

**The condition of gaols, hospitals, and other institutions as described by
John Howard / by James Blake Bailey.**

Contributors

Bailey, James Blake, -1897.
Royal College of Surgeons of England

Publication/Creation

London : H.K. Lewis, 1884.

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CONDITION OF GAOLS, HOSPITALS,

AND OTHER

INSTITUTIONS

AS

DESCRIBED BY JOHN HOWARD

BY

JAMES BLAKE BAILEY

RESIDENT LIBRARIAN TO THE ROYAL MEDICAL AND CHIRURGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.

LONDON

H. K. LEWIS, 136 GOWER STREET, W.C.

1884

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THE following Essay was sent in for the Howard Medal of 1883, and was awarded a special prize by the Council of the Statistical Society.

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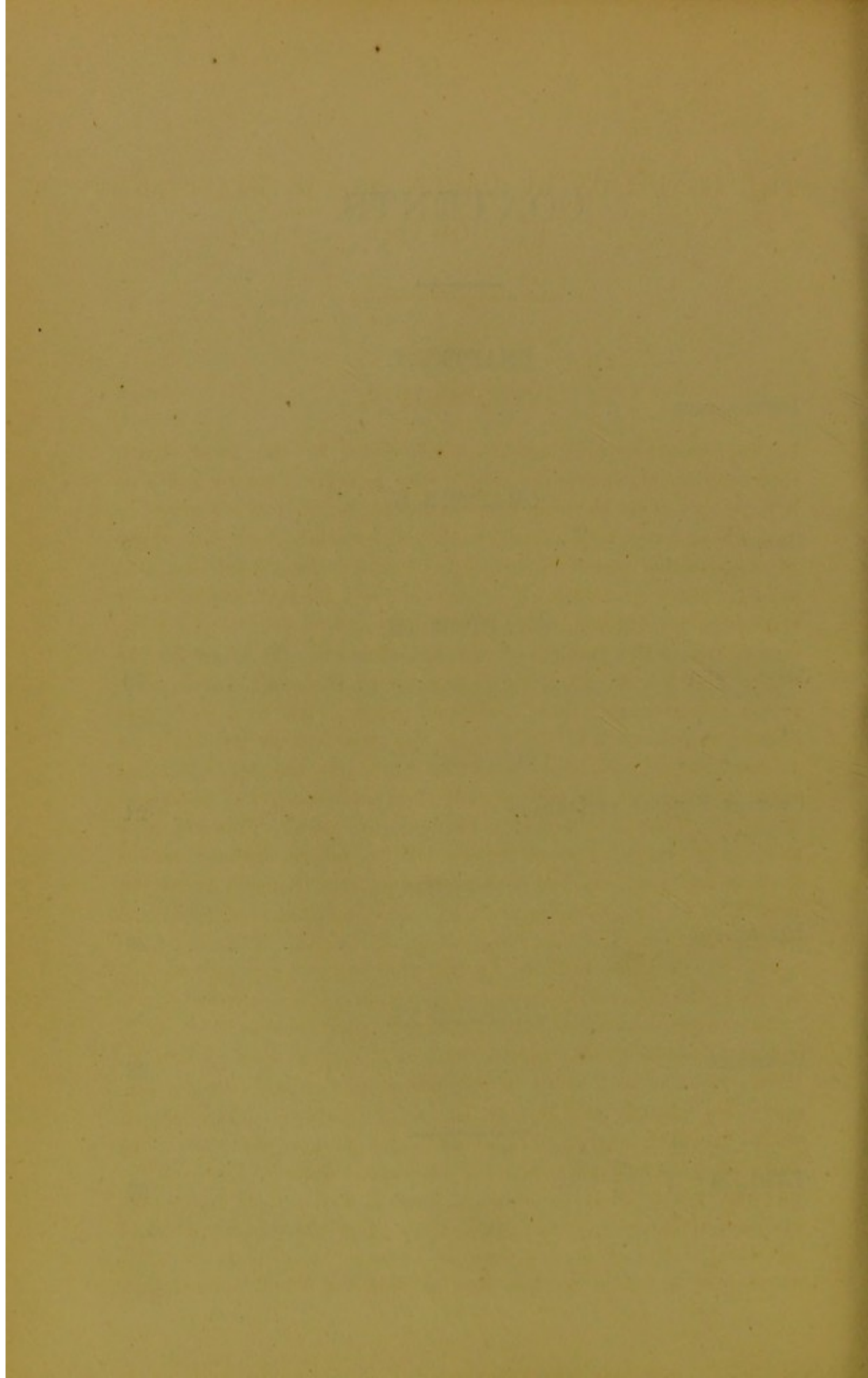
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THE CONDITION OF GAOLS, &c., AS DESCRIBED BY HOWARD.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

IF the question were asked—what would be the most fitting memorial to Howard's memory at the present time, probably no better reply could be given than to propose engraving his name in each of our large, well-ordered gaols and hospitals, with the motto *Si monumentum quæris circumspice*. For it is hardly too much to say that every clean and wholesome cell, and in fact almost every regulation for the well-being of prisoners and of sick, is a standing monument to the success of Howard's labours. It is curious to notice that the two great starting points of Howard's career as a prison reformer arose from accidental causes. His first work was obtaining redress and deliverance for the British prisoners in France. Their evil case became known to him through his being taken prisoner on the high seas in 1756 and confined at Brest and Morlaix. Though afterwards liberated on parole, Howard, with that ready sympathy which was part of his nature, did not return to England until he had thoroughly satisfied himself as to the hardships these prisoners suffered, and had amassed sufficient evidence to cause the "Commissioners of Sick and Wounded Seamen" to intercede with the French Government, and ultimately, to obtain the release of his countrymen by an exchange of prisoners.

The circumstance that caused Howard's second effort to be made in this direction was his appointment as Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1773. One of the duties of this office was to visit the prisons under his charge, and it may be easily imagined that Howard, unlike his predecessors, did not omit this part of his duty. The thing that immediately attracted Howard's notice in these visits, was the wrong done to prisoners through the gaolers being paid by fees instead of by salary. This often caused the greatest injustice to the prisoners, and on Howard proposing the substitution of a salary for the fees in Bedford Gaol, he was met

by the Visiting Justices with the reply that there was no precedent for such a line of action. This reply caused Howard to make a journey to the neighbouring gaols to see if it were really true, that no precedent could be found by which so disgraceful a state of things might be stopped. On this journey, short in its original intention, Howard saw so much that called loudly for reform, that his first design widened and widened until at length he accumulated the wonderful array of facts set out in his printed works. How lucky it was that Howard did not find his precedent close at home, must be patent to everyone who has studied the "State of Prisons."

As the present essay deals only with the structural improvements effected through Howard's agency, it leaves untouched some of the worst evils exposed by his labours; as for example, the evil effect of garnish, the herding of felons and debtors together, and the disgraceful scenes in the prisons through intoxication and the non-separation of the sexes.

In discussing the subject under consideration, it is proposed to take each class of institution reported on by Howard separately. This will give a better idea of his work than dividing the essay into "Ventilation," "Drainage," &c. It may at first sight appear that the adoption of this plan will cause the same ground to be gone over more than once, but in reality this is not so, *e.g.*, although the subject of ventilation must be treated under both Hospitals and Gaols, yet Howard's experiences and opinions as regards ventilation in these two classes of institutions were widely different.

CHAPTER II.

GAOLS.

Courts.—One of Howard's greatest desiderata for a gaol was a good court, in which the prisoners could take exercise and get fresh air, in fact he says that "there can never be a healthy prison where the prisoners are not at times permitted to breathe the fresh air in a court."* This sounds a truism, but reference to Howard's

* "State of Prisons," p. 230.

collected facts will show not only that a very large proportion of gaols were absolutely without any breathing space for the inmates, but also that in many places where courts had been provided they had been allowed to go into such a ruinous condition as to be unfit and unsafe for use. For instance, at Newcastle Bridewell the court was so insecure that the prisoners were not allowed to use it. This was also the case at Launceston, Cirencester, Leicester,* and Stamford. At Bristol Bridewell there was a court 50 feet by 17, but as it was out of sight of the keeper's house it was not deemed safe to allow the prisoners access to it. In Scotland, Howard reports that the prisons were generally without courts, whilst in Flanders they were unknown.

Had the unfortunate inmates of the gaols been confined in roomy and airy cells, it would have been cruelty to have forbidden them an, at least occasional, breath of fresh air. But to thoroughly appreciate the misery of these poor creatures, we must bear in mind the wretched holes and dungeons in which they were packed. At Plymouth Town Gaol, Howard tells us, the prisoners came one by one to a small aperture in the door of their cell to prevent death by suffocation. The Court at Wolverhampton was not secure but "was used to prevent actual suffocation in the rooms." These two facts will make us at once alive to the meaning of the words "no court" attached to the description of so many prisons.

Howard's idea of a model court was the one at Lille—that is paved, and washed in the summer time once or twice a day: on this he lays great stress, not only for the sake of the prisoners who exercise in the yard, but also to "sweeten" the rooms looking into the court. Paved courts similar to this were to be found at the Poultry Compter and at the Bodmin Sheriff's Ward. Both of these are favourably described by Howard in regard to cleanliness. The Lancaster County Gaol is also spoken of with commendation. The court here was spacious and provided with water; it had also a bowling green. This latter luxury it may be surmised was for the use of the debtors only. At Wexford City Gaol the court was provided with sea-baths.

Reference to the table at the end of this Essay will show that in most of the County Gaols where courts were provided they were quite inadequate to the number of prisoners in the gaol.

In some of the prisons the floors of the courts seem to have been

* At a later visit the court here was in use again.

constructed for the discomfort of the inmates whilst taking their exercise. At Guildford the court was paved with sharp flints, whilst at Birmingham pebbles had been used. Howard points out the great advantage of pavement over these materials, not only for facilitating the washing and cleansing of the court, but also for the safety of the gaol officials, as in the event of a riot these flints or pebbles would be dangerous weapons in the hands of mutinous prisoners.

It is evident from a perusal of Howard's facts that it was not to the gaoler's interest to encourage much use of the courts, as this would have taken away his privilege of keeping fowls or pigs. At Guildford, a pig-sty found its place where the prisoners should have been exercising, and at Cavan the court was occupied by a dung hill, whilst in many other gaols dogs, fowls, and geese made the air of the prison most unwholesome and offensive.

Spacious courts might easily have been added to most of the gaols needing them, but in the majority of cases the necessary ground was utilized by the gaoler as a kitchen-garden. Whenever Howard found no court or one of insufficient extent he seems always to have had his eye upon this misuse of the ground, for we frequently find the report "no court, but keeper has a spacious garden." At Durham County Gaol there was a vacant piece of ground which Howard had "once and again" advised enclosing as a court, but he tells us that in January 1776 he "had the mortification to hear that the surgeon, who was uncle to the gaoler, had obtained from the bishop, in October preceding, a lease of it for twenty-one years, at the rent of one shilling per annum. He had built a little stable on it." However the surgeon did not enjoy his twenty-one years lease, for in 1787 Howard reports that "the workmen were enclosing the vacant piece of ground for a court."

In this matter of fresh air the debtors were better off than the felons as in some gaols they were allowed to take exercise on the leads.

General Structural Arrangements and Overcrowding.—In the "proposed improvements" for gaols Howard suggests that a model gaol should be built "on a spot that is airy, and, if possible, near a river or brook." Prisons so situate, he goes on to say, have always been found the most healthy, as they cannot have "subterraneous dungeons, which have been so fatal to thousands; and by their nearness to running water, another evil, almost as noxious, is prevented that is the stench of sewers." To these general remarks

as regards site, Howard is obliged to add as a caution that the gaol "be not so near as that either the house or yard shall be within the reach of floods. This circumstance was so little thought of at Appleby in Westmoreland, when their new gaol was first building, that I saw the walls marked from nine inches to three feet high by floods." To further show the necessity of this caution, Howard might have alluded to Brecon Gaol and York City and County Gaol. In the former of these the water was three feet high in the cells during flood time. In reference to this gaol Howard states that he warned the authorities, but a deaf ear was turned to his prophecy. At York the water is reported as flowing into the rooms.

For the wards Howard recommends building on arcades, that they may be the more airy, and that the walk underneath may form a place of exercise for wet weather. These arcades are duly set out in the plan for a model prison, given in the "State of Prisons." In addition to the hygienic value of this arrangement it is pointed out that escape is less easy from cells or wards so built, as it prevents the prisoners from undermining the places in which they are confined. To show that the last named danger was a real one Howard thus describes his visit to Horsham Gaol.—"When I first went into Horsham gaol with the keeper, we saw a heap of stones and rubbish. The felons had been for two or three days undermining the foundations of their room, and a general escape was intended that night. We were but just in time to prevent it, for it was almost night when we went in. Our lives were at their mercy; but (thank God) they did not attempt to murder us and rush out." This simple description shows very plainly not only the necessity of abolishing the dungeons then in existence, but also the systematic way in which the gaolers neglected to look after the prisoners committed to their charge.

For safety from fire it is suggested that every room should be vaulted, and all staircases of stone. Howard found that neglect of this former precaution had been the cause of many poor creatures being burnt to death; but it was the exception to find a gaol where either the vaulted rooms or the stone staircases were in existence. The new prison at Rome, although very bad in some of its arrangements, had the two conditions just mentioned properly carried out. "The whole prison is *arched* with brick, for security in case of fire, the ascent to each story is by two flights of seventeen stone steps." The structural arrangements of this gaol seem to have been of an exceptionally good character; the faults

found with it arising from neglect to carry out the most simple means for insuring the health of the inmates.

The Dol-huis at Amsterdam though built as a lunatic asylum, Howard takes as a good model for a Bridewell. "• The ground plan is rectangular (80 feet by 55); the keeper's house takes up one of the shorter sides; the other three sides have, on the ground-floor, rooms in the recess of a walk eight feet and a half wide under arcades, enclosed from the area or garden by a wall to the height of near 4 feet; the upper part to the crown of the arch, open. Each person has a separate room 10 feet 4 inches by 7 feet and 10 feet high, with two doors; some of the inner doors are latticed; the outer frequently stand open. Over the door is an aperture in the wall of about a foot in diameter with a shutter." The dimensions and arrangements of the cells in this institution are exactly similar to those in Howard's "proposed arrangements." "I wish to see," he says, "so many *small rooms* or cabins that each criminal may *sleep alone*. These rooms to be ten feet high to the crown of the arch, and have double doors, one of them iron latticed, for the circulation of air. If it be difficult to prevent their being together in the day time, they should by all means be separated at night."

This separation of prisoners is a point strongly advocated by Howard, both for reasons of safety and also for the better moral and spiritual welfare of the prisoners. Not only were the men in very many instances allowed to occupy a common room day and night, and hold almost unlimited converse with one another, but in some gaols there was no separation of the sexes either in the living rooms or at night. Howard's account of Gloucester County Gaol may be taken as a fair description of the prisons where such laxity existed. "There is no separation of the women, or of the Bridewell prisoners. The licentious intercourse of the sexes is shocking to decency and humanity. Many children have been born in this gaol. There is a small 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. Perhaps this is the reason the chaplain seldom attends."

This great evil was not even properly guarded against where it might have been. For example at Shepton Mallet Bridewell

Howard reports—"one day room for men and women. Men's night-room too close. The women's night-room, 16 feet by 7; *the keeper has taken what seems to be part of it, to make his malt-loft.* He told me his prison was some years ago so unhealthy, that he buried three or four a week." In 1774 there were 44 prisoners in this gaol, and had any large proportion been women, we may feel assured, from experience of conditions prevailing in other gaols, that some of them would be told off to the men's ward at night. At St. Alban's Bridewell, Howard found a girl who was sentenced to a year's imprisonment locked up all day with two soldiers in the work room; and at a later visit to the same Bridewell a girl and a boy were confined together. With such a state of things in existence, it is only natural that we should find records of gross cases of immorality amongst the prisoners. In a foot-note appended to the notice of Worcester County Gaol, Howard remarks "the magistrates may be fully convinced of the impropriety and shocking indecency of having only one day-room, if they examine the women lately sent from this gaol to the Bridewell." At Launceston County Gaol, Howard "learned that a woman discharged just before his last visit (by the grand jury making a collection for her fees) had been confined three years by the ecclesiastical court, and had three children in the gaol." Although the accommodation at this gaol was very bad, the number of prisoners was so small, that it must have been more carelessness than faulty structural arrangements, that permitted such a scandal to occur.

In gaols where the arrangements were good enough to keep the sexes apart; separate cells for the prisoners were almost unknown. The inmates were crowded into rooms used both day and night and, as there were few facilities for exercise, the air of the place was seldom sweetened. To make clear how systematically all hygienic conditions for a supply of fresh air were disregarded by the gaol authorities, a few typical cases are here recorded.

At Plymouth Town Gaol one of the felon's rooms was "15 feet by 8 feet 3 inches and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with a wicket in the door 7 inches by 5 to admit light and air. To this, as I was informed, three men who were confined near two months under sentence of transportation, came by turns for 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 said he had much rather have been hanged than confined in that noisome cell."

In the Limerick County and City Gaol the room for the city felons was only 22 feet by 20 and yet, in this the gaoler told Howard he sometimes had as many as 60 or 70 prisoners confined.

The English prisoners of war in France, fared no better than the felons at home. At Calais 17 sailors were confined in one room 19 feet by 12, whilst in another *smaller* room, in two tiers, were "twenty-three hammocks belonging to the sailors." The place for recreation at this prison was a court 25 feet by 14½.

At Clerkenwell New Prison the authorities had not much improved on the old gaols. The sleeping accommodation for some of the women being "five cabins or closets, near 10 feet by 5 with a barrack-bed for 2 prisoners. These closets are very close and unwholesome, having no air but from the grates over the doors into the gallery."

In Cambridge the evil of overcrowding in the gaol threatened to become so dangerous to the whole place, from an outbreak of fever, that the Vice-Chancellor interfered and ordered all the prisoners to be discharged. Considering the great danger to the health of the community from such plague spots as many of these prisons were, it is almost a pity that other dignitaries had not the power of the Cambridge Vice-Chancellor.

Howard's description of the offensive state of these overcrowded wards and cells is more eloquent than any selection of cases or any array of figures, and for that reason is here quoted. "Air which has been breathed, is made poisonous to a more intense degree, by the effluvia from the sick, and what else in prisons is most offensive. My reader will judge of its malignity, when I assure him, that my clothes were in my *first* journeys so offensive, that in a post-chaise I could not bear the windows drawn up; and was therefore obliged to travel commonly on horseback. The leaves of my memorandum-book were often so tainted that I could not use it till after spreading it an hour or two before the fire, and even my antidote, a vial of vinegar, has after using it in a few prisons, become intolerably disagreeable. I did not wonder that in those journeys many gaolers made excuses, and did not go with me into the felons' wards."*

This reads almost like exaggeration but is most fully borne out by the places where the gaol officials actually refused to enter the

* "State of Prisons," p. 7.

offensive cells. Reference will again be made to this subject in a later part of the essay.

The overcrowding was very much increased at times by the great lack of accommodation provided for the prisoners sent for trial at Assizes and Sessions. Bridgewater Town Gaol consisted of "one middle-sized room." Originally it had two windows but one of them had been stopped up. In this room at Midsummer Quarter Sessions, 1774, 27 prisoners were shut up and at the Summer Assize in the same year, thirteen, two of them women. The assize generally lasted from Monday till Saturday, and the keeper's mother complained to Howard "of the confusion and distress occasioned by confining prisoners thus for so long a time." At Newcastle the state of things was no better, the prisoners were sent there from Morpeth, "and men and women confined together seven or eight nights in a dirty damp dungeon down six steps in the old castle, which having no roof, in a wet season the water is some inches deep." The Knaresborough Town Gaol consisted of only one room about 8 feet by 5, and with 2 windows, 18 inches by 6. This seems to have answered the purpose on ordinary occasions as there were "no prisoners" on either of Howard's three recorded visits, but at Quarter Sessions 6 or 7 prisoners, men and women, were confined here for a night or two. This is one of the few prisons where Howard had the satisfaction of seeing some practical results of his labours. "At my last visit," he says, "the prison was arched with brick, and made more commodious (now 13 feet 8 inches by 5 feet)."

Bad as the overcrowding in the gaols was, it was aggravated by the fact that in many places space in which accommodation could have been provided was improperly used by the officials for private purposes, and we find this same system carried even to appropriating some of the existing rooms, as for instance at Dublin, where Howard tells us that at his last visit "the condemned criminals were in the men's day-room, and the women's day-room was kept locked, for two or three felons who lodged in the deputy keeper's rooms to play in at tennis and other diversions." There can be but little doubt that for this breach of duty the "deputy keeper" received handsome remuneration from the felons or their friends.

To confining prisoners underground in what he calls "dungeons" Howard was a determined enemy, and it is impossible to read some of his descriptions of these fearful places without a shudder. Howard

contended that it was impossible to have a healthy gaol where dungeons existed. That they had a great effect on the health of the prisoners was proved by the report of the Officer at the Mentz Prison. Howard says "on my taking notice to the Brigadier of the Police, who went with me, how healthy his prisoners looked, he said that some years ago, they were unhealthy; and the Regency removed them from the dungeons; upon which they recovered and ever since we have had them remarkably healthy."

In the index to "The State of Prisons" there is the following entry "Dungeons, horrid" with 20 references to gaols where these subterranean cells were in existence. A description of one of them may be taken as typical of all, and this cannot be done better than by quoting Howard's simple and straightforward account of the County Gaol at Warwick. "Men felons have a day-room, their night-room is in an octagonal dungeon about 21 feet diameter, down 31 steps, damp and offensive, the gaoler on going down took a preservative. Two cells in another dungeon for the condemned."

This is by no means the only case where the officials would not enter part of the gaol without disinfectants about them. At Dresden the gaoler carried a pan of charcoal and frankincense, but even this did not prevent the gaol from being "very offensive." A similar state of things existed at Munich House of Correction where 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." At Osnaburg the wards were so offensive that "a gentleman in office in the City durst not enter."

The before-mentioned cases are all from abroad, it must not, however, be inferred from this, that the English gaols were in any better state than the foreign ones. At the Exeter High Gaol the dungeons were 7 or 8 feet under ground, and the late surgeon told Howard that he was "by contract excused from attending in the dungeons, any prisoners that should have the gaol-fever." In Germany a better state of things was setting in as Howard reports that he found no dungeons whatever in any of the new prisons in that country.

The dungeons had an indirect as well as direct evil effect on the prisons and prisoners, because the visiting officials refused to even enter some of the gaols, from the fear they entertained of catching the gaol-fever, or some other infectious disease from the offensive air of these often crowded holes. There is frequently in Howard's

pithy sentences a neatly veiled bit of satire, as, for example, when he is describing Marlborough Bridewell he winds up his report with the statement "I heard the justices had visited the *outside* of the prison."

There can be but little doubt that Howard's account of the dungeons represents the minimum amount of harm done. Shifty answers were so often given by the gaol officials that it is impossible not to think that such a report as "dungeons not now used" was only presented in the hope that it might stop further enquiries.

Ventilation.—In his "proposed improvements" for gaols, Howard thinks there is no occasion in a well ordered prison for mechanical contrivances to promote ventilation. He says, "I am persuaded that ventilators are of little use in those gaols where there are no dungeons; for if they have courts, and the rooms are a proper size, and have apertures, and are kept clean; and also lime-whited twice a year, there will be no danger of infectious disorders." As regards the gaols where the prisoners are confined in dungeons, no proposals whatever are made for ventilation. Howard condemns the system *in toto*, and seeks to thoroughly demolish it and not patch it up by suggesting means for the improvement of these horrible places of incarceration.

For the large rooms, opposite windows with shutters, but without glass, are suggested for ventilation, and it is further stipulated that the prisoners should not be allowed to stop the windows up with straw, &c. For open windows, both in gaols and hospitals, Howard is a determined advocate. His visit to the military prison at Moscow he thus narrates, "At my first visit the wards were dirty and offensive, but at a subsequent visit the physician favoured me with his company, and I found them much cleaner. I flung open some of the windows in one large ward, and this purified it more than all the shoots of the spruce fir with which the rooms were strewed."

The reason of there being insufficient windows in many of the buildings, Howard traces to the Window Tax. In some instances this tax had to be paid by the keeper; when this was the case the windows were generally abolished. At the Sheriff's Ward at Bodmin, "The keeper paid window tax £3 7s. and some windows were stopped up." In several counties no demand was made of this tax in prisons. At Swansea Town Gaol "the room for felons (called the *black hole*) has an aperture in the door, but no window; yet at

the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, prisoners of *both* sexes are here confined for some days." In a note to this last quotation, Howard gives it as his opinion that the disposition of inmates of public institutions to have the windows closed is due to this "*odious* tax." He says,* "I am persuaded it has a very bad influence on the health of the lower classes of people; and this may be one reason of their not having now such healthy ruddy complexions as they had formerly. The farmer's servants having been crowded into unventilated rooms or holes, and our labouring poor having been habituated to close habitations, they dislike when they come into workhouses or hospitals, the admission of fresh air."

In many gaols where the windows had escaped demolition, no care was taken that they should be used for purposes of ventilation. At the Vilvorde House of Correction, a spacious new building, the workrooms and refectories were found offensive, the windows being all shut, "though the weather was calm and fine." In the Spin House at Copenhagen, much the same neglect was found. "The rooms were spacious, but notwithstanding this they are close and offensive, the windows being kept shut."

In the sick ward for women in Newport Gaol there was an excellent contrivance which prevented the nurses or patients closing the windows in the doctor's absence, the description of which, as quoted below, will show that it was well nigh impossible for the medical officer to convince the officials of the necessity of fresh air. "By a small hasp in the *upper* sash and staples in the frames, when that sash is in part, or entirely down, a padlock prevents the nurses or patients putting it immediately up, as they generally do in the County Hospitals, and at *Plymouth* and *Haslar* when the medical gentlemen leave the rooms. *Dr. Lind* told me that in summer he nails down some of the sashes in the passages."†

Although, as before stated, Howard does not advocate the introduction of mechanical systems of ventilation into gaols "where the rooms are a proper size, and have apertures," he draws very particular attention to those places where these conditions do not obtain, and where the mechanical appliances provided to remedy the foul air of the crowded wards and dungeons, had been suffered to become useless through neglect. At Shrewsbury County Gaol the night dungeons of both the men and women were too close, though they might have been freshened "by a hand

* "*Lazarettos*," p. 215.

† "*State of Prisons*," p. 373.

ventilator which is in the room over the chapel, but has not been used for many years." In Stafford County Gaol much the same state of things existed; there the free ward was supposed to be made more habitable by a hand-ventilator, but this was out of repair and like the one at Shrewsbury "had not been used for many years."

Howard suggests that the County should pay a small annual sum for keeping the ventilator in order as was done at Worcester County Gaol. Here, a guinea a year was allowed for this purpose. The labour was done by the felons who "work the ventilator cheerfully about a quarter of an hour before they go down, and as long when they come up; for it freshens and cools the dungeons amazingly; we could hardly keep our candle burning below while it was working."* Besides the three gaols just mentioned, the apparatus was used at Maidstone, Bedford, and London Bridewell. At the two former of these institutions the ventilator was worked by sails. In the last named there was a tube from the ventilator to each room of the women's ward, yet the rooms were offensive through overcrowding and neglect of working the ventilator often enough.

In some gaols where the inmates lived and slept in the same rooms, and where consequently the air was of a most impure character, no efforts were made to remedy this by adopting a system either of ventilators or of open windows. At Groningen the authorities had partly recognised the evil of this and had had apertures made 2 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. into the wool warehouse above the rooms. But, although this was done, and although there were opposite windows, the wards were still "somewhat offensive." At Zürich a much better plan was adopted: whilst the prisoners were taking their exercise, the doors and windows were thrown open and the rooms thoroughly aired. In the New Prison, Clerkenwell, the prisoners were not permitted to go into the night ward during the daytime, that the air might be cool and fresh. In Sweden the gaols were, as a rule, quite destitute of ventilation, and at the Stads Kiämnårs Rätt, Stockholm, the authorities seem to have been fully aware of the consequences of keeping the prisoners in noxious unventilated cells, for Howard finishes his account of this prison with the significant remark "I observed coffins are kept ready for the dead."

* "State of Prisons," p. 347.

It is an exception to find a prison where Howard is satisfied with the arrangements for supplying air to the inmates. At Horsham County Gaol each room had two doors, one of them iron-latticed; this is spoken of with commendation, as it enabled the cells to be freely ventilated without any risk of the prisoners escaping. Under the description of Maidstone Gaol, Howard suggests that the night rooms should have doors similar to those mentioned above, so that the lattice door might be locked up in the day time and thus allow the rooms "to freshen and be better ventilated."

Maladministration of the gaol was also sometimes a cause of faulty ventilation, as for instance at Kingston County Gaol where the window was locked up because the prisoners were intoxicated.

Drainage and Sanitary Arrangements.—In dealing with this part of his subject it is to be regretted that Howard's modesty kept him from calling a spade a spade, because, through it, he frequently uses the same word with different meanings. For instance in many gaols the report is "no sewer." This must mean in the majority of cases that there was no privy or closet for the use of the inmates of the gaol, however incredible it may sound. That it really was so, may be proved from the following note appended to the account of Chelmsford City Gaol.

"Those conveniences, which delicacy forbids enlarging upon, yet which are absolutely necessary to all houses, and the situation and construction of which are of the greatest importance in prisons and other crowded buildings, have always engaged my peculiar attention; I am convinced, that want of care respecting them is a principal cause of unhealthiness in many of our gaols. The reader will please to take notice, that under the words *sewers* and *drains* everything is comprehended which I had to say on this subject in my remarks on the several prisons."*

In the prefatory remarks to the "State of Prisons," Howard also says "some gaols have no *Sewers* or *Vaults*; and in those that have, if they be not properly attended to, they are even to a visitant, offensive beyond expression; how noxious then to people constantly confined in those prisons."

In different parts of his works he uses the words "vaults," "closets," and "sewers," to mean the same thing, though in other places it is obvious that by "sewer" is meant a channel for carrying off the drainage of the building. In this essay the word

* "State of Prisons," p. 261.

"closet" will be used for places of accommodation except when quoting Howard's actual words.

The rule Howard lays down for a model prison is as follows, "The sewers or vaults should be in the courts and not in the passages, and (like those in the Colleges) close boarded between the seats up to the ceiling, the boards projecting ten inches before each seat."* In the model plan the closets are placed in the courts at the angles farthest removed from the buildings.

Not only did Howard find but few gaols with closets properly arranged, but, as before stated, in very many instances places of accommodation were entirely wanting.

Reference to the table at the end of this essay will show that Howard did not always record his experience as regards the "Sewers." In that table 52 gaols are included, but information on this head is only given to 13 of them, of these 5 were without any accommodation whatever.

As a rule separate places were not provided for men and women. In the description of Lancaster County Gaol, Howard says, "Here was also a *separate closet* for women, which is generally wanted in gaols;" nor was decency in the least studied, as witness the account of Stafford County Gaol, "There is only one sewer and that is quite exposed."

Probably the worst case of defective drainage described by Howard is that of Knaresborough Prison for Town Debtors. "Only one room earth floor, no fire places, very offensive, a common sewer from the town running through it uncovered. I was informed that an officer, confined here some years since for only a few days, 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. At my last visit the door-way was altered, the floor paved with flag-stones and the drain covered." It is only fair to add that at all three of his visits to this gaol, Howard reports "no prisoners."

The usual place for the closet seems to have been, either in the rooms or else in the passages. At Clare Bridewell, the work room was "close glazed and made offensive by a closet in it." In many prisons, as for example, the De Mamelocker at Ghent, York Castle, and Wakefield Bridewell, Howard reports that the whole place is made offensive by the closets. In summing up the condi-

* "State of Prisons," p. 7.

tion of the Scotch Gaols, the report is that they "generally want water and sewers."

The fact of the closet being in its proper place does not necessarily imply that no evil arises from it, unless cleanliness be there as well. The Lichfield City and County Gaol is an example of this; there Howard speaks of the sewer in the court as offensive, and further adds "the prison dirty, as is always the case where there is a number of dogs."

In a few cases Howard found that water was used to keep the closets sweet, and on this he reports favourably. At York County Gaol "the drain is carried through the vault, so that the passage is not offensive;" and at the County Gaol at Ipswich "the water from the pump is conveyed through the sewers, which prevents the court-yard, which is small, from being offensive.

It seems almost incredible that so dreadful an evil, as the stench from these objectionable places, should have been permitted to exist and breed gaol fever, when so simple a remedy lay all the while close at hand.

Water Supply.—It is not always possible to tell from Howard's report, whether the gaols to which he reports "no water," were absolutely without this necessary of life, or whether it was in the gaol but inaccessible to the inmates. He tells us in his chapter on "Distress in Prisons,"* that "many prisons have *no water*. This defect is frequent in bridewells, and town gaols. In the felon's courts of some county gaols there is no water; in some places where there is water, prisoners are always locked up within doors, and have no more than the keeper or his servants think fit to bring them; in one place they were limited to three pints a day each, a scanty provision for drink and cleanliness!" To remedy these evils Howard proposes that each court should have "a good Pump, or water laid in; both if possible: and the pump and pipes should be repaired as soon as they need it, otherwise the gaols will soon be offensive and unwholesome, as I have always found them to be in such cases. A small stream constantly running in the court is very desirable."† The water from the bath, it is suggested, should be "let off in the evening through the sewers into the drains."

As before stated "no water" does not always mean that the gaol had no supply, as witness the account of Warwick County

* "State of Prisons," p. 6.

† *Ib.*, p. 23.

Bridewell "no water ; the handle of the pump is on the outside of the wall."

In some few gaols, Howard found most of his requirements complied with ; at Nottingham County Gaol both well- and river-water were supplied in the court. At Carrickfergus County Gaol, a fine stream of water ran through the court, from which pipes were laid into almost every room, so that the prison is reported as "not offensive." The gaol at Solothurn had a fountain in the court, with water constantly running ; at Milan the prison called L'Argastro could not boast the fountain, but had a pump and "running water for washing purposes." The Spanish prisons are collectively spoken well of in this matter, most of them having courts with running water in the centre and corridors for shade ; whilst the similar institutions in Scotland are shortly described as "generally without water."

In the gaols where water had been artificially laid in, Howard suggests that, if possible, there should also be an independent well supply ; his reason for this is that the companies did not always keep the water "on." At Southwark County Gaol a pump is recommended, because at several visits the Thames water was off. This was rendered necessary in Howard's time, by the capricious action of the water companies. At the Clerkenwell Bridewell they had the New River Water "which was till lately directly from the main and always on." Luckily they had also water at a pump in each court, for in a foot-note we read, "This salutary supply of water continued till last year, when the *New River Company* thought fit to take it off, on laying new pipes towards Marybonne."

In some gaols where pumps had originally been erected, they were allowed to become quite useless through carelessness and neglect on the part of the authorities. At Bristol Newgate the pumps are shortly described as "out of order," whilst at Clerkenwell New Prison there had been no water in the pump for two years. Through the insecurity of the court in Spalding Bridewell, the prisoners could have no access to the pump ; whilst at Colchester Castle a well of fine water had been arched over. It is but fair however to say, that at a later visit Howard found this well "opened for the convenience of the prisoners." At Cavan County Gaol the water was from a well on the outside, into which the rain water ran from the street.

At certain seasons of the year whiskey seems to have been more

readily obtained at Loughrea County Bridewell than water, for Howard found two prisoners drinking the former from a pint mug, whilst his report as regards the latter is "no water, but when flooded."

No doubt very many of the wells that supplied the prisons were open to much contamination from the "sewers;" but probably this was a question into which Howard was unable to enter fully, from the inability of the officials to give any information as regards the hidden structural arrangements of the prisons under their charge. One visible source of contamination, he notices and condemns, whilst describing the County Gaol at Carlisle. "In the court, near the pump, there is the too common nuisance of a dung-hill, which seems to have been accumulating for a year or two."

Infirmaries in Gaols.—The builders and managers of our old prisons, seem to have paid as little attention to the sick as to any other class of prisoners. Not only were many of these buildings without any proper rooms in which to place the inmates, who only too frequently fell victims to the mismanagement of the gaol authorities; but where special rooms had been provided for this purpose, they were placed in such a position as to facilitate, rather than to check, the spread of any contagious disorder occurring within the walls of the gaol.

The statements here will be limited entirely to Gaol Infirmaries; the larger subject of hospitals generally being treated of later on.

Reference to the table at the end of this essay, will show what miserable provisions were made for dealing with the sick in our County Gaols. Out of the many instances of cruel neglect of the sick, witnessed by Howard, the following are selected as typical of what might be found in only too many gaols and bridewells.

In the County Bridewell at Shrewsbury, the state of things is thus described. "Two night rooms above for women. In one of them I saw a poor young creature too ill to come down stairs; she was languishing on the floor in a consumption." At St. George's Fields Bridewell, Howard says, "I saw several sick on the floors; the County allows no bedding nor straw. In April, only one sick, on a bed which he paid for. In December, a woman sick on the floor. The rooms were dirty; in two or three of them were fowls."

In Howard's "Proposed Improvements," he suggests that the gaol infirmary should be in the most airy part of the court, quite detached from the rest of the gaol and raised on arcades. The

infirmary he places in the court for young criminals, quite apart from the main building.

At Norwich County Gaol these conditions were partly fulfilled. Howard tells us that there he found "three airy rooms for the sick, so distinct from the rest of the prison, that there is no danger of spreading any infection from thence." This infirmary was an exception to the rule. Instead of building this important part of the gaol so as to minimise the risk of infection, the top of the house seems to have been generally chosen as the place for the sick. At the London Bridewell the women's day ward occupied the ground floor; up-stairs were their two night rooms, and a chamber above these was fitted up as an infirmary. This is a fair specimen of several other gaols, where there was any apartment exclusively kept for the sick.

At Salisbury County Gaol, the infirmary was built over the stable, cart house, and brew house; whilst at Tralee County Gaol, the ascent to the room put by as an infirmary, was by a ladder.

At York County Gaol, there was a most extraordinary regulation in force, viz., that when prisoners of one sex were in the infirmary, those of the other sex were excluded. The building was one middle-sized room near the gate, and Howard mentions that at one of his visits a sick man was kept out of the infirmary, because at that time there were female inmates.

In many cases, similar to that last quoted, no doubt it was impossible to rectify the existing state of things without a thorough re-arranging or re-building the gaol, and that was almost too much to expect in the then state of public opinion on this question.

In the prison of Saint-Eloi at Paris, the general infirmary was over the two rooms "La Force" and over this "an infirmary for the scorbut." This distemper seems to have been very prevalent and fatal at this prison, for Howard found at his visit in 1778, 63 patients most of them ill of this disorder. "They contracted it in a year or two from their confinement, as they were never suffered to go out of their rooms. Many lost the use of their limbs by it."

Howard's remarks on Clerkenwell Bridewell, show the disgraceful neglect to which the sick were subjected. He tells us in January, 1777, he found that the sick "complained of sore feet, which were quite black. The sick were for the most part women of the poorest sort, not able to pay for beds. No straw or bedding allowed." In the infirmary for men, which is described as a "small close room," we read that "in January, 1783, five were

sick and one dying, with little or no covering. In another room one was dead." "In the women's sick ward twelve were lying in their clothes on the barrack-bedstead and floor, without any bedding."

At the County Bridewell at Maidstone, the state of things was no better, for in 1779 Howard found "two prisoners with the small-pox, lying on loose straw, and their only covering was common mats."

Even in the new gaols the authorities seem to have thought little of the sick, for at the Chelmsford New County Gaol which Howard says exceeds the old one in strength and convenience as much as in splendour, and on which "the county, to their honour have spared no cost; the infirmary consisted of one close room, which being unfinished, has never been used, though at my last visit several were sick on the floors."

In the infirmaries at Stockholm and in many of the private houses the floors were strewed with the young shoots of the spruce fir or juniper tree to prevent infection. In the Prison Infirmary at Bristol a board under the beds was brushed with oil of tar to "correct the noxious effluvia." These precautions, however, may be looked upon as quite unique in Howard's experience of gaol infirmaries.

CHAPTER III.

GAOL FEVER.

Any essay on the structure of gaols would be incomplete without a special reference to gaol fever, or as Howard more generally calls it "gaol distemper." The account of this dreadful disorder here given, will not be of those large and often described outbreaks such as that at Oxford in 1577. The attempt will rather be to show the frequency with which it attacked gaols when the hygienic conditions were bad, to point out how dangerous these gaols were to the inhabitants of the town in which they were situated and to the neighbouring population generally.

Howard tells us in the opening pages of "The State of Prisons"

that from his own observations in 1773, 1774 and 1775, he "was fully convinced that many more prisoners were destroyed by it, (the gaol fever) than were put to death by all the public executions in the kingdom. This frequent effect of confinement in prison seems generally understood, and shows how full of emphatical meaning is the curse of a severe creditor, who pronounces his debtor's doom to rot in gaol."

This terrible disease was, however, by no means confined to the gaol where it originated, and to show to what an extent this is true, Howard quotes the following from Dr. Lind's *Essay on the Health of Seamen*, p. 53. "The source of infection to our armies and fleets are (*sic*) undoubtedly the jails, we can often trace the importers of it directly from them. It often proves fatal in impressing men on the hasty equipment of a fleet. The first English fleet sent last war to America, lost by it above two thousand men."

At Droitwich 14 persons died of gaol fever, it having been introduced into the town by a prisoner recently discharged from Worcester County Gaol. When we call to mind what has been said on the general want of sanitary arrangements in the gaols, and also remember that in addition to being herded together in damp unventilated cells, the unfortunate prisoners were underfed, and had too often only the bare damp floors to sleep upon, we shall not wonder at any disease breaking out amongst them, nor can we be surprised at the great mortality occasioned by producing these prisoners, who may almost be said to be saturated with infection, in a crowded and unventilated Court of Justice.

It will not be out of place here to give, in Howard's own language a description of one of the gaols where he found the "distemper" had been making its ravages.

"County Gaol at Launceston. For felons. This gaol, though built in the large green belonging to the old ruinous castle, is very small, house and court measuring only 52 feet by 44, and the house not covering half that ground. The prison is a room or passage 23½ feet by 7½, with only one window 2 feet by 1½, and three dungeons or cages on the side opposite the window, these are about 6½ feet deep; one 9 feet long; one about 8; one not 5; this last for women. They were 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 (an old soldier) 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."

This must not be taken as a solitary case, but rather as a sample of what may only too frequently be found in Howard's volumes.

To a man of a less intrepid nature there is little doubt that the report of gaol fever in the prisons would have been sufficient to frighten him from entering, but when in the execution of his duty, Howard did not know what fear was, and carrying his life in his hand, boldly entered the cells where the unfortunate victims of the disease were lying. This was more than some of the Medical Officers, whose duty it was to attend the sick, would do. At Exeter High Gaol the late surgeon told Howard, that he was excused by contract from attending in the dungeons any prisoners who might have the gaol fever. Such a statement as this greatly increases the culpability of the gaol authorities as it shows that Medical Officers and Justices alike were not ignorant of the danger of contagion.

Howard himself did not always come off free. At Lille he caught a fever from the sick in the Tour de St. Pierre which attack fortunately was not attended with a fatal result.

With what disease of the present day gaol fever is synonymous it is almost impossible to say, in fact Dr. Guy in his "Public Health," p. 184, has pointed out that in all probability the epidemic was not always of the same character, and after discussing the symptoms of those attacked at two Black Assizes, the one at Oxford in 1577 and the other at Exeter in 1586, says "the Oxford outbreak may have been a malignant dysentery, that at Exeter, the typhus of our day."

In the book before quoted Dr. Guy,* shows from Howard's Statistics that the gaol fever haunted one-fourth at least of our jails, and this must be taken as the lowest estimate, because it is more than probable that in many cases the gaol officials held back all information that would tend to criminate themselves, or to make their gaol appear worse than the facts which met the eye proved it to be.

"If it were asked," says Howard,† "what is the cause of the gaol

* p. 181

† "State of Prisons," 3rd, edit. p. 467.

fever? It would in general be readily replied 'the want of fresh air and cleanliness.' But as I have found in some prisons abroad, cells and dungeons as offensive and dirty as any I have observed in this country, where, however, this distemper was unknown, I am obliged to look out for some additional cause for its production. I am of opinion, that the sudden change of *diet* and *lodging* so affects the *spirits* of new convicts, that the general causes of putrid fevers exert an immediate effect upon them. Hence it is common to see them sicken and die in a short time, with very little apparent illness. Convicts are generally stout, robust young men, who have been accustomed to free diet, tolerable lodging, and vigorous exercise. These are ironed, and thrust into close offensive dungeons, and there chained down, some of them without straw or other bedding; in which they continue, in winter, sixteen or seventeen hours out of the twenty-four, in utter inactivity, and immersed in the noxious effluvia of their own bodies. On this account, the gaol-distemper is always observed to reign more in our prisons during winter than summer; contrary, I presume, to the nature of other putrid diseases. Their diet is at the same time low and scanty, they are generally without firing, and the powers of life soon become incapable of resisting so many causes of sickness and despair."

The opinions here expressed by Howard have been verified by inquirers since his time, and it has been plainly shown by Dr. Murchison in his "Continued Fevers," that the great epidemics of typhus have been most fatal in times of famine, or amongst armies in active service, when men are crowded together and often insufficiently fed. This bears out Howard's suggestion, that the "low and scanty" diet of the prisoners, might account for their being less capable of resisting sickness. His observation, too, that gaol fever is more prevalent in winter than in summer, is also borne out by the facts marshalled together by Dr. Murchison, who points out, that most of the historical epidemics have been preceded by winters of unwonted severity.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARTER SCHOOLS IN IRELAND.

IN Howard's time there were thirty-eight Charter Schools in Ireland, together with two called Ranelagh Schools, which latter admitted only the children of Protestants. The management of these schools was in the hands of a local committee, who were supervised by a committee of fifteen in Dublin.

The bad state into which these buildings had fallen must be attributed to the carelessness of the trustees, rather than to the original designers of the schools, because we read in a foot-note to Howard's description of them,* "The school houses in general are good strong buildings, on a proper plan, and well adapted to the purpose."

At the end of the account of these schools Howard, practical as usual, gives suggestions for their improvement. These, in the main, are similar to those proposed for gaols. Cleanliness is one point strongly insisted on, and a glance at the report on the state of the schools will show how systematically this was neglected, both in the persons of the children, and in the houses in which they were congregated.

It would be impossible to give a description of these, better than by quoting verbatim, Howard's account of one of them.

"*Castlebar School*† is situated on a fine eminence just out of the town. No pump: no vault. September 12th, 1787, the master received from the Dublin Nursery five girls, and from that of Monastereven nine, several of them without shoes or stockings. At my visit March 31st, 1788, there were twenty girls, and the number had not been greater for a year past; though in the account which the society lately published, the number on the 29th of September, 1787, is stated to be forty-one. These children were puny, sickly objects, almost naked; seven had scald heads, and almost all the itch. With these disorders they came; and having no clothes but such as were in rags, the apothecary was afraid to give them physic. The master said they could not earn him a half-penny. They had never been at church since they

* "*Lazarettos*," p. 109.

† "*Lazarettos*," p. 108.

came. The following is an extract from a letter sent to the society in Dublin, signed by six gentlemen of the *local* committee and the surgeon:—"2nd November, 1787. The clothes of the 12th June are of so bad a quality, that the children who have been here since November, 1786, are now naked and unable to attend the church. A set of sheeting is much wanted." No answer to this was received from the society at Dublin till the Friday before my visit, and then only a printed *receipt* for the cure of scald heads. In the society's accounts published for several years, it is said, "This school was endowed by Lord *Lucan* with two acres, plantation measure, rent free in perpetuity; and a lease of twenty acres more, like measure, for three lives, at a pepper-corn yearly." On reading this to the master he said, he never heard of more than about eight acres, which were in his possession."

An infirmary, Howard puts down as a *sine qua non* for each school. The builders of some of these schools had also seen the necessity of this, and had originally provided an apartment to serve as a sick room. At Frankfort School "the boys lay in the room called the infirmary, in which were turkeys and fowls; and it seemed not to have been cleaned for six months." The infirmary at Iniscarn had no door, and was used as a fowl house.

In some schools, as at Ardraccan, there was no infirmary and the sick children were lying on the floor of the school-room.

How little confidence could be put in the Return of the Medical Officer, appears from Howard's account of Innishannon School.* "On the 8th of May I found the following report made, but two days before, by a physician who was one of the local committee. 'All the boys now healthy.' On seeing him, I expressed to him my surprise at such a report, and shewed him the state of several of the children: His reply was, 'We do not call the itch and scald head, sickness.'" And as a note Howard adds, "That this opinion concerning the scald head is not general, will appear in a report under the account of Connaught Nursery, where children are stated to have *died* of it."

That such diseases were common amongst the pupils, will not be surprising to anyone who has read the accounts of these schools. Howard's own opinion is that the "scald heads" were communicated from one to the other by the bolsters being "matted with dirt."

* "Lazarettos," p. 113.

At Dunmanway School,* "the master excused himself from going with me into the bed-rooms, by saying that he was afraid of catching a disorder; the mistress also had her fears; though the rooms were empty, having only one child in them who happened then to be ill of an ague. The *humane* and *faithful* committee lately reported, that 'the children are healthy, and taken proper care of, and so recommend the master and mistress as deserving the society's bounty.' "

It is evident that the great drawback to the proper administration of these schools, was a system of efficient and independent inspection; had there been a competent and trustworthy official to inspect and publish reports, the Dublin Committee would hardly have dared to let so disgraceful a state of things continue.

CHAPTER V.

LAZARETTOS.

IN the "State of Prisons" whilst describing the Leghorn Fortress, Howard mentions the new Lazaretto at that place and expresses a wish that,† "some future traveller would give us plans of this Lazaretto, and that at Ancona and other places, as they might suggest some useful alterations in the construction of our hospitals and other public buildings." As however, there seemed no probability of anyone else attempting this work Howard, with characteristic determination and energy, started off in the latter part of 1785 to visit the principal lazarettos of France and Italy.

After describing what he saw during this investigation, he gives his idea of what a model lazaretto should be, and what precautions should be taken, in the way of quarantine, to prevent the spread of infectious diseases.

The first objection taken to the existing lazarettos was, that they were too close, and too much resembled prisons, making the spirits of the passengers, as the Levant Captain told Howard "sink at the prospect of being confined in them." To prevent this, Howard

* "Lazarettos," p. 114.

† "State of Prisons," p. 109.

suggests* that a lazaretto should have a cheerful aspect: "a spacious and pleasant garden in particular, would be convenient as well as salutary." In the plate of a lazaretto accompanying this description, pleasure grounds for passengers, with two bowling-greens are provided in the central court of the building.

It would be thought that in places solely intended for stopping infectious diseases, the greatest care would be taken to insure cleanliness in the building itself, but reference to the account of the Venice Lazaretto, which Howard takes as a typical one, will show that not even the most simple and obvious means were taken to make the building even decent.

Determined to fully investigate the accommodation provided for passengers, who were perforce obliged to do quarantine in the lazarettos, Howard took his passage from Smyrna to Venice in a ship with a foul bill. This would make it necessary for him to stay in the lazaretto, before he could be permitted to land. The description of his landing, and of the treatment he received as well as the thoroughly unsanitary state of the place are here described in Howard's own graphic words.

† "Here (Venice) after our ship had been conducted by a pilot-boat to her proper moorings, a messenger came from the health-office for the captain, and I went with him in his boat to see the manner in which his report was made, his letters delivered, and his examination conducted. The following morning a messenger came in a gondola to conduct me to the new lazaretto. I was placed, with my baggage, in a boat fastened by a cord ten feet long to another boat in which were six rowers. When I came near the landing-place, the cord was loosed, and my boat was pushed with a pole to the shore, where a person met me, who said he had been ordered by the magistrates to be my guard. Soon after unloading the boat, the sub-prior came and shewed me my lodging, which was a very dirty room, full of vermin, and without table, chair, or bed. That day and the next morning I employed a person to wash my room: but this did not remove the offensiveness of it, or prevent that constant head-ache which I had been used to feel in visiting other lazarettos, and some of the hospitals in Turkey. . . . My guard sent a report of my health to the office, and on the representation of our consul, I was conducted to the old lazaretto which is nearer the city. Having brought a letter to the prior from the

* "Lazarettos," p. 23.

† "Lazarettos," p. 10.

Venetian ambassador at Constantinople, I hoped now to have had a comfortable lodging. But I was not so happy. The apartment appointed me (consisting of an upper and a lower room) was no less disagreeable and offensive than the former. I preferred lying in the lower room on a brick floor where I was almost surrounded with water. After six days, however, the prior removed me to an apartment in some respects better, and consisting of four rooms. Here I had a very pleasant view; but the rooms were without furniture, very dirty, and no less offensive than the sick wards of the worst hospital. The walls of my chamber, not having been cleaned probably for half a century, were saturated with infection. I got them washed repeatedly with boiling water, to remove the offensive smell, but without any effect. My appetite failed, and I concluded I was in danger of the slow hospital-fever. I proposed white washing my room with lime slacked in boiling water but was opposed by strong prejudices. I got, however, this done one morning through the assistance of the British Consul, who was so good as to supply me with a *quarter* of a bushel of fresh lime for the purpose. And the consequence was, that my room was immediately rendered so sweet and fresh, that I was able to drink tea in it in the afternoon, and to lie in it the following night.* On the next day the walls were dry as well as sweet, and in a few days I recovered my appetite. Thus, at a *small* expense, and to the admiration of the other inhabitants of this lazaretto, I provided for myself and successors, an agreeable and wholesome room, instead of a nasty and contagious one."

CHAPTER VI.

HOSPITALS.

IN treating of the hospitals both English and Foreign, as they were found by Howard, it will probably be the better plan to first take his opinions on hospital construction one by one, and see how far his experiences coincided with them.

* "This room was lime-whited in November, and in a very rainy season. This I mention, because in the following March on complaining to the under-sheriffs in *Newgate* of their inattention to the clause which orders this in the Act of Parliament for securing the health of prisoners, their excuse was, that they were afraid of dampness, which seemed to me as reasonable as it would be not to allow towels for those whose feet, hands and face are dirty, lest by washing them they should catch cold."

It must be borne in mind in the hospitals, as well as in other parts of this essay, that as the scope of its enquiry is limited to structural arrangements it by no means gives an idea of the whole amount of wrong Howard found, nor all the valuable suggestions he made for the amelioration of the condition of the sick.

The first requisite put down for a model hospital is a good site, which should be on elevated ground, near a stream, and out of the town. Howard gives very little information as to the site of the hospitals he visited, but he mentions with approval the one at Hereford as being built "on a fine spot near the river."

The wards were to be "25 to 30 feet high, 15 feet to the ceiling and without buildings over them." The actual dimensions of the wards and the number of patients in them are very rarely given by Howard in his printed reports so that it is impossible to see the amount of cubic space allowed to each as a rule, nor does he in his suggestions give any opinion as to the number of cubic feet he considered necessary for each patient.

The Hotel Dieu at Paris seems to have been the only hospital where the wards were of sufficient height to come up to Howard's standard. Here, we are told, they were "32 feet wide and 25 feet high."

The height Howard considered necessary is greater than that of modern authorities. Professor De Chaumont in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* under the article "Hospitals," states that "12 feet is practically high enough." This, no doubt, corresponds with Howard's "15 to the ceilings," the 25 or 30 feet being to the pitch of the roof. In the London Hospitals the height did not come up to Howard's standard. Guy's was only 9½, St. George's 10 and the London Hospital 10. The two lunatic asylums, Bethlem and St. Luke's were 12 feet and 13 feet 3 inches respectively. In the Leeds Hospital, which is favourably spoken of, the wards were 15 feet 8 inches high: at the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford, they were 8 inches less than at Leeds.

In Parkes' "*Hygiene*" (5th edit. p. 355) 24 feet is given as the outside measurement for the width of a ward. This coincides with the figures of Captain Douglas Galton, who states in his "*Construction of Hospitals*" that 24 feet is a "good width, and that the opposite windows should never be more than 30 to 35 feet apart." The Haslar Hospital exactly fulfilled the conditions required by these two authorities, the width of the wards there being 24 feet. Most of the London Hospitals were less than this standard, the London

being 20 feet, St. Thomas's 18 feet, Westminster 17 feet and St. George's 22½ feet. In the hospital of S. Jean de Jerusalem at Malta the wards were cruciform, those constituting the long part of the cross being 34½ feet wide and the cross wards 29 feet 4 inches. Although of ample dimensions this hospital was very offensive from want of cleanliness on the part of the officials; this was so bad that the patients were perfumed, and the physician on going his rounds had to keep his handkerchief to his face.

Howard preferred to have the beds in hospital wards in recesses, as they were at the great hospital at Genoa and the hospital of San Juan Baptista at Toledo. This does not correspond with modern ideas: the general plan now adopted being, to have the beds ranged at right angles to the walls, with a space of 10 feet between the beds, and a window between every two beds. At Westminster the beds were ranged parallel and close to the walls.

The bedsteads themselves were to be of iron and to stand on varnished floors. The necessity for iron bedsteads was shown at Guy's where the old beds were of wood and "infested with bugs," whilst the iron ones in the new wards were "clean and fresh." At Westminster Hospital the beds had wooden testers and a sum was paid annually "for the destruction of bugs." As mention is not made in many instances to the contrary, it may be taken for granted that it was the rule in the best hospitals for each patient to have a separate bed. But this was not universal. At the Salpêtrière the sick lay three in a bed and in the Hotel Dieu, in the women's wards, many of the beds contained two or three patients each.

In the matter of fresh air for the wards, Howard's suggestions quite agree with modern scientific opinion, viz., that there should be in every ward rows of windows, opposite, and even with the ceiling. To this he adds a stone gallery running round the ward, to facilitate the opening of the windows, similar to those in the Italian Hospitals.

It is almost unnecessary to say that Howard was not satisfied with the construction of the windows alone, but wanted some guarantee that they might be kept open. For this, a contrivance is proposed by which it would be impossible for either attendant or patient to shut the windows after the doctor had ordered them to be open, and Howard speaks with commendation of Dr. Lind's practice at the Haslar Hospital of nailing up the sashes in the Summer.

In this matter of open windows Howard seems sometimes to be unreasonable, forgetting the time of year and the danger to the

patients from exposure to great rushes of cold air. This may be seen from his description of the wards at the Radcliffe Infirmary at Oxford, which is as follows.* “The stories are too low; the height of the loftiest ward not being above 15 feet. From this fault, and the closeness of the windows, which I always found shut, the wards, especially the *men's*, are offensive beyond conception. The sewers are not sufficiently attended to, the beds improperly have testers and the kitchen is not well placed. The fanlights over the doors of the wards, in this, as in many other hospitals, are glazed. Were they open, it would tend to purify the air; or, at least, the noxious effluvia would become so sensible through the rest of the house, as might induce the matron, and the gentlemen who only attend in the committee room to insist upon effectual means being used for a proper ventilation of the wards.”

To this, Dr. Martin Wall, who was one of the physicians, rejoins in a letter dated December 1784 which was printed by order of the Infirmary Board. Here he points out that Howard's visit was made at Christmas, that even at the time of his visit one window was open, and the ventilators over the windows were never shut. As regards the fanlights Dr. Wall states that if they were open as Howard suggests it would be impossible to use some of the beds during an east wind. To the latter part of the report, Dr. Wall takes strong objection, pointing out that at the Radcliffe Infirmary, at least, there was no dereliction of duty, as two visitors were regularly appointed, and these gentlemen did attend to take complaints from patients and to see that all regulations were properly carried out. Dr. Wall points out to Howard that the expression “offensive beyond conception” is one he would have used to describe the worst gaol dungeon, and as medical officer in daily attendance at the infirmary he protests against the statement. From the general tone of Dr. Wall's letter, and the frank way in which he acknowledges that Howard is right in part of his report, as well as the high opinion he had of the latter's labours, there can be very little doubt, but that here, at least, Howard gave a crushing report on insufficient evidence.

After reading the whole of Howard's experiences as to the way in which the authorities of hospitals and gaols carelessly omitted such simple means of giving fresh air to the inmates, as by open windows, it is not difficult to understand his being sometimes led

* “State of Prisons,” 3rd. edition, p. 342.

away into speaking stronger than he would have done had the case in point been a solitary one.

Perhaps the best illustration given by Howard of the value of open windows is his description of the North and South Infirmaries at Cork. In the former all the rooms were "close and offensive, not a window open in the whole house. Those windows which had wire lattices are now close glazed." In the South Infirmary "the wards of both the men and women were clean and fresh, and had all the windows open." No figures are given to show the size of the wards, but the number of inmates on May 12th, 1788, was the same in each.

In the County Infirmary at Salisbury the men's wards were "as offensive as any of the rooms in the gaol. All the windows were shut, although the weather was mild, and the air close and dry; and it seemed by the cobwebs and dust that those on the staircases were never opened." This is a very severe condemnation of this hospital when we note that in the gaol referred to, the cells were only $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet and 9 feet to the crown of the arch and that two or three prisoners were sometimes crowded into one cell.

The windows in the new wards at Guy's, are models of what Howard would like to have seen in all Hospitals. We read* "The window at the upper end of each of these wards opens from the ceiling to the floor; and there are also ventilations in the ceiling which communicate with the chimneys of the wards over them, and by means of the common fires draw off the foul air." On the same page these windows are thus described, "The sashes are hung on pivots, which are on each side the window; they are in several divisions, and lap upon each other: when they are set open to the greatest extent, they form horizontal planes, at right angles with the sash-frames, and admit air equal to the whole opening of the window, excepting the substance of the frames."

In contrast to this we may take St. George's Hospital where the wards were very offensive through the windows being shut, though had they been open they would not have sufficed to make the wards wholesome, as they were "small and too distant from the ceiling." In the Westminster Hospital the authorities were unable to do much ventilation by means of the windows, as the upper sashes were not moveable. To these upper sashes Howard always paid great attention, he tells us that† he had often mentioned "the

* "Lazarettos," p. 135.

† *Ib.*, p. 190.

upper sashes being fixed ; for if lofty and moveable, the smallest opening produces a circulation of the stagnant air, and that so imperceptibly to the patients, that there is little danger of either the nurses or them shutting the windows."

It is very probable that the hospital nurses and attendants found much difficulty in keeping the windows open, from the dislike the patients had to lying in a draught. Under the head of Gaol Ventilation reference has been made to Howard's opinion that, through the window-tax, the dwellings of the poor were dark and close and that fresh air and light were absolutely distasteful to them. At the Hospital for aged persons at Norwich the windows were shut, "from the obstinacy of one or two who lay in the ward."

Although Howard often makes special acknowledgement of the good work done in Hospitals by religious bodies, yet he thinks that the naturally secluded life the nuns and sisters led, caused them to keep the patients without a proper amount of fresh air. To this he draws attention whilst speaking of the Convents at Vienna and the Hospital at Lille.

As regards other methods of ventilation, Howard thought that the machine used for this purpose at the Northwich salt mines, might be advantageously adapted to hospital service. Circular apertures in the ceiling, such as were in use at the Leeds Infirmary, are also described as useful for keeping the wards fresh at night. There is not much account of ventilators in Howard's descriptions of the hospitals, and from this it may be inferred, that in most of them the occupants were solely dependent on the open windows for a supply of fresh air.

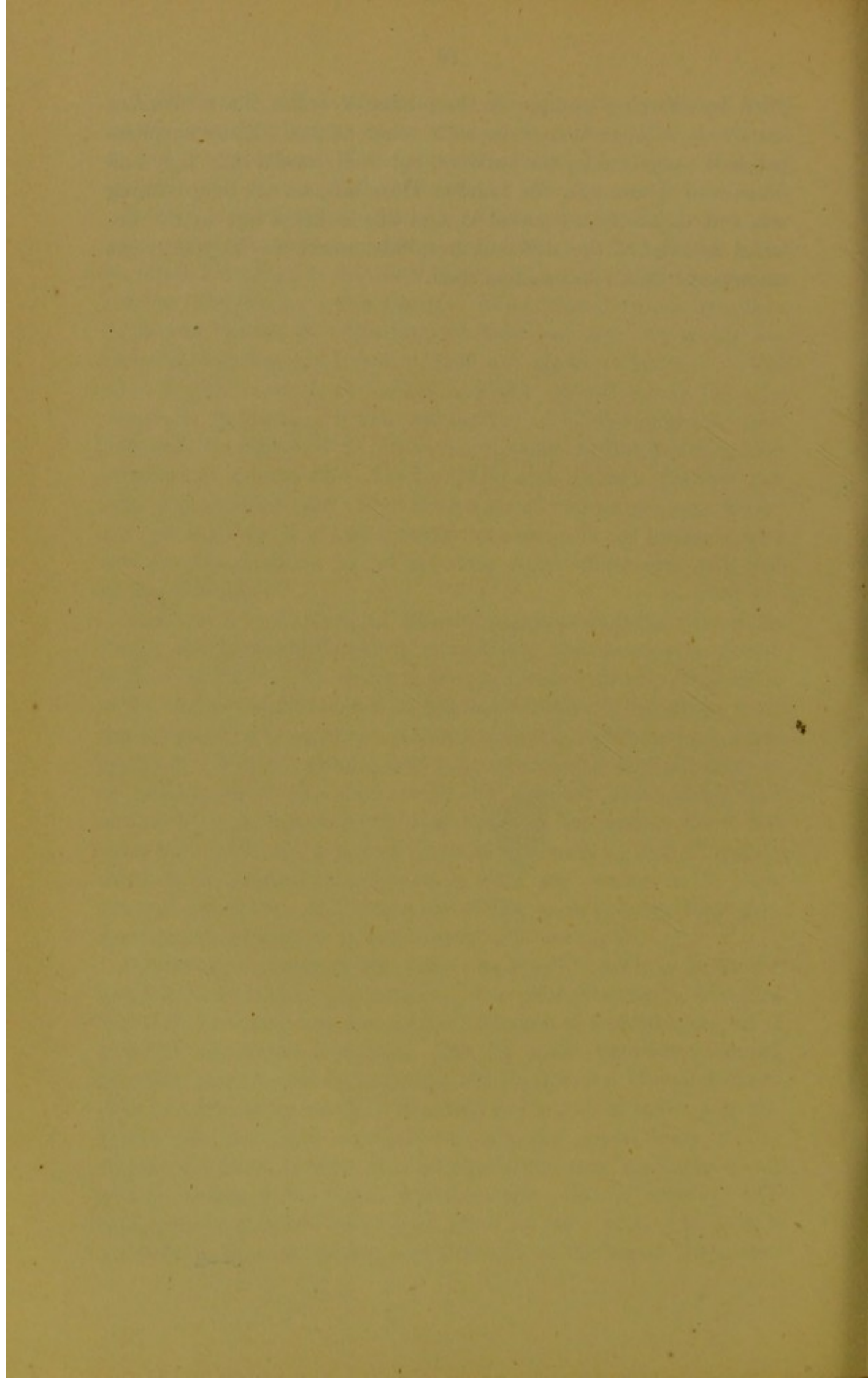
A separate room or ward for convalescents, Howard puts down as a desideratum in a model hospital. At the Hotel Dieu such a room was provided, but none of the London Hospitals and scarcely any of the Provincial ones contained any special accommodation for the convalescent, whilst in the Portuguese Hospitals they were put into the closest and worst rooms. There was also great carelessness as regards the isolation of contagious diseases and the mixing up of surgical and medical cases. In Naples there were separate wards for the cure of wounded persons. This, Howard points out, was on account of "the frequency of assaults and assassination in Italy." The Hotel Dieu was far before the other hospitals in this respect, separate rooms were there provided for "fevers," "the wounded," "lying-in women," "foundlings," "the insane," as well as a room "for chirurgical operations."

It is a curious fact that, though hardly any precautions were taken against infection as a whole, yet in Italy and in Spain special provision was made to guard against the supposed contagiousness of consumption. On p. 116 of "*Lazarettos*" we read, "In this country (Italy) the physicians are persuaded that the *consumption* is a contagious disorder. Patients afflicted with it in hospitals have a separate ward. The same precautions are used to prevent infection as in the plague. When this disorder has been in private houses, the furniture is destroyed, and the rooms are scraped and fumigated before they are again inhabited." The *Real Hospital General* at Madrid had also special rooms for consumptive patients. "The contagion of consumptions," says Howard, "is supposed to infect not only the clothes, bedding, and furniture of rooms, but also the walls and ceiling. Danger has been apprehended even from the horses of consumptive patients; and for this reason it was thought necessary, in an instance that was mentioned to me, to kill the horse of an officer who had died of this distemper."

The "vaults" of a hospital, Howard suggests should be outside the wards, and he would like in all instances to see water closets similar to those at Guy's. Here the authorities were evidently in advance of the age, as the closets had an automatic action by which the pans were flushed by the person entering the closet. This Howard much admired. It is astonishing how little information Howard gives us as regards these conveniences in the hospitals, considering how minute he is in his description of them in the gaols. In a few cases the vaults are reported upon as "offensive," but altogether there is not sufficient evidence to form an opinion as to their general condition; the inference of the silence being that they were not found here in as bad a state as in the gaols.

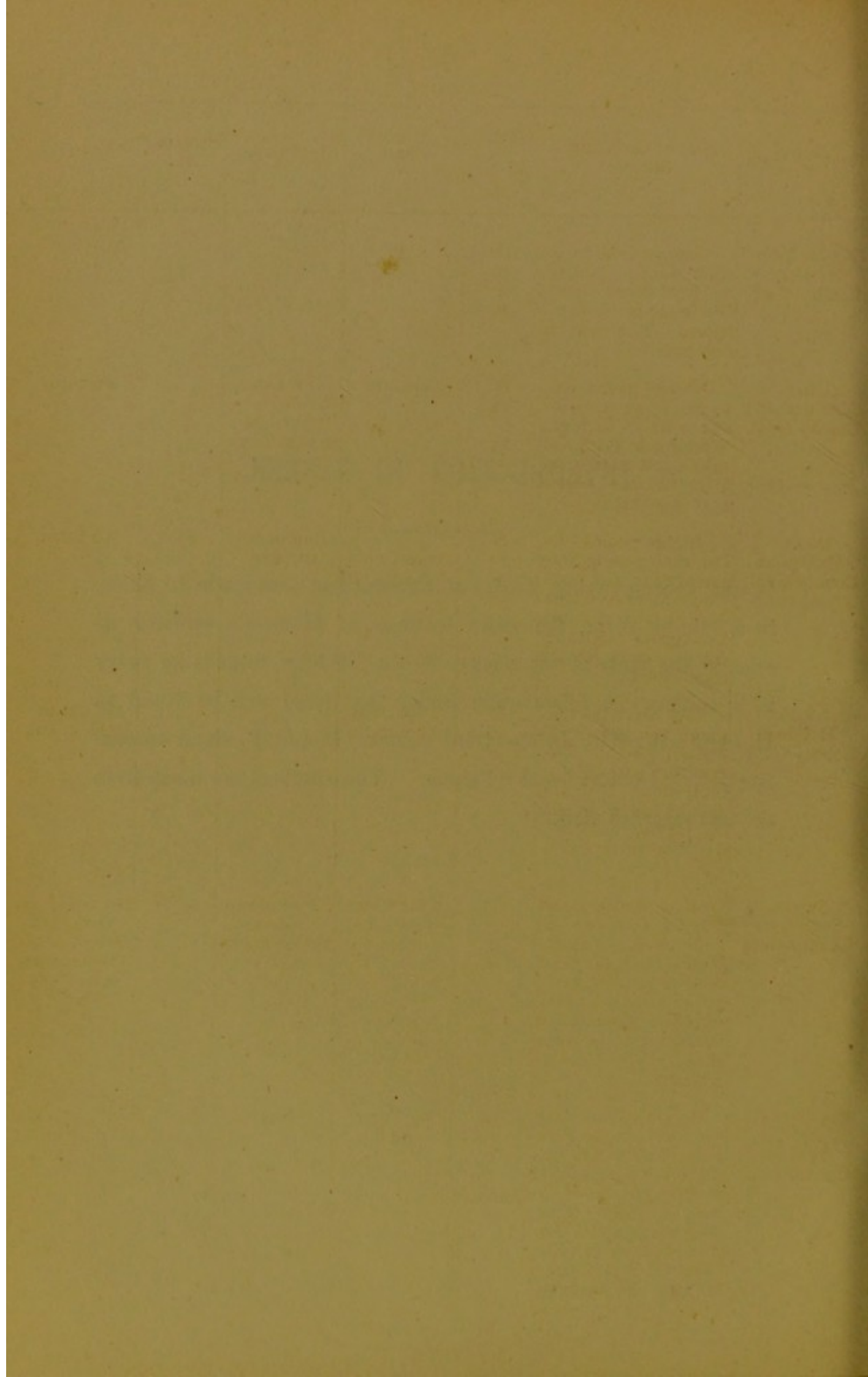
Information regarding the water supply of hospitals in Howard's printed works is also very meagre. This probably results from the fact that he found very few serious attempts at a proper supply of water in any of the hospitals. The few cases that are recorded certainly point to this conclusion. At the London Hospital there were no cisterns for water: Bethlem had none at the top of the house, nor was there any laid on into the upper floors. The Haslar Hospital, though the arrangements were generally good, had no cistern in the wards, and the water both for drinking and washing was supplied from pipes close to the sewers. St. Luke's was better off, as there they had a cistern at the top of the house,

filled by a forcing pump. In the matter of baths, the authorities seem to have been as careless as in other affairs. Many hospitals had baths provided by the builders, but in Howard's time they had fallen into disuse. In the London Hospitals, we are told, bathing was but very seldom resorted to, and this is borne out by the detailed account of the different hospitals, where we frequently get the report "bath ; but seldom used."



INTRODUCTION TO TABLES.

IN the accompanying Tables an attempt has been made to show, in a tabular form, the main features of Howard's evidence as regards the state of our COUNTY GAOLS. Where there is no entry in a column, no information under that head will be found in Howard's Report. In the third column, D and F stand respectively for "Debtors" and "Felons." The numbers are taken from the last recorded visit.



Name of Gaol.	Size of Cells and Rooms.	No. of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
Hertfordshire. Hertford County Gaol.	Separate wards 16 ft. 8 in. × 11 ft. 7 in. for debtors, men-felons and women-felons. This was a new gaol.	D 9 F 21	3			
Essex. Chelmsford County Gaol.	Debtors' rooms, 7 ft. 10 in. × 15 ft. 3 in. and 9 ft. 10 in. high. Work-room 37½ ft. × 14½ ft. and 12 ft. 5 in. high. Felons' rooms 15 ft. 9 × 14½ ft.	D 21 F 25	Separate.	One close room; unfurnished; sick on floors.		No bath.
Kent. Maidstone County Gaol.	Eight rooms for Debtors opening into passage 6 ft. 2 in. wide. Under these are felons' wards nearly 13 ft. sq. 2 dungeons 12½ ft. sq. down 11 steps for the condemned.	D 24 F 56	3, largest only 28 ft. by 27 ft.	Improperly situated.		No bath.
Sussex. Horsham County Gaol.	Each felon has separate cell 10 ft. × 7 ft. and 9 ft. high. Two floors on arcades; on each floor, both on debtors and felons side 10 rooms, besides a day room 28 ft. × 12 ft. 3 in. (New gaol).	D 16 F 7	2 spacious courts.			Water in each court.
Surrey. Southwark County Gaol.	For master's-side debtors, a parlour and four other sizeable rooms; and for common side debtors, 3 good rooms. Men felons, 6 rooms on 3 floors, in these they sleep. Women felons 4 rooms.	D 27 F 55	2 for felons and 1 for debtors.	Two close rooms; sick on floors.		No pump or bath. At several visits the Thames water was "off."
Buckinghamshire. Aylesbury County Gaol.	Hall for debtors and sundry rooms for master's side. Only one day room for men and women felons. Women 2 night rooms, one under stairs 6 ft. 8 in. × 4 ft. 10 in.; the other 8 ft. × 5½ ft. and 6 ft. high. No windows.	D 20 F 6 Deserters 2	29 ft. by 26½ ft.	None.		Pump and water laid into yard.

Name of Gaol.	Size of cells and Rooms.	No. of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
<i>Bedfordshire.</i> Bedford County Gaol.	1st floor:— Day-room for debtors, which is used as chapel, and 4 lodging rooms; for felons, on ground floor, 2 day-rooms, one for men and one for women. 2 cells for condemned. Rooms 8½ ft. high. 2 Dungeons down 11 steps.	D 8 F 9	Court common to debtors and felons.	None.		No bath.
<i>Huntingdonshire.</i> Huntingdon County Gaol.	For debtors, day-room or kitchen, and over it a large lodging-room. Day-room for felons down 9 steps, dungeon for men felons, with small condemned room; dungeon for women felons, down 7 steps; floor level with court, in which is the bride-well.	D 7 F 6	Too small.	None.		No bath.
<i>Cambridgeshire.</i> Cambridge County Gaol.	Ground floor, 3 strong rooms; one for men-felons, 30 ft. × 6 ft. 7 in.; another for women 16 ft. × 9 ft.; the other not finished. For debtors, large kitchen and 2 or 3 other rooms, above them 5 rooms and a condemned room. All rooms sizeable.	D 15 F 3	Castle yard spacious but not safe, so prisoners do not use it.			
<i>Norfolk.</i> Norwich County Gaol.	Upper gaol, 10 rooms for master-side debtors; low gaol several rooms. Dungeon for men felons down ladder of 8 steps; sometimes has water in it. Only small room for women felons, and they cannot be separated from men.	D 25 F 23	Small area.	Three airy rooms.		Pump and bath.

Name of Gaol.	Size of Cells and Rooms.	No. of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
<i>Suffolk.</i> Suffolk County Gaol. (This is also the town Gaol).	For debtors, a kitchen or day-room, and several chambers. For felons a day-room, and for men a strong night-room. Women no separate day-room.	D 27 F 10 Deserter 1	One small court yard.	Two rooms for the sick, not distinct enough.	Water from pump conveyed through the sewers.	No bath ; pump.
<i>Warwickshire.</i> Warwick County Gaol.	Women-felons have day-room and 2 small night rooms 7 ft. 10 in. X 6 ft. 8 in. Men felons have day-room, night-room, dungeon 21 ft. in diameter and down 31 steps, damp and offensive ; gaoler took preservative on entering. Two cells for condemned. Debtors day-room is the hall. For master's side 10 or 12 rooms.	D 32 F 11	One for men and one for women.	None.		No bath. Plenty of water.
<i>Leicestershire.</i> Leicester County Gaol.	9 or 10 rooms for master side debtors. Day-room, common. Free ward is a dungeon 29½ ft. X 9 ft. and 6 ft. 8 in. high, down 7 steps and damp. Felons' day and night rooms ; dungeons from 5 to 7 steps underground.	D 20 F 4 Deserter 1	36 ft. by 17 ft. 4 in.	Two rooms.		Useless tub instead of bath.
<i>Derbyshire.</i> Derby County Gaol.	Felons' day-room for men ; and down 3 steps dungeon 23½ ft. in diameter ; for women a day-room and 2 small night rooms 7½ ft. sq.	D 13 F 12 Deserter 1	Debtors' and felons' courts separate. Bridewell is in debtors' court.	Two rooms.		Bath, and copper to warm water.
<i>Nottinghamshire.</i> Nottingham County Gaol.	Three rooms for master side debtors. Down 28 steps, 2 rooms for criminals who can pay ; condemned room ; down 12 steps more deep dungeons, cut in the sandy rock, very damp, one 23 ft. X 13	D 11 F 6	Debtors' and felons' courts separate.	Two rooms.		Both well and river water. Large and commodious bath : with copper to warm water.

Name of Gaol.	Size of Cells and Rooms.	No of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
<i>Lincolnshire.</i> Lincoln County Gaol.	ft. and 7 ft. high; another 12 ft. in diameter. Women have one bed in turnkey's lodge, when more than 2 women, dungeon used. For master side debtors 6 sizeable rooms on 1st story, and as many garrets. Free ward-room down 2 steps, and is a thoroughfare to sundry places. Down 10 steps 2 dungeons for criminals 8 ft. high, one 14 ft. × 21 ft., the other, 14 ft. × 7 ft. Women felons' ward 11 ft. × 8 ft. Felons' day room 15 ft. × 19 ft. Two rooms with beds for felons who can pay for them.	D 30 F 3 Dutch prisoners of war 7	Felons' court 43 ft. by 26½.		No sewer.	No water.
<i>Rutlandshire.</i> Oakham County Gaol. (Also County Bridewell and Town Gaol.)	Ground floor, day-room for debtors; day-room and 2 small vaulted night rooms for felons, one 11 ft. × 6 ft. 4 in.; 2 rooms upstairs for those that pay.	D 2 F 3	Two			Pump in each court.
<i>Northamptonshire.</i> Northampton County Gaol. (Also County Bridewell.)	7 commodious rooms lately built 7 ft. 9 in. × 6 ft. for felons; a condemned room. Bridewell division:—1 room, with close bed-room, and room over.	D 19 F 10	Three; but the two for felons are too close.	None.	Bridewell rooms made offensive by sewer.	No bath.
<i>Berkshire.</i> Reading County Gaol.	Debtors have kitchen and for master's side many rooms; now there is a free ward. Felons, one day-room for men and women; night room for men; large dungeon down 4 steps; separate night room for women; condemned room 11 ft. × 10 ft.	D 19 F 11	Debtors' and felons' courts only separated by iron rails.	Small room lately fitted up.		

name of Gaol.	Size of Cells and Rooms.	No. of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
oxfordshire. ford County Gaol.	Debtors' apartments small, and not enough of them. No free ward. Felons' day-rooms for men and women down 5 steps, 23 ft. X 11 ft. Men's dungeon 18½ ft. X 16½ down 5 more. Women's night room 6½ ft. X 4 ft. 2 in.	D 25 F 31	Debtors' court too small. Felons' court common to both sexes 29 ft. by 23 ft.	None.		No bath.
orcestershire. Worcester County Gaol.	11 good lodging rooms for master's side debtors, and 2 small day rooms, one of which is for common side debtors. Two free wards or night rooms for debtors; the way to them is through the women felons night room. Day room for men and women felons 14 ft. X 12 ft. Men felon's dungeon 26 steps underground. Another damp dungeon 15½ ft. sq.	D 26 F 33	Castle yard spacious.	None. Two rooms taken from the Bridewell for the sick.		Excellent water at pump. Useless tub lined with lead, called a bath.
affordshire. fford County Gaol.	Debtors' free ward spacious, men felons dungeons under it. One day-room for men and women felons, down 3 steps, 15 ft. X 12 ft. X 6 ft. 3 in. high.	D 38 F 20 Deserter 1	Debtors' court spacious. Felons' court too small, and gaoler's poultry kept in it.	None.	Only one sewer, and that quite exposed.	No bath.
Shropshire. hrewsbury County Gaol.	Commodious apartments for master's side debtors. 2 large free wards for common side. For felons, 2 night dungeons down 11 steps. Day-room for felons is small, 15½ ft. X 5½ ft.; sexes not separate.	D 19 F 19	Separate courts for debtors and felons. Another court made but not used.	None.		None in felon's court. No bath.

Name of Gaol.	Size of Cells and Rooms.	No. of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
<i>Herefordshire.</i> Hereford County Gaol.	Apartments for master's side debtors, spacious. Day-room for felons: men's night wards too close, 19 ft. $\times$ 15½ ft.	D 23 F 6	Spacious court for master's side debtors. Court behind gaol large but felons and debtors not kept separate.	None.		No bath.
<i>Monmouthshire.</i> Monmouth County Gaol.	Small day-room and 6 bed-rooms for debtors. Felons' night-room at top of house, 22 ft. $\times$ 15 ft.	D 10 F 1	One court for debtors.	None.		No bath.
<i>Gloucestershire.</i> Gloucester County Gaol. (Also County Bridewell).	One day-room for men and women felons, 11 ft. 9 in. $\times$ 10 ft. 7 in. Free ward for debtors, 19 ft. $\times$ 11 ft. Night-room for men felons, upstairs. Other night-rooms and day-room for "fines."	D 30 F 46	Only one court for all prisoners.	Upper rooms used as infirmary.	One sewer.	No bath.
<i>Hampshire.</i> Winchester County Gaol.	Dungeons down 5 steps, 48 ft. $\times$ 23 ft. and 12 ft. high. Two rooms over dungeon for common side debtors. Three rooms with beds for felons who pay and 2 for women. Felons' day-room commodiously enlarged.	D 33 F 28	Little court totally useless.			
<i>Wiltshire.</i> Salisbury County Gaol. (Also County Bridewell).	No day-room for common side debtors nor felons. Women felons, separate room, 15 ft. sq.	D 20 F 16	One court.	Infirmary, one room for men, and one for women.		
<i>Dorsetshire.</i> Dorchester County Gaol.	One day-room for felons of both sexes. Men's lodging-room on ground floor and small room for women, 8 ft. $\times$ 6 ft. On first floor 10 rooms for debtors.	D 17 F 8	Court.	None.		No bath.

name of Goal.	Size of Cells and Rooms.	No. of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
Devonshire. Peter High Gaol for Felons.	One day-room for men and women felons, also used as chapel; women's lodging-room over this. Three rooms for "fines." Three night dungeons, 20 ft. $\times$ 12, down 3 steps.	F 57	Court too small.	Two rooms.	Offensive sewer.	No bath.
Cornwall. Launceston County Gaol for Felons.	Prison is a room 23½ ft. $\times$ 7½ ft. Three dungeons, 6½ ft. deep, one 9 ft. long, one 8 ft. long, one not 5 ft.; this for women.	F 1	Court not secure.		None.	None.
Somersetshire. Wells County Gaol.	Day-room and fifteen lodging-rooms, five of which are free wards for debtors. Felons have a day-room, and lodging-room (42 ft. $\times$ 18 ft.). Women felons have a lodging-room, but no separate day-rooms.	D 38 F 14	Court for debtors, and one for women-felons.	None.	Sewers not offensive.	No bath.
Worcestershire. Birmingham County Gaol.	Eleven rooms, 16 ft. sq. and 12 ft. high. Same number above, all airy and healthy. Day-room for men felons 24 ft. $\times$ 8 ft. 12 cells 7½ ft. $\times$ 6½ ft. and 8½ feet high. Women felons' room down 4 steps.	D 69 F 13	Felons' court down 5 steps. 2 courts for women-felons.	One middle-sized room.	Sewer makes part of gaol offensive.	Pump outside felon's courts. No bath.
Durham. Durham County Gaol.	Master side debtors have beds in upper hall. Common side have 2 damp unhealthy rooms 10 ft. 4 in. sq. Men felons are put at night into dungeons, one 7 ft. sq., another 16½ ft. $\times$ 12 ft. Another dungeon for women felons 12 ft. $\times$ 8 ft., and upstairs a separate room or two.	D 20 F 19	Court for master's side debtors, 24 ft. by 10 ft. None for common side or for felons.	Felons have 2 small rooms.	None.	Double barrelled pump, which raises water 70 feet.

Name of Gaol.	Size of Cells and Rooms.	No. of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
<i>Northumberland.</i> Morpeth County Gaol.	Debtors have 6 sizeable rooms and a free ward. Felons shut up in tower. Men felons' day-rooms, one 14 ft. 2 in. × 6 ft. 9 in., the other an offensive dungeon.	D 15 F 4	Only one and that for debtors.			
<i>Berwick upon Tweed.</i> Berwick Town and County Gaol.	4 rooms on ground floor damp. Over Town Hall two long rooms and seven other sizeable rooms.	D 2 F 0	None.		None.	
<i>Cumberland.</i> Carlisle County Gaol.	Five rooms each for master side and common side debtors. Four of them 23 ft. × 18½ ft. Sexes not separate. Felons' wards down a step or two. Night-room only 11 ft. × 9 ft.; men and women lodged together in it.	D 30 F 9	85 ft. by 36 ft. Part for felons separated by iron palisades.	None.		Pump in court, with dunghill close to it. No bath.
<i>Westmoreland.</i> Appleby County Gaol.	Four vaulted rooms for felons 14½ ft. × 13 ft.; and over them 3 good rooms with chimneys for debtors.	D 8 F 0				
<i>Lancashire.</i> Lancaster County Gaol.	Many apartments for master-side debtors. Debtor's free ward 60 ft. × 27 ft. Separate day-room for men and women felons: women sleep in their day-room. Men's night-room 2 vaulted cells; one 10 steps underground 21 ft. × 9 ft.; the other 20 ft. 2 in. × 11 ft. 2 in. Since this visit 9 new cells have been added.	D 57 F 17	Spacious, with bowling-green.	None. At later visit two good rooms had been fitted up.	Separate closet for women.	Water in court. No bath.
<i>Cheshire.</i> Chester County Gaol.	First room is a hall, with 2 staircases leading to 4 rooms for master-side debtors. Felons' and debtors' day-rooms down six steps, each of them	D 33 F 15	Small, down 18 steps, common to debtors and felons; high pales make it dark.	None.		No bath.

Name of Gaol.	Size of Cells and Rooms.	No. of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
	35 ft. × 22 ft. Dark passage under debtors' room with 6 cells, each 7½ ft. × 3 ft. 3 or 4 felons sometimes in one of these.					
Flintshire. Flint County (Gaol (also Bridewell).	For debtors, common ward upstairs and 2 other rooms. For felons, 2 dark closets 5 ft. × 4 ft., and dungeon in yard 16 ft. × 11 ft. down 8 steps.	D 9 F 3	2 courts, 1 for felons and 1 for debtors; the former about 5 feet square.			Water in court.
Denbighshire. Denbigh County (Gaol (also Bridewell).	Day-rooms for debtors and felons, each 27 ft. × 15 ft.; for latter, 4 cells 7½ ft. × 6½ ft. Nine rooms for debtors 13½ ft. × 11½ ft.	D 8 F 7	Separate for debtors and felons.	None.		Water in each court and good bathing-room.
Montgomeryshire. Montgomery County Gaol.	Eight rooms for debtors, 3 of which are free wards and 2 cells 8 ft. × 7 ft., and condemned room for felons. No day-room.	D 11 F 4	Court common.			No bath. Stream of water used to run through the court now turned off.
Anglesey. Beaumaris County Gaol (also County Bridewell).	Five rooms for debtors. Three bed-rooms and a day-room (21 ft. × 14½ ft.) for men felons, and a small night-room for women felons.	D 7 F 1	1 for felons and 1 for debtors.			None.
Carnarvonshire. Carnarvon County Gaol (also County Bridewell).	Two rooms for debtors and 2 for felons; one of the latter down 11 steps, another under the stairs and only 9 ft. × 7 ft.	D 0 F 0	Court.		None.	None.
Merionethshire. Dolgelly County Gaol.	Six rooms for debtors, but no free ward; 4 rooms above for criminals.	D 8 F 2	Not secure.			None in court.
Merionethshire. Merioneth County Gaol (also Bridewell and Down Gaol.)	Two rooms below about 15 ft. × 13 ft., and 2 over them. Dungeon down 11 steps.	D 3 F 1	35 ft. by 24 ft.			None.

Name of Gaol.	Size of Cells and Rooms.	No. of Prisoners.	Court.	Infirmary.	Sewers, &c.	Water.
<i>Pembrokeshire.</i> Haverfordwest County Gaol.	Five cells and kitchen for felons, and bridewell room for men; five rooms over them for debtors, and women's bridewell. Cells down 4 steps, 12 ft. $\times$ 6 ft. 9 in.	D 6 F 0	Spacious.	None.		No bath. Fine water cour.
<i>Carmarthen- shire.</i> Carmarthen County Gaol (also County Bridewell).	Old and new cells for criminals too close, 7 ft. $\times$ 6 ft.; over chapel free ward. Convenient rooms for master-side debtors.	D 15 F 3	One court- yard.	Room for sick over free ward.		None. is used.
<i>Radnorshire.</i> Presteign County Gaol (also County Bridewell).	Five rooms and a hall for debtors, two 18 ft. $\times$ 12 ft., no free ward. Cell for criminals 11½ ft. $\times$ 6 ft. and a day-room. Bridewell room 11½ ft. $\times$ 10½ ft.	D 9 F 4	Debtors and felons not separate.	None.		No bath.
<i>Breconshire.</i> Brecon County Gaol.	Five rooms above for debtors, 2 of which are free wards. Day-room for men felons 26½ ft. $\times$ 14 ft., into which 2 cells open, lodging-room in front court. In another court 5 cells 6½ ft. $\times$ 4½ ft. and 8 ft. high.	D 1 F 2	Courts paved; sepa- rate one for women.			
<i>Glamorgan- shire.</i> Cardiff County Gaol.	Rooms for debtors in front. Three vaulted rooms for felons, with 3 chambers above.	D 16 F 5	Two.	None.		None felon's c