, I force myself to the public dinners and suppers for that purpose, though I show little respect to a set of men who are so highly esteemed (the French cooks), as I have not tasted fish, flesh, or fowl, since I have been on this side of the water.

“ Through a kind Providence I am very well, in calm, easy spirits; the public *voitures* have not been crowded, and I have met in general with agreeable company.

“ I hope to be in Holland the beginning of next week; the country, especially Flanders, affords the pleasing

* The Rev. T. Smith.

prospect of the greatest plenty ; this dry weather 1775. affects them less than in other countries.

“ Permit me to remain, with affection and esteem, your obliged friend,

“ J. HOWARD.”

We have but few particulars of Howard's stay at Brussels : his time appears to have been spent in visiting the several prisons and hospitals of that city, and thence he made an excursion to Vilvorde, where a large prison was at that time building. Thence he proceeded to Ghent, where the *Maison de Force*, of still larger dimensions, was in part completed, and occupied by about 200 prisoners. In its management and discipline this prison far surpassed any he had before seen.

During this visit Howard tells us that he derived “ no little pleasure when visiting the nunnery at Ghent, not inhabited solely by nuns, but destined to the reception of men who are insane, and sick aged women. The insane had, when requisite, assistance from their own sex ; and both these and the poor women were treated with tenderness.” *

Bruges was next visited, and in the prison of that place he admired the great care taken of the sick, and spent some time in examining the prescriptions of physicians, which were strictly preserved.

Incidental notices frequently occur which tell us that although Howard's benevolence proved as

* Foreign Prisons, p. 132.

1775. extensive as his travels, yet his patriotic feelings were not thereby lessened. Whilst at Rotterdam he tells us that he visited the Pest-house across the Maes; and after giving the dimensions, he adds, in a characteristic manner:—

“I mention this edifice, not only because it occurred to me that it would be a good plan for a house of correction, being airy, and built round a court in which is a basin of water communicating with the Maes; but on account of the sentiments of veneration it inspired, when I trod on the ground under which such piles of my brave countrymen lie buried; it having been used as a military hospital after the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.”*

Howard's reputation now procured his favourable reception with every friend to humanity, and on proceeding to the Hague he found the British ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, ready to forward his desires and to facilitate his researches. Introduced by him to the authorities of the place, he was accompanied by a magistrate to the prison, where he says “*all* was quiet and in order.” He obtained a copy of the prison regulations. The inmates were treated with much clemency, and their allowance was liberal. The rules which related to the prison officers were especially stringent. Amongst others the following:—

“If any prisoner escapes, whether by the immediate fault of the keeper or the fault of the servants, he is to suffer the punishment that was due to the prisoner. He may not keep a tavern or alehouse; nor play at cards, &c.

* Foreign Prisons, p. 59.

with his prisoners ; nor accept of any treat or gift from them, directly or indirectly, during their 1775. confinement or afterwards.

“Neglect of duty, drunkenness, ill-language, and quarrels, were visited with severe penalties ; and not giving information of defaulters punished with discharge.”*

At Amsterdam, amongst many wise regulations, which Howard saw with pleasure were judiciously enforced, there were some objectionable practices. The prison is in the Stadt-house. The keeper was allowed to sell spirits, and to supply provisions—always a fruitful source of disorder when permitted. The small number of prisoners for debt surprised him. “In this city,” he writes, “they compute 250,000 souls, about one-third of those in London, yet I find but eighteen debtors.” The causes are assigned :—

“When one is imprisoned, the creditor must pay the gaoler for his maintenance. Another reason is, that the situation is very disgraceful. But, perhaps, the principal cause that debtors, as well as capital offenders, are few, is the great care that is taken to train up the children of the poor, and indeed of all others, to industry. The magistrates do not approve of confining in idleness any that may be usefully employed.”†

The rooms for criminals in the prison at Amsterdam are described as—

“Down fifteen steps, ten feet by nine, each for one prisoner only. There were but six delinquents. The allowance was liberal. One of the magistrates with whom I was conversing said, ‘Nourish your prisoners well, and

* Foreign Prisons, p. 70.

† Ib. p. 35.

1775. keep them in dry rooms, and they will be healthy.'

"The condemned rooms have an iron door. From a book containing the names and crimes of all who have been executed at Amsterdam, from January, 1693, to the end of 1766, the number amounts to 336: but only 25 were executed in the last 20 years of that term.*

"Of late, in all the seven provinces, seldom more executions in a year than from four to six. One reason of this, I believe, is the awful solemnity of executions, which are performed in the presence of the magistrates, with great order and seriousness, and great effect on the spectators."†

Howard may well be supposed to have been struck with the contrast this state of things presented to the severity of our then penal code; but he was contending with evils far worse than the utmost severity of any code could inflict. The following remarks on this subject deserve special attention:—

"From my own observations, I was fully convinced that many more were destroyed by the gaol fever than were put to death by all the public executions in the kingdom. I have a table printed from a large copper-plate, in 1772, by Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen, showing the number of malefactors executed in London for the twenty-three preceding years, and the crimes for which they suffered. In it will be seen that the total number of executions in London, for those twenty-three years, was 678: the annual average is between 29 and 30. I leave to others the discussion of the questions, whether those executions were too numerous—whether all the crimes for which they were inflicted were deserving of death. And it may be left to

* State of Prisons, p. 63.

† *Ib.* p. 52.

any one to judge, whether, including debtors and petty offenders, the number of those that died 1775. in the several London prisons of the gaol fever does not exceed the number of those that were executed annually during that time. I have not the number of executions in all the counties, but am well assured it falls much short of the numbers that perished in prisons.”*

The following is the table † to which Howard refers; and his remarks upon this and others appended to his “State of Prisons” afford traits of his modesty and humanity:—

“ May I not indulge the hope that, many years after I shall be dead and forgotten, these tables, being of a public nature, will be occasionally reviewed, and may have inferences drawn from them which will, in their consequences, contribute to *alleviate the miseries* of mankind, and *add* something to the general stock of happiness among the human race?”

	Sentenced to death.	Pardoned, transported, or died in gaol.	Executed.
Shoplifting, riot, and twelve } other crimes	240	131	109
Defrauding creditors.....	3	...	3
Returning from transportation	31	9	22
Coining.....	11	1	10
Forgery.....	95	24	71
Horse stealing	90	68	22
Highway robbery.....	362	111	251
Housebreaking.....	208	90	118
Murder	81	9	72
Total.....	1121	443	678

* Foreign Prisons, p. 11.

† Ib. p. 437.

Howard next visited the Rasp House at
 1775. Amsterdam; a prison, in which about fifty men were confined. They were employed in rasping logwood generally; but their labour was apportioned to their strength, and some of them were spinning. It was well regulated under the direction of four regents; and the *keeper* had the title of *father*.

“Prayers are read morning and evening, and before and after meals, by one of the best-behaved convicts; and divine service, with a sermon, is performed by a clergyman on Sunday mornings.”*

The Spinning House was next visited, of which the following account is given:—

“This prison is for women. You see a number of criminals (about 40) some of whom had been the most abandoned, sitting in the presence of the *mother*, quiet and orderly, at their different sorts of work: spinning, plain work, &c. Hours of work from six to twelve, and from one to eight. I saw them go from work to dinner: the keeper, or *father*, as they call him, presided. First they sang a psalm: then they went in order down to a neat dining-room, where they seated themselves at two tables; and several dishes of boiled barley, agreeably sweetened, were set before them. The father struck with a hammer: then, in profound silence, all stood up; and one of them read, with propriety, a prayer about four or five minutes. They then sat down cheerful; and each filled her bowl from a large dish which contained enough for four of them. Then one brought on a waiter slices of bread and butter, and served each prisoner. The mother was seated at a desk (where she had a full view of her family at work) with a Bible before her.”†

* Foreign Prisons, p. 67.

† Ib. pp. 65. 67.

Passing from Holland, the first prison in Germany which Howard visited was at Bremen. It was for debtors, and over the doorway he observed the inscription—"Hic fraudum terminus esto," an admonition very appropriate but little required, for no delinquent had been committed during thirty years. Nor were any found in other German towns; the reason assigned being that it was both expensive to the creditor to pay the cost, and esteemed *disgraceful* to the debtor who suffered the penalty.

"At Hamburgh," he writes, "the *felons* in the *Bütteley* were all in irons. The common method of execution is decollation. The executioner, who is gaoler, showed me the sword, which he said he had made use of eight times.

"Among the various engines of torture, or the question, which I have seen in France, Italy, Germany, and other places, one of the most excruciating is kept and used in a deep cellar of this prison. It ought to be buried ten thousand fathoms deeper. It is said the inventor was the first who suffered by it: the last was a woman, a few years ago.

"There, as at some other towns, is a prison for slight offences. The punishment, to be confined from a week to a month, and to live on bread and water only."*

From Hamburgh, Howard went to Lunenburgh, in the electoral dominions of his own sovereign; where he found the prisoners working in chains, but in other respects treated with more humanity than criminals in England. Thence he proceeded to Zell. Here he was shown some

* Foreign Prisons, p. 76.

1775. instruments of torture, but was assured they had not been used for several years.

After visiting Hesse Cassel he passed on to Hanau, where he saw the convicts, somewhat absurdly termed *galley* slaves, employed in cleansing the town and neighbourhood. "They were distinguished as the *honnêtes* and *deshonnêtes*;" the latter being the more heinous offenders, and as such, condemned to the most loathsome, though necessary, occupations.

At Manheim every facility for investigation was afforded. The *Maison de Force*, like others which have been described, was a factory—"Not one idle; yet though they work entirely for the house their labour does not maintain it. The rules and orders are good." We cannot, however, suppose that the following practice was included in that sentence of commendation:—

"Prisoners committed to this house are commonly received in form with what is called the *bien venu* (welcome). A machine is brought out, in which are fastened their neck, hands, and feet. Then are they stripped; and have, according as the magistrate orders, the *grand venu* of twenty to thirty stripes—the *demi venu* of eighteen to twenty—or the *petit venu* of twelve to fifteen: after this they kiss the threshold and go in. Some are treated with the same compliment at discharge. The like ceremony is observed at many other towns in Germany."*

The prison for felons at Mentz, La Porte de Fer,

* Foreign Prisons.

was clean and well conducted; only one prisoner confined in each room. We are further told— 1775.

“Most of the flour in the city is ground at a mill in this prison. The delinquents work at it two hours in the morning, and two in the afternoon. Over the door is carved a waggon drawn by two *stags*, two *lions*, and two wild *boars*; with an inscription explaining the device, which is, that if wild beasts can be tamed to the yoke, we should not despair of reclaiming irregular men. I saw the same *bas relief* at one or two other houses of correction.”*

This is the last notice we find of Howard's tour at this time, in his account of foreign prisons, but a letter has been preserved which he addressed to a friend, † from Bonn, the simplicity of which the reader will admire scarcely less than the energy shown in the events to which it refers:—

“Bonn, June 20, 1775.

“Dear Sir,—I flatter myself a line will not be unacceptable. As one's spirits are tired with the same subject, it is a relaxation and pleasure to write to a friend; which indeed is my case at present, being just come from the prisons in this place. I had visited many in France, Flanders, and Holland; but I thought I might gain some knowledge by looking into the German police.

“I have carefully visited some Prussian, Austrian, Hessian, and many other gaols. With the utmost difficulty did I get access to many dismal abodes; and, through the good hand of God, I have been preserved in health and safety. I hope I have gained some knowledge that may be improved to some valuable purpose. Though conscious

* Foreign Prisons, p. 123.

† Rev. T. Symonds.

of the utmost weakness, imperfection, and folly,
1775. I would hope my heart deceives me not, when I
say to my friend, I trust that I intend well. The
great example!—the glorious and divine Saviour!—the
first thought humbles, abases,—yet, blessed be God, the
mind exults and rejoices in that infinite and boundless
source of love and mercy.

“The state of the weather makes travelling not a little
fatiguing. I have the pleasure of now coming homeward.
There are many travellers at the first or great houses ;
but these three or four weeks I have not met one English-
man. We are here surrounded with vineyards, so I must
not say it is too hot ; yet I cannot help wishing for my
refreshing bath. I have spent some Sundays with the
French Protestants. I love and esteem them. Though
separated, yet truly united. I trust and hope we shall
make one great and glorious body. In which wish, I truly
remain, &c.

“JOHN HOWARD.

“P.S.—I pray God bless you ; and may many be your
crown of rejoicing in that great and glorious day! J.H.”

CHAPTER VII.

HOWARD RETURNS FROM THE CONTINENT.—GAOL AT DOVER.—AT CHELMSFORD.—RETURNS TO CARDINGTON.—MORE PRISONS VISITED.—SHOCKING CASE AT PENZANCE.—HOWARD'S CAREFUL SCRUTINY.—LONDON PRISONS REINSPECTED.—NEWGATE, BRIDEWELL, THE FLEET.—REVISITS THE CONTINENTAL PRISONS.—PARIS.—LYONS, ITS PRISON AND L'HOTEL DIEU.—GENEVA.—FEW CRIMINALS IN SWITZERLAND.—GALLEY SLAVES AT LAUSANNE AND HANAU.—PRISONS OF SOLOTHURN AND BASLE.—INGENIOUS ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE.—PLAN AT LUNENBURGH TO PREVENT INFAMY.—PROCEEDS TO HOLLAND.—THE RASPHOUSES REVISITED.—GOES TO GHENT.—INFERIORITY OF ENGLISH PRISONS.—RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—RESUMES INSPECTION OF ENGLISH GAOLS.—PARDON FRUSTRATED BY EXTORTION.—REVISITS YORKSHIRE PRISONS.—HORRIBLE GAOL OF KNARESBOROUGH.

HOWARD had no sooner reached the shores of his native land, than his estimate of the light he had obtained upon the subject of his research was enhanced by the dark contrast at once presented. He landed at Dover, July 25, 1775, and seems to have visited the miserable prison of that town on the same day. There, dirt and drunkenness, extortion of fees, yet insufficiency of food; the place insecure—but that the offensive closeness enfeebled its inmates, whose misery was sometimes mocked by the very show of mercy; for, whilst, amidst the storms of winter on that inclement eastern coast, an allowance of coals was made, a place wherein to burn them was forbidden.* Such a combination of wrong inflicted,

* State of Prisons, p. 229.

1775. and wretchedness endured, so immediately succeeding the wise regulations and judicious care which he had elsewhere witnessed, must not only have excited the compassion of the philanthropist and the shame of the patriot, but it forbade any lengthened relaxation, and told that little time could be spared before he applied the lessons learned in other lands to the rescuing of his own country from disgrace, and to the relief of its criminals from their pitiable condition.

Howard appears to have gone direct from Dover to Cardington, and we have no memorial of the employment of his time until we find him at Chelmsford in October. Thither he was attracted by a report that the distemper was making ravages in the gaol; and, on his arrival, he discovered that the chief turnkey had died of it. The construction of the prison, and its offensive condition, caused it frequently to be infected with that dreadful disease. Its gaoler was a woman. Notwithstanding the food allowed was scarcely sufficient to support life, cruel fees were extorted; and in its tap-room the absence of all good regulations was accounted for by the abominable inscription, "Prisoners to pay garnish, or run the gauntlet." Seeing this, he was little surprised when, as he tells us, "it gave me pain to be informed that there had been no divine service in the prison for above a year past, except for condemned criminals."

After an interval of about a fortnight spent at

Cardington, Howard resolved again to traverse the length and breadth of his native land, that he might explore and expose the scenes of woe, and afford succour to their distressed victims, as opportunities might be offered. Leaving home on the 8th of November, he revisited the gaols of Huntingdon, Oakham, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Stafford. At the last place he looked over the county bridewell, which he had not before seen, and condemned it as dirty and insecure. A consequence of that insecurity was, the prisoners were never allowed egress even to its little courtyard. Leaving Stafford, he re-inspected the gaols and houses of correction in the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Salop, Montgomery, Radnor, Worcester, Hereford, and Monmouth.

After again examining on his way the prisons in Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire, he visited the town gaols of Falmouth, Truro, Penryn, and Penzance. The former were generally defective, but the last was worst; and its walls confined a wretched victim whose woeful condition is thus described:—

“The prison is the property of Lord Arundel. The room for men has no chimney. Earth floor; very damp. The door had not been opened for four weeks when I went in; and then the keeper began to clear away the dirt. There was only one debtor, who seemed to have been robust, but was grown pale by ten weeks’ close confinement, with little food, which he had from a brother, who was poor

and had a family: he said the dampness of the
 1775. prison, with but little straw, had obliged him (he
 spoke with sorrow) to send for the bed on which
 some of his children lay. He had a wife and ten children,
 two of whom died since he came thither, and the rest were
 almost starving. He has written me a letter since, by
 which I learn that his distress was not mitigated, and that
 he had a companion, miserable as himself. No allowance.
 Keeper no salary: fees, 8*s.* 4*d.* every action: no table.”*

Having again visited Lancaster gaol, which re-
 mained in the disgraceful condition which has
 been described, he proceeded to Dorchester, in
 which prison he found the small-pox raging, and
 no infirmary had been provided. The prison at
 Salisbury was in a miserable state; it had neither
 water wherewith to cleanse it, nor any courtyard
 to afford its inmates a temporary escape from its
 pollution.

1776. The first day of the year 1776 was spent
 at Reading, where he now visited the
 county bridewell; and the following notes were
 made on the occasion:—

“This is also the town bridewell. It was formerly a
 church, and is a spacious room, with four small dark huts
 on one side for night-rooms. The county pays rent to the
 corporation. It is dirty and out of repair. Women and
 men are together in the day-time. No court: no water:
 allowance to felons, three-pence a day; and to petty of-
 fenders, two five-farthing loaves each every Sunday, and
 one every week-day. Keeper’s salary, 18*l.* from the county,
 2*l.* from the town: fees 4*s.* 4*d.*: no table: license for beer:

* State of Prisons, p. 354.

half the profit of the prisoners' work : 2*l.* a year 1776.
to find them straw."*

At Thame, the next place in Howard's notes, was a county bridewell—

“ The greatest part of it is a parish workhouse. For the prison there is a common day-room, and a small insecure lodging-room ; and down eleven steps a dungeon, in which are three night-rooms, *the cubs*, each 9 feet by 7. If the whole building were used as a bridewell, there would be no need of locking up men and women all day long together in the same room ; nor of confining either sex at night in the *cubs*. No allowance : no employment : no water : no sewers.”†

On the same day we find that Howard visited the county gaol at Aylesbury, and thence proceeded to Northampton ; or, as the respective dates leave an interval of one day, it is likely that the proximity of his own residence induced him to go thither ; if so, his stay was not protracted beyond that period ; and, with persevering energy, the painful investigation was pursued.

Leaving Northampton, he visited successively the prisons at Daventry, Coventry, Chesterfield, and, passing into Yorkshire, those of Sheffield and Thirsk. As respects most of these we have Howard's concise but shockingly significant description—“ No court-yard : no straw : no water : no allowance : no employment.”

At Berwick upon Tweed the prison had neither court-yard nor water provided, and the gaoler

* State of Prisons, p. 300.

† *Ib.* p. 304.

1776. kept a public house at a distance. Thence Howard went to Carlisle, Appleby, Kendal, Wakefield, Gainsborough, Spalding, Wisbeach, Ipswich, Woodbridge, and Beccles, visiting the prison in each town. With two exceptions, he found those before inspected in nearly the same wretched condition. At Appleby, and Norwich, his suggestions had been acted upon, and great improvements had been effected. If his advice was treated with indifference in many places, and with contempt in a few ; yet he saw some earnest of success ; enough to forbid discouragement, if it did not satisfy his desires. Revisiting, on his way, the gaols in Cambridgeshire, Howard returned to Cardington. But his home was now but a temporary resting-place,—scarcely that on this occasion. It was visited because it came in the road he travelled, and no domestic concerns were allowed to interrupt his plans. We therefore find that on the two following days the gaols of his own county were reinspected ; and this being done, the next day (February 14) he again started, and pursued his course through the counties of Hertford, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Dorset. At Maidstone, and at Horsham, new gaols were now building ; the latter, as we shall hereafter see, on a plan greatly approved of by Howard.

Thus cheered and encouraged, he determined to revisit the London prisons, and we find that the

greater part of the next two months was spent in the metropolis. 1776.

On Howard's arrival in London, Newgate immediately attracted his attention: considerable alterations had been made, and a large portion entirely reconstructed, and he was anxious to learn what improvements had been effected. The following amongst other particulars of this important prison, with which so many events of painful interest are associated, are thus given:—

“The builders of Old Newgate seem to have regarded, in their plan, nothing but the single article of keeping prisoners in safe custody. The rooms and cells were so close as to be almost the constant seats of disease and sources of infection; to the destruction of multitudes, not only in the prison, but abroad. The City had therefore very good reason for their resolution to build a new gaol; but it has some manifest errors. It is now too late to point out particulars. All I say is, that, without more than ordinary care, the prisoners in it will be in great danger of the gaol fever.

“The cells built in Old Newgate a few years since for condemned malefactors are intended for the same use at present. I shall therefore give some account of them. There are upon each of the three floors five; all vaulted, near nine feet high to the crown. In the upper part of each cell is a window double grated, near three feet by one and a half. The doors are four inches thick. The strong stone wall is lined all round each cell with planks, studded with broad-headed nails. In each cell is a barrack bedstead. I was told by those who attended me, that criminals who had affected an air of boldness during their trial, and appeared quite unconcerned at the pronouncing of sentence upon them, were struck with horror, and shed

tears, when brought to these darksome solitary
1776. abodes. . . . I went twice to prayers there: the
few prisoners who were present seemed atten-
tive; but we were disturbed by the noise in the court.
Surely they who will not go to chapel, who are by far the
greatest number, should be locked up in their rooms during
the time of divine service, and not suffered to hinder the
edification of such as are better disposed. . . .

“There are several legacies for debtors, and the donation
of Robert Dow, who left *1l. 6s. 8d.* yearly for ever to the
sexton or bellman of St. Sepulchre’s, to pronounce so-
lemnly two exhortations to the persons condemned, the
night before their execution; in these words—

‘You prisoners who are within
Who for wickedness and sin,

after many mercies shown you, are now appointed to die
to-morrow in the forenoon, give ear and understand, that
to-morrow morning, the greatest bell of St. Sepulchre’s
shall toll for you in form and manner of a passing bell, as
used to be tolled for those who are at the point of death,
to the end that all godly people may pray,’ &c. &c.”*

Howard’s next visit was to the Bridewell, of
which, quoting Johnson, he tells us that—

“This building was formerly a palace, near St. Bridget’s
(St. Bride’s) well; from whence it had the name; which,
after it became a prison, was applied to other prisons of
the same sort. It was given to the City by King Edward
VI. in 1552.”†

There were many excellent regulations in this
establishment. The prisoners had a liberal allow-
ance, suitable employment, and some proper in-
struction; but their visitor lamented that they
were not more separated. He further adds in

* State of Prisons, pp. 173—175.

† *Ib.* pp. 173. 191.

commendation,—“ In winter they have some firing. The night-rooms are supplied with straw. *No other prison in London has any straw or bedding.*” 1776.

The Fleet was at this time revisited, and the iniquities before described still prevailed. A short tour of inspection into the counties of Kent and Surrey was next made, and fresh scenes of atrocity discovered; other wretched victims relieved. The bridewells at Dartford and Kingston are especially noticed. The horrible condition of the former had engendered that terrible scourge the gaol fever, of which some had died. It was in every respect deficient and faulty:—

“ No chimneys; no sewers: the rooms dirty: no water: no straw: mats, but all worn out: allowance 2*d.* a day. The keeper said they had had a bad fever, which himself and family and every fresh prisoner caught.”*

At Kingston the prison had been recently built, and was far better than most, but some of the regulations were very objectionable, *e. g.* a shilling was demanded from a prisoner when committed, before he was allowed access to the court-yard.

Although Howard was most careful in his investigation, and very cautious in recording what he witnessed, yet his earnest desire to be strictly accurate in every statement induced him not only to reinspect from time to time, and often when least expected, the prisons in his own country, but

* State of Prisons, p. 227.

1776. to revisit those on the Continent, that the least mistake might be corrected, and every additional improvement noticed. He therefore again left England May 25, 1776, and on the 1st of June we observe he was in Paris. In this city the general appearance of its penal establishments was very superior to all he had left, whilst the discipline pursued within them presented a contrast still more striking.

But Howard's admiration of the prison regulations in Paris could not be extended to the provinces of France. On his way to Switzerland he tells us that he "found many prisoners in dungeons. In the four horrid ones at the prison of St. Joseph at Lyons were twenty-nine criminals: the heat so excessive that few of them had any other garment on than their shirts. Some of them were sick; none looked healthy."* But if the dungeons in this city called for severe censure, the large hospital he there inspected—l'Hôtel Dieu—well deserved commendation. Its construction was excellent, the various parts being well adapted for the treatment of different diseases. "The whole was clean and quiet. There were eight chaplains; nine physicians and surgeons; and twelve sisters." He particularly mentions the "chambres de convalescence," as an admirable arrangement which should be adopted in every similar establishment.†

In the little republic of Geneva, Howard informs

* State of Prisons, p. 150.

† Ib. p. 151.

us that “in the prison, which was formerly the bishop’s palace, there were only five criminals; none of them in irons; and two debtors. For some years there has been no capital punishment.”* He had now reached a country in which many sound opinions he had formed, as the result of very considerable observation, were to be confirmed by proofs which experience afforded:—

“In entering Switzerland from Geneva,” he writes, “a traveller will be surprised to meet frequently with a gibbet on the road, if he be not informed that almost every *seigneurie* has a prison, and possesses the power of trying criminals, and capitally convicting them. . . .

“In those of the cantons to which I went, felons have each a room to themselves, ‘that they may not,’ said the keepers, ‘tutor one another.’ None were in irons: they are kept in rooms more or less strong and lightsome, according to the crimes they are charged with. But the prisons are in general very strong. The rooms are numbered, and the keys marked with the same numbers. In most of them a *German stove*. The common allowance, sixpence a day. In some cantons there were no prisoners of this sort. The principal reason of it is, the greatest care is taken to give children, even the poorest, a moral and religious education. Another thing which contributed to the same intention is the laudable policy of speedy justice.” †

At Lausanne, Howard informs us that he conversed with an intelligent physician—Dr. Tissot—respecting the gaol fever, and felt how the reproach upon his country was merited when told that “he had not heard of its being anywhere but

* State of Prisons, p. 106.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 108.

1776. in England. I should not find it in Switzerland." An assertion which proved correct. "I neither found it," says Howard, "in Switzerland, nor anywhere else on the Continent."* At Bern, he had "some discourse with the celebrated Haller on the same subject, and he ascribed the sickness in English gaols to their being overcrowded."

Here, as at Hanau, the "galley slaves" were employed as public scavengers. The following interesting description is given of them:—

"Four or five are chained to a small waggon, and draw; others, more at liberty, sweep, load, &c." Women as well as men were thus employed, upon which Howard remarks, "I detest the custom of daily exposing that sex to such ignominy and severity, unless when they are totally abandoned, and have lost all the softer feelings of their sex." "All are known by an *iron collar*, with a hook projecting above their heads: weight above five pounds: I saw one riveted on a criminal in about two minutes. They work in summer from seven to eleven, and from one to six; and in winter from eight to eleven, and from one to four. I asked the men, 'Whether they would choose to work so, or be confined within doors?' '*Much rather,*' they said, '*work thus.*' The less criminal are in separate wards. They work within doors, spinning, &c., in a large room; and have not the iron collars. . . . I found a few miserable for want of employment. They are not suffered to practice *gaming* of any sort. Indeed this is forbidden to all the common people; as playing for any considerable sum is to those of higher rank. The keeper and turnkey are to see that the prisoners perform their devotions every morning and evening. The chaplains pray with them and

* Foreign Prisons, p. 111.

instruct them on Sunday and Thursday. Once a month other clergymen superintend the service. 1776. No visitant admitted on Sunday. Thus a principal object here is to make them *better men*. This, indeed, should always be the *leading* view in every house of correction; and the earnings of the prisoners should only be a *secondary* object. As *rational* and *immortal* beings, we owe this to them; nor can any criminality of theirs justify our neglect in this particular." *

The prison at Solothurn, whither the Philanthropist next directed his course, contained fifteen cells built with a species of marble which attracted his attention. That of Basle was constructed of a like material. We have the following account of it, and of an attempt to escape not less ingenious than it was daring :—

“ At Basle, the gaol for felons is in one of the towers. No prisoners; but many rooms ready with clean straw and blankets. Each prisoner (they said) has a room to himself, in which he is constantly shut up, except when conducted to the council chamber for examination. One of the strongest cells is in a room by the great clock, and is about six feet high: the trap door is in the flat roof: the prisoner goes down by a ladder, which is then taken up: his victuals are put in at a wicket on one side. When I was in the room, and took notice of the uncommon strength of it, the gaoler told me a prisoner had lately made his escape from it. I could not devise what method he took, but heard it was this. He had a spoon for soup, which he sharpened, to cut out a piece from the timber of his room: then by practice he acquired the knack of striking his door, just when the great clock struck (to drown the noise): and in fifteen days he forced all the bolts, &c. But attempting to

* Foreign Prisons, pp. 109, 110.

let himself down from the vast height by a rope
 1776. which he found, the rope failed him; and by
 falling he broke so many of his bones that the
 surgeons pronounced his recovery impossible. But his
 bones were set; and with proper care he did recover, and
 was pardoned.”*

Passing into Germany, Howard revisited the
 prisons which have been already noticed. He
 records two or three fresh circumstances in the
 following extract:—

“ I saw no underground dungeons in any of the *new*
 prisons in Germany, except at Liege: nor indeed in any
 other *new* prison abroad. At Lunenburg the dungeons are
 disused; and instead of them are built additional rooms up
 stairs: one for each prisoner. And in most of the gaols
 each criminal is alone in his room; which is more or less
 strong, lightsome, and airy, as the crime he is charged with
 is more or less atrocious. One often sees the doors of
 sundry rooms marked Ethiopia, India, Italy, France,
 England, &c. In those rooms, parents, by the authority
 of the magistrates, confine, for a certain time, dissolute
 children: and if they are inquired after, the answer is,
 they are gone to Italy, England, &c.”†

Howard had seen much of which he approved
 in the penal discipline of Holland, and he now
 reinspected the prisons of that country. Some
 alterations had been made, and the plan at this
 time pursued is described thus:

“ The States do not transport convicts: but men are put
 to labour in the *rasp-houses*, and women to proper work in
 the *spin-houses*: upon this professed maxim, *Make them
 diligent, and they will be honest*. Great care is taken to

* Foreign Prisons, p. 112.

† Ib. p. 74.

give them moral and religious instruction, and to reform their manners, for their own and the public good. The *chaplain* (such there is in every house of correction) does not only perform public worship, but privately instructs the prisoners, catechises them every week, &c. : and I am well informed that many come out sober and honest.”*

After revisiting the prisons at Ghent, Howard, in the month of August, directed his course homewards ; and, at this point of his history, he repeats some of the motives which induced his personal inspection of these foreign prisons :—

“ When I formerly made the tour of Europe for the benefit of my health, which I did some years ago, I seldom had occasion to envy foreigners anything, 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 comparisons 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, p. 53.

foreign prisons because it was more agreeable to
1776. 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 prin-
ciples 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! I have only to add
that, fully sensible of the imperfections which must attend
the cursory survey of a traveller, it was my study to
remedy that defect, by a constant attention to the one
object of my pursuit alone, during the whole of my two
last journeys abroad."

The reader may suppose that Howard's constant
attention to one exciting and painful subject for
many months, during which, without allowing
himself any term of relaxation, he had traversed
several countries, must now be followed by some
temporary recreation: that his own concerns at
Cardington and the intercourse of friends would,
for a season, prevent further exertion. Well,
then, may we admire that philanthropy which
forbade weariness, and would not suffer a single
day to elapse before he had resumed the inspec-
tion of gaols in England. Feeling that to loiter
in his course would be to lose the great object of
his life, he pursued it with an ardour and constancy
which nothing could diminish or interrupt. In

this tour he was enabled to trace many improvements, the result of suggestions he had previously made; whilst in some prisons flagrant violations of the law still prevailed; and in others legal punishments were either wantonly or cruelly aggravated by the carelessness, or more frequently by the covetousness, of their ruthless keepers. He found, with much satisfaction, that many infirmaries had been erected—that cleanliness was more regarded—and that gaolers, instead of being allowed to “farm the prisoners,” were compelled to furnish an appointed quantity of food. Still there were cases of inhumanity in this particular. Amongst them, Howard found in the gaol at Carmarthen,* at this time, two poor creatures almost starved, because, having committed a petty offence, a fine had been imposed on them which they could not pay, and, having no possible means of earning money, their imprisonment was perpetuated. Monstrous indeed it was, that the trifling offender should thus languish in hunger without the prospect of release, whilst the felon had his food allowed, and a limit assigned to his detention, beyond which it could not be prolonged! In the prison of Wolverhampton, the compassionate visitor remonstrated with the authorities against keeping prisoners in irons, which he found they did: “even those committed for the slightest offences.” † At the county gaol at Nottingham

* State of Prisons, p. 422.

† Ib. p. 312.

1776. many improvements had been effected, but there another case of iniquitous extortion presented itself, in which even the clemency of the Crown was contravened by the cruelty and cupidity of the gaoler and others. A criminal was there who had received his Majesty's pardon.* But in those days such pardon sometimes increased the penalty. His term of punishment and the fees to be paid were both limited *before* the grace of pardon was extended. He would have been liberated, when the term had elapsed, upon payment of 14*s.* 8*d.*, but now he must remain in prison until additional fees, augmenting the sum to 3*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*, should be paid. However, where the power of the Sovereign failed, the benevolence of Howard was effectual. He discharged the debt and delivered the captive. At Cambridge,† another victim of like injustice was found in the "hole," in the person of a poor wretch who had no allowance to preserve him from starvation, and whose life depended upon the occasional relief which charity might furnish.

Another of his numerous circuits of mercy now traversed, Howard returned to Cardington towards the end of September, and appears to have been occupied about three weeks in the arrangement of his papers, &c. At this time he received information concerning some small prisons for peculiar jurisdictions in Yorkshire, which

* State of Prisons, p. 280.

† *Ib.* p. 246.

induced him at once to revisit that county. 1776.
No dungeon which has been described was worse than those dismal depths into which he now descended. At Richmond and at Ripon they were dark and wretched. These were for criminals: men deserving punishment, although a common humanity should have preserved them from its infliction in dens like those. But there was one at Knaresborough for debtors, the description of which it is fearful to read:—

“It is under the hall: of difficult access: the door about four feet from the ground. Only one room, about twelve feet square. Earth floor: no fire-place: very offensive: a common sewer from the town running through it uncovered. I was informed that an officer, confined here, took in with him a dog to defend him from vermin; but the *dog* was soon *destroyed*, and the prisoner’s *face much disfigured* by them.”*

* State of Prisons, p. 372.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOWARD GOES TO WARRINGTON.—SUPERINTENDS THE PRINTING OF HIS “STATE OF PRISONS.”—HIS HABITS OF ABSTINENCE AND PIETY.—HIS DETERMINED ACCURACY.—PUBLICATION, DEDICATION, AND DISTRIBUTION OF HIS WORK.—MODE OF TRAVELLING; CONDUCT AT HOTELS; HIS POSTILIONS CORRECTED.—FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS AT CARDINGTON.—HIS SON AT HOME.—DEATH OF HIS SISTER.—MEMORANDA OF RELIGIOUS FEELINGS.—THE HULKS VISITED—THEIR SHOCKING CONDITION.—MORTALITY OF CONVICTS.

1777. By patient perseverance and oft-repeated investigations, which had occupied three years of his life, and cost him the exertion of travelling upwards of 10,000 miles, Howard, having now satisfied himself that his notes upon the vast number of prisons he had visited would bear the most severe scrutiny, resolved to print them. For this purpose he went to Warrington, where his friend Mr. Aikin was, at that time, in practice as a surgeon. From that friend he received assistance in the publication of a work which, perhaps, was more effective in the prevention of cruelty, the relief of the wretched, and the restraining of vice, than any other uninspired volume ever given to the world.

Thomasson, Howard's favourite servant, in the rough journal which he kept, recorded some interesting particulars of his master at this period. He informs us that lodgings were taken very near to the printer's shop; that although the winter

was so severe, yet Howard, who retired to rest about ten, rose every morning at ^{1777.} *two o'clock*, because in the stillness of that time he could best revise his proof-sheets. At seven he dressed: breakfast was finished by eight; and at that hour the author was more punctual in his attendance at the printing-office than the compositor. There he remained several hours in the day; but, leaving with the workmen at one o'clock, he commonly took a stroll in the outskirts of the town, having first stored his pocket with bread and dried fruit, which, with a glass of cold water, was his dinner-fare. The evening was spent with Mr. Aikin, or with some one of the few friends which the little town afforded. On returning to his lodgings, and after taking a little tea or coffee, he retired for his short night's rest. Yet, before this, there was a duty never omitted. Howard said, "If I have a tent, God shall have an altar;" and, accordingly, Thomasson was always told to come at a given time, when the door was fastened, and no interruption suffered before their devotions were ended. What wonder that the servant revered his master, and that the remembrance of such united prayer prompted the expression, "Very few knew the goodness of this man's heart!"

In a few weeks Howard's book was finished. It was dated from Cardington on the 5th of April, 1777, and dedicated "to the House of Commons,

1777. in gratitude for the encouragement which they had given to the design, and for the honour they had conferred on the author.”

Of this volume much has already been given, and reference to it must again be made: its contents are various, and of universal interest. The alleviation of woe and the correction of vice were its great objects. The first section gives a general view of “distress in prisons;” and its prevalency being fully proved, the author proceeds to point out the remedies, and to plead for their administration. At the conclusion of the first section is a remonstrance worth attention:—

“Those gentlemen who, when they are told of the misery which our prisoners suffer, content themselves with saying, ‘*Let them take care to keep out,*’ prefaced perhaps with an angry prayer, seem not duly sensible of the favour of Providence which distinguishes them from the sufferers: they do not remember that we are required to imitate our gracious Heavenly Parent, who is ‘*kind to the unthankful and the evil.*’ They also forget the vicissitudes of human affairs; the unexpected changes to which all men are liable; and that those whose circumstances are affluent may in time be reduced to indigence, and become debtors and prisoners.”*

Howard’s recommendations are concluded by declaring it as his belief that a Parliamentary inquiry was necessary to the effectual reformation of prisons, and he closes the volume by saying—

“Should this be undertaken, I would cheerfully (relying still on the protection of that KIND HAND which has

* State of Prisons, p. 15.

hitherto preserved me, and to which I desire to offer my most thankful acknowledgments!) de- 1777.
 vote my time to one more extensive foreign journey, in which the Prussian and Austrian territories, and the most considerable free cities of Germany, would probably afford some new and useful lights on this IMPORTANT NATIONAL CONCERN."

We have some anecdotes of Howard's mode of travelling, illustrative both of his abstemious habits and his great activity:—

"The following account of his mode of travelling, communicated to me by a gentleman in Dublin, who had much free conversation with him, and the substance of which I well recollect to have heard from himself, will, I doubt not, prove interesting. When he travelled in England or Ireland, it was generally on horseback, and he rode about forty English miles a day. He was never at a loss for an inn. When in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, he used to stop at one of the poor cabins that stick up a rag by way of a sign, and get a little milk. When he came to the town he was to sleep at, he bespoke a supper, with wine and beer, like another traveller, but made his man attend him and take it away whilst he was preparing his bread and milk. He always paid the waiters, postilions, &c., liberally, because he would have no discontent or dispute, nor suffer his spirits to be agitated for such a matter; saying that in a journey that might cost three or four hundred pounds, fifteen or twenty pounds addition was not worth thinking about."*

"Mr. Howard observed, that he had found few things more difficult to manage than postchaise drivers, who would seldom comply with his wishes of going slow or fast, till he adopted the following method. At the end of a stage, when the driver had been perverse, he desired the

* Aikin, p. 224.

landlord to send for some poor industrious widow, 1777. or other proper object of charity, and to introduce such person and the driver together. He then paid the latter his fare, and told him, that as he had not thought proper to attend to his repeated requests as to the manner of being driven, he should not make him any present; but, to show him that he did not withhold it out of a principle of parsimony, he would give the poor person present *double the sum* usually given to a postilion. This he did, and dismissed the parties. He had not long practised this mode, he said, before he experienced the good effects of it on all the roads where he was known." *

When Howard had printed and distributed his "State of Prisons," &c., he retired to Cardington. At this time his son was with him; but it does not appear that he made much advance in winning his affections. Though not wanting in natural affection, as his letters prove, he does not seem to have been capable of unbending and entering into the pursuits and feelings of a child. His very devotion to one great object, to which he readily gave up his own ease, contributed to this, while an inherent gravity of temper and manner was not calculated to attract a lively and volatile disposition, such as his son appears to have possessed. He may have been conscious of his own defects in this respect; and feeling he had a great work to perform, may have felt that he was best fulfilling the duties of a parent by providing for his child such instructors as he thought most fitting. It cannot be denied, nor should we at-

* Aikin, p. 218.

tempt to disguise the truth, that Howard failed in this part of duty—not knowingly ^{1777.} or wilfully, but he did fail; and his failings may not only teach us a lesson in the particulars where he was wanting, but also remind us of the imperfection of all human virtue, and excite us to constant watchfulness and prayer that we be cleansed from “secret faults”—faults often not so much hidden from others as unsuspected by ourselves. Young Howard was at this time sent to an academy at Daventry, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Robins.*

On the 12th day of August, Howard’s only sister died. She bequeathed to her brother the whole of her property—amounting to about 20,000*l.*, an accession to his income which he esteemed providential, because it enabled him to pursue and extend his plans of charity, which had already been pursued to an extent sufficient to cause him some pecuniary embarrassment.

Of Howard’s Christian character at this time we have testimony in a memorandum book, which, amongst other papers, was preserved by his servant. It contains many indications of humility, religious fervour, steadfastness of faith, and habitual holiness of life. “Let me not forget,” he writes at the beginning of this book, “that time is always on the wing: that my account is every

* *Gent. Mag.*, April, 1790.

1777. moment hastening on." Somewhat further on, he writes:—

"O my soul! seek the Lord while He may be found, call upon Him! consider well thy sacred engagements; be not conformed to this world; die unto sin; live unto righteousness! Think upon those things which belong unto thy everlasting peace, for thou art dead, and thy life is hid with Christ in God! Let every darling sin be removed; for sin is enmity to God; and put on bowels of mercy! Shew thyself the servant of Christ! O my God! set these sacred things home on my heart; and after the great things Thou hast done in and by me, let not the poor, weak, helpless instrument be lost and cast into the fire; but, O God! for Christ's sake, make me an everlasting monument of Thy grace, and to Thee be all the praise!

* * * *

"May I see the wisdom and feel the power of God in the Gospel, making me to do good, and to promote the temporal and eternal interest of men!"

* * * *

"Ere long my work shall be at an end. Let me not grow weary in well-doing, for I shall reap if I faint not. Hold THOU up my goings!"

In distributing his publication on the "State of Prisons," Howard took care that members of the Legislature should be supplied with copies. The work was productive of very great advantage. A short time previously to its coming out, a change in the arrangements for convicts under sentence of transportation had been made, which induced Howard to suppress his statements concerning the treatment to which they were subjected—proving "that many cruelties and impositions were com-

monly practised, and that their condition was equally contrary to humanity and sound policy." It had been resolved to retain those convicts under penal labour in England, instead of longer polluting and thereby provoking her colonies by such importations of crime. As an experiment, some hulks were appropriated to the confinement of such criminals. They had not been long on board before, in the autumn of 1776, they were visited by Howard. On that occasion he saw much that was objectionable; but he says—"As the scheme is new and temporary, I am unwilling to complain." But, in 1778, a Select Committee was appointed to investigate this question; and Howard, being examined, described what he had observed on board the *Justitia*, on the occasion referred to. He saw all the convicts—they had very little clothing, and worse food: the biscuit was green and mouldy. The captain had endeavoured to deceive his visitor on this subject, and his indignation prompted a sharp rebuke. Many of the convicts recognised him; he saw they were ill, but they had neither advice nor medicine. The ship was loathsome, and the sick had nothing but the boards whereon to lie. Their misery may in some measure be estimated by the mortality: 176—*nearly a third part—died in two years!* The inspection was made on a Sunday, that the convicts might all be seen, but there was neither

1778. Divine Service nor religious instruction provided.

Howard's inspection of the *Justitia* was not without effect : on a second visit, in 1778, he found that the more gross abuses had been corrected, and that the convicts were in a far better condition : still there were many grievances calling for redress, and much evil in the system itself which could not be rectified. Howard readily detected the abuses and saw the difficulty. He was asked in the course of his examination whether—if this temporary provision were given up—the convicts could be confined in the county gaols ; and he replied that they were not secure enough, accompanying the remark with a merited censure upon the Justices who were guilty of disregarding the law in this matter. A bill therefore was passed for continuing this hulk system.

The Legislature, convinced by Howard's evidence that floating prisons were less suitable for the confinement of criminals than buildings constructed on land, but anxious to extend the system of employing prisoners in this country, proposed the erection of places of confinement similar to those in Holland, which had been so much commended by the careful inspector. To this end the draft of a bill was prepared by Sir W. Blackstone and Mr. Eden ; and Howard—that he might obtain further information on the plans there pursued—again embarked for the Continent.

CHAPTER IX.

ANOTHER CONTINENTAL TOUR — ACCIDENT AT AMSTERDAM. — SERIOUS ILLNESS, AND DIARY DURING CONVALESCENCE. — RASP-HOUSE AT ROTTERDAM. — ATTENDS DIVINE SERVICE IN PRISON. — PROCEEDS TO GOUDA. — RETURNS TO AMSTERDAM. — VISITS DR. BROWN AT UTRECHT. — PRISONS AT DEVENTER AND BRED A. — REVISITS HOLLAND. — HORRIBLE PRISON AT OSNABURGH. — SLAVES AT BRUNSWICK. — GOES TO MAGDEBURGH AND BERLIN. — LETTER. — CONVERSATION WITH PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA. — STATE PRISONERS AT SPANDAU. — TREADMILL AT LUKAU. — PRISONS AT DRESDEN. — GOES TO PRAGUE. — VISIT TO THE CAPUCHIN FRIARS. — VIENNA, ITS HOSPITALS AND PRISONS. — DYING PRISONER IN A DUNGEON. — PRECAUTIONS AGAINST INFECTION. — DUCKING-STOOL FOR BAKERS. — CONVERSATION AT THE AMBASSADOR'S TABLE. — GOES TO VENICE, PADUA, FERRARA, BOLOGNA, FLORENCE, LEGHORN, LORETTO, AND ROME. — VISITS PRISONS AND HOSPITALS. — CEMETERY FOR MALEFACTORS. — PROCEEDS TO NAPLES AND CIVITA VECCHIA. — PERILOUS VOYAGE TO LEGHORN. — RANSOMS A PRISONER AT MILAN. — GOES TO TURIN AND CHAMBERY. — RETURNS THROUGH SWITZERLAND, GERMANY, FLANDERS, AND FRANCE. — REVISITING CHARITABLE AND PENAL INSTITUTIONS. — TORTURE AT LIEGE. — RELIEVES PRISONERS OF WAR. — HOWARD'S PATRIOTISM. — RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

HOWARD embarked for the Continent only *two days* after his giving evidence in the House of Commons, as described in our last chapter. He went on this occasion to Harwich; but here, as elsewhere, wretchedness—exercising, as it ever did, a magnetic influence on his mind—was too attractive for Howard's charity to pass it by: he could not embark until he had visited the miserable prison of that place. This done, he

1778. crossed to Helvoetsluys on the 18th of April, 1778. But his patience was now tried by an accident, which retarded for a time the prosecution of his journey. Only a day or two after his arrival at Amsterdam, whilst he was walking in the street, a horse—running away with a dray—struck against him, threw him on a heap of stones, and so severely bruised him as to prevent his travelling for several days. As soon as possible he was removed to the Hague, where his affliction was increased by inflammation and fever, which endangered life, and by which he was disabled for six weeks. His state of mind, under this calamity, may be learned best from his daily record, when sufficiently restored to write:—

“ May 11.—Do me good, O God, by this painful affliction! May I see the great uncertainty of health, ease, and comfort, and feel that all my springs are in Thee! Oh the painful and wearisome nights I possess! May I be more thankful if restored to health, and 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 a burthen to me! Help, Lord! for vain is the help of man! In Thee do I put my trust; let me never be confounded! Ail refuges but Christ are refuges of lies. My soul! stay thou upon that Rock.

“ May 14.—This night my fever abated and my pains were less. I thank God I had two hours' sleep; prior

to which, for sixteen days and nights, I had not four hours' sleep! O Lord! righteous art Thou 1778. in all Thy ways, and holy in all Thy works! Sanctify this affliction! Shew me wherefore thou contendest with me! Bring me out of the furnace as silver purified seven times!

“ May 15.—Shew me, O God, wherefore Thou contendest with me! Oh, let me recover my strength before I go hence and am no more seen! May this great affliction be to try me, to prove me, and to do me good in my latter end: to wean my affections from this world, and fix them on the rest that remaineth for the people of God!

“ May 16.—A more quiet night and less fever, yet much pain until morning. If God should please to restore me to days of prosperity, may I remember the days of sorrow; may I be habitually serious and humble! May I learn from this affliction more than I have learnt before, and have reason to bless God for it!

“ May 17.—Lord's Day. This night, I bless God, less pain, though more fever, so that I have not strength to attend the public worship of God, yet I have hope I shall be raised up a monument of His goodness! Oh, may I not be a cumberer of the ground, but live to the glory of God, and be made, through grace, an honour to my Christian profession! May I have a prudent zeal, and an humble hope in the mercy of God through Christ!

“ May 19.—A better night, less pain! Thou art putting a song of praise into my mouth: O thou God that hearest prayer! perfect the mercy begun, O God, and may I never forget Thy compassion!” *

Howard, on his recovery, records his gratitude to Sir Joseph Yorke, of whom he writes, “ he

* Brown, pp. 270, 271.

1778. favoured me with instances of friendship and kindness that I can never forget.”*

On or about the 29th of May he went again to Amsterdam. There, although still weak, he publicly offered thanks to God in the congregation, as on a former occasion. We have the following notes in his Diary under their respective dates :—

“ May 30.—Less pain in the night ; more revived this morning. O my Saviour and my God, put under me Thine everlasting arms ! Succour and support me, for Thy mercy’s sake !

“ May 31.—A poor night ; faint, yet, blessed be God, enabled to attend His public worship ! O Lord, receive me, and put a new song of praise into my mouth ! ”

Howard, now convalescent, and longing to resume his labours and pursue his mission of benevolence, no sooner felt able to walk than he returned to the Hague, and thence to Rotterdam, where he revisited the Rasp-house—of which we have the following notice :—

“ Being at Rotterdam on the Sunday, I was desirous of seeing whether there was such dissipation in their prisons as in ours on that day. The public service at the Rasp-house began at half after one o’clock. The chaplain, after a short prayer, preached extempore ; then, the *men* convicts joined in singing, most of them having books. When the chaplain had prayed again, he catechised for about three quarters of an hour. It being the *women’s* turn that Sunday, six of them stood up, one after another, and made the responses, which the chaplain explained to

* Foreign Prisons, p. 73.

them. After this he prayed, and the service concluded by singing the fifty-first psalm. The 1778. decent behaviour and attention of the audience evidently proved that the service, though of two hours and a half, was not tedious or disagreeable.”*

“I cannot forbear closing this account without mentioning the ardent wishes it inspired in me, that *our* prisons also, instead of echoing with profaneness and blasphemy, might hereafter resound with the offices of religious worship, and prove, like these, the happy means of awakening many to a sense of their *duty* to *God* and *man*. On conversing with a sensible magistrate, his words were, ‘I have known persons who have come out of our houses of correction thoroughly reformed, and have thanked God for their confinement.’†

At Gouda, whither Howard proceeded, he found the debtors’ prison had been empty seventeen years. The spin-house of that town, as well as that at Haarlem, which he next visited, was commended as clean and well regulated. He then returned to Amsterdam, and thoroughly investigated all the prison arrangements of that city. These have been already described. After visiting the workhouses, in which petty offenders were also confined, Howard proceeded again to Utrecht, where he now spent some time with Dr. Brown, who had recently been appointed to the English church there. Dr. Brown has preserved some memoranda of the visit. In one of his notes he describes Howard’s statement of the occasion which induced his labours of benevolence. He

* *Foreign Prisons*, p. 58.

† *Ib.* p. 59.

1778. told him how the death of his beloved wife had rendered his abode at Cardington irksome and very painful; and whilst he gave this reason for his travels his tears burst forth, and bespoke the pang which the remembrance of that bitter affliction caused.

But although he had not ceased to remember with sorrow the bereavement which had sent him forth on his errand of mercy, he had learned to recognise the purposes of God in thus afflicting him; and he rendered thanks to Him who sustained him in his labour of love. About this time he writes thus:—

“Deventer, June 14.—Blessed be my Father and my God, who supports and carries me on.”

He now travelled to Middleburgh, in the prison of which place he found three dungeons in which condemned criminals were confined. They were dismal, being designed to force confession, since no criminal was executed until an acknowledgment of guilt had thus been extorted. At Breda the prison was an old tower; and he tells us, with satisfaction, “the torture-stool in the chamber of examination has not been used for three years past.”* After describing some particulars of the house of correction,—which was a manufactory of carpeting,—we have the following note of general approbation:—

* Foreign Prisons, p. 73.

“I leave this country with regret, as it affords a large field for information on the important 1778. subjects I have in view. I know not which to admire most,—the *neatness* and *cleanliness* appearing in the prisons, the *industry* and *regular conduct* of the prisoners, or the *humanity* and *attention* of the magistrates and regents.”*

From Holland, the traveller himself tells us,

“I went into Germany in June, 1778, by Osnaburgh and Hanover. The prison at Osnaburgh I should entirely omit, did I not entertain a hope that the account of it may possibly engage the notice of an amiable *prince*, who is the present *bishop*, and so be the means of alleviating the sufferings of the miserable prisoners. The prison and the house of correction is one large building, situated in an airy part of the suburbs, near a brook. A Latin inscription over the gate implies that it was erected at ‘the public expense, in 1756, for the purposes of public justice and utility, by confining and punishing the wicked.’ There are seventeen chambers for criminals, which have no light but a small aperture over each door. I was happy to find here no more than one prisoner: he had been confined three years, and had survived the cruelty of the torture.

“In *another part* of the house I found many miserable and sickly objects, men, women, and children, almost all without shoes and stockings. They were spinning in different rooms, which were dirty beyond description. These rooms open into an offensive passage, which a gentleman in office in the city, to whom I was recommended, durst not enter. I inquired of the keeper concerning several particulars of the diet, &c., but the misery expressed in the *countenances* of the prisoners made me totally disregard the information given me by words.”†

* Foreign Prisons, p. 73.

† Ib. p. 75.

1778. Thence Howard proceeded to Brunswick, where he says:—

“ I visited the habitation of the slaves, who lay on barrack bedsteads without beds. They had heavy irons, and their countenances were unhealthy.”*

Arriving at Magdeburg, he inspected the prisons. In one of them he found the women employed in looking after a large number of silk-worms.

At Berlin he speaks of the prisons as well constructed and clean. He gives a long description of the *Maison de Travail*, in which 450 persons were actively employed. They were cleanly, and were very carefully attended to. He also commended the police regulations by which the streets of that city were kept clear of mendicants. But what was especially gratifying, he found “no torture rooms,” for, he adds, “the present king has set the example in Germany of abolishing the cruel practice.”†

The following letter was written at this time to his friend ‡ residing at Cardington, during his absence:—

“ Berlin, June 28, 1778.

“ Dear Sir,—It is with pleasure I heard by John Prole’s letter, which I received on my arrival here, that you are at Cardington; it gives me pleasure to think that a place on which I have employed so many of my thoughts should afford my friend any entertainment. My pain and fever,

* Foreign Prisons, p. 75.

† Ib. p. 79.

‡ The Rev. Mr. Smith.

brought on by the accident I met with in Holland, made me almost despair of accomplishing 1778. my journey, or even returning to England; but, through sparing mercy, I am recovered, and have now the pleasing hope before me. I was presented on Friday to Prince Henry, who very graciously conversed with me ten minutes: he said 'he could hardly conceive of a more disagreeable journey, but the *object* was great and humane.'

"We are here just on the eve of an important event—the King of Prussia in Silesia, and the Emperor encamped within a few miles of him; 40,000 men ready to destroy one another, as the prejudices or passions of an arbitrary monarch may direct: this would be a matter of great concern to a thinking mind, had it not the firm belief of a wise and overruling Providence. I hope in about a fortnight to be clear of the armies and to be at or near Vienna, till which time a thought of England is too distant.

"I have both parts of this day joined with the French Protestants,—a pleasure I shall be debarred of many weeks. I am here nobly lodged; drank tea this afternoon with Prince Dolgoruky, the Russian ambassador: yet I thirst for the land of liberty, my Cardington friends, and retreat.

"Please, Sir, to tell John Prole I observe the contents of his letter; I shall write in five or six weeks; and that I must build no more cottages (as he is still fetching materials to finish the last) till I have quite done with my gaol schemes.

"Through the Hanoverian dominions and that part of Germany I have seen, there is prospect of great plenty of corn, which must prevent its being very dear in England. I take my leave with affectionate compliments to Mrs. Smith, and a kiss for the babe, and accept the tenderest assurances of regard from, dear Sir, your friend and servant,

" J. HOWARD.

"Thermometer 79° in the shade.

"I beg to be remembered to any inquiring friends at

Bedford, that I am well, and in spirits to under-
 1778. take any enterprise but one, which I hope never
 more will be pressed on me, as totally destructive
 of that tranquillity and ease in which I hope to pass the
 few remaining years of my life.

“ Adieu, my friend. Let me share your serious moments.

“ To the Rev. Mr. Smith,
 Cardington, near Bedford, Angleterre.”*

Some further account of his conversation with the Prince Henry has been preserved; and we are told that he inquired respecting Howard’s amusements, what places of evening entertainments were frequented by him after the labours of the day: Howard simply replied—None at any time: and that he derived more pleasure from doing his duty than from any amusements whatever.

He next pursued his course to Spandau, and inspected the prisons there. One he found well regulated and its inmates industrious. He observes, “ Neither this nor any foreign prisons which I have seen are without a chapel.” The other—the Fortress—was badly managed; and of the prisoners he thus writes:—

“ They had a light chain to each foot, and such as were taken after an escape had a collar of iron. The apartments of the *state prisoners* here are not all so dreadful as some imagine. They are not all confined to a small quantity of bread and water, in cells of four feet square and six feet high, and loaded with seventy-eight pounds of iron, as the ingenious and intrepid Trenck was six years at Magdeburg.”†

* Brown, p. 277.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 80.

At Lukau he found some criminals treading a wheel for grinding corn: this may have suggested our own mischievous tread-mills, although a similar plan for raising water had been common to the Egyptians* from the earliest times, and to the Chinese for many centuries. The prisons at Dresden more resembled those in their visitor's own country than others on the Continent. In the prison for slaves the apartments were unhealthy. The sick had their irons on. In another were twenty-six prisoners, most of whom had a chain fastened to a staple in the wall. The prison was dirty, and the gaoler's pan of charcoal and frankincense (which his negligence rendered necessary) could not prevent its being very offensive :—

“On paying my acknowledgments to the *grand bailiff* for permitting me to see the gaol, I took the liberty to observe that I had seen prisons cleaner. I mentioned also the severity of chaining women, which is very uncommon in other countries. To this he answered, that

* There appears to be a reference to this practice, Deut. xi. 10, in which passage the land of Canaan is said to be not like that of Egypt, “where thou sowest thy seed and waterest it with thy foot.” “To supply the want of water in Egypt, ditches are dug, and the water is distributed throughout the several villages and cantons by means of machines; one of which Philo describes as a wheel which a man turns by the motion of his feet, by ascending successively the several steps that are within it. But as whilst he is thus continually turning he cannot keep himself up, he holds a stay in his hands, which is not moveable, and this supports him; so that in this work the hands do the office of the feet and the feet that of the hands.”—*Calmet*.

1778. 'the gaoler chained them for security, being often obliged to be absent in fetching prisoners from the country.' In return I gave my opinion that the attention to a prison ought to be the *sole* work of a gaoler, without which, little regard will be paid to cleanliness or humanity."*

Bohemia was at this time the scene of war; and the traveller, as though unwilling to linger amidst distress which he could not alleviate, hastened forward, only making a cursory visit to the *Maison de Force* at Prague, and to a monastery of the Capuchin Friars, where a scene presented itself not very creditable to that Order, nor likely to be regarded with complacency by their abstemious visitor. On his arrival it was dinner-time—a meagre day, yet the table was spread with all the viands which the most self-indulgent could desire. He was invited to partake; but, instead of that, the Fathers received a sharp rebuke: Howard told them he "heard they lived secluded for abstinence and prayer; but he found their house was rather for revelry and drunkenness." He added that, as he was going to Rome, it would be his duty to make known to the Pope their real manner of living. Alarmed at this threat, four or five of the friars afterwards came to his abode, begged pardon, and entreated they might be spared the threatened exposure. Howard would make no promise but that of inquiry into their future conduct; inti-

* Foreign Prisons, p. 81.

mating that, if the promised reformation of morals were fulfilled, he probably should not report the offence. 1778.

From Prague he proceeded direct to Vienna, where he tells us that he visited all the prisons and most of the hospitals. Of the latter he says—

“They do honour to the citizens in general, and especially to the Empress Queen. It was agreeable to see the neatness, order, and cleanliness of the inmates. There, poverty and old age appeared with a smiling aspect.”

The Maison de Force in this city, like other continental prisons, was a manufactory, in which the criminals were associated, and their correction was therefore hopeless. Howard observes,—

“One or two of the women were crying, and charging others with rising in the night and stealing some of their cotton. The *mistress* believed the complaint, but said she was not able to prevent such frauds, because there was not the convenience of *separate apartments*.”*

In the great prison, La Maison du Bourreau, we are told—

“There are many dungeons. Here, as usual, I inquired whether they had any putrid fever, and was answered in the negative. But, in one of the dark dungeons, down twenty-four steps, I thought I found a person with the gaol fever. He was loaded with heavy irons, and chained to the wall: anguish and misery appeared with clotted tears on his face. He was not capable of speaking to me; but on examining his breast and feet for *petechiæ*, or spots, and finding he had a strong intermitting pulse, I was convinced that he was not ill

* Foreign Prisons, p. 82.

of that disorder. A prisoner in an opposite cell
1778. told me that *the poor creature* had desired him to
call out for assistance, and he had done it, but was
not heard. This is one of the *bad effects of dungeons.*”*

This scene has been well portrayed by Hayley
in his “Ode to Howard :”—

“ Where, in the dungeon’s loathsome shade,
The speechless captive clanks his chain,
With heartless hope to raise that aid,—
His feeble cries have call’d in vain :
Thine eye his dumb complaint explores ;
Thy voice his parting breath restores ;
Thy cares his ghastly visage clear
From death’s chill dew, with many a clotted tear,
And to his thankful soul returning life endear.”

He tells us the precautions which he adopted in
these perilous visits :—

“ I have been frequently asked what precautions I use
to preserve myself from infections in the prisons and hos-
pitals which I visit. I here answer, that, next the *free*
goodness and *mercy* of the *Author of my being*, temperance
and cleanliness are my preservatives. Trusting in *Divine*
Providence, and believing myself in the way of my duty, I
visit the most noxious cells ; and, while thus employed,
‘I fear no evil.’ . . . I never enter a prison or hospital
before breakfast, and, if in an offensive room, I seldom
draw my breath deeply.”†

Howard’s care and concern for the poor caused
him to observe particularly all regulations which
prevented imposition : accordingly, after describing
the prisons, he adds—

* Foreign Prisons, p. 82.

† State of Prisons, p. 431.

“Before I leave this city, I would just mention that every month, an account of the price, 1778. weight, and measure of *bread* and *flour* is put up on the gates. The bakers at Vienna are punished for frauds by the severity and disgrace of the ducking-stool. This machine of terror, fixed on the side of the Danube, is a kind of long pole or board extending over the water, at one end of which the delinquent, being fastened in his basket, is immersed. The bakers would gladly purchase a removal of this machine, but the punishment is continued, and inflicted on delinquents, by order of the magistrates.”*

During his stay at Vienna, Howard, whose excellence was now better appreciated, had the honour of dining at the royal table, with the ambassadors and nobles of the Queen’s court.

An instance of Howard’s courage and truthfulness occurred another day at Vienna, when at dinner with Sir R. Murray Keith, the English ambassador. It is thus recorded by his friend, Dr. Brown :—

“The conversation turned upon the torture, when a German gentleman of the party observed, that the glory of abolishing it in his own dominions belonged to his Imperial Majesty. ‘Pardon me,’ said Mr. Howard, ‘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, a few hours; but that which he has appointed lasts many weeks, nay, sometimes years. The poor wretches are plunged into a noisome dungeon, as bad as the black-hole at Calcutta, from which they are taken out only if they confess what is laid to their charge.’ ‘Hush!’ said the ambassador, ‘your words will

* Foreign Prisons, p. 84.

be reported to his Majesty.' 'What!' replied
 1778. he, 'shall my tongue be tied from speaking truth
 by any king or emperor in the world? I repeat
 what I asserted, and maintain its veracity.' Deep silence
 ensued, and every one present admired the intrepid bold-
 ness of the man of humanity."*

From Vienna, Howard proceeded to Gratz, Lau-
 bach, and Trieste, and visited the prisons of each
 place, but saw little in them to commend. He
 embarked from Trieste, in a small vessel, for
 Venice, and was driven about the gulf two days
 and nights by contrary winds.

"I entered Italy," says the benevolent tourist, "with
 raised expectations of considerable information, from a
 careful attention to the prisons and hospitals, in a country
 abounding with charitable institutions and public edifices.
 At Venice, the greatest prison is near the Doge's palace,
 and it is one of the strongest I ever saw. There were
 between three and four hundred prisoners, many of them
 confined in loathsome and *dark* cells for life; executions
 here being very rare. There was no fever or prevailing
 disorder in this close prison. None of the prisoners had
 irons. On weighing the bread allowance, I found it four-
 teen ounces. I asked some who had been confined many
 years in dark cells, whether they should prefer the galleys?
 They all answered in the affirmative: so great a blessing
 is light and air! The chapel is only for the *condemned*,
 who continue there a night and a day before execution."†

"The *galley*s were dirty and crowded: the slaves were
 in chains of about twenty-seven pounds weight. I saw
 one dead on the shore, who, I suppose, destroyed himself
 in despair."‡

From Venice, Howard went to Florence, passing

* Brown, p. 285.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 86.

‡ Ibid.

through Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna; 1778.
visiting the prisons at each place. At
Florence he acknowledges his obligations to Sir
Horace Mann, through whom he obtained permis-
sion from the Grand Duke to inspect the various
public institutions of the city, of which we have
the following notices:—

“In Florence are two prisons. In the great prison, *Palazzo degl' Otto*, were only twenty prisoners. Six of them were in the *secrete* chambers, which are twenty-one strong rooms. None of the prisoners were in irons. They had mattresses to lie on. Their bread was good. In the torture-chamber there was a machine for decollation, which prevents that repetition of the stroke which too often happens when the axe is used.

“In the other prison, *Delle Stinche*, there are five doors to pass before you come to the court. The opening of the first is three feet wide, and four feet nine inches high, with an inscription over it, *Oportet misereri.*”*

“The hospital, *S. Maria Nova*, was crowded and too close: though the *men's* fever-ward was 454 feet long. The women are attended by *nuns*, who have a passage under ground from the opposite convent. . . The hospital I most frequently visited was *S. Giovan di Dio*. In it there are five rooms, with single beds for priests. The bedsteads of all were iron, and the boards of the hospital were varnished. The great attention of this order of Friars to the sick in every country does them honour. In the *S. Paolo della Convalescenza*, recovering patients remain four days. In the almshouse, *S. Bonifazio*, the wards are all clean, and show the care of the nuns who attend on this charity.”†

Proceeding through Leghorn, and thence to

* Foreign Prisons, p. 87.

† *Ib.* p. 89.

1778. Loretto, in which places he found little that was calculated to further his purpose, Howard next arrived in Rome, where the first object he visited was the prison, of which he writes:—

“Justitiæ et Clementiæ, securiori ac meliori reorum custodia, novum carcerem Innocentius X. Pont. Max. posuit, Anno Domini MDCLV.”*

“There are eighteen strong rooms for the *men*, which are close and offensive; each of them having but one window for admitting light and air. These rooms are never opened without an order from the *governor* of the city. There were thirty-six prisoners. They are not permitted to go out of their rooms at any time but for examination. Some, having been confined there many years, appeared with pale, sickly countenances; but none were in irons. There is a chamber for distracted prisoners, in which were seven miserable objects. I wish I could say I had seen no torture-chamber.”†

But, besides the torture-chamber, “at one corner of this building were placed a pulley and rope, by which malefactors, with their hands behind them, were pulled up; and, after being suspended for some time, were inhumanly let down part of the way, when, by a sudden jerk, their arms were dislocated.”‡

“The state prisoners are confined in the Castle of San Angelo. The rooms appropriated to that purpose were all empty, except one, in which was a bishop, who had been confined upwards of twenty years, and was distracted.”§

Concerning the prison of the Inquisition, more hateful, as it must have been, to Howard, than

* Foreign Prisons, p. 91.

† *Ib.* p. 92.

‡ Brown, p. 289.

§ Foreign Prisons, p. 9.

even the Bastile, yet one which, if possible, he would have penetrated, he says— 1778.

“The chambers of this *silent* and *melancholy* abode were quite inaccessible to me; and yet I spent near two hours about the court and the priest’s apartments, till my continuance there began to raise suspicion.”*

Howard again mentions the *Confraternità della Misericordia*, and some particulars of the cemetery for the malefactors:—

“I was at Rome on the 29th of August, the only day in the year when the burial-place is open to the public. Adjoining an elegant church is a chapel. In the portico, and on one side, are marble squares, in which are circular apertures for the interment of those who are executed. Round these stones is inscribed—‘*Domine, cum veneris judicare, noli nos condemnare.*’” †

From surveying this locality, Howard proceeded to inspect an institution, the usefulness of which was very apparent, and of which we have the following notice:—

“The hospital of *S. Michele* is a large and noble edifice. It consists of several courts, with buildings round them. In the apartments of one of these, boys, who are orphans or destitute, are educated; all learning different trades. When I was there, the number was about two hundred. At twenty years of age they are completely clothed; and a sum of money is given to set them up in the business they have learned. In another court are apartments for the aged, in which were nearly five hundred. Here they find a comfortable retreat, having clean rooms and a refectory. They appeared happy and thankful. Another part is a prison for boys or *young men*. Over the door is this

* Foreign Prisons, p. 9.

† *Ib.* p. 94.

inscription:—Clemens XI. Pont. Max. Perditis
1778. Adolescentibus corrigendis sustinendisque: ut
qui Inertes oberant, Instructi, Reipublicæ ser-
viant. MDCCIV.

“In the room is inscribed the following admirable sen-
tence, in which the grand purpose of all civil policy rela-
tive to criminals is expressed:—Parum est improbos
coercere pœnâ, nisi probos efficias disciplinâ.”*

Dr. Aikin, who had often conversed with Howard respecting this interesting inscription, says—“He would, I believe, almost have thought it worth while to have travelled to Rome for that alone.”†

From Rome, Howard proceeded to Naples, where, at once pursuing the object of his tour, he describes—

“The principal prison, *La Vicaria*. It contained when I was there, according to the gaoler’s account, 980 prisoners. In about eight large rooms, communicating with one another, there were 540 sickly objects, who had access to a court surrounded by buildings so high as to prevent the circulation of the air. In this court was a recess, under arcades like those under the chapel at Newgate. Some of the prisoners were employed in knitting, and others in making shoes; but most of them were entirely without employment. . . . Adjoining was a chapel and spacious infirmary. I observed in the prisons of Italy great attention paid to the sick, but too little care taken to *prevent* sickness. There were three other prisons—one contained eighty prisoners, another near sixty, the other but eleven. The *galleys* were moored about ten feet from the shore. In the *first* were 260 slaves; in the *second*, 298; in the *third*, 270; and in the *fourth*, 400; most of them stout and healthy. All were chained two and two together.

* Foreign Prisons, p. 94.

† Aiken, p. 97.

As no regular plan had been settled for the employment of these slaves, the king lately made a present of 300 of such of them as had been condemned for life, to the Maltese. In the *Seraglio*, or great almshouse, there were about 550 prisoners (*condannati*) in eight or nine rooms. Many of them work as labourers on this great building, with chains varying according to the terms of their confinement." *

From Naples, our tourist returned to Rome, and thence proceeded to the Pope's galleys at Civita Vecchia :—

“ The slaves condemned to them are confined for different terms, according to the nature of their crimes : but the shortest time is three years for vagabonds, who are generally employed on board the pontons in clearing the harbour. For theft, the term is never under seven years. Persons convicted of forgery are always confined for life ; and if found guilty of forging bank-notes, or any instruments by which large sums have been lost, they are punished with an *iron glove*. Prisoners *for life* are chained two and two together : those for *limited terms* have all a single chain, and, at their first arrival, of the same weight : but when they have no more than one or two years to serve, they have only a ring round their leg, which is lessened as the end of their time approaches. For escapes, they are obliged to finish their *first* condemnation, and then receive a fresh one for the same time as the former ; but if the first was for life, the same is renewed, and they receive from a hundred to two hundred lashes a day, for three days after their arrival. *None are sent to the galleys under the age of twenty* : criminals of a younger age are kept at the hospital of S. Michele, in Rome, till they are of age.” †

* Foreign Prisons, pp. 98. 99.

† Ib. p. 96. An account given by a more recent philanthropist of his visit to the prison of Civita Vecchia is full of painful

1778. Howard was anxious to proceed to Leghorn by sea, and his stay at Civita Vecchia was shortened by the departure of a vessel bound for that port. When night came on,

interest, but is subjoined in order to show that the evils to which Howard directed his attention are not yet all corrected.

“The gaol there, which was the object of our journey, is an old and strong fortress close by the sea, and contains 1364 desperate-looking criminals, all for the most aggravated offences. I am sure you never saw such a gang of malefactors, or such a horrid dungeon. We went, first, into a vaulted room, with a low ceiling, as I measured it, thirty-one yards long, twenty-one broad. There was light, but obscure. A good deal of the room was taken up by the buttresses which supported the arches. The noise on our entrance was such as may be imagined at the entrance of hell itself. All were chained most heavily, and fastened down. The murderers and desperate bandits are fixed to that spot for the rest of their lives; they are chained to a ring fastened to the end of the platform, on which they lie side by side, but they can move the length of their chain on a narrow gangway. Of this class, there were upwards of 700 in the prison; some of them famed for a multitude of murders; many, we are told, had committed six or seven; and, indeed, they were a ghastly crew,—haggard, ferocious, reckless assassins. I do not think that the attendant gaoler very much liked our being there. A sergeant in uniform was ordered to keep close by me; and I observed that he kept his hand upon his sword, as he walked up the alley between the adjacent platforms.

“There was a fourth room at some distance, and our guide employed many expedients to divert us from going there. . . . This was worse than any of the others: the room lower, damper, darker; and the prisoners with, if possible, a more murderous look. . . . The mayor afterwards told us, that he, in his official capacity, knew that there was a murder every month among the prisoners. I spoke to a good many of them, and, with one exception, each said that he was condemned for murder or stabbing. I will tell you one short conversation: ‘What are you here for?’

the captain put into a creek, and his crew pitched a tent for the night on shore, 1778. amidst some beautiful Italian scenery. The weather was then fair, and they embarked in the morning; but they had no sooner got out to sea than a violent storm arose and drove them near one of the small islands in the Mediterranean; where, at night, they anchored under the walls of a town, whose inhabitants would not suffer them to land, it having been reported that the plague had broken out in the port from which the vessel was come. After a comfortless night, they got under sail again, but the tempest came on with

said I to a heavy-looking fellow, lying on his back at the end of the room. He made no answer; but a prisoner near him, with the sharp features and dark complexion of an Italian, promptly said, 'He is here for stabbing' (giving a thrust with his hand to show how it was done). 'And why is he in this part of the prison?' 'Because he is incorrigible.' 'And what were you condemned for?' 'For murder.' 'And why placed here?' '*Sono incorrigibile.*' In short, this prison combines together, in excess, all the evils of which prisons are capable. It is, as the mayor said, a sink of all the iniquity of the state. The Capuchins certainly preach them a sermon on the Sunday, and afford them an opportunity of confession; of which, if the prisoners avail themselves, the priests must have enough to do. The sight of it has kindled in my mind a very strong desire that the old Prison Discipline Society should make a great effort, and visit all the prisons of the world. I had hoped that sound principles of prison discipline had spread themselves more widely; but I now fear that there are places, and many of them, in the world, in which it is horrible that human beings should live, and still more horrible that they should die."—*Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton*, pp. 496, 497.

1778. increased fury, and they were driven upon the Algerine coast. The same rumour had reached Algiers, and they were forbidden to land without performing quarantine. Providentially the wind changed, and on the following day they were enabled to pursue their voyage. On the third evening they reached the island of Gorgona, when the governor sent out his boat for Howard, and welcomed him ; and he was hospitably entertained upon the island for five or six days. As soon as the wind was favourable, Howard set sail for Leghorn, where he remained a week, and thence proceeded to Lucca, and next to Lericce. There he met with the Hon. Philip Yorke (afterwards Earl of Hardwicke), who travelled with him to Genoa. Here he carefully inspected the prisons and hospitals. In the former he found many wise regulations enforced by the following enactments :—

“The keeper shall have under him six assistants : and the said keeper is to be responsible, and liable to punishment, if any of the assistants shall be guilty of the least fraud or neglect in their employment. The advocate fiscal is, once a week, at any time he shall think proper—*but when he is least expected*—to visit the cells of the prison, and to inquire diligently how the prisoners are treated by the keeper and assistants, in order to give information to the most serene Senate.”*

In the great hospital he found about 900 patients; the sick of all nations being admissible. There was “a room for foundlings, but crowded and close.”

* Foreign Prisons, p. 101.

The same observation applied to that for the insane, in which “the calm and quiet were inhumanly confined with the noisy and turbulent.” The hospital is an asylum for boys and girls, similar to that of S. Michele in Rome. There were about 600 inmates. “Over the door of the great room, where numbers were spinning and weaving, was this inscription:—*Silentium et Obedientia.*”*

Howard next directed his course to Milan, and, amongst other notices of its public hospitals and prisons, we have the following:—

“In visiting the Great Hospital, my expectations were disappointed. The rooms were not lofty; they were dirty and offensive. In the hospital for orphans—La Stella—there were 300 girls, employed in making lace on round pillars.

“In the Great Prison are twenty secret chambers. The entrance guarded by two doors, between which is a narrow space. Into this you are locked, before the turnkey opens the inner door, for fear these desperate criminals should murder the keeper for the keys, and attempt to rush out. In this great trading city there were only four persons confined for debt. The prisons called *L'Argastro* and *La Casa di Correzione* do honour to the country. Both are for criminals condemned either for a term of years or for life. The *most atrocious* work in chains in the streets; the *others*, only in the house. In *L'Argastro* there were three hundred and fifty-nine prisoners, healthy and strong. A considerable number of them were at work in public: but in the house there were at work shoemakers, tailors, smiths, and wheelwrights, &c. Many here learn trades;

* Foreign Prisons, p. 102.

so that there is a probability that, when their
 1778. term is finished, they will become *useful members*
of society; which should be the *grand object* in all
 such houses. They receive for themselves *one-third* of
 what they earn, and *two-thirds* go to the house."*

Howard generally visited the prisons unattended
 by his servant; but he was so much pleased with
 some of the arrangements in the Casa di Correzione,
 that he obtained permission for Thomasson to ac-
 company him. Had this been a more frequent
 occurrence, the journal of that attendant would
 have told constantly of Howard's charity. On this
 occasion we have the following incident recorded:—

“ Amongst the number of prisoners was a young man of
 superior talents, who was working upon a very fine gold bro-
 cade. On entering into conversation with him, Mr. Howard
 found that he was highly accomplished, and could speak
 four or five different languages. The crime for which he was
 confined here was that of having more wives than one living
 at the same time,—an offence which, in Italy, does not seem
 to have been viewed in so serious a light as it is with us;
 since, on finding that the correction he had undergone in
 this prison seemed to have produced a salutary effect upon
 his mind, our benevolent countryman was permitted to
 purchase his ransom, and to furnish him with money to
 carry him to some other country, probably to that of which
 he was a native. For this unexpected generosity, the
 young man, who appeared not to be above four or five-and-
 twenty years of age, was very grateful, and showed his
 benefactor all possible respect and attention during his
 continuance in Milan.”†

Howard expresses gratitude to the Count de

* Foreign Prisons, p. 103.

† Brown, p. 300.

Firmian for the facilities he had afforded him at Milan. He proceeded thence to Turin, and we have the following amongst the other particulars of what he there recorded:—

“In the citadel there were 170 men in irons. Their unhealthy countenances plainly showed the little attention paid to them. In the hospital of *La Carita* there were about 2000 inhabitants, mostly children. Here also is an *hospital for lunatics*, where, with pain, I saw *wards crowded* with beds, and in some of them miserable creatures chained and raving.”*

Thence proceeding to Chambery, he says—

“The prisoners here, besides the *allowance* of good bread, are often supplied with bread, soup, and clothes, by a charitable society of ladies. In one of the rooms I saw chains, but was told they had not been used since the walls had been built higher. A dismal torture-chamber, into which daylight never enters, makes a part of this prison.”†

Our traveller then revisited the prisons in Switzerland, and found them generally untenanted, from the causes which have been already assigned. At Berne he met with a further instance of the clemency and discretion of the magistrates:—

“An old keeper having left the door of one of the men’s wards unlocked, twelve prisoners forced the outer door and walked off; the people who happened to see them suffered them to pass, because they supposed they were going to work in the streets. When four or five of them some time after were retaken and carried to their old lodgings, the magistrates ordered that they should *not be punished*, considering that every one must be desirous of regaining

* Foreign Prisons, p. 106.

† Ib. p. 106.

liberty. As they had not been guilty of assault
1778. or violence in making their escape, the punishment fell on the *keeper* for his negligence.*

“At Zurich there is a prison, situated in the middle of a river, for capital crimes : here was only one prisoner. The first room was for examination : in it were five different weights for torture ; and, if we may depend on tradition, the heaviest, which is one hundred and twenty pounds, was used in torturing a burgomaster of this city.”†

Howard had not visited all the larger prisons or charitable institutions in Germany during his former tours. He gives us therefore some additional notes :—

“At Augsburg the prison consists of many *cachots* on three different floors. There is one for examination, and two for the instruments of torture. There are also two dark dungeons for such as have been convicted of witchcraft.”

“At Munich there are two prisons. In a dark, damp dungeon, down seventeen steps, were the instruments of torture. Another, called *La Prison de la Cour*, consisted of about fifteen cells and a black torture-room. In this room there is a table covered with black cloth and fringe. Six chairs for the magistrates and secretaries, covered also with black cloth, are elevated two steps above the floor, and painted black. Various engines of torture, some of which are stained with blood, hang round the room. When the criminals suffer, the candles are lighted ; for the windows are shut close, to prevent their cries being heard abroad. Two crucifixes are presented to the view of the unhappy objects. But it is too shocking to relate their different modes of cruelty. Even women are not spared. This room seems much like the torture-room in Spain, described in Limborch’s *History of the Inquisition*, translated

* Foreign Prisons, p. 109.

† Ib. p. 112.

by Chandler: ‘It was a large under-ground room, arched, and the walls covered with black hangings. The candle-sticks were fastened to the wall, and the whole room enlightened with candles placed in them. The inquisitor and notary sat at a table, so that the place seemed as the very mansion of death, everything appearing so very terrible and awful.’”*

“In the house of correction the keeper ordered his servant to attend me with charcoal and frankincense; a certain sign of negligence and inattention, which the countenances of the prisoners confirmed.”

“I was agreeably relieved from the pain excited by these scenes with the view of the two hospitals of *Les Frères* and *Les Sœurs de Charité*. In the former were about forty beds; in the latter, twenty: the wards were about twenty-six feet wide. All was neat and clean, still and quiet; and the great attention paid to the patients was everywhere apparent. I saw the operation of bleeding performed by the *nuns* with great dexterity and tenderness. Over the foot of each bed a text of Scripture was inscribed, as in some Italian hospitals.”†

“The prison at Ratisbon is in the town-house. Many of the chambers are airy, and most of them have stoves. There are no dungeons, but three dark cellars for torture, at which two senators, their secretary, and the hangman with his valets, assist. At Munich, and most other places, a surgeon also attends; but I heard of no such custom here.”‡

“At Nuremburg the *prison* is under the town-house: it is one of the worst prisons I ever saw. The dark unhealthy dungeons, and the dismal torture-chamber, do no honour to the magistracy of this city. In this chamber on the wall is inscribed a ginglyng verse, which I here insert, as perhaps no traveller but myself has ever seen it:—

“ ‘*Ad mala patrata sunt atra theatra parata, 1753.*’

* Foreign Prisons, p. 114.

† *Ib.* p. 115.

‡ *Ib.*

The gaoler makes use of a low trick to prevent
 1778. the escape of his prisoners, by terrifying them
 with the apprehensions of falling under the power
 of witches. In several of the German gaols there are
 dungeons for those that are accused of witchcraft, but they
 seem to have been long disused: and I hope increasing
 light and good sense will soon entirely banish the *fears* of
 witches, and consequently the *witches themselves*.*

“ At Schwabach is a large *house of correction*. Some
 regulations are liberal, and worth transcribing. It is ob-
 served, that ‘ there is a great error in expecting that a
 house of this kind should be able to *maintain itself*; since,
 with the strictest economy, *a considerable annual sum* will
 be found necessary for its proper support.’ The greatest
 attention to *cleanliness* is inculcated; bathing rooms are
 provided for the prisoners; and the expense of *washing*
 for them is reckoned an object not to be regarded. It is
 remarked to be ‘ a very false notion, that a man who lives
 upon *bread* and *water* can work hard and be kept in
 health;’ accordingly, a daily allowance of *hot provisions*
 is ordered for the criminals. It is mentioned as an essen-
 tial point, in order to preserve order, and prevent abuses,
 ‘ that *one of the city magistrates* should every week in
 rotation visit the house, and closely inspect everything
 relative to its management.”†

“ At Bayreuth the prisoners were all working on marble.
 Their pale countenances were a sign that the work was
 laborious, and that the keeper had the whole profit.”

“ At Wurtzburgh house of correction ninety prisoners
 were employed in a well-regulated woollen manufactory.”

Howard proceeded thence to Frankfort, in the
 five prisons of which place he found only six in-
 mates. At Cologne there were but few criminals.
 Here, and at Frankfort, they were employed in

* Foreign Prisons, p. 115.

† Ib. pp. 116, 117.

beating stone to powder for a cement. 1778.
 Thence he proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle,
 where he found the great prison unoccupied ; but
 of another he says—

“ In the guard prison near the *Maison de Ville* there were two prisoners, one of whom was a very old man with irons on one hand, who was confined on suspicion, and had twice suffered the torture to force a discovery of his confederates.” *

Whilst on this journey Howard does not appear to have made notes on general subjects, or to have recorded thoughts unconnected with the specific purpose of his travels ; but we find the following brief sentence in his memorandum-book :—

“ Sun. Ev., Nov. 8. 1778. Hallelujah ! blessing, honour, glory and power be unto God and the Lamb for ever and ever !”

Liege was next visited ; and here, truly, the humane heart of Howard might have sunk in lifeless despondency at the contemplation of the atrocities he describes, had he not been sustained and animated by that faith which excited the above ascription of praise :—

“ The two prisons at Liege,” he writes, “ the *old* and the *new*, are on the ramparts. In two rooms of the *old* prison I saw six cages, made very strong with iron hoops, four of which were empty. These were dismal places of confinement, but I soon found worse ; in descending deep below ground from the gaoler’s apartments, I heard the moans of the miserable wretches in the dark dungeons.

* Foreign Prisons, p. 123.

The sides and roof were all stone. In wet weather, water from the *fosses* gets into them, and has greatly damaged the floors. Each of them had two small apertures, one for admitting air, and the other, with a shutter over it strongly bolted, for putting in food to the prisoners. One dungeon larger than the rest was appropriated to the sick. In looking into this with a candle I discovered a stove, and felt some surprise at this little escape of humanity from the men who constructed these cells.

“The dungeons in the *new* prison are abodes of misery still more shocking; and confinement in them so overpowers human nature as sometimes irrevocably to take away the senses. I heard the cries of the distracted as I went down to them. One woman, however, I saw, who (as I was told) had sustained this horrid confinement forty-seven years without becoming distracted. The cries of the sufferers in the torture-chamber may be heard by passengers without, and guards are placed to prevent them from stopping and listening. A physician and surgeon always attend when the torture is applied; and on a signal given by a bell, the gaoler brings in wine, vinegar, and water, to prevent the sufferers from expiring. ‘*The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.*’ Thus in the Spanish Inquisition, the physician and surgeon attend to determine the utmost extremity of suffering without expiring under the torture. I will add, that in this prison there are rooms appropriated to prisoners *en pension*; that is, to such as are confined by the magistrates, at the desire of their parents, guardians, or relations. A shocking practice! which prevails also in some of the neighbouring countries,”*

“In the *Maison de Force* at Liege, Howard found in the treatment an entire contrast to the ruthless barbarities of the other prisons. It was a woollen manufactory

* Foreign Prisons, pp. 124, 125.

for soldiers' clothes. The lodgings were good, the dietary excessive,—two quarts of beer were allowed each prisoner every day."*

Thence he went to Brussels, where he again inspected the prisons, and then revisited the *Maison de Force* at Ghent. There the same plans were still pursued, but the prisoners were now allowed a fifth part of all they earned. On his way from Ghent to the Hague, whither Howard went on a visit to Sir Joseph Yorke, he examined the prisons of Antwerp, of which we have the following account:—

“ In the prison of Antwerp there are two rooms for citizens; and upstairs there is a cage, about six feet and a half square, into which criminals are put before the torture. A criminal, while he suffers the torture, is clothed in a long shirt, has his eyes bound, and a physician and surgeon attend him: and when a confession is forced from him, and wine has been given him, he is required to sign his confession; and about forty-eight hours afterwards he is executed.

“ In a small dungeon is a stone seat, like some I have seen in old prison towers, in which it is said that formerly prisoners were *suffocated by brimstone* when their families wished to avoid the disgrace of a public execution. No person here remembers an instance of this kind, but about thirty years ago there was a *private* execution in the prison. In this prison there were only two prisoners,”†

“ In the house of correction the men were employed in spinning: the women in making lace. On one side of the court are the young women, who are put in there by their parents or relations.”‡

* Foreign Prisons, p 125. † Ib. p. 126. ‡ Ib.

1778. Howard's sympathy with his suffering fellow-countrymen in France impelled him to visit them. During a short stay in Paris he reinspected its prisons and hospitals. The former have been already described. Of the latter he says—

“ *L'Hôpital de St. Louis* for the sick, and *L'Hôtel Dieu*, are indeed the two worst hospitals I ever visited. They were so crowded that I have frequently seen five or six in one bed, some of them dying. In one of my visits at *L'Hôtel Dieu* I observed the number of patients, written up, to be three thousand six hundred and fifty-five. But though these two hospitals are abominable, and a disgrace to Paris, it has many other charitable foundations which do honour to it, and from which this country may derive useful information. This is a subject foreign to my chief purpose, and I have perhaps already enlarged too much upon it.”*

Thence proceeding to Dunkirk, he tells us—

“ Here I found many of my countrymen prisoners of war. In five rooms there were a hundred and thirty-three—*captains, mates, passengers, and common sailors*, all crowded together—who lay on straw, with one coverlet for every three persons.”† “ The provisions were good: at Bergues they were not so good. The prison at Calais, being smaller than that at Dunkirk, was much crowded, for it contained one hundred and twenty-seven English prisoners. Seventeen sailors lay in one room on straw, without coverlets; a few had not even straw: on my complaining of this to the commissary, he said he would send to St. Omer's for coverlets.”‡

“ Many of the prisoners in this and other prisons had

* Foreign Prisons, p. 149. † Ib. p. 152. ‡ Ib. p. 153.

no change of linen, and some were almost entirely destitute of clothes, being the crews of vessels shipwrecked in the great storm of December 31st, 1778."*

It is worthy of note that the visitor did not omit to relieve the sufferers. Dr. Aikin informs us that these poor naked and penniless seamen were clothed at Howard's expense.†

On these visits his patriotism was again proved. Many dishonourable attempts were made to inveigle these prisoners into the French service; he was aware of this, and therefore dissuaded them with so much effect as to occasion offence to the government officials. Moreover, his munificence excited suspicion. Disinterested benevolence is rare in every land: private individuals were not wont to be so liberal as Howard; and therefore they pronounced him a spy; and his charity in their eyes was a largess of the State.

The desire to improve the wretched prisons of his country, to provide a corrective discipline for their inmates, thereby to avert their miseries and amend their morals, had induced this third tour of mercy—during which Howard had travelled nearly 5000 miles. His mind still further stored with information, he now returned to prove its value.

Thomasson had been despatched from Ghent with directions to bring his young master to meet his father in London, and thither Howard has-

* Foreign Prisons, p. 154.

† Aikin, p. 101.

1778. tened. On his arrival, his first object was to wait upon the Commissioners for the sick and wounded seamen, to report to them the complaints which some French commissaries and others in France had made of the manner in which the prisoners of war were treated in England. At the same time he represented what our own countrymen were experiencing in their captivity. He proposed to visit the French prisoners, and was therefore furnished with letters of introduction to the agents in the prisons throughout the kingdom. Having now arranged his business in London, he proceeded to Cardington, accompanied by his son, where they spent together the Christmas vacation.

CHAPTER X.

ANOTHER INSPECTION OF ENGLISH GAOLS.—PRISONERS OF WAR AT PLYMOUTH, BRISTOL, WINCHESTER, AND FORTON.—IMPROVED PRISON AT BODMIN.—GAOL FEVER.—BLACK ASSIZE AT OXFORD.—VISITS PRISONS AT PETWORTH, NEWPORT, NORWICH, AND OTHER PLACES.—PROCEEDS TO SOUTH WALES.—ANOTHER JOURNEY TO SCOTLAND.—EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.—FEW CRIMINALS.—GOES TO IRELAND.—CAUSES OF MANY PRISONERS.—IRISH GAOLS.—RETURNS TO LONDON.—REINSPECTS METROPOLITAN PRISONS.—REVISITS NORTH WALES.—PREPARES APPENDIX TO STATE OF PRISONS.—GOES TO WARRINGTON.—CRUEL CUSTOM AT LIVERPOOL.—PAMPHLET ON THE BASTILE.—APPOINTED COMMISSIONER FOR BUILDING PENITENTIARIES.—RESIGNATION OF THE OFFICE.—REVISITS HOLLAND.—HOWARD PROCEEDS TO DENMARK.—ARRIVES AT COPENHAGEN, VISITS PRISONS, ETC.—GOES TO STOCKHOLM.—HOWARD AT ST. PETERSBURG.—PUNISHMENT OF THE KNOUT.—WRETCHED PRISONS OF RUSSIA.—JOURNEY TO MOSCOW.—HOWARD'S LIBERALITY.—TRAVELS TO WARSAW, BRESLAU AND BERLIN.—ANECDOTE OF FIRMNESS.

1779. A FEW weeks passed at Cardington with his child, and the holydays were spent. Howard's vacation ended with them; and on the day the son returned to school the father resumed his labours. He proposed to publish an Appendix to his Book on Prisons, describing the alterations which had been effected, and suggesting further improvements. To this end, he again travelled through several counties, directing his steps first to the west of England. At Exeter, he found the gaol in its former wretched condition; and, since his previous visit, the surgeon and some prisoners had died of gaol fever. He adds—

“ I found the men together, encouraging and
1779. confirming one another in wickedness ; and the
women are obliged to associate with them in the
daytime.” *

But, as we have seen, he had pledged himself to inspect the abodes in which prisoners of war were detained ; and he began to fulfil this engagement, by visiting one at Plymouth, of which we have the following note :—

“ Feb. 3, 1779.—In the Mill prison there are 392 French prisoners. Wards and courts confined. Not well accommodated with provisions. The hospital, which had fifty patients in it, was dirty and offensive, and I found there only three pairs of sheets in use.” †

In the ship Cambridge there were 396 prisoners, and 250 more were coming in the next day. At Bristol there were 151. The arrangements were better, yet might reasonably be complained of.

But few, amongst the wretched prisons of England, were in a more disgraceful condition, or the scenes of more shocking cruelty and misrule, than those in Cornwall, when Howard before visited that county. On this visit, the heart of the Philanthropist was cheered when he found—

“ A very convenient and spacious county gaol and house of correction, with separate courts, and rooms for the confinement of each prisoner. It is built on a fine eminence, where there is a constant current of water. There is a good house for the gaoler, a chapel, infirmary, baths, &c. By this spirited exertion, the gentlemen of

* Book on Prisons, p. 345.

† Ib. p. 156.

this county have erected a monument of their humanity and attention to the health and morals of prisoners." * 1779.

Several other prisons were visited on this excursion in the counties of Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset; and Howard returned to Cardington on or about the 12th of February. On the 25th he commenced another journey. Aylesbury was first visited. Then Oxford gaol; on which he remarks—

“It is very probable that the rooms in this castle are the same as the prisoners occupied at the time of the Black Assize, when all who were present died within forty hours; the lord chief baron, the sheriff, and about three hundred more. Lord Chancellor Bacon ascribes this to a disease brought into court by the prisoners, and Dr. Mead is of the same opinion. The first of these two authors, Lord Bacon, observes, that ‘the most pernicious infection next the plague is the smell of the gaol, when the prisoners have been long, and close, and nastily kept; whereof we have, in our time, experience twice or thrice, when both the judges that sat upon the jail, and numbers of those who attended the business, or were present, sickened upon it and died.’ . . . The wards in the gaol at Oxford are close and offensive; so that, if crowded, I should not greatly wonder to hear of another fatal assize Oxford.” †

The prisons at Marlborough and Devizes were next visited: they remained in their former sad condition. Thence Howard proceeded to Winchester, where 1062 French prisoners of war were

* Book on Prisons, p. 353.

† Ib. pp. 11. 303.

1779. confined. They were better attended to than at Plymouth, but their benevolent visitor observed—

“Several were confined in the dark hole. Forty days’ confinement on half allowance, in order to pay ten shillings to those that apprehend them after escapes, seems to be too severe a punishment. On such occasions, the observation of the worthy magistrates at Berne always occurs to my mind, ‘that every one must be desirous of regaining liberty.’” *

Pursuing his course to Forton, he inspected another of these establishments, in which were 177 prisoners, ill treated in most respects. The prison “dirty and offensive.” Their meat bad, their bread short of weight, and they justly complained that the inspection of their letters prevented their obtaining redress of these grievances. †

Another proof that his labours had not been vain was discovered by Howard, on returning home, at Petworth, where the half-starved prisoners were not allowed a two-pound loaf every day;—little enough, but double the quantity previously given. He ascribes this to the kindness of the Duke of Richmond. ‡

Ten days were spent at Cardington, and then another journey was undertaken. The south and west having been recently visited, Howard’s course was now directed eastward. From the bridewell at Newport Pagnel, the prisoners had lately made

* Book on Prisons, p. 157. † Ib. p. 158. ‡ Ib. p. 231.

their escape; and he saw with little regret that its “two unwholesome cells in a public house” were, on that account, empty. Thence proceeding to the gaols of Northampton, Coventry, Oakham, and Leicester, he found that some improvements had been made in each. At Wymondham he found “four dirty sickly women at work, with padlocks on their legs. The straw allowed was worn to dust. In the dungeon were stocks.”

The bridewells at Aylsham and Acle were most miserable abodes; the latter is thus described:—

“Two rooms. Down nine steps are two dark dungeons, 8 feet by 5 feet 10 inches. Out of repair. No court; no water; no allowance; no straw.”*

The prisons in Norwich were still abominable. The treatment which their wretched inmates experienced may be inferred from their being allowed only twelve ounces of bread daily—still a starving pittance, but until lately it had been less.

Passing into Suffolk, he found some of its prisons improved; but at Lavenham the escape of a criminal from its *dilapidated* prison had induced the keeper, who had been fined, to chain the rest. “The *keeper*,” says Howard, “was *fined*, though the neglect lay in the *magistrates*,”† not one of whom had been there for fifteen years. Thence he proceeded to Chelmsford, and through Barking to London.

* Book on Prisons, p. 253.

† *Ib.* p. 260.

1779. Having spent a few days in the metropolis, he renewed his journey : going first to Dartford prison, where some of his recommendations had been attended to. Thence he went to Maidstone ; where he found the bridewell, though recently erected, dirty and offensive ; and some of its inmates, ill with the small-pox, were lying in the loose straw, with only a mat to cover them. From Maidstone he travelled to Dover and Deal. At the latter place he found some French prisoners confined, and was glad to hear them express satisfaction at their treatment. He then revisited the bridewells of Lewes, Reading, Wycombe, and St. Albans, in all of which vicious customs still prevailed.

Howard again spent ten days at Cardington ; and then started, May 5th, on another excursion. Revisiting several prisons on his way, he reached York on the 7th, where he had the gratification of seeing that his advice had been in many respects followed. He then proceeded to Knaresborough : that horrible prison had also been repaired ; the sewer had been covered, and the rats excluded. At Carlisle were some French prisoners, shamefully treated, allowed only straw upon which to lie. Thence, after again inspecting the gaols of Lancaster and Manchester, he returned to Bradford, attracted by a new prison for debtors, which although just constructed, was not secure. He then revisited the gaols at Hereford, Worcester,

and Winchcomb ; and, having travelled nearly a thousand miles during fifteen days, temporary rest was again required. 1779.

Of his next inspection we have the following note :—

“ On the 5th and 6th of June, 1779, I visited the prisons at Pembroke. There were fifty-six French prisoners in an old house adjoining to that in which the Americans were confined. Most of them had no shoes or stockings, and some were also without shirts. They had no victualling-table, nor did they know what was their allowance. There were two or three who had their allowance in money, which should have been three shillings and sixpence a week each for their aliment ; but sixpence was deducted. They lay in general on the boards without straw ; for there were but four hammocks in two rooms, each of which contained eighteen prisoners. Here was a court, but no water or sewer. . . Such observations as these have convinced me, that humanity and good policy require that an inspector of the prisons of war should be appointed, who should be obliged to report quarterly their state as to health, provisions, &c.” *

This sixth tour of benevolent investigation in this year was closed by Howard’s revisiting the prison at Cirencester.

A fortnight was accounted long enough for recreation ; and when that short time had been spent in Bedfordshire, Howard set off upon another expedition of mercy, proposing on this occasion to explore many prisons in Scotland and Ireland.

The following extracts from his notes on this

* State of Prisons, pp. 158, 159.

1779. Scotch tour represent the defective nature of prison discipline in that country, and show the wise precautions by which crime was prevented, so that its miserable gaols happily had but few occupants:—

“The prisons which I saw in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Stirling, Jedburgh, Ayr, &c., were old buildings, dirty and offensive, without courts, and also generally without water. They are not visited by the magistrates: and the gaolers are allowed the sale of the most pernicious liquors. . . .

“There are in Scotland but few prisoners; which is partly owing to the shame and disgrace annexed to imprisonment,—partly to the solemn manner in which oaths are administered, and trials and executions conducted,—and partly to the general sobriety of manners produced by the care which *parents* and *ministers* take to instruct the rising generation. In the southern parts of Scotland, it is very rare that you meet with any person that cannot both read and write. It is scandalous for any person not to be possessed of a Bible, which is always read in the parochial schools.”*

The prisons in Ireland were in a state equally bad with those of Scotland, and, as there were not the same preventives of crime, the larger number of inmates presented a grievous contrast. We have several interesting observations on this excursion:

“The criminals in the gaols of Ireland are very numerous, one reason of which may be, that in this country there are no houses of correction; and another, that acquitted persons are continued in confinement till they have discharged their fees to the clerk of the crown or peace,

* State of Prisons, pp. 162, 163.

the sheriff, gaoler, and turnkey. Even boys, almost naked, and under the age of twelve, are sometimes confined two years for these fees, though amounting to no more than about forty shillings. How surprising it is that any kingdom can endure such injustice! It is a particular aggravation of it, that the prisoners thus confined generally lose, at the same time, their allowance of bread. I have heard that Mr. Justice Aston always ordered the acquitted prisoners to be discharged. Some boys were lately released from the county gaol at Kilmainham, paying half fees; and others from Newgate: the sheriffs of Dublin generally relinquished their fees. But as those boys had been associated with the most profligate and abandoned felons for many months, I did not in the least wonder to find that some of them returned to their former habitation in a few days.”*

Howard, deeply imbued with that spirit which induced him to esteem others better than himself, whilst concealing his own benevolence, was ever ready to commend the charity of others. Yet there was expostulation, whenever called for, accompanying his praise. After describing the state of the debtors in the Marshalsea at Dublin, he adds—

“The most needy of them are relieved by the care of a humane society in Dublin, similar to that called the Thatched House Society in London. Such societies deserve the highest praise. I wish, however, to recommend to compassion other prisoners, whose miseries have been long hid from the eyes of the public, who, though they seem to deserve assistance less, yet need it more, to save them from the ruin to which the bad state of the Irish prisons exposes them.”†

* State of Prisons, p. 167.

† Ib. p. 168.

1779. Amongst other numerous evils described, are the following :—

“I am sorry to mention the common and pernicious use of spirituous liquors in the Irish prisons. . . . I found eleven young creatures who for small offences were confined with outrageous lunatics of both sexes.”*

Grieved at what he had discovered, but determined to persevere in his endeavours to correct the vicious customs and to alleviate the miseries he had witnessed, Howard now returned to Cardington, and we observe that only four days elapsed ere he again left that home, and on the 4th of August proceeded to London to reinspect the metropolitan prisons. A fortnight was devoted to this work ; and although he was not likely to rest from labour whilst wrongs however trifling were inflicted, or the least misery claimed relief, yet he accounted a little improvement reward enough to encourage him. When, therefore, he discerned in almost every London gaol some alteration for the better, both in their construction and management, he regarded this as the earnest of much good, and rejoiced in the success which had been granted.

After this short interval, Howard made another excursion into North Wales, revisiting many prisons ; and though his efforts to ameliorate their condition had not been very effective as yet in these more remote parts, still he saw improvement

* State of Prisons, p. 168.

enough to forbid despondency. His next
tour, in the month of September, was ^{1779.}
through the Eastern Counties, and during a week
in October he again traversed the counties of Lin-
coln, Northampton, and Buckingham, deriving
from all he witnessed motives for continued exer-
tion in his philanthropic work.

A few days were now spent in Bedfordshire, when
the diligent inspector again examined the prisons of
his own county; and afterwards went to London,
and remained there through the month of Novem-
ber, chiefly occupied in arranging for publication
the additional information on the state of prisons
which his further travels of eleven thousand miles
had furnished. During his stay in the metropolis
Howard again inspected the hulks on the Thames,
and learned with much satisfaction that his former
representations had produced most happy results.
The convicts were clean, well clad, and compara-
tively healthy, and the discipline was greatly
amended. When his various notes were properly
arranged, he repaired to Warrington, where, hav-
ing again secured the assistance of Dr. Aikin, he
superintended the printing of an Appendix to his
Book on Prisons.

The author, though very careful and constant,
as before, in correcting the press, was more active
than the compositor; and during the progress of the
work he made an excursion to Liverpool, where he
again inspected the prisons of that important town.

1780. At the beginning of the year 1780 Howard published his Appendix to the State of Prisons, a 4to volume of 220 pages, with numerous illustrations. He also printed at the same time a most interesting pamphlet descriptive of the Bastile. This was a translation of a very scarce tract, written by one who had been a prisoner in that dreadful abode, and exposed some of the atrocities he had himself experienced, and others which were therein perpetrated. The sale of the original publication was prohibited by the French Government under the most severe penalties. Howard, after many vain endeavours, at length secured a copy, and he tells us that he published it—

“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.”

With this view, the low price of sixpence was affixed; and, lest he should be charged with exaggerating the cruelty described, he reprinted, with his characteristic prudence, the original document.

The value of Howard's Appendix was enhanced, as Dr. Aikin observes,—and his professional talent enabled him to estimate the matter correctly,—by the observations on various hospitals he visited :

“He made them an avowed object of his examination; a circumstance, it may be supposed, not a little pleasing to his medical friends. For although the knowledge collected

by a professional man with similar opportunities would doubtless have been more applicable to 1780. the purposes of science, yet matter of fact, accurately stated by a sensible observer, must ever have its value. Besides, when can we expect to see the spirit and qualities of a Howard united, in one of our profession, with his fortune and leisure?"*

The conclusion of his Appendix not only declares the feelings and intentions of the Philanthropist, but is connected with subsequent events in his life: it is therefore transcribed:—

“ Having thus, according to my ability, completed the design I had engaged in, it was my intention immediately to have retired to a tranquil enjoyment of that easy competence which a kind Providence has bestowed upon me:—happy in the reflection that I had been, in some degree, an instrument in alleviating the sufferings of a numerous and unhappy set of people; and of exciting the attention of my countrymen to an important object of civil policy. Nor can I forbear expressing the additional satisfaction I have felt in reflecting, that I have avoided giving any possible occasion to impute what I have done to self-interested views; for, as nothing but a firm persuasion that it was my duty could have enabled me to go through all the disagreeable scenes which lay before me, so I had the happiness of being placed out of the reach of any other incitements.

“ My resolutions, however, were broken in upon by the urgent persuasion of some, who were pleased to think me a proper person to assist in superintending one of those great and useful plans I had recommended to the notice of the public: and I was induced more readily to comply with their solicitations by a confidence that those who were to

* Aikin, p. 92.

be associated with me had the same general
1780. ideas with myself, respecting the execution of
the proposed plan, and would co-operate in it
with zeal and ability.

“It remains now to be tried, how far the wise and humane intentions of the Legislature can be accomplished in this country; and what use can be made of those lights which it was the particular purpose of my foreign journeys to collect.”

As implied in the foregoing passage, Howard was appointed a Commissioner for carrying into execution an Act (19 George III. c. 74.) for the erection of two penitentiary houses. His favourable report of the prisons in Holland induced the Legislature to determine upon the adoption of a similar treatment of criminals in this country; and it was proposed that suitable buildings should be constructed under the superintendence of three competent persons. Howard was, of course, selected as best qualified for such an office, and, by his own desire, his friend Dr. Fothergill, whose experience as a physician he very highly valued, and Mr. Whatley, a gentleman of distinguished benevolence, who had been for many years treasurer of the Foundling Hospital,* were associated with him. The qualifications of Howard were more clearly discerned by others than himself; and although

* This benevolent man was not only a liberal contributor to the hospital, but bequeathed a considerable sum “for the relief of poor objects who, having been there brought up, should apply for aid; with the hope that others, seeing its utility, would augment that fund.”

connected with persons so well able to assist in the undertaking, it was with reluctance that he accepted the office, and not until very strongly urged to do so by his friends, especially by Sir William Blackstone, who was a chief promoter of the design. A proof of his disinterestedness was afforded on this occasion by his refusing any compensation for the labour which such an appointment entailed. The proposed plan was never carried out, in consequence of a difference between the Commissioners in regard to the selection of a site. Howard and Dr. Fothergill agreed on a spot near Islington, and Mr. Whatley insisted upon the adoption of one at Limehouse. Dr. Fothergill died, and Mr. Whatley and Howard could not come to an agreement. Both parties were equally confident in their choice, and neither was disposed to yield. Letters which passed between Howard and Mr. Whatley show that they did not allow this difference to interrupt their private friendship; but there appearing no chance of the difference being accommodated, Howard resigned his appointment in January, 1781, and, shortly after, three new Commissioners were appointed.

Howard was now again free to pursue his philanthropic inquiries; and as there were many foreign countries which he had not yet visited, he once more turned his thoughts to travel.

1781. On the 27th of May, 1781, Howard crossed to Ostend, and thence proceeded to Rotterdam, where he reinspected the prisons. He describes a recent occurrence at the Rasp-house:—

“At the whipping-post, which was in the middle of the court, in full view of the male criminals, some of our dexterous countrymen, but a few months before, had undergone a severe flagellation for melting their pewter spoons, and forming them into keys, for the purpose of opening the doors of their prison. The metal was hardened with a mixture procured from an apothecary as a remedy for the tooth-ache. The scheme was defeated, however, by the treachery of an English Jew, who, for this service, obtained his liberty, though he had been committed for thirty years.”*

Again at Bremen he obtained permission to revisit its prisons. There he had evidence of the strictness with which discipline was enforced upon the keepers, as well as upon those in custody. One of the former had suffered a prisoner to converse with a person in the town, and for the offence was in confinement for fourteen days upon bread and water. The doors of the cells in this prison were five inches thick and plated with iron, yet a prisoner had recently escaped. In another prison he found six dungeons without windows, and measuring only seven feet by five. In one of these dreary receptacles, a wretched criminal had lately beaten himself to death against the wall, upon

* Brown, p. 347.

which his blood remained. Leaving this
abode of horrors, the humane traveller was
consoled by a visit to the poor-house, where the
aged and infirm appeared happy. Nor was this the
only pleasing institution at Bremen. One had
lately been established, at which the young children
of the poor were educated during part of the day,
and usefully employed for a few hours in spinning.
And thus the number of begging-children, for
which this town was notorious, had been greatly
diminished.

Howard proceeded from Bremen to Harburgh,
where he saw a number of slaves at work in chains,
and guarded by soldiers, yet some had a short time
before escaped to Hamburgh—the Elbe being
frozen over. At Hamburgh he revisited the
Bütteley and similar institutions, amongst them
the hospital, which was formerly the *Pest-house*,
which name he thought from its offensiveness
might properly have been retained.

Rendsburgh was the first town in Denmark
which he visited. There he found a large body of
slaves employed upon the fortifications. The
allowance of food was liberal, and he observed that
their appearance was more healthful than that of
the common people, which he ascribed to the
deprivation of all spirituous liquors. At the en-
trance to this and other towns a whipping-post
was conspicuous, with a figure on the top, of a

1781. man with a sword at his side and a whip in his hand.

The further description which Howard has given us of the punishments inflicted in Denmark more fully accounts for the increase of crime. The penalty for some offences was that of being compelled to walk through the streets, attended by officers of justice, in what was termed the Spanish Mantle—a sort of barrel, narrow at the top, through which the head passed; it was then suspended from the shoulders, and reached down to the knees. The helpless object was thus exposed to the derision of the populace. Another attempt to scare offenders was by leaving in public view the gibbets and wheels upon which were the bodies of criminals who had been hanged or broken.*

In July Howard reached Copenhagen. He there visited the state prison of the citadel, and found the inmates were never allowed to leave their rooms. At another prison he saw a number of women well employed, and healthful; but the men presented a contrast, and their apartments were in a filthy state, which is accounted for by the circumstance that the gaoler here, as was common in England, kept a public house. Here were 143 slaves, who were in iron collars and chains, their clothes in rags, being only allowed one suit in two years, and obliged to wear them night and day.

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 29.

One convict was fastened to a wheel-
barrow, having attempted to escape. 1781.

“The pale sickly countenances of the slaves in the dungeons,” says their visitor, “were shocking to humanity.” On a subsequent visit to this prison he was pleased to find that some of his remonstrances had been regarded. Still in its best state it was offensive, and the severe headache which its impure atmosphere occasioned reminded Howard of his sensations when visiting the worse goals in his native land. In the spin-house of this city about 400 prisoners were preparing wool for the immense military clothing manufactory, to which all the wool spun in houses of correction was sent. The poor-houses also were inspected, where nearly 1000 were lodged, but provided food for themselves by spinning. The hospitals were clean; but the orphan-house, in which were 225 boys, was badly regulated and dirty. Leaving Copenhagen, he crossed the Sound and arrived at Stockholm.

On his journey the comparative cleanliness of the houses attracted his attention, and he hoped that the public institutions might resemble them; in which expectation he was disappointed. Three prisons were visited in Stockholm, all of which were filthy and offensive. The mode of execution was commonly by the axe, but women were subsequently burned with the scaffold. The king, Gustavus III., had abolished the torture; in

1781. proof of which, Howard was told that a dark cellar in which it was inflicted had been bricked up. He had been too often deceived to confide in mere statements, and therefore insisted upon seeing the wall: he found the order had not been obeyed, and the scene of horror was still open. In the dark and foul prison for the south division of the city, five prisoners were discovered almost suffocated. Then, as on a recent occasion, the neglect and wretchedness so evident was assignable to the gaoler's sale of liquors, which was commonly allowed in Sweden. In this case he was found drinking with his prisoners and other dissolute persons; and when his visitor expostulated with him concerning some starving victims of his oppression, that expostulation was only met with repulsive coarseness and further proofs of savage cruelty. Howard's charity was the more excited by the heardheartedness of this relentless wretch, and relief was more liberally bestowed. The rasp-house at Stockholm contained nearly 200 prisoners, associated without respect to age or sex. As an inducement to industry, the duration of punishment was regulated by the work performed.*

* At a late meeting of the *Congrès Pénitentiare*, it was shown that the reformation of penal discipline in Sweden was rapidly advancing; that prisons containing 1500 cells were proposed, and in process of construction, in which the prisoners would be subjected to adequate punishment, and at the same time provided with means of improvement.

Whilst Howard was travelling in these regions, he found the inconvenience of 1781. having accustomed himself to a vegetable diet, and to the entire abstinence from wine and spirits. The sour bread of the country, with tea, formed his only food ; and, probably, the impossibility of obtaining that food which had now become necessary for his health obliged him to hasten his departure. He was anxious to inspect the prisons and hospitals of Russia without being known, that he might better ascertain their real condition : accordingly, when he came near St. Petersburg, he left his carriage and walked into the city alone. The Empress, however, received information of his arrival, and sent him permission to appear at court ; of which he never availed himself, but told the messenger that he “ had devoted himself to visit the prisons of the captive, and not the courts or the palaces of kings.”

The state of Russia at this time, just emerging

The enlightened and Christian views of the Sovereign are thus expressed :—

“ The prisoner must feel deeply that he is undergoing a deserved punishment, he must feel the whole weight of the power of the law which he has despised and transgressed. . . . The religious instruction of the prisoner is the most certain foundation on which all improvement must be supported, the root from which all regeneration must proceed, in order to possess freshness and to bear good fruit. Without this, all outward change in the prisoner’s conduct is only hypocrisy ; his mind remains as hardened as before, having made progress only in cunning and artifice.”—*Punishments and Prisons*, p. 126.

1781. from gross ignorance, yet still semi-barbarous—its peasants slaves, and their lords cruelly despotic—promised Howard but little pleasure ; perhaps less available instruction. Yet there was very much that might well attract his attention. It was his determination to investigate everything which might tend to the relief or welfare of his fellow-men. The clemency which was reported of the Empress was little in accordance with the cruelty he believed to be practised in her dominions ; and he resolved to ascertain the truth. It was the boast of Russia at this time, that no capital punishment was inflicted. Howard had reason to believe that, although professedly abolished, except for treason, it was in effect retained, and that the change really consisted in substituting a more barbarous method of execution. His suspicions induced him to adopt the following bold expedient, the particulars of which he described to his friend Dr. Brown :—

“ He did not look for exact information to the courtiers of the Empress, or to the chief ministers of justice, because he judged that they would be disposed to exalt by their representations the glory of their Sovereign ; but, taking a hackney coach, he drove directly to the abode of the executioner. The man was astonished and alarmed at seeing any person, having the appearance of a gentleman, enter his door,—which was precisely the state of mind his visitor wished to find him in ; and he endeavoured to increase his confusion by the tone, aspect, and manner which he assumed. Acting, therefore, as though he had authority

to examine him, he told him that if his answers to the questions he should propose were conformable to truth, he had nothing to fear. He accordingly promised that they should be so: when Howard asked, 'Can you inflict the knout so as to occasion death in a short time?' 'Yes, I can,' was the answer. '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 who was punished with my hands by the knout died of the punishment.' '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 receive orders thus to inflict the punishment?' 'I do.' At the close of this curious dialogue Mr. Howard left the executioner, fully satisfied that the honour of abolishing capital punishment had been ascribed to the infliction of a cruel, lingering, and private death, in lieu of one sudden and public. It was most probably to this very instance of the fatal infliction of this barbarous punishment that he himself was an eye-witness, and which he thus describes: 'Aug. 10, 1781, I saw two criminals, a man and a woman, suffer the punishment of the knout. They were conducted from prison by about fifteen hussars and ten soldiers. When they arrived at 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 a post made for the purpose, a man standing before the post and holding the cords to keep them tight. A servant attended the executioner, and both were stout men. The servant first marked his ground and struck the woman five times on the back. Every stroke seemed to penetrate deep into the flesh. But his master, thinking him too gentle, pushed him aside, took his place, and gave all the remaining strokes himself, which were evidently more severe. The

woman received twenty-five, and the man sixty :
1781. I pressed through the hussars, and counted the number as they were chalked on a board ; both seemed but just alive, especially the man, who yet had strength enough to receive a small donation with some signs of gratitude. They were conducted back to prison in a little waggon. I saw the woman in a very weak condition some days after, but could not find the man any more.' The kind of weapon from which he no doubt received his death wound is thus described amongst the instruments of punishment which the governor of the Petersburg police himself showed to our illustrious countryman, and explained to him their use. 'The knout whip is fixed to a wooden handle a foot long, and consists of several thongs about two feet in length twisted together, to the end of which is fastened a single tough thong of a foot and a half, tapering towards a point, and capable of being changed by the executioner when too much softened by the blood of the criminal.' But, besides this savage scourge, he was shown the axe and block ; the machine then out of use for breaking the arms and legs, and the instrument for splitting the nostrils of offenders ; that for branding them, by puncturation, and then rubbing a black powder on the wounds ; and another called a cat, which consisted of a number of thongs varying from two to ten."

From objects so revolting to humanity, so heart-rending to Howard, he turned away with little hope that the prisons of a country in which such atrocious acts were perpetrated could afford any relief to his wounded feelings. Nor did the inspection prove that his apprehensions were unfounded. The fortress was the first visited, where he found a number of deserters and criminals crowded into a small room, in which they were

almost stifled. The slaves, who had logs fastened to both legs, were in a still more horrible condition. In two low cellars were a number more, whose precarious subsistence was entirely dependent upon the contributions given in boxes hung before their grates. A new prison was equally offensive, and revealed scenes of similar wretchedness. In another like abode, children and adults, with irons on both legs, were mingled as in one mass of misery and guilt. 1781.

If the perusal of these horrors has excited a pang in the breast of the reader, similar to that which Howard felt, it is the privilege of the writer to afford consolation which Howard could not find. The punishment of the knout is abolished, and the prisons of Russia are greatly improved. England in Howard's day taught few lessons of clemency. Her prisons showed no pattern for improvement; but our criminal code has been corrected, our penal discipline amended; and Christian gratitude was combined with patriotic pride when recently, in a foreign city, amidst the representatives of Europe, it was the happiness of the author, as an Englishman, to hear that the discontinuance of the knout and other cruelties, with the adoption of a reformatory penal treatment, was assignable to the evident justice and wisdom of plans now pursued in our native land. At the *Congrès Pénitentiare* at Brussels, the deputy from Russia announced, amidst the shouts of the assembly—

“After his return from England, the Emperor instituted a special committee for the reform of prisons, and ordered the erection of a model prison similar to that at Pentonville. . . . The Russian penal code has undergone a complete transformation. They have begun with the knout—this word still produces horror. Well, *the knout has not existed for two years.*”

1781. In visiting the hospitals of St. Petersburg, Howard gladly discerned a better spirit than he had elsewhere discovered. They were clean, comfortable, and well regulated. He also admired another institution, under the control of the Empress, for the education of the female children of her nobility and of a few commoners.

A circumstance occurred during his stay in this city which reflects honour upon a Russian officer, whilst it proves that Howard's character was most highly appreciated. A public society testified to General Bulgarkow its estimate of his charity in enlarging some benevolent institutions, and especially in liberally supporting a seminary for young ladies without fortunes, by presenting him with a gold medal. The generous soldier proved how well the honour was deserved. He spoke in humble terms of his own exertions to do good, as limited to the country of his birth; but said there was one there amongst them whose philanthropy was known to the world, and whose humanity extended to all nations. He was more worthy of the distinction. Accordingly, he sent the medal to Howard.

When our benevolent traveller had thoroughly

examined the prisons and hospitals of St. Petersburg, he made an excursion for a like purpose to Cronstadt. He was always careful in his investigations, and very cautious not to describe any fact which was not fully ascertained; and therefore the forewarning that anything he might write concerning Russia would certainly be translated into the language of that country was but a further incentive to strict and persevering research.

Before leaving St. Petersburg, Howard was attacked with ague; yet he would not suffer the pain and prostration attending that disease to hinder his progress. The journey to Moscow was long, and the road rough and unfrequented; but these circumstances could not detain him. An escort was offered; but that savoured of ostentation, and was therefore declined. Having purchased a light carriage, he travelled the 500 miles in five days and nights; not pulling off his clothes until the journey was accomplished, when, to use his own expression, he "had travelled his ague off."

Notwithstanding the rapidity of his progress, and the sacrifice of personal comfort, yet as wretchedness had always power to arrest his steps, so he would stay to inspect the prisons on his road. Those of Wischner, Wolotschok, and Tver, were therefore visited. They were shockingly offensive, and a physician who accompanied him to

1781. the first would not look into more than one room. Howard, fearless in duty, and, whilst performing it, always confiding in Divine protection, ventured into all. There he found some miserable objects chained together by the neck, and subsisting entirely by casual charity. Arrived at Moscow, he at once proceeded to the Great Prison of that city. There, in one part, he found a Russian of some rank in solitary seclusion for cruelty towards his slaves ; in another place were several cages, in two of which were men in fetters chained by their necks to the wall. In another prison, besides those chains, a log was fastened to the criminal ; and a soldier with a drawn sword kept guard in every room. All the inmates were dirty and sickly. Of the debtors and soldiers, in their respective gaols, he gives a like account. He was greatly offended when on a Sunday he visited two prisons, and found the inmates employed as on other days. The hospitals of Moscow, like those of the modern capital of Russia, were commended by their visitor ; who, in his walk through their wards, endeavoured to give a salutary lesson by here and there opening a window.

Proceeding to Warsaw, he there visited the wretched abodes of crime ; but soon discovered that no useful lessons could be derived from their regulations. Their condition may be inferred from the description of one, of which he says, “ In one room,

only twenty feet by ten, were twenty-six miserable objects, some of them sick upon the dirt floor.” The hospitals of this city are represented as little better than its prisons, excepting the Great Hospital, in which 800 patients were attended by the Sisters of Mercy, with their usual care and kindness. 1781.

At Breslau, which was next visited, our traveller observed but little to detain him; and he passed on to Berlin. In the prisons of this city he found many judicious regulations, properly enforced by the constant superintendence of the civic judges. Amongst the rules, one required the gaoler to keep a record of those in custody, that, if any should again offend, the sentence might be apportioned to the character of the criminal. The orphan-house of Berlin was equally well governed, and its house of correction was clean and healthful; but here the infamous punishment of the Spanish Mantle was resorted to, two prisoners being exposed to public scorn at the gateway. Smugglers, especially, were subjected to this infliction. On his way to Hanover we have another proof of Howard's determined resistance to oppression, and of his indomitable spirit whenever convinced that he was doing right. It is thus recorded by Dr. Aikin:—

“ Travelling in the King of Prussia's dominions, he came to a very narrow piece of road, admitting only one carriage, where it was enjoined on all postilions entering at each end to blow their horns by way of notice. His did so, but,

after travelling a good way, they met a courier
1781. travelling on the king's business, who had
neglected this precaution. The courier ordered
Mr. Howard's postilion to turn back; but Mr. Howard
remonstrated that he had complied with the rule, while
the other had violated it, and therefore that he should
insist on going forwards. The courier, relying on an
authority to which, in that country, everything must
give way, made use of high words, but in vain. As neither
was disposed to yield, they sat still a long time in their
respective carriages; at length the courier gave up the
point to the sturdy Englishman, who would on no account
renounce his rights."*

* Aikin, p. 219.

CHAPTER XI.

HOWARD PROCEEDS TO BRUNSWICK AND HANOVER.—TORTURE AT OSNABURG.—REVISITS PRISONS OF HOLLAND.—AGAIN INSPECTS FLEMISH PRISONS.—HOSPITAL AT BRUGES.—RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—RE-EXAMINES PRISONS OF ENGLAND.—GOES TO SCOTLAND.—REVISITS IRELAND.—PRISONERS OF WAR AT SHREWSBURY.—ANECDOTES OF COURAGE AND BENEVOLENCE.—TRAVELS AGAIN INTO SCOTLAND, IRELAND, AND WALES.—A BOLD REBUKE.—ANOTHER ENGLISH TOUR.—EMBARKS FOR SPAIN.—PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS AT LISBON.—PROCEEDS TO BADAJOZ AND TOLEDO.—THENCE TO MADRID: VISITS PRISONS AND HOSPITALS.—PRISONS OF THE INQUISITION AT MADRID AND VALLADOLID.—PENAL REGULATIONS AT BURGOS AND PAMPLONA.—LETTER TO A FRIEND.—DUNGEONS AT BORDEAUX.—REVISITS PARIS.—IMPROVEMENTS IN ITS PRISONS.—PROCEEDS TO LISLE.—DANGEROUS SICKNESS.—GOES TO AMSTERDAM.—ORPHAN HOUSE AT ROTTERDAM.—AGAIN INSPECTS FLEMISH PRISONS.—RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—ANOTHER IRISH TOUR.—ANECDOTES.—REVISITS SOME ENGLISH GAOLS.—REPUBLISHES "STATE OF PRISONS."—BURKE'S EULOGIUM.—ANECDOTES OF COURAGE.

THE regard which Howard ever showed to the honour of his country must have ^{1781.} caused him much pain when, having entered the Electorate, which formed part of the dominions of the King of England, he discerned in the prisons and penal inflictions of the two countries a painful resemblance. If our own gaols were filthy and offensive, those at Brunswick and Hanover were like them, and frankincense was thought needful to prevent infection. If justice was violated in England by the lengthened detention of culprits before conviction, there too he found some who had

1781. been twelve months awaiting their trials. The Sabbath-day was commonly desecrated in English gaols ; so in Hanover it was disregarded, and the convicts were seen at work. But this similarity of mismanagement and vice was not all that Howard witnessed with grief. At Osnaburgh the torture had lately been inflicted with a refinement of cruelty surpassing that of other places. We have the following description of the manner in which a prisoner had twice suffered it :—

“The executioner had already torn off the hairs from his victim’s head, breast, &c., when a confession was wrung from him by the excruciating pain he endured, and an end was then put to his sufferings by his execution. The time for performing these deeds of darkness here, as in other countries in which they were still permitted to disgrace humanity, was two o’clock in the morning,—the scene, the gloomy cellar of the prison in which the horrid engines of this fiend-like cruelty were kept. On such occasions, a councillor of justice and a secretary attended, with a doctor and surgeon, an Osnaburgh executioner, and sometimes the gaoler. If the criminal fainted, strong salts were here applied to him, instead of the vinegar used in other places.”*

On his return homewards our benevolent countryman desired to obtain still further acquaintance with the prisons of Holland, and he therefore visited Utrecht. In the Stadt-house he saw nine women who had been publicly whipped, and they were then separated from the other prisoners ; he observed a similar arrangement at Spandau ; and

* Brown, p. 374.

at Zwolle, which was next visited, the same number had been branded. The ^{1781.} punishments were inhuman; but, having been guilty of so degrading fellow-creatures, it was prudent in the authorities thus to hinder the spread of that depravity for which they themselves were chiefly responsible. He proceeded next to Dort, Breda, and Groningen, in the prisons of which places but few were confined. On an eminence near the last town the horrible spectacle of a gibbet was presented; the criminal had been hanged a year before, and a pit was dug beneath for the reception of the bones as they fell. Leeuwarden was then visited, and thence Howard went to Amsterdam, induced by a desire to inspect the abodes in which prisoners of war were confined. At Rotterdam he found some English sailors in the Admiralty prison, which was close and offensive, so that many had died. At Leyden the crew of the "Barker" East Indiaman, which had lately been wrecked, were confined in the pest-house.

The large prisons of Flanders again attracted our humane traveller. He first reinspected those of Antwerp, and then the orphan-house and hospital in that city. Thence proceeding to Brussels, he found the former inmates of the old house of correction had been removed to Vilvorde, where they were confined in the New Prison, in an unsatisfactory state; it was badly ventilated, very dirty, and too far from the capital to be under the con-

stant supervision of authorities. Before
1781. leaving that city he visited the Hospital de St. Jean, which is noted down as "offensive beyond description." At Alost some prisoners were confined in darkness, others in a cage and loaded with fetters. "Their countenances bespoke inhumanity and misery." Thence proceeding to Ghent, he re-inspected the Maison de Force: 312 prisoners were now within its walls, employed at various trades, and the whole was well regulated. At Bruges he again visited the prison, but gave especial attention to the hospital, which was under the care of twenty nuns, who rose every morning at four o'clock, and were most sedulous in their attention to the sufferers. Surprised and pleased at the interest taken by Howard in their establishment, and his evident sympathy with the afflicted inmates, they inquired if he was a Catholic, to which he at once replied, "I love good people of all religions."

He now returned to England viâ Ostend, having travelled 4465 miles, without allowing himself to be diverted from his philanthropic purposes. It was the Christmas vacation, and his child spent some weeks with him in London and Cardington. Whilst in the metropolis, Howard visited the prisons that had been recently erected on the site of those burnt during the riots of 1780. Neither the King's Bench nor the Fleet was reconstructed at all to his satisfaction. The Borough Compter had not yet been rebuilt, and the keeper had hired

an adjoining house, in one room of which
twenty-three prisoners were crammed, 1781.
although it was not sixteen feet square.

Howard's attention was now directed to the completion of his son's education. Preparation was made for sending him to Eton, and all was arranged with the master with whom he was to reside; but on personal inquiry as to the religious instruction and careful superintendence of his pupils, he was not satisfied, and young Howard, instead of becoming an Eton boy, was placed under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Walker of Nottingham.

Having placed his son with his new
tutor, Howard began his third general 1782.
inspection of English prisons, Jan. 21, 1782. He proceeded to Chesterfield and Sheffield. Thence to Hull, where he visited some Dutch prisoners of war; others he found at Lincoln: these expressed their gratitude for the kind treatment they experienced, especially on account of a collection recently made for them by the chancellor of the cathedral there. He next revisited the prisons at Swaffham and Ely, where his charity was extended to some debtors, detained on account of fees exacted to an amount which far exceeded the demands of their creditors. Having accomplished this short tour of inspection northward, on the 7th of Feb. he directed his steps westward. At Winchester he found improvements had been

1782. made, but on inquiring for the surgeon, whose attention he had before commended, he learned that he had fallen a victim to the gaol fever, as had been the case with the former keeper. At Bristol, Devizes, and Marlborough, gross abuses were again discovered.

On the 25th of March Howard set out for Scotland, revisiting the bridewell at Newcastle on his way. At Edinburgh he tells us the prisoners of war were well treated; but it was otherwise with the *poor* prisoners in the Tolbooth, who were closely confined in a horrid cage, the condemned being chained to an iron bar.

“I say the *poor*, because such as have money have too much liberty. For in the same prison I lately saw some who were confined for a riot drinking whiskey in the tap-room, in company with many profligate townsmen, who were readily admitted, as they promoted the sale of the gaoler’s liquors.”*

With the Royal Infirmary and the Orphan-house, Howard expressed himself highly pleased. Whilst at Edinburgh, the citizens did honour to themselves and to him by presenting him with the freedom of the city. Few particulars are given of this tour. The prisons at Dumfries and Aberdeen, having been burnt, had been rebuilt.

Soon after his return in April, Howard spent a short time in London, and reinspected several prisons, but the account of them contains little of

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 237.

importance. On the 24th of the same month he commenced revisiting the prisons of the north-western and midland counties. Worcester Gaol was first inspected: then Warwick, which he thought more showy than suited to its purpose; the arrangements, especially those for debtors, being objectionable. He discovered too, that, although there was a regularly appointed chaplain, no divine service had been performed. At Coventry he found a poor creature who, though he had received the *King's free pardon*, had since been detained eight months languishing on an allowance of one pound of bread a-day, because unable to pay the fees usually demanded. At Leicester his suggestions had been followed, and, the prison having been made more secure, the chain and log were no longer needful. The prisons of Huntingdon, Newport, and St. Alban's, were then visited, and a short interval of rest was again spent at Cardington. Their visitor adds:

Howard, always wearied more by cessation from well-doing than by the activity with which he pursued his holy vocation, at the end of a fortnight started for Ireland, examining again on his way the prisons of Chester and Beaumaris. On his arrival in Dublin, a Parliamentary Committee, which had been formed to inquire into the state of gaols, at once availed itself of his benevolent investigations. He gave evidence respecting the New Newgate, particularly that it was in every

1782.

1782. respect the reverse of a well-regulated gaol —he saw two or three of its inmates dying on its stone floors—there had been no service in the chapel for two years—the prisoners' morals were totally neglected—the men and women were together—it was crowded; dirty beyond description; and he was persuaded that, unless soon improved, the fever would break out in this scene of wretchedness.

The University of Dublin highly appreciated Howard's benevolence, and conferred on him an honorary degree of D.C.L.; a distinction which was duly estimated by him, and on which he said he "should always reflect with pleasure."*

Howard returned through North Wales, and visited the new gaol of Ruthin, which was generally well contrived and regulated. Thence proceeding to Shrewsbury, he found a prisoner who had been for five years under sentence of transportation, and no order for removal had been received. A large building, erected on the banks of the Severn, in 1765, for the reception of children from the Foundling Hospital in London, contained at this time 338 Dutch prisoners of war. Most of them were barefooted, having received no clothing from the States, as the French and Spanish prisoners had from their respective governments. British benevolence had therefore been excited on their behalf, and contributions had been raised to

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 157.

supply them with requisite apparel. Clothes were purchased, but the commissary had forbidden their distribution, with the design of forcing them to enter our navy, having an officer in attendance to receive all who would consent. Howard first made a donation of ten guineas to the fund, desiring that application should be made to him, should a further subscription be necessary. He learned that access to the prisoners was refused. Having an order from the Transport Board for free admission into the prison, he desired that the articles which had been purchased might be brought there, and, the commissary not daring to resist him, he had the prisoners assembled and distributed the clothing amongst them. He then told them that, if any of them should so far forget their duty to their country as to serve against her, though in the pay of England, he would take care that their names should be transmitted to Holland, where, if ever they were taken, they would most certainly be hanged. Then charging the subordinate officers to take care that the articles were properly applied, he took leave, after giving them a small gratuity. The magnanimity which distinguished Howard, and prompted the resistance to oppression in every form, was remarkably combined with a minute attention to the means of relief or gratification of those around him.

Amongst the captives in this temporary prison there was a common sailor, conspicuous for his

1782. attention to his fellow-prisoners who were sick. He sat up with them, he administered their medicines, he prepared their food, and, which accounts for his sympathy and self-denial, he "prayed by them." Howard heard of him, and, attracted by the kindred spirit of a Christian, he inquired what he could do that might best conduce to his comfort. He found the man contented in his captivity, and, whilst cheerfully devoting himself to the relief of many sufferers, he sought no earthly recompense; he would ask nothing for himself. At last his visitor discovered that, when weary and watching, a cup of tea was especially grateful to him. About a week after, this Dutch sailor received a loaf of sugar, a pound of tea, a kettle, with all other apparatus required for the favourite repast.

From Shrewsbury, Howard proceeded to Birmingham; and, after examining the debtors' prison of that town, the regulations of which he condemned as amongst the very worst, he pursued his journey to London, visiting the bridewell at Wycombe on his way. This was still part of a public-house. After a week spent in London, the active traveller passed on to Norfolk. At Thetford, he was glad to hear that the gaoler had just before been fined 20*l.* by Lord Loughborough for putting irons on a woman. The prisons of Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lavenham were next visited. From the ruinous bridewell of the last place two

more criminals had escaped ; and the magistrates, instead of repairing the prison, had sent *the keeper some thumb-screws to secure the rest !** At Halstead, the county bridewell had been destroyed by fire in March, 1781, when four of its inmates perished in the flames. As he approached his home at Cardington, the gaol of his own county was revisited, and, at this completion of his tour, he rejoiced to find that the life and health of the prisoners so near him were now greatly preserved by an allowance of fuel to both debtors and felons.

A few days were passed in the privacy of his home ; and again we find, that on the 27th of July Howard reinspected the prisons of Exeter, in one of which he found a woman who had been there more than forty years. At Plymouth the town gaol was in a wretched condition, but a new and commodious one for prisoners of war had been erected. The new prison at Bodmin was again inspected with increased pleasure ; but those of Somerset and Dorset, which were next visited, were still in a miserable state.

About a fortnight was now spent at Bristol Hot-Wells, when our benevolent countryman proceeded to Scotland and re-examined the goals of that country, but without recording many interesting circumstances. On his return, the gaols in Carlisle and several in Lancashire were again visited. On

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 207.

1782. this occasion he found with much satisfaction that both at Preston and Manchester an increase of salary had been granted to the keepers, and that the sale of beer and spirits was prohibited. From Liverpool he sailed for Ireland, and reinspected many prisons. He learned with pleasure that two bills for the better regulation of goals had recently passed the Irish Parliament. One of these enactments forbade the detention of prisoners for fees, and the committee before mentioned was still pursuing its inquiries into the condition of prisons. Howard returned through North Wales, continuing his researches amidst the abodes of misery; but, as the dates of his notes leave an interval of a month, it has been supposed that illness interrupted those labours. Pursuing his course through South Wales, on the 18th of October he records the pleasure with which he went through the new gaol at Brecon, though he regretted that, notwithstanding the forewarnings he had given, it was not out of the reach of floods. Indeed, at this period the architects of prisons seem to have been infatuated, and many new buildings were almost as defective as those which they replaced. Thus the cells in the next gaol Howard visited, at Haverfordwest, were four feet underground, and very damp; a third, at Pembroke, was close and offensive; whilst another, lately constructed at Cardiff, had not the necessary provision of water.

In his way home, the prisons in the counties of Monmouth, Gloucester, and Oxford were revisited. 1782.

Three days were now spent at Cardington, and Howard resumed his labours, directing his steps first into Hampshire. At Forton he again visited the prisoners of war. He found the bread very much under the proper weight. As he always carried his own steel-yards, such fraudulent cruelty was often detected. When at Portsmouth, hearing that one of the hospital-ships was grossly neglected by the surgeon, he forthwith went on board. Finding the report true, he sent for the defaulter, who, being convicted, pleaded in extenuation the danger of the contagious diseases then prevailing. Howard—ever fearless and faithful—was indignant at such dastardly conduct, the guilt of which was aggravated by the shameless defence, and he thus addressed him,—“Then, Sir, you should not take wages for that which you are afraid to do; and let me assure you that, when I get to London, I will report your conduct to the Admiralty, and have you dismissed from a station whose duties you do not perform.”* Howard seldom spoke unadvisedly, and his threats were not vain words. On his return to London, the surgeon was dismissed the service.

The goal at Horsham was greatly admired by its visitor. Its provision for the separate confinement

* Dr. Brown's MS., quoted by Brown, p. 397.

1782. of offenders was, as we shall presently see more fully, quite according to his desire. All fees had been abolished by the authorities of this county, which was foremost in the effectual reformation of prisons. Passing from this to the bridewell at Kingston, he tells us that he was painfully struck with the contrast of mismanagement and promiscuous intercourse.

Another interval of four days in Bedfordshire, and a longer journey was undertaken. Recollecting the misery which he had witnessed in Yorkshire prisons, he determined to revisit them. Further improvement had been effected at Knaresborough. In the gaol at Bradford, which was now four rooms of the keeper's public-house, a poor debtor was confined for 4s., to the distress of a wife and five children. It need not be told that he was released. At Nantwich a new gaol had been constructed, with two dungeons; and in the old one at Wolverhampton the prisoners were almost suffocated.

Towards the end of November, Howard entered upon another tour in Kent and Sussex, and thence to London, when he again inspected the metropolitan prisons. During the following month we find him pursuing his labours of compassion in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire, and again in London, closing his exertions for the year by reinspecting the Fleet. A careful calculation shows that the indefatigable Philanthro-

pist travelled, in this one year, more than 8,000 miles.

Having determined to visit Spain and Portugal, the only countries of Europe ^{1783.} whose penal and charitable institutions had not been inspected, Howard sailed from Falmouth, Jan. 31, 1783, and, after a favourable voyage, landed at Lisbon, where, in commencing his inspection of the Portuguese prisons, he was glad to find that imprisonment for debt had been recently prohibited. A charitable society existed for promoting the release of prisoners who might be otherwise detained for fees. Thus early was an opportunity presented for the exercise of his own charity, such as he never neglected. In the *Limoiero* were 774 criminals, who were humanely treated. Here too was a manufactory, in which about a thousand vagrant and deserted children were employed. In this prison and at the Castle were many secret chambers, in which prisoners were most closely confined. The ecclesiastical prison contained six priests and three women, committed "pro salute animarum." Howard was not allowed to enter the prison of the Inquisition, which is described as containing nineteen vaulted rooms, separated by walls six feet thick, and some of them called *secrete, totally dark*. In the Arsenal were a number of the slaves, some of whom had for years been chained to one spot. Few particulars are recorded of other prisons in Portugal, the

1783. inmates of which obtained support by begging at *grated* doors. The hospitals are reported to have been spacious, but close and offensive.

On the 9th of March our humane traveller arrived at Badajoz. He found that prisoners in Spain were commonly supported by alms, which proved sufficient. The prisons were clean, many of them having fountains in the court-yards. The torture was often inflicted upon accused persons, but, with a strange inconsistency, any confession so extorted was read over to the criminal twenty-four hours after, that he might either confirm or retract it. At Toledo he visited two large prisons, in which were some hundreds of criminals, loaded with irons, unhealthy, and several miserable objects dying in their beds. The hospitals are described as airy and convenient. Proceeding thence to Madrid, he found in the largest prison, the Carcel de Corte, rooms with stone bedsteads, and iron hooks for chaining the prisoners, some of whom were cruelly fettered; but the keeper was entrusted with much discretionary power, and, happily for his charge, he was compassionate in its exercise. Two churches in this city were desecrated as asylums for debtors and criminals, and although their sanctuary was limited to a pavement of the edifice about three feet wide, yet some refugees had been there for years. Howard was indebted to the Count Compomanes for facility

of access to the public institutions of Spain, but his influence could not secure admission for him into the Inquisition, which was then barred against secular authority. Resolving if possible to obtain an entrance, he procured an introduction to the Grand Inquisitor, who received him at seven in the morning when at prayers. He afterwards led him to his dreadful judgment-seat, which was hung with scarlet, and over which was a crucifix: a table, at which were two chairs for the secretaries, and a stool, upon which many a victim had sat and trembled, constituted the furniture of this dismal place. But further than this ante-room of horrors Howard was not allowed to advance.

Valladolid was next visited, where he endeavoured to gain further access to the prison of the Inquisition there established, and the recommendations he had obtained secured him a somewhat more favourable reception. He was conducted into several rooms by two inquisitors, their secretaries, and two magistrates. In one there was a picture of an auto da fé in 1667, when ninety-seven persons were burned in presence of the Spanish court. The event might well be described by one of the inquisitors as "horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum." In other respects the scene of this dreadful tribunal resembled that at Madrid. Three doors led into the secretary's room, and an inscription denounced the greater excommunication upon any who should venture to in-

1783. trude. The insignia of office were in two other rooms; and in one adjoining, the prohibited books, amongst them those of many English authors. Others contained the vestments in which the victims of this tribunal were occasionally clad. The sight of these things increased his desire to penetrate the more secret recesses. As an extraordinary privilege, he was allowed to ascend a private staircase; but on begging permission to look into the cells beyond, it was refused. None but prisoners, he was told, passed that threshold. "I would willingly become one for a month," said Howard, "if the permission might be granted on that condition." Three years, he was informed, was the shortest space for which any were consigned to the gloom of those woeful chambers.

The prison for criminals and persons accused was visited; and there, too, were horrid dungeons, in one of which a wretched creature was lying on his back, chained down to a large stone: another had recently been put to the torture to force confession. At Burgos, which was next visited, a more humane treatment was adopted. At Pamplona the prison was dirty, and many had lately died. It was badly managed, although a magistrate told Howard that he visited it every week to hear complaints; upon which Howard shrewdly remarked, that such complaints were not to be expected if the gaoler went with him. After in-

specting the Citadel and the Misericordia, in which children and petty offenders were confined in a manner which called forth his censure, he closed his investigation in Spain. The following letter was written from Pamplona, April 17, 1783 :—

“ Dear Sir,—I am still in Spain. The manner of travelling by mules is very slow ; I was fourteen days in coming from Lisbon to Madrid, a distance of only four hundred miles. In this country you must carry all your provisions. The luxury of milk for my tea I can very seldom get ; but I one morning robbed a kid of two cups of its mother’s milk. I bless God I am well and enjoy calm spirits. . . I have been in this city three days, and must stop a few days longer before I cross the mountains. The Spaniards are very sober and honest ; and if a traveller can live sparingly, and lie on the floor, he may pass tolerably well through this country. I have come into many an inn and paid only five pence for the noise (as I may 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 another. 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. I go through Bayonne, where I shall only stop one day. I shall proceed to Bordeaux, where I shall find many horrid dungeons. I hope to be in Ireland in July. 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.”*

* To the Rev. Mr. Smith,

1783. On his arrival at Bordeaux, about ten days after the above date, his fears were realised. In the prison under the town-house were three dungeons, twenty-seven feet underground, in which fifteen prisoners were confined in irons. Four steps lower still were ten men and a woman as closely confined. In the prison for the province, and the house of correction, the arrangements were better. In the latter were twenty-four women at needle-work, who, on the entrance of their visitor, put on veils. Thence Howard proceeded to Paris, where he rejoiced to find that some of the worst prisons were no longer used, and several humane regulations had been appointed for the rest, by which they were rendered more airy; some classification was effected, and confinement in dungeons before trial was forbidden. Their compassionate inspector wished the prohibition had extended to all classes, but in the Conciergerie he found sixteen miserable objects in its dark and offensive holes. The tap-room, however, had been abolished. In the Grand Châtelet sixteen other prisoners were in a like condition. A sight yet more revolting to humanity was disclosed when he explored the military prison of L'Abbaye, in which fifty prisoners were occasionally immured in six very small dungeons. A new prison, L'Hôtel de la Force, had been constructed, which presented a happy contrast to these miserable dens. In this, order, cleanliness, and

proper discipline were carefully enforced. 1783.
Several smaller prisons were visited during this more protracted stay in Paris. The Bicêtre was reinspected, and some improvements therein observed. In the great hospital, the Salpêtrière, there were more than 500 inmates, composed of destitute persons, some insane, and several orphans, besides about 800 young female offenders, who were committed to this abode at the desire of their relatives, and were under the superintendence of a religious sisterhood.

Having visited all the penal and charitable institutions to which he could obtain access during a stay of ten days in Paris, Howard next proceeded to Lisle. Here he learned that numbers of soldiers in the citadel, sick and in prison, were in a most deplorable condition. Out of 340, he found 80 suffering from scurvy, some of whom, though dying, were in irons. Amongst the lesser abodes of misery which Howard visited was the Tour de St. Pierre, where he discovered four poor objects confined in an offensive room, with only one bed, and grievously neglected. Such suffering induced him again and again to retrace his steps thither, that he might, if possible, administer relief. The disease was infectious: he caught it, and his life was endangered; but he was mercifully restored, when he recorded his pious gratitude in the following terms:—

“ I have abundant reason for thankfulness to Divine Pro-

vidence for recovering me from a fever. . . . I
 1783. 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 upon Thee ; more serious, more humble,
 more watchful, more abstracted from the world, better
 prepared to leave it ! May I live a life of faith in the
 great Redeemer, whom, having not seen, yet I hope I love,
 and desire to serve to the end of my days."

Howard's recovery was rapid ; and as though
 the time of interruption in his philanthropic work,
 however profitably spent, must if possible be re-
 deemed, we find him at the end of a fortnight
 diligently occupied in revisiting the prisons of
 Amsterdam. Few remarks are made upon them ;
 but the orphan-house, in which were 1,300 chil-
 dren, was in a wretched condition : both the house
 and its occupants were in a filthy state. And
 when he inspected the similar institution at Rot-
 terdam, he found that no better. Many of the
 children were diseased in consequence. He expos-
 tulated with the directors, when they, with little
 concern, replied,—“ It is the house-disorder ; all
 our children must have a seasoning.” This
 aroused his indignation, and called forth a faithful
 and merited reproof.

The prisons at Utrecht were next revisited, and
 thence Howard passed on to Antwerp, in which city
 he found only one prisoner. Proceeding to Brussels

he was grieved to learn, that in the Port de Halle the torture had been inflicted ^{1783.} on a culprit for forty-eight hours. Ghent was next visited, where he learned that a sad change had taken place in the prison which he had before commended. On his application for permission to inspect the Maison de Force, the burgomaster told him that the Emperor had prohibited access to visitors. "But you, Sir," he added, "are an exception to all rules:" he was therefore allowed to reinspect it. The manufactory had been given up because some of his subjects had complained to the Emperor of the injury caused to trade thereby. With this deprivation of manual labour, a reduction in the diet had been ordered, and the idea that the prisoners were too comfortably lodged had called forth a direction, at once foolish and cruel, that less care should be taken about the cleanliness of the prison; the result of which was, that an entire quarter of the building had ere long to be fitted up as an infirmary. To complete these mischievous regulations, it was further decreed that annually a number of prisoners who behaved well should, on that account, be liberated: a certain provision for the release of some of the worst characters, who, as respects the conformity to prison-rules, are generally found to be the most cautious. The appointment of a test so fallacious has always tended to frustrate endeavours to improve the criminals, as well as to defeat the ends of justice.

1783. Howard reinspected other prisons at Ghent; in one of them, De Mamelocker, a poor creature had lately been twenty-four hours upon a stool of torture. After visiting the prisons of Alost and Ostend, he embarked from the latter port, and reached England on or about the 23rd of June.

Howard so arranged his travelling as to reach home at the commencement of his son's vacation, and a month was now spent with him and amongst his friends at Cardington. When that short season of recreation had passed, young Howard, who, having attained his eighteenth year, was now removed from school, accompanied his father on a tour through Ireland, a promise having been given to reinspect the gaols of that country before the Parliament should again meet. This humane project he began to fulfil immediately on his arrival in Dublin, by revisiting the Newgate, in which he found former evils increased, and many fresh ones introduced. His remonstrances were accompanied by acts of exemplary benevolence. He procured from the keeper a list of sixteen prisoners detained for fees, and of fifteen more confined in the dungeons of Kilmainham on the same account, and, having made careful inquiries respecting them and their families, he entered into a contract with their gaolers for the payment of half their claims, on condition that they should release the most deserving and distressed.

Howard was pleased to find on this visit that Earl Temple, who had been lately appointed Lord-Lieutenant, had given attention to the state of prisons, and had called for a report of all gaols from the sheriffs, at the same time ordering the distribution of the Acts passed for their better regulation. 1783.

About the middle of August, the Philanthropist and his son crossed to Holyhead by one of the regular packets; and the following letter addressed by a fellow-passenger to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine,* describes some characteristic incidents which occurred on that voyage:—

“It is a trite observation that trifles betray character, and that the actions of a man when among strangers whom he is not likely ever again to meet, and among whom his name is unknown, are the best proofs of his natural disposition. Such are the circumstances I am about to relate, and such the situation in which they happened.

“In the summer of 1783, Mr. Howard was returning from a tour through the Irish prisons, and I sailed with him from Dublin to Holyhead. His son was with him, and, while we were on the deck of the packet, spoke with great roughness to a child that was playing with his coat, and drove it from him: this appearance of inhumanity his father instantly took notice of, and reprimanded him for not behaving with greater tenderness. But at night Mr. Howard had an opportunity of showing his disposition more plainly. On coming to take possession of his berth, he found that a maid-servant belonging to some of the passengers was not provided with a bed, and immediately giving up to her his own, he spent the night upon the

* Dec. 1790.

1783. cabin-floor, choosing rather to inconvenience himself than to disturb that son on whose account he is now calumniated. In these little incidents we see a man alive to every feeling of humanity ; uneasy at a word spoken with harshness to a child ; submitting to an inconvenience to relieve from a trifling distress a stranger whose rank gave no claim to attention ; and leaving his son in possession of an accommodation which his own age rendered almost necessary. These were not the effects of a mind heated by enthusiasm, but the effusions of a truly benevolent heart, to which that noble sentiment, *humani nihil a me alienum puto*, might deservedly be applied. I knew not Mr. Howard's name during these transactions, and learned it only by accident a short time before we landed.

(Signed) "OBSERVER."

After a short interval, Howard again visited the prisons of London. Nothing very important is described as the result. The mortality had diminished, and the sum of Howard's report is expressed in this sentence—"Their situation is better with respect to health ; but the association of so many criminals is utterly destructive of morals."

He had now four times inspected almost every important prison in England, and he again went to Warrington to prepare another edition of his work, in which he embodied the results of his investigation both on the Continent and in the United Kingdom. A calculation is found in his memorandum-book of this date, which describes the number of miles he had travelled in his missions of mercy as 42,033. But lest the record should

at any time suggest vainglory, he guards
it with the following addition :— 1783.

“To God alone be all the praise! I do not regret the loss of many conveniences of life, but bless God who inclined my mind to such a scheme.”

We need not hesitate to place after this record of humility the glowing eulogium of Burke pronounced upon the indefatigable Philanthropist :—

“I cannot name this gentleman,” says Burke, with reference to Howard, “without remarking that his labours and writings 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 curiosities of modern art; 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; and to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. His plan is original, and it is 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 anticipate his final reward, by seeing all its effects fully realised in his own. He will receive, not by retail, but in gross, the reward of those who visit the prisoner; and he has so forestalled and monopolised this branch of charity, that there will be, I trust, little room to merit by such acts of benevolence hereafter.”*

Some remarkable occurrences about this period proved the influence possessed by Howard over

* Speech at the Bristol Election, 1780.

1783. the minds of men the most depraved and ferocious. His friend Dr. Brown preserved the following anecdotes :—

“When Ryland, the celebrated engraver, was under sentence of death for forgery, a gentleman came one morning to Mr. Howard and informed him that some years ago a maid-servant in a house opposite to Ryland’s had suddenly left her situation and could not be heard of. In her room, however, some scraps of his writing were discovered, and application was immediately made to him to learn what had become of her. The only answer that he would give was, that she was provided for; and with this, during the days of his prosperity, her friends were obliged to be satisfied. When, however, his fortune was ruined by his condemnation, they desired to be more particularly informed of her condition. They accordingly applied to him in Newgate, but could get no specific answer to their inquiries. Hearing that, Mr. Howard promised that he would bring back an account of the unfortunate girl’s situation in twenty-four hours, and he fulfilled his promise. She had been kept by Ryland in a village at some distance from London, where she was found by her relations, and restored to their protection.”

Another instance of the like power, and of his courage in its exercise, is thus recorded :—

“During an alarming riot at the Savoy, the prisoners had killed two of their keepers, and no person dared to approach them, until the intrepid Howard insisted on entering their prison. In vain his friends, in vain the gaolers, endeavoured to dissuade him: in he went among two hundred ruffians, when such was the effect of his mild and benign manner, that they soon listened to his remonstrances, represented their grievances, and at last allowed themselves to be quietly reconducted to their cells.”

CHAPTER XII.

TEMPORARY REST.—PECUNIARY DIFFICULTIES.—MISCONDUCT OF YOUNG HOWARD.—HOWARD RESOLVES TO VISIT LAZARETTOS.—EMBARKS FOR HOLLAND.—FORBIDDEN TO ENTER FRANCE.—PROCEEDS TO PARIS.—A NARROW ESCAPE.—TRAVELS AS A PHYSICIAN FROM LYONS TO AVIGNON.—ARRIVES AT NAPLES.—ARRIVES AT MARSEILLES.—PRISONER AT TOULON.—EMBARKS FOR NICE.—GENOESE LAZARETTOS, HOSPITALS, AND PRISONS.—VISITS PISA, FLORENCE, AND ROME.—INTERVIEW WITH THE POPE.—SAILS TO MALTA : ITS HOSPITALS AND PRISONS.—LETTERS.—EMBARKS FOR ZANTE.—THENCE TO SMYRNA.—SUCCESSFUL MEDICAL PRACTICE.—CONSTANTINOPLE.—THE PLAGUE.—SPEEDY VENGEANCE IN TURKEY.—SEEKS TO UNDERGO QUARANTINE.—VISITS SALONICA AND SCIO ON RETURN TO SMYRNA.—EMBARKS FOR VENICE IN INFECTED VESSEL.—ATTACKED BY PRIVATEER.—REACHES VENICE, AND CONFINED IN LAZARETTO.—PROPOSED MONUMENT TO HOWARD.—YOUNG HOWARD'S INSANITY —LETTERS.

THE next two years of Howard's life were comparatively inactive. They ^{1783—1785.} were spent by him partly at Cardington and partly in his town residence in Great Ormond-street, London. At this time he contemplated passing the remainder of his days in quiet, and some apprehension of pecuniary embarrassment seems to have pressed heavily upon him. The following letter was addressed to Mr. Whitbread :—

“ Cardington, June 21, 1785.

“ Dear Sir,—I will trust you as the first with a secret which has some time been hid in my own breast, namely, that about Christmas I shall probably take a final leave of Cardington. You might guess that prior to my sister's

1785. death,* I was somewhat involved by my reform-
 ing schemes. Her death and her great kindness
 to me enlarged my ideas, and I persevered,
 though I foresaw the prosecution thereof would prevent
 my living in the easy manner I had done. Viewing
 the great expense thereof, and knowing that with my
 very moderate parts nothing but a long and continued
 application to the subject would carry me through it, I
 did not allow myself my natural rest, and for some years
 barely the necessaries of life. I quitted my town house
 (where I know not that there were a dozen joints of
 meat in the seven years) and came to Cardington. Some
 money I have laid out in necessary repairs, and every bill
 was paid to Lady-day. I do see that with the strictest
 economy here, my expenses will exceed my actual certain
 income, so I propose living in some airy lodgings in town ;
 and, perhaps, by my attendance on the hospitals, to which
 I am a governor, I may wear out my life usefully.

“ I am dear sir,

“ Your affectionate and obliged,

“ S. Whitbread, Esq., M.P.

“ J. H.”

It is to be observed, that about this time Howard
 refused to accept from Government any compensa-
 tion for his exertions, when the Duke of Richmond
 and Lord Shelburne made the proposal to him.

His friend Mr. Whitbread strenuously dissuaded
 him from carrying out these intentions, and other
 considerations, as we shall presently see, induced
 him again to alter his plans and resume his course
 of active benevolence.

What has been already said of Howard's son
 will have prepared the reader for the sad tale

* She died in 1777, and left him about 20,000*l*.

which is to follow. Howard's engrossing occupation in the great cause he had ^{1785.} taken in hand, prevented his taking much personal share in his education ; and although we find him from time to time passing a few weeks with him at Cardington during the school holidays, there is reason to believe that little ground was then gained in securing his affections. Howard was too high principled to neglect what he deemed necessary for his son's education. He was careful and scrupulous in the selection of those to whose care he committed him, but we cannot disguise from ourselves that he seems to have been content to leave to others the whole charge of his child. Thus the youth grew up without having experienced any of the wholesome effects of home influence, which is to so many young men the most effectual safeguard against temptation. After his stay with his father in 1783, he was placed at the University of Edinburgh under the care of Dr. Blacklock, and, falling among profligate associates, was led into a vicious course of life, which so injured his health as to produce mental aberration, to which there may have been some constitutional tendency. His father took him to Cardington, where, being separated from evil companions, and carefully treated, he partially recovered. But it was too late now for Howard to hope to gain his son's confidence and regard, and the young man's temper seems to have been

1785. very unmanageable. It may easily be conceived that Howard found home not to be the best place for him, and in consequence resolved to find some place where he might yet be trained up to be an useful member of society. Having many intimate friends at Cambridge, among whom was the Rev. R. Robinson, he entered him at that university, as a Fellow Commoner of St. John's College, under the especial care of Mr. Robinson.

It is not unlikely that this may have disposed Howard again to prosecute his inquiries in the subjects which were ever in his thoughts, but the bent and inclination of his mind would of itself sufficiently account for such a determination.

Feeling convinced that he could not now be of service to his son by remaining at home, he was once more free to travel, and in the autumn he determined to investigate the condition of foreign lazarettos or plague hospitals.

In his introduction to the volume from which chiefly we must trace his course during the next four years, he informs us—

“I had been led, by the view of several lazarettos in my travels, to consider how much all trading nations are exposed to that dreadful scourge of mankind which those structures are intended to prevent, and to reflect how very rude and imperfect our own police was with respect to this object. It likewise struck me that establishments, effectual for the prevention of the most infectious of all diseases, must afford many useful hints for guarding against the

propagation of contagious distempers in general. These various considerations induced me in the 1785. last edition of the State of Prisons, &c. to express a wish 'that some future traveller would give us plans of the lazarettos at Leghorn, Ancona, and other places.' At length I determined to procure these plans, and acquire all the necessary information respecting them, myself."

Howard was not destitute of medical science himself, and after consulting his friends, Dr. Aikin and Dr. Jebb, a list of queries was framed to be put to the physicians who attended the lazarettos he proposed to visit. Furnished with this, he sailed for Holland in November, 1785. He desired to commence his inquiries at Marseilles, but, aware of the jealousy with which the French watched their trade with the Levant, he foresaw there would be some difficulty in gaining access to the lazaretto of that port; he therefore secured the negotiation of Lord Caermarthen, who was then foreign secretary. After waiting a few days at the Hague for some communication, he proceeded to Utrecht, where, at the house of his friend Dr. Brown, he received a despatch informing him not only that his request had been refused, but that he was forbidden to enter France at all, with a threat of incarceration in the Bastile in case he neglected the prohibition. His friend, therefore, endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding. But Howard had settled his purpose, and, considering that any report of lazarettos would be imperfect unless it described that of Marseilles,

1785. he determined, under the protection of Divine Providence, to make the attempt. Proceeding by way of Dort, Antwerp, and Brussels, he reached Paris in a few days. To avoid detection he went to an obscure inn, having taken his place by the Lyons diligence which started the next morning. At an early hour he went to bed, but about midnight was aroused by a violent knocking at his room-door. On the door being opened, the servant entered, followed by a man in black clothes, with a sword at his side, who in a tone of authority asked if his name was not Howard. "Yes; and what of that?" was the reply. "Did you come to Paris in the Brussels diligence, in company with a man in a black wig?" to which Howard answered, that he "paid no attention to such trifles." The visitor then retired. Howard was not again disturbed, and at the appointed hour he took his seat and set off for Lyons. He now travelled as an English physician, and was happy enough to sustain the character he assumed by prescribing with good effect for a lady who was taken ill on the journey. Having arrived at Lyons he was cautioned not to expose himself, visiting only two or three Protestant clergymen. Yet the remembrance of misery in the dungeons of this city forbade his proceeding before he had again seen its prisons and hospitals.

On reaching Marseilles, Howard went to his friend the Rev. Mr. Durand, who, on seeing him,

said—"Mr. Howard, I have always been glad to see you till now. Leave France as fast as you can ; I know they are searching for you in all directions." Here too he discovered that the man in a black wig, who travelled with him to Paris, was sent as a spy by the French ambassador at the Hague, and that he would have been at once arrested but that many had recently been taken into custody on frivolous pretences, and the prefect, who had left Paris for the day, had given orders that no further arrests should be made until his return. This occurred on the following evening, when the traveller was sought for, but in vain. Such a providential circumstance must have inspired him with fresh confidence, and the advice of his friend was not followed. Access was procured to the lazaretto, and all the information he desired obtained. A plan was made, and the particulars published.

Whilst at Marseilles, Howard heard of an interesting prisoner in the galleys at Toulon, and he resolved to visit him. He therefore set off, dressed in the height of French fashion, and so gained admission. He has given the following account of this special object of his attention :—

"Protestants are not compelled to attend mass. The last person who was confined *for his religion* was released about eight years ago. There is but one slave here who now professes himself a Protestant, and his name is François Condè. He has been confined in the galleys forty-

two years, for being concerned with some boys in
 1785. a quarrel with a gentleman (who lost his gold-headed cane) in a private house in Paris. The boys were apprehended, and this Condè, though only fourteen years of age, and lame of one arm, was condemned to the galleys for *life*. After four or five years he procured a Bible and learned by himself to read; and becoming, through close application to the Scriptures, convinced that his religion was *antichristian*, he publicly renounced it, and declared and defended his sentiments. Ever since he has continued a steady Protestant, humble and modest, with a character irreproachable and exemplary, respected and esteemed by his officers and fellow-prisoners. I brought away with me some musical pipes of his turning and tuning. He was in the gallery appropriated to the infirm and aged; and these, besides the usual allowance of bread, have an additional allowance from the King of nine sous a day.”*

Having now procured the desired information, Howard considered how he could best escape. The attempt to do so by land appeared hazardous; he therefore induced the captain of a wind-bound vessel to convey him to Nice. They had scarcely cleared the harbour before they were driven into the island of Port Crosce, of which we have the following notice:—

“I lay a few nights in the old castle of Portman, in the isle of Port Crosce, and found there an ancient prison. The descent is by a ladder, through a stone aperture of four feet in diameter; which, after the ladder is removed and the hole covered, is a secure but dreadful place of confinement.”†

* Foreign Prisons, p. 55.

† Ibid. p. 56.

About the same time the following 1786.
entries appear in his Diary :—

“Let this maxim be a leading feature in my life—constantly to favour and relieve those that are lowest.

“The ways of God are a uniform scheme of Providence. What God does now, we shall know hereafter.”

Arrived at Nice, after inspecting the prisons and hospitals, the tourist pursued his course to Genoa, and thence to Leghorn, visiting similar institutions. At both places every facility was afforded for obtaining a description of the lazarettos, which were considered the best in Europe. In the former city he also visited the Great Hospital, of which he says—

“A very large convent, in which only ten friars reside, covers a great part of this hospital; and I apprehend annually occasions the death of a number of patients *double* that of friars in the convent. The benefactors to this hospital are distinguished by the different postures and attitudes in which their statues are placed, in the wards and on the staircase, according to the different sums which they have contributed. Many are placed standing; but a hundred thousand crowns entitles to a chair. I observed a statue which had one of the feet under the chair; and was told that the reason was, that the benefactor honoured by it had contributed only ninety thousand crowns. The statues in the wards are *now* injurious by harbouring dust. From a regard to the health of patients, I wish to see plain white walls in hospitals, and no article of ornamental furniture.”

The Grand Duke was at Leghorn during Howard's visit, and sent him an invitation to

1786. dinner; but the honour was declined as interfering with his humane intentions. A record is left of Howard's respect for that prince:—

“The repeated visits I have paid to his prisons, hospitals, &c. have given me the fullest conviction that he is the true father and friend of his country.”*

The following letter was written from Leghorn to his friend, Mr. Whitbread:—

“Leghorn, February 13, 1786.

“Dear Sir,—I have the pleasure—the particular pleasure—to receive a letter from you with the account of my son and several other interesting matters. I came here early yesterday morning by sea from Genoa. I have seen several lazarettos, and have received every assistance from the governor here, as I did from the magistrates of Genoa; so I have copied all the plans, and the regulations are given me. I have all encouragement to pursue my object, and I persuade myself it will be of use to mankind.

“I have now taken a final leave of France. I am sensible that I ran a great risk, but I accomplished my object in five days at Marseilles. At Toulon I went all over the arsenal, though strict orders are given that no strangers, particularly no English, shall come in. All business there is at a stand, and 400 workmen were just discharged. Three men-of-war were on the stocks, but there was no timber, and there is no money. The misery in the southern provinces is beyond conception.

“I forced a small vessel out at Toulon, and was a few days in a desolate island. My Protestant friends thought I could not get out by land, as my person was ascertained at Paris. They were my friends, and the only friends I could trust, and happy I was to arrive at Nice, out of the country of a deceitful, jealous, and ungenerous people.

* Lazarettos, p. 7.

“I bless God I am well, with calm and easy spirits. In no way do I alter my mode of living. 1786. I have been happy in meeting with good company, so that I got a bed in monasteries, &c. I can bear great fatigue, and when forced into disagreeable company, in dirty houses, I make them, and thus myself, as easy as possible. I go to Florence, Rome, and Naples, as I cannot go through Germany. I hope to see your son *en passant*. Several persons of different countries whom I have met spoke in the highest commendation of him. I value myself on the relationship.

“I thank you for your letters in Holland. They know of my return that way. I hope all things go easy in Bedfordshire. Your elegant lodge there I suppose is nearly finished. Whether I shall be quiet at Cardington a year or two before I die, God knows, but I must say I hope and wish for it. . . . I direct to you the letter for my son. I hope he will find the happy medium, and be a wise and good man.

“May I say that I see the fruits of my labour in France and other countries! I rejoice and glory in my mode of travelling. France might have deprived me of liberty, but could not have made me miserable; like as in the torture, there is an impassable line.

“Affectionate compliments to Harriot, &c. A line under your letter to Thompson that I am well. Can yet fix nothing of my servant’s meeting me. I go on at a much easier expense.

“I am, dear Sir,

“Truly and affectionately yours,

“JOHN HOWARD.

“To Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P.”

Amongst subjects of greater importance, Howard refers to the little effect which discomforts in travelling occasioned. A curious conver-

1786. sation illustrative of this has been preserved by one of his friends.*

“Mr. Howard favoured me with a morning visit. The weather was so very terrible that I had forgot his inveterate exactness, and had yielded up even the hope, for his own sake, of expecting him. Twelve at noon was to be the hour, and exactly as the clock struck he entered; the wet—for it rained in torrents—dripping from every part of his dress, like water from a sheep just landed from its washing. He would not have attended to his situation, having sat himself down with the utmost composure, and begun conversation, had I not made an offer of dry clothes, &c.

“‘Yes,’ said he, smiling, ‘I had my fears, as I knocked at your door, that we should go over the old business of apprehensions about a little rain-water, which, though it does not run from off my back as it does from that of a duck, goose, or any other aquatic bird, it does me as little injury; and after a long drought is refreshing. The coat I have now on has been as often wetted through as any duck’s in the world, and, indeed, gets no other sort of cleaning. I do assure you, a good soaking shower is the best brush for broad-cloth in the universe. You, like the rest of my friends, throw away your pity on my supposed hardships with just as much reason as you commiserate the common beggars, who, being familiar with storms and hurricanes, necessity and nakedness, are a thousand times—so forcible is habit—less to be compassionated than the sons and daughters of ease and luxury, who, accustomed to all the enfeebling refinements of feathers by night and fires by day, are taught to feel like the puny creature stigmatised by Pope, who shivered at a breeze. All this is the work of art, my good friend; nature is more independent of external circumstances. . . . To be serious, I am

* Mr. Pratt, Gleanings, vol. i. 218. *et seq.*

convinced that what emasculates the body debilitates the mind, and renders both unfit for those exertions which are of such use to us as social beings.” 1786.

Pisa, Florence, and Rome were next revisited.

“In the noble hospital of San Michele,” he writes, “I passed two mornings, and found it sadly neglected by the cardinal and inspectors, who never visit it. The present pope’s favourite institution is a seminary or school for young women; where neatness, economy, and industry must give pleasure to every visitant.”*

Howard was honoured with an interview with the Pope, who dispensed with the ceremony usual on such occasions, and on taking leave of his visitor clasped his hand, and said—“*I know you Englishmen do not value these things; but the blessing of an old man can do you no harm.*”

From Rome the traveller proceeded to Naples, and thence embarked for Malta, where he arrived on the 29th of March. Access to the prisons and hospitals of Malta was ensured by a letter from the British Ambassador at Naples. Their condition and government may be learned from the following extracts:

“The prison at Malta consists of several dirty and offensive rooms in the town-house, where in April, 1786, there were nine prisoners. One of them, a Turk, had suffered the torture; in consequence of which a mortification had taken place, and the surgeon was applying the bark internally and externally: the second time I saw him he was

* Foreign Prisons, p. 58.

1786. worse, but I did not continue long enough in the island to know the event.

“The slaves have many rooms, and each sect their chapels or mosques, and sick rooms apart. A woollen manufactory is carried on by some of them, but the majority are blacks, and unhappy objects; for the *religion* (the knights so called), being sworn to make *perpetual* war with the Turks, carry off by privacy many of the peasants, fishermen, or sailors from the Barbary coasts. How dreadful! that those who glory in bearing on their breasts the sign of the Prince of Peace should harbour such malignant dispositions against their fellow creatures, and by their own example encourage piracy in the states of Barbary. Do not these knights by such conduct make themselves the worst enemies to the cross of Christ, under the pretence of friendship?”

“The number of patients in the hospital during the time I was at Malta (March 29th to April 19th, 1786) was from five hundred and ten to five hundred and thirty-two. These were served by the most dirty, ragged, unfeeling, and inhuman persons I ever saw. I once found eight or nine of them highly entertained with a delirious *dying* patient. The governor told me they had only twenty-two servants, and that many of them were debtors or criminals, who had fled thither for refuge. At the same time I observed that near *forty* attendants were kept to take care of about twenty-six *horses* and the same number of *mules* in the Grand Master’s stables; and that *there* all was clean. I cannot help adding, that in the centre of each of these stables there was a fountain, out of which water was constantly running into a stone basin, but that in the hospital, though there was indeed a place for a fountain, there was no water. The slow hospital fever, the inevitable consequence of closeness and uncleanness, prevails here.”*

At an interview with the Grand Master, Howard

* Lazarettos and Foreign Prisons, pp. 58. 60.

expostulated with him, and expressed a desire that he would sometimes walk through the hospitals. “Whereupon,” he says, “my animadversions were reckoned too free, yet they produced an alteration for the better.”

The next letter was written to a friend, in which, after describing his route thither, he adds—

“I have paid two visits to the Grand Master. Every place is flung open to me. He has sent me what is thought a great present, a pound of nice butter, as we are here all burnt up, yet peas and beans in plenty; melons ripe, roses and flowers in abundance; but at night tormented with millions of fleas, gnats, &c. . . . One effect I find during my visits to the lazarettos, viz. a heavy head-ache, a pain across my forehead, but it has always quite left me in one hour after I have come from these places. As I am quite alone, I have need to summon all my courage and resolution. You will say it is a great design, and so liable to a fatal miscarriage. I must adopt the motto of a Maltese baron—*Non nisi per ardua*. I will not think my friend is amongst the many who treat every new attempt as wild and chimerical, and as was first said of my former attempt, that it would produce no real or lasting advantage. But I persevere ‘through good report and evil report.’ I know I run the greatest risk of my life. Permit me to declare the sense of my mind in the expressive words of Dr. Doddridge—‘I have no hope in what I have been or done.’ Yet there is a hope set before me. In Him, the Lord Jesus Christ, I trust. In Him I have strong consolation. These days (Sundays) I go little out. I have the notes of several sermons, and my Bible with me. It is a pain to see in almost all the churches, in large gold letters, ‘INDULGENTIA PLENARIA.’ And before the crucifixes, on canvas or stone, in the street, with—*Qui elucidant me vitam eternam habebunt*—and poor creatures starved and

1786. almost naked, putting into the box grains, five of which make one halfpenny.

“ I am, I bless God, pretty well ; calm, steady spirits. All see at the inns, &c. that I have the mode of travelling, and try to oblige me, but I inflexibly keep to my mode of living, with regimen or low diet. The physicians in Turkey, I hear, are very attentive at the time the plague is there.

“ In many instances God has disappointed my fears, and exceeded my hopes.

“ Remember me to any of our friends. A share in your serious moments. Thanks for kindnesses shown to mind and body.”

Not satisfied with the information he had as yet obtained, Howard resolved, as intimated in the foregoing letter, to visit the cities in which he might see more of the nature and treatment of that terrible disease which was the subject of his investigation. “ I also pleased myself,” he says, “ with the idea, not only of learning, but of being able to communicate somewhat to the inhabitants of those distant regions.”* With these benevolent designs he accordingly sailed for Smyrna. On reaching Zante he visited its lazaretto and other public buildings.

Arrived at Smyrna, taking a dragoman into his service, he immediately sought admission to the prisons and hospitals. At the gate of the chief prison were three Turks idly smoking, who gave a surly reply to his application ; but on hearing that he was a physician they were respectful, and

* Lazarettos, p. 2.

complied with his request. Successful
practice in his assumed profession pro- 1786.
cured additional favour, and paved his way towards
attaining his object. We have the following note
of this inspection :—

“ So speedy is the execution of justice here, that I found in this prison no more than seven prisoners at any of the three visits which I made to it in 1786. One of these prisoners having been bastinadoed so severely that he was swelled from head to foot, I advised him to bathe in the sea, and to apply to the soles of his feet plasters made of salt and vinegar. In the use of these means, with the addition of two doses of Glauber's salts, he recovered ; and I acquired a credit which made the keepers, in my subsequent visits, particularly attentive to me.”

Another result of his professional celebrity was, that he attended the Cadi on his visit to the shopkeepers to examine their weights and measures, when if any were faulty, imprisonment followed, or the bastinado was at once inflicted. Terror was evident in the countenances of all, as well it might be, for mere suspicion on the part of an incompetent judge entailed that cruel severity of mis-called speedy justice. Amongst the hospitals visited, Howard found that one was under the government of an aged prior, who, having himself suffered from the plague, was now devoting himself to the relief of others, in fulfilment of a vow. From him he learned that about half the number of his patients died.

From Smyrna the unwearied Philanthropist

1786. went by sea to Constantinople, where, without hesitation, he visited hospitals in which the plague was raging with such malignancy that physicians would not approach. The following are extracts from his notes :—

“At Galata I found the sick lying on the floors. All were neglected; for none of the faculty would attend them. I requested a young physician who accompanied me to this hospital to set the charitable example. In another I saw many sick and dying objects lying on dirty mats on the floors. In the midst, however, of this neglect of human beings, I saw an *asylum for cats*,—an instance of attention which astonished me.”

The report of Howard's medical skill had reached an officer high in authority at the Ottoman Porte, whose daughter was so afflicted as to have baffled all the efforts of the Turkish physicians. The stranger prescribed, and restored her; and if the delighted father then looked upon her benefactor as possessed of superhuman power, his refusal to accept of any compensation, when a purse of 2000 sequins (about 900*l.*) was pressed upon him, did not lessen his admiration. The disinterested friend of every sufferer told the grateful parent that he did not practise for gain, but that a dish of grapes from his garden would be acceptable to him. He was of course liberally supplied during the remainder of his stay.

It need scarcely be told that all the prisons as well as pest-houses in this city were inspected.

The following extract from a letter to
Dr. Price shows at how much risk :— 1786.

“ I am sorry to say some die of the plague about us ; one is just carried before my window ; yet I visit where none of my conductors will accompany me. In some hospitals, as in the lazarettos, and yesterday among the sick slaves, I have a constant headache, but in about an hour after it always leaves me.”*

A shocking proof was afforded to Howard of the summary and sanguinary vengeance inflicted upon supposed defaulters. The Chamberlain, who had supplied the city with bread, had been summoned by the Grand Vizier. On his arrival in great state at the palace, he was asked why the bread was so bad. “ The last harvest was not a good one,” was the reply. Apparently satisfied on this point, “ Why,” said the Vizier, “ is the weight short ? ” “ That,” said the chamberlain, “ may have happened with two or three loaves, out of so large a number ; ” he then promised that greater care should be taken. He was ordered from the presence : an executioner was commanded to strike off his head in the street forthwith, where his body was exposed for three days, with three light loaves beside it to denote the crime.

Howard now thought of returning, but on reflection it appeared to him that the information he had obtained concerning lazarettos, and the regulations of quarantine, were chiefly from report,

* Aikin, p. 133.

1786. the accuracy of which might be suspected ; so that his labour, for the sake of a similar institution in England, might be lost. To prevent such an objection, he formed a very extraordinary resolution ; he resolved to subject himself to the peril and privations of a strict quarantine, and to ascertain by personal endurance the discipline of a pest-house. To this end he proposed to return to Smyrna, where the plague was still prevailing, and from which port he might take his passage in some vessel with a "foul bill of health." On his way he visited the hospitals of Salonica and Scio.

* " July 22, 1786.—With pleasure I will converse an hour with my worthy friend, who, I doubt not, has been informed of my intention to visit and collect all the plans, regulations, &c. of the principal lazarettos in Europe. I have been at Marseilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Malta, &c. &c. Several questions (with consulting fees) have been put to the first physicians of those places, relative to their treatment of persons in the plague ; but thinking I should gain more knowledge in the Greek hospitals for that disorder, I have been to Zante, Smyrna, and Constantinople, and I came hither about a week ago. I visit boldly, but am forced to keep it secret. I always have, in those places, a painful headache, but it has ever left me in an hour after my removal.

"I came hither on Saturday in a Greek boat, full of passengers, one of whom being taken ill, he was brought to me, as I always pass for a physician. I felt his pulse, looked at the swelling, and ordered him to keep warm in a little cabin, as he had caught cold ; in two hours after I

* This letter was published when received in the *Gent. Mag.* vol. lvii. pt. 2.

sent for a French captain, desiring him to give no alarm, but said that I was persuaded that man 1786. had the plague; and, on Tuesday after, I saw the grave in which he was buried.

“ I visit all the prisons to inform myself, but my interpreters are very cross with me. I am bound for Scio, as in that island is the most famous hospital in the Levant. My quarantine of forty days' imprisonment is to be, I hope, at Venice. I could easily have made my route by land to Vienna, without being stopped, as no quarantine is performed on the confines of the emperor's dominions; but should such an establishment for our shipping be ever introduced into England, things which now may appear trivial may be of future importance in case of such a new foundation: I have therefore procured from the Venetian ambassador the strongest recommendation to assist me in the minutest observations I may make during my quarantine. I bless God I am quite well, calm and in steady spirits; indeed I have at times need of determined resolution, as since I left Helvoetsluys I have never met with any English ship, or travelled one mile with any of my countrymen.

“ I am persuaded I am engaged in a good cause, and confirmed of having a good God and Master. His approbation will be an abundant recompense for all the little pleasures I may have given up.

“ At Smyrna the Franks' or foreigners' houses are shut up; every thing they receive is fumigated, and their provisions pass through water; but in Constantinople, where many of the natives drop down dead, houses of the Franks are still kept open. I there conversed with an Italian merchant on Thursday, and had observed to a 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.

“ A line through our ambassador at Vienna will be

1786. cordial to the drooping spirits of your affectionate
friend, " J. H."

On landing at Scio, Howard visited the hospital for lepers. They were in separate apartments; had little gardens, in which grew almonds, herbs, figs, and grapes: two streams of water from the mountains flowed through them. Their visitor begged that they might have baths provided.*

On reaching Smyrna, finding a vessel bound for Venice with the "foul bill"—a requisite none beside ever sought for—he at once went on board. They had not sailed far before his valour was called forth in a new sphere. Having touched at the Morea for water, they had no sooner got to sea again than a Tunisian privateer attacked them. Bravery was shown on both sides, but the Moors were the stronger party, and there was little hope of escape from those merciless pirates. There was a large cannon on board; it was loaded with spikes, nails, and other missiles, pointed by Howard, and, just as the corsair was bearing down upon them, discharged with such effect that several were slain, and the survivors sheered off. Thankful for the strength by which he had been sustained, he ascribed the victory to Him who gave it—"This interposition of Divine Providence saved us from a dreadful fate." †

Thus mercifully delivered from certain death,

* Foreign Prisons, p. 65, book ii.

† Lazarettos, p. 22.

since, as Howard afterwards learned, “the captain had determined to blow up the ship rather than surrender,” †—they now pursued their voyage towards Venice, touching at Corfu and Castel-Novo as they passed. Adverse winds and rough weather had prevented their reaching the desired port in less than two months. Howard, on his arrival, anxious to become acquainted with all the precautions connected with the quarantine, accompanied the captain to the health-office. The next day he was conducted to a lazaretto, and thence, after a few days, removed to another, both of which were extremely dirty; and, although the regulations were good, they were disregarded, or often counteracted, through the extortion of those appointed to enforce them. During his confinement he had occasion to write letters upon two subjects of a widely different character. The one was the proposal of friends in England to confer upon him a public honour. The other was the misconduct of his son.

The first suggestion for erecting a monument to Howard was made by a correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1786, who had met him in Rome, and, in the course of a short conversation, conceived the highest admiration of his character. He described him as “the most truly glorious of mortal beings, whom he all but worshipped.” With an activity in accordance with

* Lazarettos, p. 22.

1786. this enthusiastic expression, he began to form a fund for the erection of a statue in his honour. The proposal was welcomed by all, excepting Howard's most intimate associates, who, foreseeing that his humility would lead him to object to the proposal, discouraged the scheme.

When conveying information of this design, which they were persuaded would be unwelcome, it was the more painful task of his correspondents to acquaint Howard with the misconduct of his unhappy son, who had again fallen into his old habits, and become quite ungovernable.

The following letter was addressed to Mr. Whitbread, after the sad intelligence had been received:—

“ Venice, Lazaretto, Oct. 12, 1786.

“ Dear Sir,—I have been two months tossed about with the equinoctial winds; nearly taken by a Tunis pirate; and now confined in an infectious lazaretto; yet my spirits and resolution did not forsake me: but on the receipt of your letter, and those of two other friends yesterday, I could hardly lift up my head. With David, I say, ‘ Oh my son Absalom, my son, my son!’ and am even ready to add, would to God the raging waves had swallowed me up! But—I check myself—‘ Shall I receive good from the hand of God, and shall I not receive evil!’ I have written to him this post, and also to Mr. Tatnall. Will travelling amuse him! I consent to anything. I once thought that he was of a soft complying temper; I afterwards saw what grieved me. I have often cautioned him not to fling away, by his folly and indiscretion, the probable advantages he enjoyed, but to bend his mind to some particular study; but, alas! alas! I shall hasten home—but still forty days’

confinement! May I again be favoured with a line to Vienna? By night and by day I will come from thence to Amsterdam, and directly to England. 1786.

“With this great misfortune, I see with accumulated pain what is going forward in England. My greatest enemy could not have wounded me more. Thanks, thanks to every friend who has checked and not subscribed. But alas! could not my friends have stopped it at first by an advertisement? How has my mind revolted when publicly desired to sit for my picture; for alas! our best performances have such a miserable mixture of folly and sin that 'tis vanity and presumption to desire praise.

“I am sensible of your kindness in your exertions for a new gaol. With esteem, respect, and affection, I am your afflicted friend,

“J. HOWARD.

“S. Whitbread, Esq., M.P.”

A few days after this, Howard received news of the actual derangement of his son, and wrote to Mr. Whitbread in the following terms:—

“Venice, Lazaretto, Oct. 26, 1786.

“Dear Sir,—I wrote to you on the first impressions on my mind respecting two unhappy affairs. In a few days my spirits flowed in their usual calm and steady channel, not but, when my thoughts turn either to the one or the other, it gives me concern; it pains and distresses me. As to the first, I never heard my sister even hint that there was any insanity in my father's family. . . . I have written to my son, and shall again soon. The hearts of all are in God's hand. There I must leave it, and sigh in secret!

“As to the other affair, I have set every engine to work, if not to extinguish the flame, yet to cool and abate it. Whoever first set it on foot? Sure I am that the pro-

moters of such a scheme were totally ignorant of
 1786. my temper and disposition! Many, many things
 plead against such a step. I bless God,
 I know myself too well to take any pleasure in such unde-
 served praise. I desire again to acknowledge your kind
 and judicious reply to Dr. Lettsom, in whose company I
 have never passed one hour.

“Parade and show my friend Mr. Whitbread well knew
 was not my ruling passion, and God knows whether I mind
 riches, or pleasures, or glory among men. A private burial
 I had fixed if I had died in England. If I die abroad, in
 confidence I enclose a paper which you will return me if I
 have the pleasure, as indeed it will be, to see you; and
 almost the last words I said to Thomas (knowing the
 dangerous expedition I was going upon) were to the same
 purpose, as to my not being removed if I died abroad, and
 as to the plain slip of marble and the inscription. I thought
 it would show that my mind was fixed and unaltered.

“I have sent some of my drawings of lazarettos to be
 engraved in Holland. I shall hasten home as I told you;
 but it must be some months, as the winter roads in Ger-
 many, of which my good young friend may have some idea,
 and the snows make travelling slow work. I am also
 wanted, having the will, &c. of the late Sir Lionel Vale
 Fletcher. Soon after my arrival I must perform my pro-
 mise to some Irish members. I intended then to visit
 Scotland, and also to give my farewell present to every
 county gaol, namely a Bible, which I have spoken about,
 and which was to be doubly chained. After these four
 things, I hoped to have retired in obscurity and silence.
 But now alas! I fear there will be no rest for me till in
 my grave. With affectionate remembrances, dear Sir,
 believe me ever truly yours,

“JOHN HOWARD.

“S. Whitbread, Esq., M.P.

“Betwixt friends, if the enthusiasm cannot be stopped,
 which I persuade myself it will be, at my death it will be

my earnest and dying request, which, with the cooled zeal of the present committee—not one of whom I know—may have some effect. If it be not possible now to prevent it, I think I shall ever carefully avoid the spot; for if my character had been reviled, and myself held in the greatest contempt, I hardly think I should have been more disgusted and displeased. Adieu, Adieu.

“I have a better room, but it is very cold, dirty, and offensive. I have washed the walls with hot water, but with no effect. I shall privately get in some lime. I will slake it in boiling water, and then wash the walls.

“My guard shall well fumigate this letter, that there may be no danger in it. I am the more careful as, when I was at Scio, two families had the plague, which was generally attributed to an infectious letter one of them, who was a merchant, had received: the other family were in an adjoining house. I have no fear. Should it ever be in London I will visit the meanest house.

“Yours, &c.

“J. H.”

DIRECTIONS, &c.

“If it should please God to remove me by death, either here, or at Zante, Smyrna, or Constantinople, I would calmly acquiesce in what He does as *wise* and *good*.

“I hope I am in the way of my duty, but God wants not such a weak and unworthy instrument to promote His glory or the welfare of mankind. If any good has been done, to Him be all the praise.

“My immortal spirit I commit to my Saviour, in whom is all fulness of pardon and mercy, even for me the vilest of sinners. He is the Lord our Righteousness, my Sacrifice, my God.

“As to my body, open a vein or two to see that I am dead; bury it in a very plain, not expensive way, in the English burying-ground, and *not* to be removed from

1786. thence; and on the same day give twenty Venetian gold sequins to twenty poor widows.

“Write to William Tatnall, Esq., and to Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P., informing them of the event, and that I wish only a plain stone may be placed in the wall both here and at Cardington, with this inscription:—

JOHN HOWARD.

Died 1786. Aged 59.

Christ is my hope.

“My temporal concerns, but what is far more important my spiritual concerns, have been too little thought of. As to the former, my will is with Mr. Tatnall; that I must leave to the discretion of my boy and his uncle. God has many ways to bless, succeed, and make up deficiencies.”

Before leaving Venice another letter was despatched to Mr. Whitbread:—

“Venice, Sunday, Nov. 26, 1786.

“Dear Sir,—I have just received your letter. My quarantine of forty-two days finished the 22nd, but I could not stir till this day, as the linen, &c. all wanted washing. I go off by the first ship to Trieste, but shall stop there only a day or two, and proceed directly for Vienna. Sir Robert Keith writes me that he has several letters for me. My friends must consider that my close confinement, after a long and dangerous voyage—even had I nothing to distress my mind—must weaken my constitution, yet I hope the pure mountain air will revive me. I wish to return as fast as possible, on my own account as on that of my friends; to take off the weight they have on their minds relative to my son, who not a waking hour is out of my thoughts. If he is insane, from whatever cause, I would look to the First. It is one of the greatest of afflictions, and an inexpressible grief to a parent. I, for once, rejoice that his mother is at rest, and I would be still, and bow to the Almighty who has appointed it.

“I am glad to hear that a stop is likely to be made to what would have been so disagreeable 1786. to me—the exposing me to the public.

“I sadly drooped in my room in the lazaretto for three or four weeks. It was as offensive as a sick ward; but after washing it with lime slaked in boiling water it was fresh and sweet, and my appetite for my bread and tea returned, and I left a clean room to my successor. Sincere respects to Mr. Samuel and the ladies. I ever remain, affectionately yours,

“JOHN HOWARD.

“Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P.

“P.S. Thanks for your kind answer as to my credit here. I drew for 50*l.*, as expenses at lazarettos are high: excellent regulations in every department, but alas!—I have just agreed for a boat to Trieste. I go off directly.”

A letter written about this time to his bailiff is interesting, as showing to some extent his private charity, which was never disregarded whilst devoting himself to public service:—

“ Now as to our Cardington affairs, I hope everything goes on smoothly; Mr. * * *, &c. and cottagers must not get behindhand in their rent: when Reuben leaves his farm, if you choose it, it shall not be raised; if otherwise, should it not be nearly the same as Smith’s? After Christmas desire Mr. Lilburn to settle your accounts to the two Christmases, as it will be easier for me, separating the school bills, donations, taxes, &c. from other things.

“Samuel Preston I hope is well; if otherwise, anything I will do for the two widows. Mrs. Morgan I hope is well; tell her if Nottingham’s girl continues good, two guineas she may lay out for her in any manner she thinks proper. You will pay to Mr. Symonds my subscription to Michaelmas. At Christmas give Mrs. Thompson and

1786. Beccles each 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rayner what I usually give him, 10*s.* 6*d.*; if not given last Christmas, then 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dolly Basset 1*l.* 1*s.*; the blind man's widow 10*s.* Five guineas to ten poor widows, that is, to each half a guinea, where you think it will be most acceptable: one of which widows Mrs. Tingey, in memory of Joseph Tingey, whom I promised to excuse one year's rent. Five guineas also to ten families that you think proper objects: one of which Richard Ward's. I think you said Abraham Stevens left a girl and a boy, one of which is dead; privately inquire the character, disposition, and circumstances of the other. You will accept of coat, waistcoat and breeches. I hope the walks before my house, Joseph Crockford's, the new one near the bridge, and by Broadfield's and Walker's, are neat. Tell Joseph Walker to remind Mr. Whitbread relative to his brother's pay, &c.

“Is my chaise-horse gone blind or spoiled? Duke is well, must have his range when past his labour; not doing such a cruel thing as with the old mare; I have a thousand times repented it. I mentioned in Thomas's letter that you will write to me at Amsterdam; but when my confinement is finished I have a long journey through bad roads and snow, but through mercy my calm spirits and steady resolution do not forsake me, which the sailors observed during the action with the Barbary pirate: and I well remember I had a good night, when, one evening, my cabin baskets, &c. were floated with water, and, thinking I should be some hours in drying it up, I went to bed to forget it.”

CHAPTER XIII.

HOWARD AT VENICE.—ITS DESPOTIC GOVERNMENT.—SAILS FOR TRIESTE, AND THENCE TO VIENNA.—INTERVIEW WITH THE EMPEROR.—HOWARD'S PROTEST AGAINST HIS MONUMENT.—RETURNS TO FRANKFORT, AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, UTRECHT, AND AMSTERDAM.—HIS SON'S LUNACY.—RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—PREVENTS MONUMENT.—RESUMES INSPECTION OF ENGLISH PRISONS.—REVISITS IRISH PRISONS AND SCHOOLS.—ENGLISH GAOLS AGAIN INSPECTED.—A NEW PRISON AT MANCHESTER.

WHEN the appointed time of confinement in the lazaretto had expired, Howard was set at liberty, but was so enfeebled that he felt obliged to remain in Venice another week. During which time he was not inactive: the galley slaves and other prisoners were visited, and portions of his time were spent in obtaining valuable information. The wretched character of the Venetian government at that time may be gathered from the following anecdote related by Howard to his friend Dr. Brown:—

“ A German merchant happening to be at Venice on business, supped every night at a small inn, in company with a few other persons. An officer of the state inquisition came to him one evening, and ordered him to follow whither he led, and to deliver to him his trunk, after having put his seal upon it. The merchant asked why he must do this, but received no answer to his inquiry, except by the officer's putting his hand to his lips as a signal for silence. He then muffled his head in a cloak, and guided him through different streets to a low gate, which he was ordered to enter; and, stooping down, he was led through

various passages under ground to a small, dark
1786. apartment, where he continued all that night.

The next day he was conducted into a larger room hung with black, with a single wax light and a crucifix on its mantel-piece. Having remained here in perfect solitude for a couple of days, he suddenly saw a curtain drawn, and heard a voice questioning him concerning his name, his business, the company he kept, and particularly whether he had not been, on a certain day, in the society of persons who were mentioned, and heard an abbé, who was also named, make use of expressions now accurately repeated. At last he was asked if he should know the abbé if he saw him, and, on his answering that he should, a long curtain was drawn aside and he saw this very person hanging on a gibbet. He was then dismissed."

Another anecdote is not less revolting :—

"A senator of this republic was called up from his bed one night by an officer of this same inquisition, and commanded to follow him : he obeyed the summons, and found a gondola waiting near his door, in which he was rowed out of the harbour to a spot where another gondola was fastened to a post. Into this he was ordered to step, and the cabin door being opened, he was conducted into it, and, as a dead body with a rope about its neck was shown him, he was asked if he knew it. He answered that he did, and shook through every limb as he spoke ; but he was then conveyed back to his house, and nothing more was ever said to him upon the subject. The body he had seen was that of the tutor to his children, who had been carried out of his house that very night and strangled. The senator, delighted with this young man's conversation, used to treat him with great familiarity, and in those unguarded moments communicated to him some political matters of no great importance, but which he thoughtlessly mentioned again to others ; an imprudence for which he paid dearly with his life, whilst his generous patron was

thus admonished of his indiscretion by the sight 1786.
of his strangled body.”

When Howard had sufficiently recruited his strength he left Venice. Crossing the Adriatic for Trieste, although still suffering from the low fever contracted in the lazaretto, he visited its prisons and hospitals, and thence passed on to Vienna. Here, too, continued weakness did not prevent his persevering inquiry. The result of his investigation into the various penal and charitable institutions of that city we learn from his own record of a conference with the Emperor, who was exemplary in his government of those establishments. Always averse from ostentation, Howard, having travelled from Trieste in the Sub-Governor's carriage, alighted before he reached the town, as he had previously done at St. Petersburg; but his reputation forbade the obscurity he sought, and through the British Ambassador he received a request that he would afford His Imperial Majesty the information he had obtained. In reply he asked, “Can I do any good by going?” at the same time saying that he had many objections to the plans pursued, and that if interrogated he must freely speak his mind. Being assured that good might result, he consented; and the following is his account of the conversation:—

“Christmas Day, 1786, Vienna.—I this day had the honour of near two hours' conversation in private with the Emperor; his very condescending and affable manner gave

me that freedom of speech which enabled me
1786. plainly and freely to tell him my mind. His Majesty began on his Military Hospital, then the Great Hospital, also the Lunatic Hospital, the defects of which I told him. On prisons I fully opened my mind. It pleased God to give me full recollection and freedom of speech. His Majesty stopped me, and said ‘*You hang in your country.*’ I said ‘Yes,’ but death was more desirable than the misery such wretches endure in total darkness, chained to the wall, no visitor, no priest, even for two years together; it was a punishment too great for human nature to bear, many had lost their rational faculties by it. His Majesty asked me the condition our prisons were in at London; I said they were bad, but in a way of improvement, but that all Europe had their eyes on his Majesty, who had made such alterations in his hospitals and prisons. I said the object was to make them *better* men and *useful* subjects. The Emperor shook me by the hand, and said I had given him much pleasure. He freely and openly conversed with me. I admire his condescension and affability, his thirst and 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; now he continually and unexpectedly looks into all his establishments. I have seen him go out in his chariot with only one footman, no guards, no attendance; sometimes drives himself with only his coachman behind; looks into every thing, knows every thing, I think means well. The Emperor told his minister he was greatly pleased with my visit; I had not pleaded for the prisoners with soft and flattering speech that meant nothing: some things I advised he *should* do, others he should *not* do.”

After this interview, Howard waited two days in the Austrian capital to ascertain whether any effect resulted from the expostulation, and he had the

satisfaction to find that orders were issued for the correction of several evils he had pointed out. During this protracted stay, his celebrity and the news of his reception at Court brought several visitors; amongst them the Governor of Upper Austria and his Countess, and we have the following notice of the interview:—

“ In a tone of hauteur the lady inquired into the state of the prisons in the government to which the Count had recently been appointed. ‘ The worst in all Germany,’ said Howard, without a moment’s hesitation, ‘ particularly in the condition of the female prisoners; and I recommend you, countess, to visit them personally, as the best means of rectifying the abuses in their management.’ ‘ I!’ said she haughtily, ‘ I go into prisons!’ and she so rapidly descended the staircase with her husband, that he was afraid some accident would befall them before they got into the street. Yet, notwithstanding the precipitancy of their retreat, the indignant friend of the captive called after her, in a loud tone of voice, ‘ Madam, remember that you are a woman yourself, and must soon, like the most miserable female prisoner in a dungeon, inhabit but a small space of that earth from which you equally originated.’”

The letters received by Howard at Vienna gave him somewhat more information respecting his son’s mental derangement; and seem also to have intimated, that although the fund for the proposed monument had been rapidly augmenting, yet that his avowed repugnance might cause its appropriation to what he esteemed a better purpose. The next letter to Mr. Whitbread was, therefore, accompanied by a copy of one addressed to the

1786. committee, and which is now preserved in the British Museum:—

“ Vienna, Dec. 16, 1786.

“ Dear Sir,—On my arrival here I found several of your letters. . . . By my letter from Mr. Tatnall, I have the dreadful account that my son is distracted. A heavy and bitter affliction to us all! I have written that I fully consent to whatever steps he (Mr. T.) and Mr. Leeds take. My presence will have little effect on him. I soon lost my power, as he grew foolish and wicked at Edinburgh. Had I not the consolations of religion, I should sink under the weight of my affliction; but God has promised that ‘ as our day is, so shall our strength be.’

“ My confinement in the noxious air of the lazaretto brought on the slow hospital fever, so that I could not stir from Trieste for ten days. The roads were so bad that, in several posts of two German or ten English miles, I was four and five hours on the road. I only stop to recover my fatigue, and shall set out the beginning of next week. I have an easy and good carriage, which the sub-governor of Trieste spared me for 16*l.*, and which occasioned me to draw on you there for 30*l.*—I think no more till I come to Amsterdam.

“ I am glad we shall succeed in our applications to the committee to lay aside the scheme of erecting a monument, and that the money may be applied to a far better purpose—namely, that of throwing it into a fund for relieving prisoners and reforming prisons.

“ I rejoice to hear you are well. Affectionate compliments to Mr. Samuel, Harriet, and Lady St. John. I would rejoice with those that rejoice.

“ I am, with all good wishes, ever yours,

“ JOHN HOWARD.

“ P. S. I shall write to my son; but he is too ill to come abroad. Nothing but calm and solitary confinement can recover him.

“ The copy of a letter which will be presented to the committee by Mr. Willoughby, of Oxfordshire, which please not to mention till after their next meeting. 1786.

“ Vienna, Dec. 15, 1786.

“ Gentlemen,—I shall ever think it an honour to have my weak endeavours approved by so many respectable persons, who devote their time, and have so generously subscribed towards a fund for relieving prisoners and reforming prisons ; but to the erecting a monument, permit me in the most fixed and unequivocal manner to declare my repugnancy to such a design, and that the execution of it will be a *punishment* to me : it is therefore, Gentlemen, my particular and earnest request, that so distinguished a mark of me may, for ever, be laid aside. With great regard,

“ I am, Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ JOHN HOWARD.”

On his return, Howard visited public institutions on his way to Frankfort, Aix-la-Chapelle, Utrecht, and Amsterdam. From this place he wrote to Mr. Whitbread :— 1787.

“ Amsterdam, Jan. 18, 1787.

“ Dear Sir,—I came here last night. The slow fever which I got in the lazaretto left me about ten days after my arrival at Vienna ; but the private audience with the Emperor further detained me in that city. Being well, I never stopped the first 500 miles of my journey, except for the change of horses, since I had a loaf of bread and apples with me. The remaining 300 I slept on the road, as the nights were so very cold.

“ My young man is continually in my thoughts, but God always does right ; so I would lay my hand on my mouth and be silent.

“ Thanks for your letter at Vienna, and for 1787. three I have here received. I propose to be in London, February 7th, and shall beg a bed for a night or two in Chiswell-street, before I go into lodgings. I shall probably here draw for 100*l.*, as part will be a deposit in Mr. Hope’s hands, to pay for my plates that are here engraving. With my best respects to my young friends,

“ I ever remain very affectionately yours,

“ JOHN HOWARD.

“ S. Whitbread, Esq., M.P.

“ P.S. The Botany Bay scheme will, I think, in a few years be laid aside; for though many will die in the long passage, yet others soon will be strong, and then revolt and escape.

“ I hope the statue will be entirely destroyed by my letter, which Mr. Willoughby will deliver on Wednesday se’nnight, as the popular frenzy seems abated. Our ingenious friend Aikin endeavoured by a letter to throw a damp on the scheme at first, but to little purpose. Is it known who wrote the first letter in the magazine? However intentionally good, yet most assuredly a stranger to my temper! Adieu, adieu. “ J. H.”

A fortnight after the above letters were despatched, he returned to England, and found that his son was a raving maniac at Cardington. He visited the place; but as he could afford no relief, and, on the contrary, his presence seemed to increase the calamity, he returned to London. Many of the subscribers to the “ Howardian Fund” were still desirous of accomplishing the purpose. Many hoped, according to the language of one, that “ reflection would correct the wrong suggestions of sensibility, and that Mr. Howard would

at last respect that decision which he was unable to control.” They calculated with a very imperfect knowledge of Howard’s character. His determination was declared in the following communication, which was advertised in various periodicals :—

“ London, Feb. 16, 1787.

“ 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 done me ; but at the same time you must permit me to inform you, that I cannot, without violating all my feelings, consent to it, and that the execution of your design would be a cruel punishment to me. It is therefore my earnest request, that those friends who wish my happiness and future comfort in life would withdraw their names from the subscription, and that the execution of your design may be laid aside for ever.

“ I shall always think the reform now going on in several of the jails of this kingdom, and 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 a constant attention and a constant residence.

“ I am, my Lords and Gentlemen,

“ Your obedient and faithful humble servant,

“ J. HOWARD.”

Copies of the above letter were also privately

1787. forwarded to several friends; to Dr. Lett-som amongst others, and we are told that, on receiving it, he at once went to Howard and spent three hours in a vain attempt to remove his objections. Many others used all their power of persuasion, but none could prevail. His unaffected repugnance fully confirmed the opinion of his more intimate friends; and when one of them mentioned the motive which induced them to refrain from contributing, he replied,—“ My dear friend, I am sure you know me too well to think it would be acceptable to me. I thank you and all my best friends for not assisting to wound my feelings.” He further told them that had a statue been erected he should have been banished from his native country for ever. Prince Kaunitz had assured him, that although he might prevent such a monument in England, yet one would certainly be placed in their prisons by the grateful inhabitants of Vienna; to which he answered,—“ I have no objection to its being erected where it shall be invisible.”

Finding that the aversion was invincible, the committee of the Howardian Fund (as it was still called), which amounted to 1,533*l.*, proposed to return all that should be reclaimed, and to invest the remainder, either to be applied at some future time as originally proposed, or to promote some of Howard's own benevolent plans. 500*l.* were restored to the subscribers; 200*l.* were applied for

the liberation of fifty-five poor prisoners in London; a further sum was expended on a medal for each contributor; and the surplus was reserved for that memorial to his worth, after his decease, the erection of which he constantly deprecated whilst living. 1787.

This was not the only instance in which Howard scrupulously objected to any public recognition of his humane exertions. A person, whose name was concealed, deposited 365 guineas—the amount of a year's saving—to be applied as Howard might direct; but, tracing the contribution to the fame he had acquired, he refused to interfere with its disposal.

Amidst the affliction and annoyance endured at this time, Howard was not unmindful of the woes of others. The captive at Toulon, so patient in his perpetual bondage, excited his compassion, and a successful application was made for his release. Nor had the shocking scenes of cruelty, distress, and desolation which he had witnessed in distant lands lessened his concern for the victims of misery and vice, so many of whom he had left at home, and who were still lingering in the wretched prisons of his own country. He was anxious, therefore, to ascertain what improvements had been effected in the construction and regulations of our English gaols; and commenced another inspection with those of the metropolis, about the middle of March, 1787.

1787. The hulks were also revisited by Howard at this time, and great improvement was observable in consequence of attention to several of his suggestions.

The county bridewell of Surrey, and the prisons of Guildford and Kingston, were again inspected. On the first we have these observations:—

“ No alteration, but some loads of gravel or dirt brought by order of the magistrates into the men’s and women’s courts, to be removed in baskets from one side to the other. This reminds me of what I once heard a keeper say, ‘ I endeavour to *plague* and *teaze* my prisoners by making them saw wood with a blunt saw.’ The prison not white-washed. No straw or blankets allowed by the county.*

On the 28th of May, 1787, Howard again embarked for the reinspection of the penal and charitable establishments in Ireland. In Dublin he found the same misrule and consequent misery in the prisons as before described. Drinking was allowed in them to such an extent that constant fighting and uproar was occasioned. “ At the Newgate one lay dead from this cause in the infirmary, and another was killed in a drunken affray a few days after.” Still, amidst many evils and many obstacles to their correction, Howard was glad to report some improvements when again writing from Dublin:—

“ Dublin, July 6th, 1787.

“ Dear Sir,—The beginning of last week I came from a

* Howard, Second Book, p. 147.

tour in the south. I set out to-morrow for the western and northern parts of Ireland, in my way to Glasgow, where may I hope in four or five weeks to hear from you.

“ I am pretty well, yet have neither the strength nor spirits I had two years ago ; though the latter ought to be stronger, if the progressive improvements that are here made would raise them.

“ I was two hours with Mr. Orde this morning. He, with the Provost, has taken the Charter Schools under Parliamentary consideration. In this country every public institution is a private emolument ; all are corrupt or totally inattentive, from the highest to the lowest. It never can be a rich, united, or independent state. Many parts are as savage as the inland parts of Russia. With much esteem, and all good,

“ I remain, dear sir, affectionately yours,

“ JOHN HOWARD.

“ Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P.

“ P. S. You will favour me with Dr. Munro's opinion of my poor son. The turn in those disorders is generally in the spring or autumn.”

After visiting the workhouse and hospitals, he made a more particular examination of the Irish Charter Schools, the state of which was most deplorable ; the teachers were incompetent, and therefore the education was very defective, sometimes wholly disregarded ; the abodes were dirty ; disease and death prevailed frightfully. Nor was the condition of the public nurseries better. Both, indeed, were so bad that he strongly urged a Parliamentary investigation, and suggested many improvements. The respect paid to his opinion by the Irish Parliament had led to the appoint-

1787. ment of an Inspector-General of Prisons ; and his particular report of abuses which prevailed lessened the necessity for a description of painful details by their compassionate visitor.

The prisons of Scotland were next visited. The state of many may be inferred from that of the house of correction in Edinburgh, which, in terms of remonstrance with the Lord Provost, is thus described :—

“ In the three close rooms were forty-seven women, some of them lying sick. No magistrate ever looked in upon them, and no clergyman ever attended them, or used any endeavours to reclaim them. The Lord Provost said, they were so hardened it could have no effect. I differed in my opinion from his lordship, and told him that on seriously conversing a few minutes with several of them I saw the tears in their eyes.” *

The remainder of this year was spent in continued labours of benevolence: the prisons of most counties were visited, and many particulars noticed; amongst them he tells us that in the High Court at Exeter—

“ A shoemaker was at work in the women’s ward; on inquiring the cause I was informed that he was the husband of one sentenced to be transported, but, on account of lameness, contracted by fever in the gaol, she could not be removed. Her fifteenth child was born in the prison, and her husband declared he would never leave her. By the kindness of Lord Sydney the woman received pardon, and I since learn that this couple are useful and worthy members of the community.” †

“ White without, and foul within,” was the ac-

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 76.

† *Ib.* p. 185.

count of the Bristol Newgate. Some con- 1787.
victs were erecting a new gaol in Oxford,
and several were permitted to work without their
irons. They were orderly; and “the indulgence,”
says Howard, “proves that among such delinquents
many are reclaimable, and not so abandoned as
some are apt to suppose.” Howard mentioned this
fact to several on his tour. “Some of the keepers
said, ‘they *now* find they can do more with the
prisoners by lenient measures than with a rough
hand.’”

Of the Chester gaol we have the following
notice:—

“Prison not secure. 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 the
horrid dungeon. Here was the first *iron glove* I have
seen in England, which, though not yet used, shows the
severity of the gaoler’s disposition. That prisoners are
not supplied with necessary food is a disgrace to such an
opulent city.”*

At Manchester a “new prison with single cells
and separate apartments was building;” and al-
though Howard is silent upon the subject, the
inscription on the foundation stone has been given
by his biographer:—

“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.”

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 208.

CHAPTER XIV.

INSPECTION OF PRISONS CONTINUED.—CROWDED DUNGEONS.—IRELAND REVISITED.—ABUSES IN SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, AND PRISONS.—LETTERS.—ANOTHER TOUR IN ENGLAND.—LONDON PRISONS.—BENEVOLENCE AS A LANDLORD.—PUBLISHES WORK ON LAZARETTOS AND PRISONS.—SOME PIOUS MAXIMS.—A CHARITABLE SUGGESTION.—ANECDOTES.—HOWARD'S ABSTEMIOUSNESS, PUNCTUALITY, SELF-DENIAL, AND HUMILITY.—LORD MONBODDO VISITS CARDINGTON.—HOWARD AGAIN AT HOME.—SERIOUS REFLECTIONS.—COWPER QUOTED.

1788. We need not trace Howard throughout his continued tours in England, but be content with noticing the more remarkable circumstances he has described. After revisiting the prisons of South Wales we find him again at Hereford and Worcester. At the gaol of the former city he expressed abhorrence at finding many women in irons. In that of the latter, as two successive keepers had fallen victims to the gaol fever before his former visit, so now a young physician had died of that dreadful scourge. Upon this he remarks—

“ So many in their zeal to do good have been carried off by this disorder, that it is one incentive to my endeavours for its extirpation. And yet, alas! the dreadful dungeon here, the planks of which are perished by damp and the breath of prisoners, was preparing for others.”*

Of Stafford gaol we have the following account :—

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 172.

“In the dungeon for male felons, I saw fifty-two chained down, hardly fourteen inches being allowed to each. The moisture from their breath ran down the walls. I need not intimate the heat and offensiveness of this dungeon, and the paleness of the prisoners. The women were in irons, and lay in another dungeon. Last year seven of the felons died in their dungeon of the gaol fever; and the free ward, or county chamber, being directly over it, nine out of thirteen of the poor debtors died.”*

Proceeding to Warwick gaol, Howard reports,—

“I saw thirty-two men lying chained in a dungeon of twenty-two feet diameter, and down thirty-one steps. Two were ill of a fever. Before the convicts went off who lately were ordered to Plymouth, this dungeon was so crowded that some of the poor wretches were forced to stand up, and take a sort of miserable night-watch, while the others slept. From the aperture of this dungeon, which is 3 feet 3 inches wide (as from the door and the two funnels of the dungeon in the gaol at Stafford) the steam of the prisoners' breath comes out in winter, like the smoke of a chimney. . . . There were three others in a room, very ill, and in irons. In two rooms (seven feet and a half by six and a half), with apertures only in the doors, there lay fourteen women almost suffocated. *Acquitted* prisoners are kept in irons till the judge leaves the town.”†

At this time Howard commenced his sixth tour of benevolence in Ireland, having visited on his way thither several more English and Welsh prisons. Soon after his arrival in Dublin, he addressed a letter to his friend Mr. Whitbread:—

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 173.

† *Ib.* p. 158.

“ Dublin, April 28, 1788.

“ Dear Sir,—It was with much pleasure I
1788. received your kind letter on my return from my
tour in the remote parts of this kingdom on the
western coast. I leave this city on Thursday, and take the
eastern parts; and return by Waterford through South
Wales to Bristol and London. I have one journey in Eng-
land, and then shall go directly to press at Warrington.

“ I am sorry to say I know no country that is so pro-
fligate, so wild, so cruel! On the road I myself passed,
the most cruel murder was committed on the day before;
yet people talk as calmly of it as we do of a pickpocket;
and as to perjury it is a general evil. I shall disclose
scenes of oppression and cruelty. I have my own con-
science, with the few good to second me, and an army of
enemies to oppose. But I bless God that I fear the face
of no man. . . .

“ The county hospitals, *all* of which I shall have visited
before I leave Ireland, are a job: but an inquiry will be
made, as I got it moved for last session.

“ I am pretty well. My new horse holds out; though
this is a bad country for English horses. . . .

“ Dr. Arnold has had no money of me since my un-
happy son has been there. Many a deep and bitter sigh
I have on his account; but my life is wearing away, when
I hope all sorrow will be at an end. A little while, then
farewell to all my friends!

“ My mind being strongly impressed with ideas
that may be useful, it would be base, it would be cowardly,
it would be wicked to retire or not face any danger.

“ With my best wishes for your prosperity and happi-
ness, and truly affectionate compliments to my younger
friend, I remain most sincerely yours,

“ J. HOWARD.”

We trace Howard's progress by another letter
to the same friend:—

“ Cork, May 12, 1788.

“ Dear Sir,—I came from the southern coast to this city on Saturday night. I leave it on Thursday for Waterford, and through the southern parts of Wales, by Bristol, to London; making my usual visits at the county towns. . . . I go to press at Warrington, as I am in time for the next sessions, should even any part of my plan be adopted. I am pretty well, and pursue my course with calm, steady spirits, fully persuaded in my own mind that I am in the way of duty. Afflictions, you know, I have, but I am not cast down, and I shall face every danger with calmness and resolution; and should it please God to give me the health and strength I now enjoy, I shall endeavour to take a far more extensive journey than I have yet taken. As to a return to my own country, there is little probability of it. I have a firm and fixed persuasion, and *that* tried at the bar of a calm judgment, that a retirement to ease would be cowardly, sinful, and base. The season of zeal and activity is passing away; and fain would I give some check to far greater ravages than (any occasioned by) the destructive weapons of war. Harriet and my younger friends will rank me with enthusiasts, but probably *that* they have long done, yet have patience with me, for *finis coronat opus*.

“ . . . I give you a great deal of trouble about money, parcels, &c. &c. With many excuses, I remain, your obliged friend and servant, “ JOHN HOWARD.

“ Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P.

“ P.S. I find you have received my Cork box; pray open it, or any thing you think proper: I have no secrets. A line at the post-house, Bristol, will give me much pleasure.”

On reaching Clifton, he wrote as follows:—

“ Clifton, May 25, 1788.

“ Dear Sir—I came here yesterday from Milford Haven.

I rode, having sent Thomas by the coach, which
 1788. was overturned, but none of nine outside passengers were hurt. This day, a day of rest. I miss many of my old acquaintances at Bristol, who have got the start of me, and gone home.

“ I thank you for your kind letter. I fear I sadly trouble you with payments, drafts, &c., as I drew at Waterford for ten guineas, and must here for ten more, as I found several objects of misery in Ireland, in my tour of near thirteen hundred miles.

“ This journey was taken by the advice of the Lord Lieutenant and others in power, and though a strong remonstrance has been sent in to him, yet I trust a steady perseverance and a close attention to facts will triumph over opposition. I rode most of the journey—some hundred miles by myself. The hired horses for my servant soon tired:—a bad country for horses; cruel to them—and cruel to others.

“ I have been pure well all the journey; having had plenty of milk and potatoes, very good, in every house. I propose to be in town on the 31st of this month, where I think I shall stay about a fortnight to put my notes in order for the press; and then take (with John Prole) one journey to the south of England, and soon after go to Warrington, my paper being gone down for my intended publication.

“ As soon as I have recovered the fatigue, which I have ever found in that part of my business, and *set my house in order*, I propose going abroad; first into Russia, by Holland and Germany, and then into Turkey, Egypt, &c. This, by some, will be thought going into the lion's den; but you well know I have not been a slave to the opinion of others. Yet if I were to give them an answer, it would be that of Daniel—‘ My God can shut the Lion's mouth.’ Or if He has ordered otherwise, I can calmly die. The season of zeal and activity will soon be over. While that fire burns in my breast, fixed, as I am fully persuaded on

right motives, should it abate and I draw back, my conscience would for ever upbraid me as a 1788. deserter from the noblest cause—the honour of God! whose presence, if it go with me, can make me smile in a dungeon.

“ My much esteemed friend will excuse the effusions of my mind on a subject that so engrosses my attention, as he is affectionately yours,

“ JOHN HOWARD.

“ Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M.P.”

Before returning to Bedfordshire the prisons in several other counties were reinspected. They are most of them described as dirty, neglected, and offensive, and the scenes of shocking immoralities. The continuance of the “ tap ” was a chief cause of these evils, and therefore one which the humane visitor most strongly condemned. A fresh occasion for his doing so arose on finding the keeper of the prison at Windsor had been murdered in his tap-room by his prisoners.

The prisons of London were now revisited, and we have the following description of Newgate:—

“ *No alteration.* In three or four rooms there were near 150 women crowded together, many young creatures with the old and hardened, some of whom had been confined upwards of two years: on the men’s side, likewise, there were many boys of twelve or fourteen years of age; some almost naked. In the men’s infirmary there were only seven iron bedsteads; and at my last visit, there being twenty sick, some of them naked and with sores, in a miserable condition, lay on the floor with only a rug. There were four sick in the infirmary for women, which is only fifteen and a half feet by twelve, has but one window, and no bedsteads: sewers offensive: prison not

white-washed. Keeper's salary £450. in lieu of 1788. the tap. I found some of the *debtors* had in their apartments casks of beer for sale ; and on the felons' side a person stood with cans of beer.

The demoralization and suffering which Howard witnessed in this ill-regulated gaol led him to revert to the statistics of Sir Stephen T. Janssen, which had been burnt with all other records of the Old Bailey in the riots of 1780. His transcript being the only memorial of that table, he was induced to insert it in his Second Book. And we have the following humane comment upon it :—

“ A careful perusal of this table will, I doubt not, suggest many useful remarks ; particularly if the number of executions in former years be compared with the constantly increasing number of the present time, it may, more than any thing else, excite a conviction of the necessity of no longer delaying the erection of penitentiary houses, in order to avoid the charges of inhumanity and impolicy in hurrying out of the world so many young creatures, who might have been reclaimed and restored to society by a proper course of discipline.”

The hospitals of the City especially attracted Howard's attention at this time. He found many offences prevailing, and suggested means of correction and plans for general improvement, most of which have been since adopted. One point is worthy of especial consideration, namely, the better provision for convalescent patients.

In the midst of these benevolent exertions, his cottagers at Cardington were not neglected. It appears from the following letters that friends

had been interceding with him in behalf of some favourite tenants, and his impartiality and firmness are strikingly shown in his replies—

1788.

“ Dear Sir,—To make that ground square to the destruction of a good barn, and *ruin* of a school-house, will never be consented to. I well know what large cottage-gardens are, and what those of your two first houses a few months ago were. You see how Redman is cramped for garden. Give and take, otherwise I beg that it may be no more mentioned. Harriot, I persuade myself, if she could spare half-an-hour, would see the impropriety of it. A school *house* will be built and endowed if I am spared a few years. I am, dear Sir, affectionately yours,

“ JOHN HOWARD.

“ S. Whitbread, Esq., M.P.”

“ Great Ormond St., Aug. 25, 1788.

“ Dear Sir,—I wrote to you last post. It is with concern I deny you, but I persuade myself that on consideration, and on Harriot’s viewing the ground, you will see it in a just light. It is only for the benefit of the school-house that I object. The grounds I have in hand I propose letting at the old rent to the person who accepts my house for three years, paying the taxes, and keeping up the garden and hedges.

“ I have written to Dr. Aikin that I shall be at Yarmouth this day se’nnight, and pass a week there. At the latter end of next month I shall sit down for some time at Warrington. After which I hope to be three or four weeks at Cardington for rest and quietness, which probably will be the last till in my grave. With affectionate wishes, I remain, sincerely yours,

“ J. H.

“ S. Whitbread, Esq., M.P.”

During Howard’s short visit to Yarmouth, he

1788. again wrote to Mr. Whitbread, in a letter dated September 9, 1788, reverting to his plans at Cardington, and expressing a resolution to deny himself to the utmost rather than abandon his benevolent projects. Thus, after providing for "garden enough for the cottagers," he adds:—

"The ground then taken from the intended school-house would be no great detriment to it. For should I be spared to return, of which, indeed, there is little probability, I will confine myself to bread and water to accomplish it."

As we might infer from the preceding extracts, the expense of his publications, his journeys, and other humane exertions had exceeded Howard's income. His wants were indeed readily supplied from the wealth of his attached friend; but such munificence he would not encroach upon, hence in a P.S. we read,—

"Mr. Mellish took my Enfield estate at thirty years' purchase, so that soon I shall have an opportunity of thankfully returning the money you were so kind as to lend me."

He was now engaged in preparing his papers for publication, and writing to his bailiff, he speaks of the expense thus incurred:—

"Six hundred pounds I have already paid for paper, engravings, &c., yet, should it please God I live 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. I go abroad again: I think it my duty and a call of Providence, and I

durst not go back. I will spend some weeks at Cardington when my publication is finished; my 1788. mind will be at ease and rest, and perhaps the only rest on this side the grave, for my time of zeal and activity is fast passing away."

Having duly arranged his papers, he proceeded to Warrington to superintend the printing of his work, and, in doing so, to receive the assistance of his friend Dr. Aikin. His mode of life there was very similar to that pursued when engaged with his former publication. He rose at three o'clock in the morning, took breakfast at six, and was in the printing-office at eight. There the day was spent, except a walk during the dinner-hour. If his attendance increased trouble, ample compensation was made. His presence was sometimes a salutary restraint: all was order where he was. It is especially said that no swearer ever received his gratuities. The pressman related that on one occasion, when leaving the office, oaths and curses were heard from a public house opposite, whereupon Howard, buttoning his pockets, said to the workmen, "I always do this whenever I hear men swear; as I think that any one who can take God's name in vain, can steal or do anything that is bad."

Some maxims in his memorandum-book 1789. of this date are worth recording:—

"Warrington, 30th Jan. 1789.—Misery is always an object of compassion, and the Word of God saith that to the miserable compassion should be shown.

“Generosity and self-command are the striking
1789. aspects of benevolence.

“Courage and humanity are inseparable friends.

“God will, I trust, accept my sincere intentions, though I effect nothing.

“A traveller should have temperance, prudence, and fortitude, a firmness of mind to bear suffering and meet dangers undaunted;—these are necessary for the active scenes of life, and maintenance of the rights of others; for the truest pleasures arise from extensive benevolence—dejection and despair are the consequences of pusillanimity.

“My deliberations are more swayed by what *I* myself think right, than by what is likely to be thought right by *others*.

“A fearless temper and an open heart are seldom strictly allied to prudence.

“Christ has made poverty and meanness, joined with holiness, to be a state of dignity.

“It has been said that ‘the Torch of Philanthropy has been conveyed by Howard.’—May he not hope in that God whose arm is not shortened, that He will spread it to the eastern nations? He worketh by the weakest of all instruments. To Him, to Him alone, be all the glory! God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of Christ.

“The enthusiasm of even a *mistaken* principle warms the mind, and sets it above the fear of death, which in our cooler moments, if we really think of it, is at least very awful: and shall a mistaken principle do more than calm reason and reflection? Oh, surely no!—yet there is no rational principle by which a man can die contented, but a trust in the mercy of God through the merits of Jesus Christ.

“It has been observed, one has a strange propensity to fix upon some point of time from whence a better course of life may begin: may I not hope, do I not earnestly beg of God, that His grace may be sufficient for me, and His strength perfected in my weakness—that I may

from this moment walk with God, adorn my Christian character, be more and more serious, 1789. watchful, humble, and, by the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, be made a partaker of the Divine nature, thus formed in me the hope of glory.

“Employ the time of every Sunday in sacred study and in books in which the spirit of Christianity, piety, and morality prevail.”*

Howard's invaluable work was published in February, 1789. Its nature and object are sufficiently shown by the extracts already made from it. Its motto was from Cicero: “Nihil est tam regium, tam liberale, tamque munificum, quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis homines.” And to it was added Psalm lxxix. 12; for which addition Howard himself assigns the cause:—

“In attending the service at Lancaster Castle on a Sunday, I observed some of the debtors much affected at this passage in one of the psalms which was read that day: *O, let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before Thee* (Psalm lxxix. 12): which gave me the hint of taking it for a motto to my present publication.”†

The work now published was distributed with the same liberality as the former. A large proportion of copies was given away, and for the rest the price was so low—scarcely the cost of printing alone—that they were immediately bought up by the booksellers.

A further proof of his charity was afforded in his desire not only to relieve prisoners from

* Brown, p. 557, 558.

† Second Book on Prisons, p. 201.

1789. cruelty and oppression, but to provide for the widows and children of their keepers, whose distress he had sometimes witnessed, and no doubt as often mitigated. He writes—

“Should the plan take place during my life of establishing a permanent charity under some such title as that at Philadelphia, viz., *a society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons*, and annuities be engrafted thereupon for the above-mentioned purpose, I would most readily stand at the bottom of a page as a subscriber for 500*l.*; or if such a society should be constituted within three years after my death, this sum shall be paid out of my estate.” *

Some incidental notices of our generous and self-denying countryman, when pursuing his more recent inquiries, have been preserved; and from them it appears that he continued as abstemious as on former tours. His daily fare consisted of two penny rolls, some butter, cheese, some sweetmeats, a roasted apple, a pint of milk and green tea, of which he partook freely, believing it to be conducive to his health and spirits. From his self-prescribed regimen he very seldom deviated, and very rarely accepted invitations either to dine or to partake of other repast. One departure from his general rule has been described. During his journey in Ireland, a nobleman desired that he would dine with him: the invitation was declined, but, on being pressed to accept it, Howard stipulated that his dinner should consist of potatoes only. This was agreed to. The dinner was served

* Brown, p. 562.

with nineteen dishes, but all proved to be potatoes, each cooked in a different manner. 1789.

While in Dublin he made arrangements with a principal bookseller of the city for the sale of a large number of his first Book on Prisons, and of his pamphlet on the Bastile, the proceeds of which were to be paid over to the treasurer of the Mercer's Hospital, but this act of liberality was unsuccessful; the vessel on which the package was shipped being wrecked.*

The joy he felt in relieving the oppressed sometimes appears to have compelled him to speak of acts which he generally concealed. His constant attendant notes in his journal at this time that—

“I have often seen him come to his lodgings in such spirits and joy, when he would say to me, ‘I have made a poor woman happy; I have sent her husband home to her and her children.’ He would often tell me, too, of such and such a man being kept in prison for his fees, which he had paid, and sent the poor man to his family and home.” †

Howard's manner among the depraved characters whom he continually visited had a remarkable power in restraining their vicious propensities. The influence of a holier spirit, in this respect, is always powerful. When closing his description of prisons, ‡ he thus writes:—

* Gent. Mag., Aug. 1790.

† Brown, p. 567.

‡ Second Book on Prisons, p. 215.

“ Before I quit this subject, I would mention
1789. that in all my visits to the gaols and prisons, in
this and other kingdoms, I never received any
insults either from keepers or prisoners ; nor have I lost
any thing in *any* of them, 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 time, but, on a subsequent
visit, about ten months after, it was immediately presented
to me by a prisoner as, he said, he believed I had dropped
it when I was there last.”

Punctuality and precision formed another feature
in Howard’s character. No time was wasted : if
an engagement had been formed, he would con-
verse, as the hour approached, with watch in
hand ; and would not, if he could avoid it, be a
moment too late. He never forgot his mission,
and therefore would suffer nothing to divert him
from it. Dr. Aikin tells us—

“ He mentioned being once prevailed upon, in Italy, to
go and hear some extraordinary fine music ; but finding
his thoughts too much occupied by it, he would never
repeat the indulgence.” *

Whilst thus devoted to his humane endeavours,
he was most humble. Some remarks were one
day made in his presence on the general depravity
of prisoners. They were met with the confession—
“ I consider that, but for Divine grace, I might
have been as abandoned as they are.” He was
feeling as well as humble. “ You have witnessed
many scenes of misery,” one said to him : “ Yes,”

* Aikin, p. 212.

he answered, "more than I could relieve; I could, therefore, only drop a tear over them." 1789.

An interesting anecdote is thus related by Dr. Aikin:—

"A very respectable-looking elderly gentleman, on horseback, with a servant, stopped at the inn nearest Mr. Howard's house at Cardington, and entered into conversation with the landlord concerning him. He observed, that characters often appeared very well at a distance, which could not bear close inspection; he had, therefore, come to Mr. Howard's residence in order to satisfy himself concerning him. The gentleman then, accompanied by the innkeeper, went to the house and looked through it, with the offices and gardens, which he found in perfect order. He next inquired into Mr. Howard's character as a landlord, which was justly represented; and several neat houses which he had built for his tenants were shown him. The gentleman returned to his inn, declaring himself now satisfied with the truth of all he had heard about Howard. This respectable stranger was no other than Lord Monboddo; and Mr. Howard was much flattered with his visit, and praised his lordship's good sense in taking such a method of coming at the truth, since he thought it worth his trouble." *

The malady of Howard's unhappy son had been so confirmed and malignant, that he had been removed from Cardington, and early in the year 1788 was placed in a lunatic asylum, under the care of Dr. Arnold, at Leicester. Howard now returned to his home and resumed the duties of the landlord. The first of these he deemed to be the

* Aikin, p. 150.

1789. payment of any arrears in charity; and next, to renew his acts of kindness amongst his tenants and dependants. We have a pleasing illustration of the considerate manner in which this was done:—

“Amongst the cottages of his tenants, he entered that of the newly-married wheelwright, whom he thus addressed:—‘If I had been at home at your marriage, I should have made you a wedding present; and you shall not lose it now, though it shall be a gift to your wife and not to yourself. Come to my house to-morrow morning, and you shall know what it will be.’ On returning home, he asked his bailiff which was the best cow in his farm-yard; and, on its being pointed out to him, directed it to be driven, on the next morning, to the wheelwright’s house. ‘But no,’ he immediately added, ‘the poor fellow has nothing to keep her on this winter: we will keep her for him till she has calved.’ This was accordingly done.”*

The reader will peruse with pleasure the following ejaculations written by Howard at this time, indicating the inward principle which guided him in these works of love:—

“God considers what weak creatures we are, therefore gives us every motive to do good.

“Jacob speaks of the angel who had been his guide in all his journeys, and had delivered him out of all his dangers;—and Jacob’s God, I trust, is *my* God, and my guide, and my portion for ever.

“An approving conscience adds pleasure to every act of piety, benevolence, and self-denial. It inspires serenity and brightens every gloomy hour; disarming adversity, disease, and death. Is it my ambition to put on the Lord

* Monthly Mag., quoted by Brown, p. 577.

Jesus!—‘to have the same mind in me which 1788. was also in Him!’

“The peculiar doctrines of Christianity,—the degradation of human nature, our inability to restore ourselves, our need of a Mediator and of Divine aid,—are doctrines which strike at the root of vainglory—we are justified by faith, by the grace of God, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. Where then is boasting? It is excluded. Rom. iii. 27. Aim at what is praiseworthy, and then at the approbation of God, who alone is an impartial, infallible Judge. Let it be my earnest inquiry how I shall best serve God in the station which He has assigned me.

“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 give way to the extremities of the poor.

“O God! may the angel which conducted the Israelites through the desert accompany and bless me!

“In all my dangers and difficulties may I have full confidence in that unseen Power, to believe in hope, as the Lord orders all things: therefore I leave every thing to Him, trusting He will always give His angels charge concerning me, and then I am equally safe in every place; therefore I will fear no evil, for Thou art my God.”

Howard’s prayers always attended his exertions. Short petitions abounded amidst his notes, of which this was one :—

“Do Thou, O Lord! visit the prisoners and captives. Manifest Thy strength in my weakness; help, Almighty God! for in Thee I put my trust, for Thou art my rock.”

We cannot conclude this chapter in language more suitable than the lines of Cowper :—

. . . "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 that 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, sequester'd 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 !"

CHAPTER XV.

HOWARD DETERMINES TO REVISIT RUSSIA AND TURKEY.—PRESENTIMENT OF DEATH.—TAKES LEAVE OF HIS FRIENDS.—APPOINTS GUARDIAN OF HIS SON.—EMBARKS FOR HOLLAND.—REVISITS AMSTERDAM.—RE-INSPECTS PRISONS AT OSNABURGH AND HANOVER.—TORTURE DUNGEON AT BRUNSWICK.—PRISONS OF SPANDAU AND KONIGSBERG.—ENTERS RUSSIA.—KNOUT-MASTER IN PRISON.—REFLECTIONS.—PROCEEDS TO ST. PETERSBURGH, AND THENCE TO MOSCOW.—LETTERS.

HOWARD now determined to revisit Russia and Turkey. The especial purpose of the ^{1789.} tour appears to have been a further effort to prevent the contagion of the plague, or to provide a remedy for that dreadful disease, which, notwithstanding its prevalence and destructive nature, was very little understood.

His mind seems to have been impressed with the conviction that he was taking leave of friends for the last time, and his language to them was becoming a Christian thus persuaded. To one of those friends he observed,—

“ ‘ I hope if we meet again on earth we shall be nearer heaven ; but if we never see each other more below, I trust we shall meet in heaven.’ To another he said—‘ You will probably never see me again ; but, be that as it may, it is a matter of no 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 as I am, the will of that gracious Providence who has condescended to raise in me a firm per-

1789. suasion that I am employed in what is consonant to His divine approbation.' ”*

Again, in the “ additions to the Obituary ” of the Gentleman’s Magazine for Nov. 1790, we have the following notice :—

“ Some time before Mr. Howard’s last departure from England, in a conversation with his friend Mr. Blackburn, he expressed a conviction that his death was at no great distance, on the ground that his mode of diet, &c., exactly corresponded with that of the Chinese, few of whom survive their 63rd year. On parting with another friend, the Rev. Mr. Palmer, with the cheerfulness of the sure and certain hope which is the privilege of the Christian, foreseeing by what death he might pass to eternal life, he said, ‘ We shall soon meet in heaven ; and the way to heaven from Grand Cairo is as near as from London.’ ”

The day too before his departure, when affectionately taking leave of a lady, he remarked,—

“ I am going a very arduous journey ; probably, my friend, we shall never meet any more in this world : but it is the path of duty ; and, with respect to myself, I am quite resigned to the will of God.” †

Preparation was made for what Howard believed to be his last farewell. The sad condition of his son rendered it needful that Howard should appoint a guardian. His friend Mr. Whitbread accepted the office, and faithfully discharged its duties, until the death of the unhappy young man, in his thirty-fifth year. Howard’s debts were discharged ; his property disposed of ; his servants

* Brown, p. 588.

† Ib. p. 589.

duly provided for, especially the bailiff, who had been settled in an adjoining farm, and whose wife, with other tokens of her master's favour, was entrusted with the miniature of her mistress. The gardener also received an ample recompense for a service of many years, and with it some commissions; amongst them—as on the last night they paced the favourite pathway, now overspread with trees, which one so much revered had planted—he was especially enjoined to preserve those and other memorials. The grounds were to be kept arranged as he was leaving them, for, said he, “all is now exactly in the order I desire; and if I return to my native land, here I intend to end my days.”

Early in July, 1789, Howard embarked: a memorandum of his own tells us,—

“In confidence on God, who has been my help, I cheerfully set out on my journey, and came to Amsterdam the 7th of July, where I first visited the hospitals for the sick.”

He entered Germany by way of Osnaburgh, when he was grieved to discover that so far from the torture, to which reference has been made, having been abolished, some refinement of a shocking cruelty had rendered it even more excruciating. Here were many objects of sympathy; the case of two is particularised:—

“In one of the noxious cells below ground was a poor object, ironed hands and feet, and chained to the walls of

his dungeon. His wife was in an offensive and
1789. dark chamber on the upper floor, weeping and
bitterly lamenting her unhappy condition."

Their forlorn state of course excited Howard's efforts, and these were to some extent availing. He further represented that the prison was offensive and filthy, and secured an order that on the Saturday of every week the time of the inmates should be devoted to its being cleansed.

From Osnaburgh he proceeded to Hanover, where he records an instance of injustice similar to many in England against which he had protested. He found in a prison seven pale emaciated beings awaiting their trial, one of whom by strokes of chalk had marked the several weeks of his cruel incarceration, and they amounted to forty-two. Here also the torture was permitted, and the thought of these fearful evils induced the humane visitor to write—

"Have I not reason, with a sigh, to say, 'I labour in vain, and spend my strength for nought?' But I have resolved, by the help of God, to give myself wholly to this work."

Having visited the charitable institutions of Hanover, he proceeded to Brunswick. On his arrival, availing himself of the right to inspect the prison, to which all were entitled who contributed a florin towards the relief of its inmates, he found it in a dirty condition; the apparatus for the torture was still retained, although he

was glad to learn that it had not been used for eighteen years, and that the room in which it was inflicted had not during that term been opened. By order of one of the authorities it was unbarred for Howard, who has himself described his interview with the executioner:—

“He seemed with pleasure to show the mode of application on the first, second, and last question, and very readily answered any inquiries, having been several years in that occupation at Hanover; though here (he said) he had only beheaded four or five. On asking if nothing was put into the tortured person’s mouth, as I had in some places seen, he replied, ‘No; the Osnaburgh executioner thinks they suffer less:’ and on his describing some of the modes of torture (which the art of devils and men had invented), he said, ‘Sir, the Osnaburgh torture is still ruder.’”

He now proceeded to Berlin, and forthwith visited the prisons of that city, which he commends as clean and well conducted. The prison at Spandau was next visited, where objectionable practices prevailed; but the keeper, who was an Englishman, gladly listened to Howard’s recommendations. At Königsberg, the prison was in such a filthy condition that he supposed some of its wretched occupants were only “sent there to perish from nastiness and neglect.” The sick were without covering and uncared for, and their compassionate visitor begged that the irons might be taken off some who were dying. The magis-

1789. trates who accompanied him, he tells us, were covered with vermin, and this afforded a favourable opportunity for repeating his advice that every Saturday should be devoted to cleaning the prison.

Howard now proceeded—through Memel and Mittau, at which places he visited the prisons—to the Russian territories, by way of Riga. The penal and charitable establishments of course attracted immediate attention. There was little remarkable in the former, but in the Military Hospital he found “300 sick, crammed into two dirty and offensive wards,” and the arrangements were in general so bad that he felt no surprise when told that 500 recruits had lately died there. About ten miles from Riga, Howard visited a prison containing 387 convicts and debtors, all of whom were employed on public works, and a portion of the wages earned by the latter was assigned to their creditors. Here were some who had suffered the punishment of the knout, whose nostrils were slit and their cheeks marked to denote their condemnation for life. Many were murderers, since capital punishment, as before observed, was at that time professedly not inflicted in Russia for any offence. Amongst these criminals was one who had been the head knout-master at St. Petersburg, and had lately murdered his two colleagues. A dispute arose between himself and one of them when drinking, and he struck off the

head of his opponent : the other, who was present, showed some resentment, and immediately shared the fate of his companion. For these atrocious acts the perpetrator had been sentenced to 270 strokes of the knout and to slavery for life. 1789.

At this time the following entry was made in that memorandum-book from which several extracts have been inserted :—

“ Riga, Aug. 23rd.—I hope I have sources of enjoyment that depend not on the particular spot I inhabit : a rightly-cultivated mind, under the power of religion, and the exertion of beneficent dispositions, are a ground of satisfaction little affected by heres and theres.

“I hope my soul thirsts for the ordinances of God’s House, which I am this day deprived of, but I will make it a day of rest. Through mercy brought here in safety, I have this morning read over some solemn transactions of my soul, many years past, and in the most solemn and devout manner renew those vows which, alas ! have been too often broken, and acknowledge Thee, the Almighty Jehovah, for my Lord and my God. O God ! hear my prayer, and let my cry come before Thee.” *

From Riga, Howard proceeded to St. Petersburg, where the various institutions were revisited, and, according to their condition, his censure or commendation was expressed, each being generally accompanied with some profitable suggestion. Here he again conferred with the enlightened and liberal benefactor of his country, General de Betskoi. On the 9th of September

* Brown, p. 611.

1789. he visited the marine hospital at Cronstadt; the dark, offensive, and dirty wards of which, together with the irregularities and improper diet, were such as to call forth the exclamation of compassion—"With what concern must a feeling mind be struck when many objects are looking up for help, and the possibility of a cure is thus cut off!" In a temporary hospital for sick sailors, under the care of an English physician, he was rejoiced to find a pleasing contrast. It had been proposed to erect a new prison here at the time of Howard's former visit, but the death of Admiral Greig, who chiefly promoted the design, had retarded it. To the praise of that officer his favourite maxim was preserved by Howard, whose own life was indeed in accordance with its language—"If I cannot do what I would, I *will do what I can.*"

From St. Petersburg we have the following letter to Mr. Whitbread:—

"St. Petersburg, Sunday, Sept. 6, 1789.

"My dear Friend,—With much pleasure I received your kind letter in *this city*, as the German posts travel slowly. I have been here about a week, and was much surprised to find for some hundred miles that the country was all burnt up, and, as I was informed, there had been *no rain* for several months.

"The rapid improvements in this city are somewhat checked by the war, and some *great* works go on *slowly*. Places of philanthropy are not forgotten—some *new hospitals*, &c. since my last visit. I find if I go to the Black Sea to embark for *Constantinople* I may wait months for

a neutral ship, so that I propose striking through Poland and Hungary, down to Trieste. I shall 1789. stop some time at Moscow, Warsaw (where I hope to hear of *your health*), Cracow, Presburgh, &c., and if the winter come quickly on, I shall be at some of those places frozen up, as the river Neva is here shut—often in October. The court and all the attendants are just come to town for the winter, as they have no taste for, or experience of, our beautiful autumnal days.

“I cannot but approve of my friends going out of Parliament, and leaving some of the busy scenes of life to young and active minds. Let us, my dear friend, think of the mercies of so long a life, and offer up songs of praise. Our souls break through the ‘mist of human things’ and know their emptiness. Ere long we shall be gathered to our fathers; not scattered and lost in the abyss of annihilation, for we know that ‘our Redeemer liveth.’ We are going to a land peopled with our fathers, and our kindred, and the friends of our youth. This makes us, even amidst our doubts and fears, cry out, ‘I would not live away!’

“I am pretty well. The gout at times give me mementos, but my abstemious course and water probably keep me on my legs—for what time? I bless God, I have no anxiety about that. Should I return, I expect many a pleasant and calm hour in my friends’ *company*.

“With every good wish, and grateful remembrance of your unwearied kindness and generosity, I am to you and yours an affectionate friend,

“JOHN HOWARD.”

On his journey the wretched prison at Tver was reinspected; and on reaching Moscow, Howard’s attention was immediately directed to similar establishments in that city. A large prison or “ostrog” had been recently built, in which some good regu-

1789. lations prevailed, but the sick were shockingly neglected. The prisoners were still supported by charitable contributions, and were thus supplied with a sufficiency, upon which Howard remarked—"Hence I conclude that the nation is humane; and, in travelling through a great tract of the country, the peasants appeared to me to be of a kind and hospitable disposition." In another prison he found all promiscuously associated, and its condition was such as to lead him to declare with indignation—"Such a prison is a reproach to any civilised country!" The Grand Duke's Hospital, which, having been burned down, was now rebuilt, was, on the other hand, as deserving his approval; but that for soldiers was very defective.

A letter was now addressed to his friend Dr. Price :—

"Moscow, Sept. 22nd, 1789.

"My dear Friend,—Your kind desire to hear from me engages me to write. When I left England, I first stopped at Amsterdam. I proceeded to Osnaburgh, Hanover, Brunswick, and Berlin; then to Konigsberg, Riga, and Petersburg, at all which places I visited the prisons and hospitals, which were all flung open to me, and in some the burgomasters accompanied me into the dungeons, as well as into the other rooms of confinement.

"I arrived a few days ago in this city, and have begun my rounds. The hospitals are in a sad state: upwards of seventy thousand sailors and recruits died in them last year. I labour to convey the torch of Philanthropy into these distant regions, as in God's hand no instrument is weak, in whose presence no flesh must glory. I go

through Poland into Hungary. I hope to have a few nights of this moon in my journey to 1789. Warsaw, which is about a thousand miles. I am pure well—the weather clear—the mornings fresh; thermometer 48°, but have not yet begun fires. I wish for a mild winter, and shall then make some progress in my European expedition.

“My medical acquaintance give me but little hopes of escaping the plague in Turkey; but my spirits do not at all fail me: and, indeed, I do not look back, but would readily endure any hardships, and encounter any dangers, to be an honour to my Christian profession.

“I long to hear from my friend, yet I know not where he can direct to me, unless at Sir Robert Ainslie’s, Constantinople. I will hope all things.

“I am, my much esteemed friend,

“Most affectionately and sincerely yours,

“JOHN HOWARD.”

CHAPTER XVI.

HOWARD VISITS MILITARY HOSPITALS OF RUSSIA.—PROCEEDS TO CHERSON.—LOSS OF HIS LUGGAGE.—ITS RESTORATION.—SHOCKING TREATMENT OF SICK SOLDIERS.—REFLECTIONS.—FESTIVITIES AT CHERSON.—INTERRUPTED BY FEVER.—OCCASION OF HOWARD'S LAST ILLNESS.—STATE OF HIS MIND.—HIS DEATH.—FUNERAL.—PERSONAL APPEARANCE.—EULOGIUM OF HIS BAILIFF.—THE TABLET AT CARDINGTON.—THE MONUMENT IN ST. PAUL'S.

1789. THROUGHOUT these pages we have observed the constancy with which Howard persevered in the execution of plans upon which he had once determined. Neither difficulties nor dangers could interrupt his stedfast endeavours. One motive only could divert the humane traveller from his course. Misery in another direction, which might perhaps be mitigated, always possessed an attractive power. Information of such stayed his progress at this time, and induced him to change the route he has just described.

The account he received while at Moscow of the state of the military hospitals, and of the treatment of the Russian soldiers who were sent to them, excited his deep commiseration, and an earnest desire to alleviate their distress. Before his departure, the change of purpose was announced to his relative Mr. Whitbread:—

“ Moscow, Oct. 2, 1789.

“ My dear Friend,—I did myself the pleasure of writing soon after my arrival in this city, and informed you of my

intended route through Warsaw and Hungary ; but I am since informed of the probability of 1789. meeting some neutral ship and going down the Black Sea to Constantinople. But what has further determined me to take the chance of that route is, the sickly state of the Russian army on the confines of Turkey, where I hope to do some good ; I shall first, with them, fairly try the powders of Dr. James. My letters at Warsaw I have written to be forwarded to me at Cherson.

“ * * * I find by my thermometer the cold is coming on, as every morning it is three or four degrees lower. I shall get away in a few days, and I hope not to be caught by the heavy snows. I am pure well, and my business goes smoothly on. I do not want anything, nor can I for a long time (unless I fall into the hands of the wild Tartars), as my friend has so abundantly and generously supplied me.

“ With the warmest wishes of his affectionate and obliged friend,

“ J. HOWARD.

“ Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P.”

A long and dreary journey was now undertaken, first to Crementschuok on the banks of the Dnieper, where four hundred recruits, afflicted with scurvy, were crowded in a small building, and the only food they were allowed was “ a sort of water-gruel, sour bread, and still sourer quas : ” under this improper treatment half of the patients died ; a putrid fever swept them off by scores at a time. Thence he proceeded to Cherson, where he visited a similar institution in a still worse condition, and in which the only attendants upon the sufferers were “ men sent from the different regiments, as being useless from stupidity or drunkenness.” The following are Howard’s remarks :—

“The primary objects in all hospitals seem
1789. here neglected, viz. cleanliness, air, diet, separation, and attention. These are such essentials, that humanity and good policy equally demand that no expense should be spared to procure them. Care in this respect, I am persuaded, would save more lives than the parade of medicines in the adjoining apothecary’s shop.”

Here Howard read in the public journals an account of the destruction of the Bastile; an event, we are told, which afforded him peculiar gratification, as he thought his publication descriptive of “its gloomy horrors, its iron cages, and impenetrable dungeons, might have accelerated its demolition. His eye, therefore, sparkled with peculiar delight as he expressed to his servant his intention, should he live to return, of visiting its ruins.”

The following statement appeared in the Gentleman’s Magazine, January, 1790 :—

“Mr. Howard, we are happy to hear from a friend of his who has received a letter from him, was in good health and spirits on the 17th of November, at Cherson, in Little Tartary, to the north of the Black Sea, in his way to Turkey, visiting the army and navy hospitals in that part of the Russian dominions, after having visited those of Riga, Cronstadt, &c., which he found throughout in such sad order as would have given credibility, had it wanted it, to the information he had received from good authority, that no less than the shocking number of seventy thousand recruits, sailors and soldiers, had died in that country in the course of the preceding year; owing, undoubtedly, in a great measure, to inattention, ignorance, and inhumanity, whose influence is always checked at least,

if it cannot be overcome, by his persevering benevolence, his fortitude, and his skill, wherever 1789. human misery attracts this friend to every clime, this patriot of the world: his desire of doing good in a far distant clime may even now be friendly to several of his fellow-creatures (if men may be called so) in this country, when they read the following words of the above-mentioned letter from Cherson: 'Many are here shivering with the ague (a morass of twenty miles is before my window). I give the ounce of bark, and drachm of snake-root and wormwood, which has not failed me once.'

Howard made an excursion from Cherson to Witowka, continuing his inspection of these hospitals. The neglect of the patients in the hospitals was followed by an equal neglect of them when discharged as convalescents. Howard saw a number of these, just recovering, miserably clad, wet and shivering, under orders to walk several miles to the next town, and felt no surprise when he learned that some were seen lying dead by the road-side. Nor could he wonder at the crowded state of the hospitals when he became acquainted with the miserable quarters in which the Russian soldiers passed the winter. Instead of being lodged in barracks, or even encamped, as the troops of other countries, they were encaved, and buried in damp and dismal holes covered with sticks and earth, with only a hole at the top for the supply of air and the escape of smoke.

Howard's attention was next directed to an hospital for recruits and prisoners of war, con-

1789. sisting of four rooms near the new town of St. Nicholas, which was then building. Three hundred poor objects were crammed into these confined apartments: their food was black and heavy, and their quas sour. The inspection was made by appointment, and our humane countryman was accompanied by the Brigadier Falagef, and a physician sent by Prince Potemkin. Preparation was therefore made for the reception of the visitors: a partial cleansing had taken place, new coverlids had been distributed, and the surgeons were in attendance. To the government officials all seemed to be satisfactory. But such an inspection was little in accordance with Howard's practice. Experience had taught him that it was well to make some previous inquiries, and then to pay an unexpected visit. The latter had been prevented in this instance, but the former preliminaries had neither been forgotten nor neglected. He had ascertained that instead of the reported three hundred there were five hundred patients in this hospital. Suspecting, therefore, that some were concealed when those prepared for inspection had been shown, he requested to see the remainder. Surprised at the demand, but perceiving that their sharp-sighted visitor was not to be deceived, after a time permission was granted, and several officers accompanied him in his further investigation, the result of which is thus described:—

“ He found fifty objects of such extreme wretchedness as, in the whole course of his extensive visits to the abodes of misery and vice, he had never before seen together. Most or all of them were recruits, in the prime of life, many of whom were dying upon a bed of hard coarse reeds, without linen or coverlids, with nothing, indeed, but a few remnants of their old clothes to cover them ; their persons dirty beyond description, and with their shirts in rags. With every kindlier feeling of his nature shocked beyond description at so barbarous a scene, our intrepid countryman turned to the officers at his side, and, directing their attention to their fellow-creatures who were thus inhumanly treated, told them, in a tone of the bitterest reproof, ‘ that in none of the countries he had ever visited had he found so little attention paid to the military as in Russia. He knew, however,’ he added, ‘ that what he said would have no other effect on them but to make them despise him, but he should assuredly relate what he had with so much concern and indignation beheld.’ As he had anticipated, his military auditors immediately left him.” *

Seeing many recruits employed in carrying heavy materials, to which their strength was inadequate, he humanely suggested that either wheelbarrows or else some beasts of burthen should be provided ; but the barbarities he had witnessed forbade the hope that such advice would be acted upon, although policy not less than compassion might commend it. Apparently spirit-broken at the sight of so much suffering which he had so little power to relieve, he concludes his remarks upon these poor victims of oppression and neglect in the following pathetic strain :—

* Brown, p. 621.

“Let but a contemplative mind reflect a moment upon the condition of these poor destitute wretches, forced from their homes and all their dearest connections, and compare them with those one has seen, cheerful, clean, and happy at a wedding or village festival; let them be viewed quitting their birth-place, with all their little wardrobe, and their pockets stored with rubles, the gifts of their relations, who never expect to see them more; now joining their corps in a long march of one or two thousand wersts; their money gone to the officer who conducts them and defrauds them of the government allowance; arriving fatigued and half-naked in a distant dreary country, and 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 so many innocent people, and this in a country where there are such immense tracts of land unoccupied, are shocking to human nature.”

On his return to Cherson he revisited the hospitals, and was glad to find that some better regulations had been adopted, but the diet of the inmates was still insufficient and of an improper description. Drunkenness was also common amongst the attendants; and seeing one of them with a bottle holding two quarts of brandy, the sight occasioned the following remarks:—

“How many patients do I see, with many disorders, which, I am persuaded, proceed from the use of spirituous liquors! What strict care should be taken that the attendants do not bring any to sell in the hospital! Have I not seen unmixed spirits served round to sick and dying patients, by persons intoxicated themselves; when, to my

great surprise, I was told, that the physician had ordered it as a treat to the patients! If my 1789. visits had any share in promoting this, I fear I killed half a dozen of them; or, at least, put them some days sooner out of their misery!"

The following is the last extant letter of Howard:—

“Cherson in Tartary, Nov. 14, 1789.

“Dear Sir,—I wrote to you on my arrival at Moscow on the first and—permit me to say—constant impression of your kindness. I also wrote to you about a fortnight after, informing you of my intention to visit the army and navy hospitals towards the Black Sea. I was somewhat sensible of the dangers I had to encounter, and the hardships I had to endure, in a journey of thirteen or fourteen hundred miles, with only my servant. I went on pretty well, till on the borders of Tartary; when, as I depended on my patent chain, my great trunk and hat-box were cut off from behind my chaise. It was midnight, and both of us having travelled four nights, were fast asleep. However, we soon discovered it, and having soon recovered the shock, I went back directly to the suspected house, and ran in among ten or twelve of the banditti. At break of day I had some secured and search made. My hat-box was found, but my great trunk I almost despaired of, though I stayed before the door in my chaise two days. Providentially, the fourth day, it was found by a peasant. The brass nails glistened in a part where the oil skin was worn. His oxen would not go on: he beat them, but they would not go on; he then saw something, but durst not approach till another peasant came up, when, after signing themselves with the cross, they went up to it, and carried it directly to the magistrate of the village. He sent after me to a town about eighty miles off, where I was to stay two or three days, and I returned. I found by my inventory that not a single handkerchief was lost,

and they missed about a hundred guineas in 1789. paper in the middle of the trunk. My return stunned them: all would have been removed off before light. I have broken the band: four will go into ——. I am well; my clothes and bedding I think warmer since I got them out of the fire. I saw some other travellers who were robbed and had lost their money and goods on the road.

“Thomas shewed me his marketing. A quarter of lamb, that he said would cost five shillings, he paid $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ for. My marketing is a good melon for five farthings, which supplies my English luxury of currants with my bread and tea. I have visited the hospitals here, in which there are about 800 sick recruits. I have this week been only about 40 miles, for between a deserted town and Otschakow lies the army hospital. There I stayed two or three days, as I found about 2,000 sick and wounded. They are dreadfully neglected. A heart of stone would almost bleed! I am a spy, a sad spy on them, and they all fear me. The abuses of office are glaring, and I want not courage to tell them so.

“I have just received your kind letter from Warsaw. I read it over and over again. I exult in the happiness and prosperity of your house, and that my young friend likes Cardington.

“I shall be moving for the navy hospital, at Sewastopol, in the south of the Crimea about the end of the year, and I hope by some means to be at Constantinople the beginning of March.

“The wild Cossacks who live underground in the Crimea must look sharp if they rob me, as I will not go to sleep any night on the road, and I am well armed. I am persuaded no hurry or fear will be on my mind. My journey, I still think, will engage me for three years, and as I have a year's work in England, I think little of Cardington.

“The land for several hundred miles is the finest garden

mould; not a stone mixed with it, nor a single tree, nor any inhabitants. A person may have 1789. any quantity for ten years, and after that by paying the Empress fifteen rubles (about one guinea and three quarters) a year. A person showed me some fine hay stacks, two-thirds he took and one-third he gave the Empress, but no rent. He said he had bought fine meat for less than a half-penny a pound before the army came into this country.

“I shall, I understand, take possession of some poor Turk’s deserted house in the Crimea two months. As I am well informed there was double the number of inhabitants in the capital than there are now in all that fine country. The cruelty of the Russians forced 100,000 to quit their country. Great things are expected on the great St. Nicholas’s day, next month. He is the Patron Saint of this country who assisted them in destroying four or five thousand men, women, and children, at Otschakow last year on his day. But as our trades are different I wish to have no further acquaintance with that Saint,

“Though ever wishing to be with my affectionate friend.

“J. HOWARD.

“Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P.”

The presentiment of his death, which Howard had expressed to so many of his friends before he left England, had not been dispelled by change of scene and active exertion. The mortality he witnessed was perhaps calculated to deepen that impression, and his memoranda prove that it was permanent. The state of mind in which he contemplated its approach is shown in the following extract:—

“I am a stranger and pilgrim here, but, I trust, through grace, going to a land peopled with my fathers and my

kindred, and the friends of my youth. And I trust my spirit will mingle with those pious dead, and be for ever with the Lord."

1790. The time of Howard's death was indeed near at hand. Men acquainted with his venturesome endeavours for the relief of others had long believed that he must one day be the victim of his benevolence. But though Howard sacrificed his own life in the attempt to save that of another, yet the occasion of his death was by no means such as had been anticipated. His life was not lost, as men anticipated it would be, in the prison, or in the hospital, but in a quarter where danger was comparatively unexpected.

Whilst Howard was at Cherson, the fortress of Bender was taken from the Turks; but, as the winter was far advanced, the Russian commander would not further prosecute the war at that period. Permission was therefore given to the officers to visit Cherson. They came elated with victory, and the citizens shared the joy of their triumph. It was a time of general festivity. Assemblies, balls, and masquerades, in rapid succession, rendered the neighbourhood a scene of gaiety and dissipation. This was soon interrupted. The victors so gladly welcomed had brought with them an enemy far more formidable than those foes which they had vanquished. A fever, similar to that which had raged with so much virulence amongst the troops, showed itself at Cherson, and swept off numbers

of its inhabitants. The surrounding families had shared in the mirth and amusements of the crowded city, and amongst those who took part in the diversions was a young lady who resided about sixteen miles distant. She caught the infection and it assumed a dangerous aspect. Howard's wide-spread reputation as a physician induced her friends earnestly to entreat his attendance and advice. To this he at first objected that he administered only to the poor, and not to those who could afford to pay for proper medical treatment. The symptoms became still more alarming, and the friends more importunate. Howard's reluctance arose from no lack of sympathy, but from an unwillingness to intrude beyond his province. The present case, however, was one of peculiar distress, and he was prevailed upon to visit the sufferer. He prescribed, and the visit was repeated. He then directed that, if the medicines produced a favourable effect—of which, however, he had little hope,—information should be sent to him at Cherson, and promised that he would see his patient again. The means were in some measure successful, and a letter was accordingly sent, earnestly requesting his immediate attendance. This letter miscarried, and did not reach Howard until eight days after its date. Fearing that fatal consequences might result from the delay, without a moment's hesitation he resolved to go. The weather was most inclement, the cold intense, the

1790. rain fell in torrents, and no vehicle could be at once obtained. Nothing better than an old dray-horse could be found to convey him ; and, therefore, mounted upon that, he determined to prosecute the journey. On his arrival he found the poor sufferer in a dying state. Disregarding his own condition, although wet, and fatigued, he devoted his whole attention to the patient. He first administered a medicine to excite perspiration, and then carefully watched the result. Such was his concern for the sufferer, that, rather than endanger the desired effect by disturbing her in the least degree, he exposed himself to greater risk of infection. His skill and attention were unavailing, and the poor lady died the next day. Howard felt that he had caught the fever, and mentioned a particular time when, feeling the pulse of his patient, the noxious effluvium sensibly affected him. He immediately returned to Cherson, and did not leave his lodgings for a day or two after, when, seeming convalescent, he accepted an invitation to dine with Admiral Mordvinof. Of this visit, and subsequent events in his last illness, the following notes were made by his servant, Thomasson :—

“ He stayed later than usual at Admiral Mordvinof’s, and, when he returned, found himself unwell, and thought he had something of the gout flying about him. He immediately took some sal volatile in a little tea, and thought himself better till three or four o’clock on Saturday morning, when, feeling not so well, he repeated the sal volatile.

He got up in the morning and walked out ; but, finding himself worse, soon returned and took an emetic. On the following night he had a violent attack of fever, when he had recourse to his favourite remedy, James's powder, which he regularly took every two or four hours till Sunday the 17th ; for though Prince Potemkin sent his own physician to him immediately on being acquainted with his illness, yet his own prescriptions were never interfered with during this time. On the 12th he had a kind of fit, in which he suddenly fell down ; his face became black, his breathing difficult, and he remained insensible for half an hour. On the 17th he had another similar fit. On the 18th he was seized with hiccuping, which continued on the next day, when he took some musk draughts by direction of the physician."

Three or four days before Howard's death, the following records of his devout gratitude and humble confidence were inserted in his memorandum-book :—

"May I not look on present difficulties, or think of future ones, in this world, as I am but a pilgrim or wayfaring man, that tarries but a night? This is not my home, but may I think what God has done for me, and rely on His power and His grace ; for His promise, His mercy, endureth for ever : but I am faint and low, yet I trust pursuing the right way, though too apt to forget my Almighty Friend and my God.

"O my soul ! remember and record how often God has sent an answer of peace, mercies in the most seasonable times, how often better than thy fears, exceeding thy expectations. Oh why should I distrust a good and faithful God? In His word He has said, 'In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He will direct thy path.' Lord ! leave me not to my own wisdom, which is folly ; nor to my own strength, which is weakness. Help me to glorify

1790. Thee on earth, and to finish the work Thou givest me to do, and to Thy name alone be all the praise!"

The sentences which follow were probably the last Howard ever wrote:—

"Oh that the Son of God may not have died for me in vain!" "I think I never look into myself but I find some corruption and sin in my heart: O God! do Thou sanctify me, and cleanse the thoughts of my depraved heart!"

During his stay at Cherson, Howard constantly visited Admiral Priestman, who was also residing there. Some days having passed without having seen his friend, the Admiral called upon him, and found him sitting before a stove in his bed-room, and evidently very ill. An account of the interview has been preserved:—

"On inquiring after his health, he replied that his end was approaching very fast, that he had several things to say to him, and thanked him for having called upon him. The Admiral, concluding from his answers that he was in a melancholy mood, endeavoured to turn the conversation, imagining the whole or the principal part of his disorder might be the mere effect of low spirits. Howard, however, assured him that it was not; and added, in a very impressive yet cheerful manner, 'Priestman, you style this a dull conversation, and endeavour to divert my mind from dwelling upon death; but I entertain very different sentiments. Death has no terrors for me: it is an event I always look to with cheerfulness, if not with pleasure; and, be assured, the subject is more grateful to me than any other. I am well aware that I have but a short time to live; and my mode of life has rendered it impos-

sible that I should get rid of this fever. If I had lived as you do, eating heartily of animal food, and drinking wine, I might, perhaps, by altering my diet be able to subdue it. But how can such a man as I am lower his diet who has been accustomed for years to exist upon vegetables and water, a little bread and a little tea? I have no other method of lowering my nourishment—and therefore I must die. It is such jolly fellows as you, Priestman, that get over these fevers.”

This conversation was then followed by some directions respecting his funeral and place of interment.

“‘There is a spot,’ said he, ‘near the village of Dauphigny; this would suit me nicely: you know it well, for I have often said that I should like to be buried there. And let me beg of you, as you value your old friend, not to suffer any pomp to be used at my funeral; nor any monument nor monumental inscription whatsoever, to mark where I am laid; but lay me quietly in the earth, place a sun-dial over my grave, and let me be forgotten.’”

Feeling that his end was rapidly approaching, Howard expressed a desire that no time might be lost in obtaining the burial-place of which he had spoken; and his friend therefore, with some reluctance, left him for that purpose.

At this time a letter from England was brought to Howard, informing him that the writer had lately seen his son, and expressing a hope that on his return he would find him decidedly better. Cheered in his last hours by this pleasing intelligence, he charged Thomasson, by whom the letter was read to him, that if, by the blessing of God,

his son's reason should ever be restored,
1790. he would assure him how much and how fervently he had prayed for his happiness. Reverting then to the spot in which he was anxious to be interred, and which we are told was probably selected "from its being situated in the grounds of a French gentleman who had showed him many acts of kindness during his residence at Cherson," he remarked that he should be "as near to heaven there as if brought back to England;" and added, that he had long felt no other wish for life than as it afforded him the means of relieving the distresses of his fellow-creatures. As soon as Admiral Priestman had executed his commission he returned to his dying friend, who revived at the assurance that his desires should be fulfilled; and then, referring to the gratifying account just received of his son, he said, "Is not this comfort for a dying father?" One further request was then made. He desired his friend to prevent all interference on the part of the Russian priests, and begged that when his body was committed to the tomb he would himself read over it the burial-service of the Church of his own land. After this he was silent, and only nodded assent when it was proposed that a physician should be sent for. This was done, but he did not arrive until just before Howard expired. The event occurred at eight o'clock in the morning of January 20th, 1790.

The death of Howard was, even in 1790. Russia, deemed a national calamity; and, however desirous his friends might have been to comply with his wishes by preventing the parade of a public procession or display of any kind at his funeral, yet so deeply was the loss deplored, and so anxious were all classes to testify their grief, and many their gratitude, that, on the day appointed for the interment, thousands assembled to escort the body to its grave. A bier, drawn by six horses, was provided, on which the coffin was placed; this was followed by the carriages of the Prince of Moldavia, by those of Admirals Priestman and Mordvinof, of the general and staff-officers of the garrison, and of the magistrates and merchants of Cherson: a large body of cavalry, accompanied by other persons, attended on horseback, and between two and three thousand on foot.

Instead of the sun-dial, a small pyramid was erected over Howard's grave. This was preserved whilst those who had known and revered him survived; but, subsequently, when Dr. Clarke visited the spot, it was in a dilapidated state; and a few years later, when Bishop Heber saw it, was in a still worse condition.

We do not know what inscription this pyramid bore, but the following letter of Cowper to the celebrated sculptor, Bacon, relates to some monument proposed to be erected at Cherson:—

“ Weston Underwood, Sept. 7, 1790.

1790. “ Dear Sir,—I have found no need to make a new inscription, your own being in respect of the matter of it unimprovable. The alterations that I have made in the expression I have made merely on this principle, that the merit of all monumental writing consists in a strict adherence to classical neatness of phrase and connection, that the members of which the whole consists may slide handsomely into each other, and that there may not be one syllable redundant.

“ You will find my labours on the other side, for which I can say nothing but that I have done my best, which *best* is always most readily at your service. I am, with Mrs. Unwin’s respects, yours, dear Sir, very affectionately,
 “ John Bacon, Esq.” “ WM. COWPER.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
 JOHN HOWARD,
 WHO
 DEVOTED LIFE AND FORTUNE TO THE SERVICE OF HIS FELLOW-CREATURES,
 AUTHOR OF MANY MERCIFUL REGULATIONS
 IN THE GAOLS OF HIS OWN NATIVE ENGLAND,
 HE COMPASSED EUROPE
 THAT HE MIGHT COMMUNICATE THEM
 TO OTHER COUNTRIES ALSO.
 PROMPTED FORTH A SECOND TIME
 BY THE DESIRE AND HOPE
 OF ALLEVIATING THAT DREADFUL CALAMITY THE PLAGUE,
 HE TERMINATED HIS COURSE OF BENEVOLENCE
 AT THIS PLACE,
 JAN. 9, 1790, AGED 58.*
 HE UNITED IN HIS CHARACTER
 MANY VIRTUES,
 EACH WORTHY OF A MEMORIAL,
 ALL SPRINGING FROM THE FAITH AND ANIMATED BY THE CHARITY
 OF A CHRISTIAN.
 HE REFUSED A STATUE AT HOME,
 BUT HAS HERE A MONUMENT
 THAT POSTERITY MAY SHARE WITH US THE BENEFIT OF HIS EXAMPLE.

* These figures are not correct.

No such design was, however, carried out, and the memorial of Howard at Cherson probably no longer exists. ^{1790.}

When the intelligence of Howard's death was received in England, and announced in the *Gazette* of March 23rd, 1790,—a distinction which had never before been conferred upon any private person,—all felt that they had lost a friend, and under a sense of that loss there was very general lamentation. Innumerable were the tributes to his memory, but none is more touching than one written by his old bailiff, and published under the name of "A Father's Legacy to his Children:"

"God directed me to that worthy, benevolent, and good man Mr. Howard, with whom I enjoyed all the happiness which a rational mind could wish. . . . I could wish and pray you to make it your study to copy the example of my much esteemed and worthy master, Mr. Howard, especially in his diligence and activity in promoting the honour and glory of God, and the real good of his fellow-creatures. What an example has he left! No time was lost with him, but all improved for the most valuable purposes. No parade of equipage, nor outward appearance; no superfluities, nor indulgence in eating and drinking, but the strictest abstinence from everything that could be in the least a let or hindrance to him in performing what he well knew was his incumbent duty as a rational and immortal being, who would be called to a strict and impartial account of the talents with which a good and gracious Creator had endowed him. And I can assure you, that nothing was lost or unimproved by him, but all was faithfully improved to some valuable end or purpose."

1790. Howard's request as to the memorial-tablet, the inscription of which he had dictated, and which he desired should be placed under that of his beloved wife in Cardington church, was now complied with. It tells that—

JOHN HOWARD
DIED AT CHERSON, IN RUSSIAN TARTARY,
JANUARY 20TH, 1790, AGED 64.*
CHRIST IS MY HOPE.

But while the simple tablet at Cardington records his humble faith in his Redeemer, there is also a public memorial of his services not unworthy of its subject. Large additions were made to the fund collected during the lifetime of Howard, and a statue by Bacon was erected in St. Paul's. It was the first national tribute to departed worth ever placed within that edifice.

The inscription is as follows :—

THIS EXTRAORDINARY MAN HAD THE FORTUNE TO BE HONORED,
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 RENDERED 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.

* Howard had not actually completed his 64th year.

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. 11^D. 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
XXTH OF JAN. MDCCXC.

A VICTIM TO THE PERILOUS AND BENEVOLENT ATTEMPT
TO ASCERTAIN THE CAUSE OF, AND FIND AN EFFICACIOUS
REMEDY FOR, THE PLAGUE.

HE TROD AN OPEN BUT UNFREQUENTED PATH TO IMMORTALITY
IN THE ARDENT AND UNINTERMITTED EXERCISE OF
CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

MAY THIS TRIBUTE TO HIS FAME
EXCITE AN EMULATION OF HIS TRULY GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENTS.

THE END.

LONDON :
James Truscott & Son, Suffolk-lane, City,
and Nelson-square.

