

**A view of the character and public services of the late John Howard ... /
[John Aikin].**

Contributors

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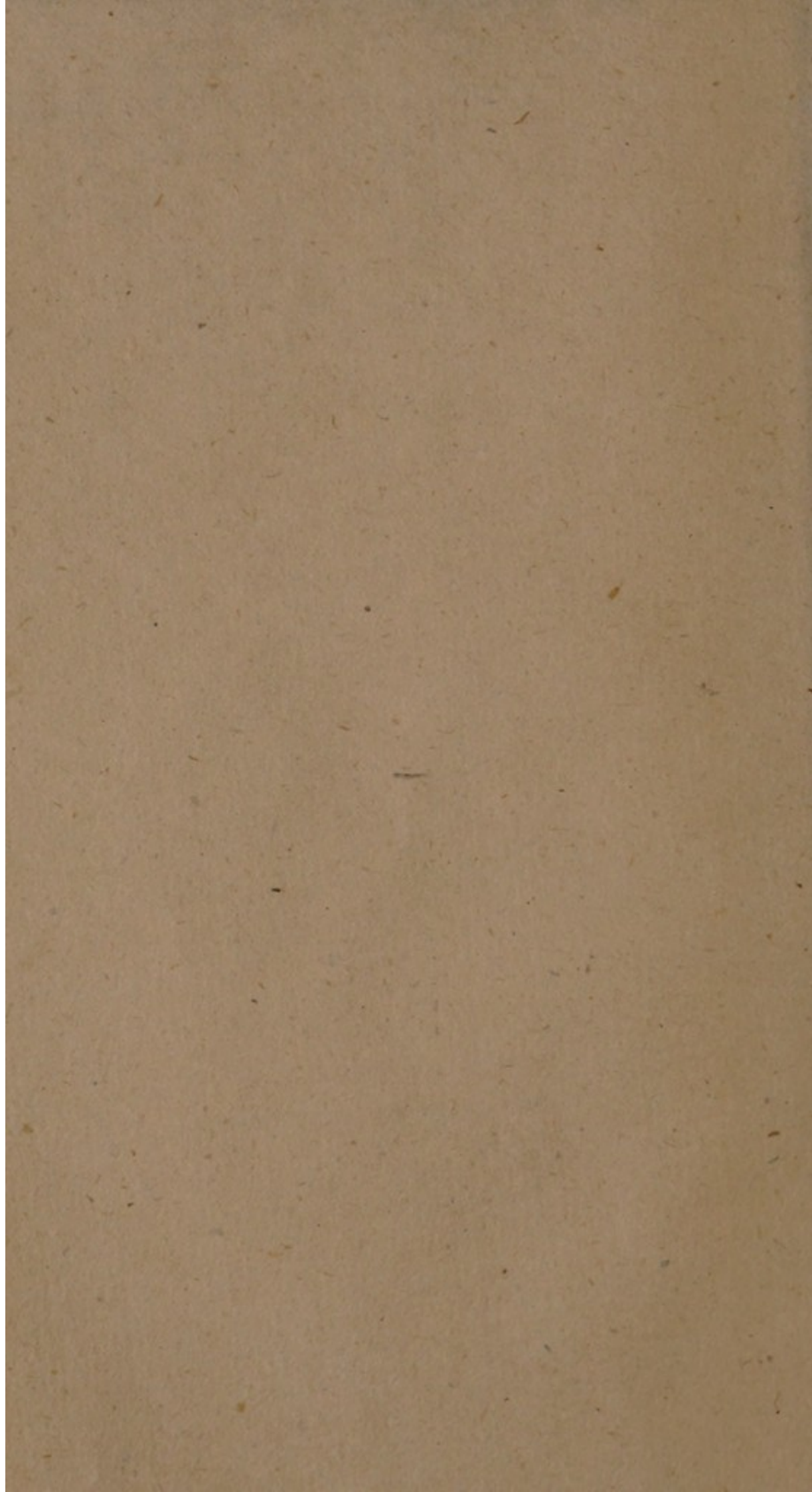


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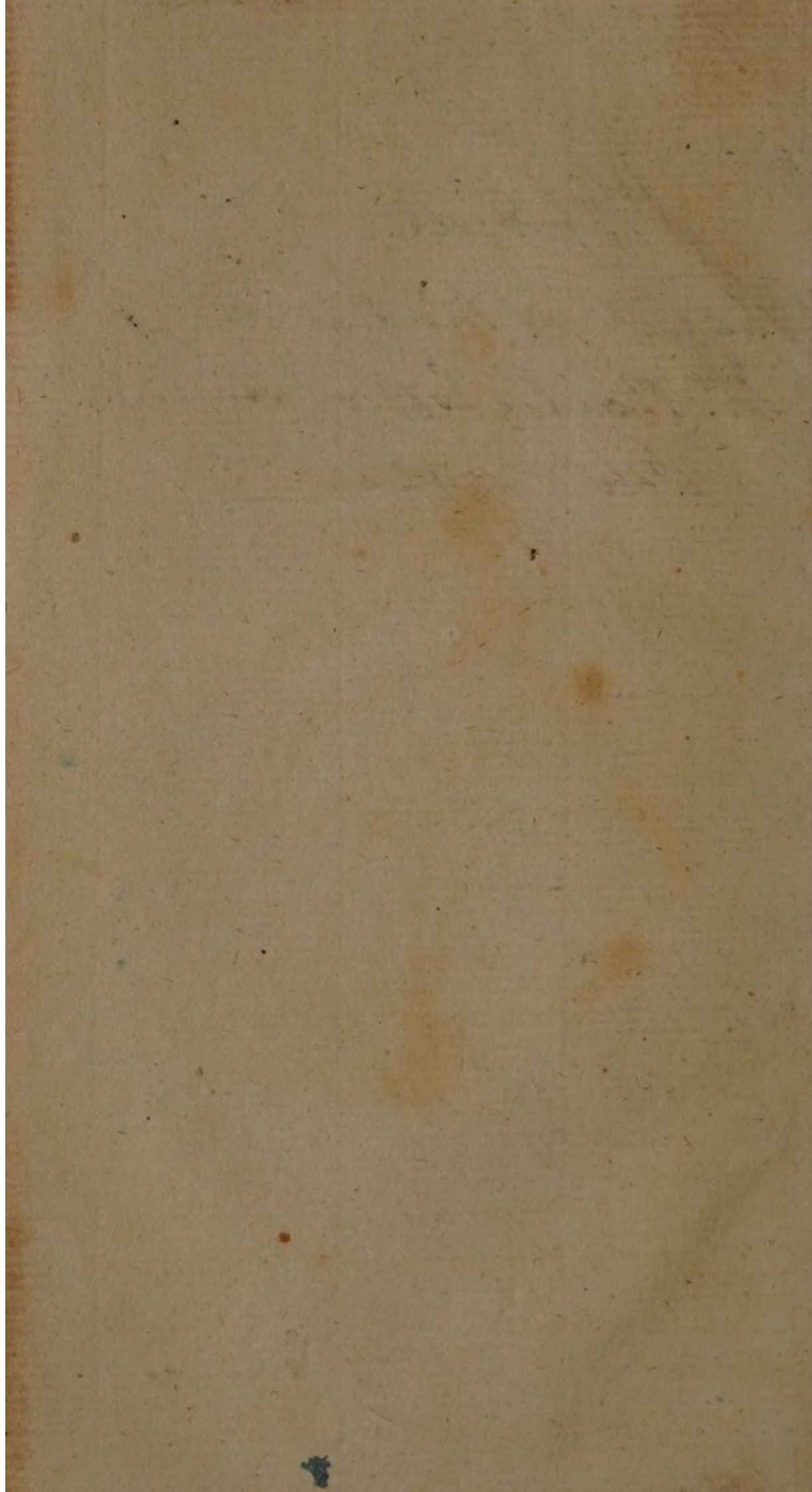


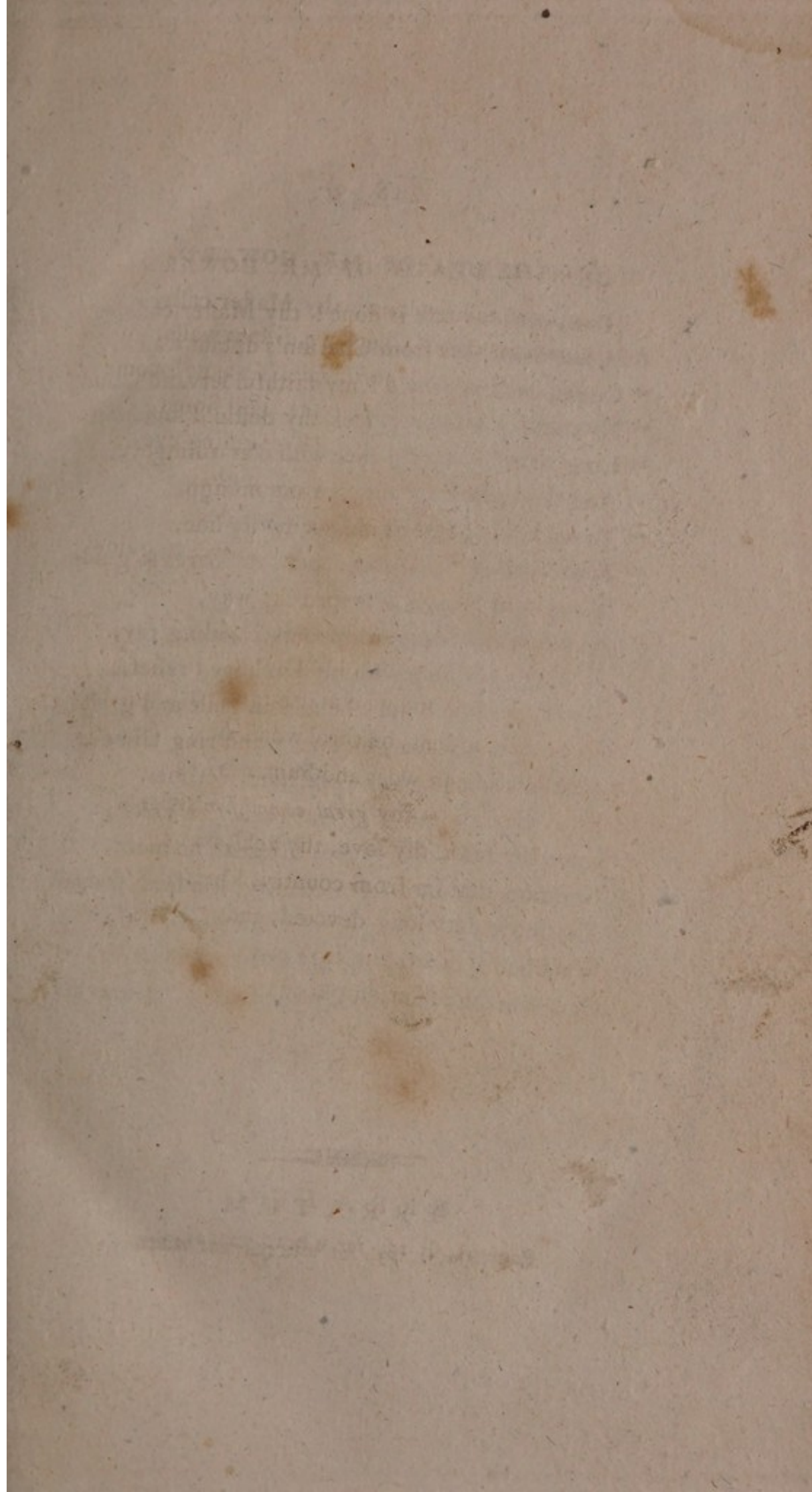


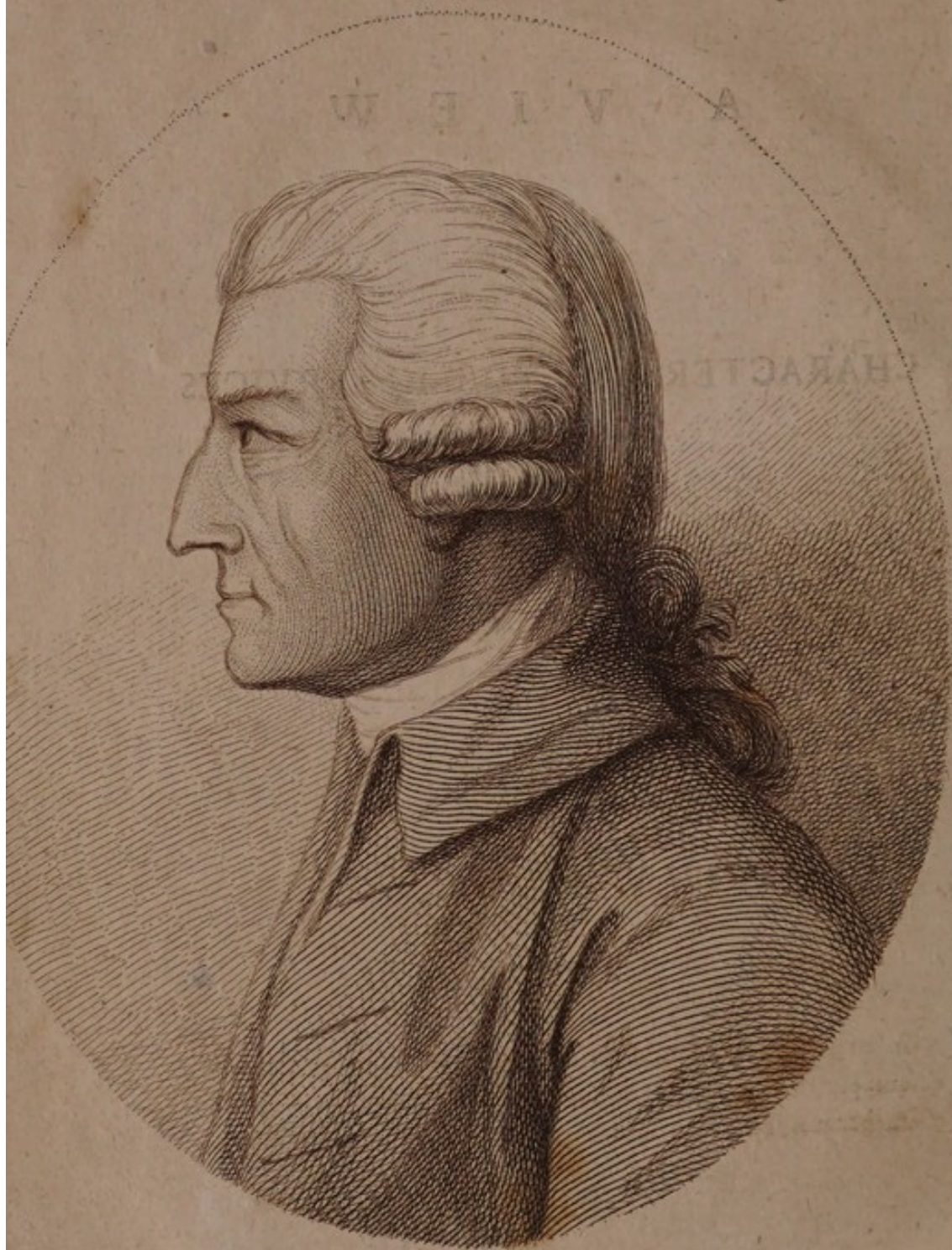




J. B. Fordrell
The Gift of his Friend
T. B. Mayley Esq. of Hope.
Octo^r 1792







JOHN HOWARD ESQ.^R

W. Jodrell

- 1792 -

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A V I E W
OF THE
CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF THE LATE

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

By JOHN AIKIN, M. D.

In commune auxilium natus, ac publicum bonum, ex quo dabit
cuique partem: etiam ad calamitosos, pro portione, improbandos
et emendandos, bonitatem suam permittet. SENECA.

L O N D O N:
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MDCCXCII.

A. V. I. W.

V. I. W.

1894

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY



It is a pleasure to have you

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V I E W
OF THE
C H A R A C T E R, &c.

IF it be a just observation, that every man who has attained uncommon eminence in his particular line of pursuit, becomes an object worthy of the public notice, how forcibly must such a maxim apply to that species of excellence which renders a man the greatest benefactor to his fellow-creatures, and the noblest subject of their contemplation? Beneficence, pure in its intentions, wise and comprehensive in its plans, and active and successful in execution,

cution, must ever stand at the head of those qualities which elevate the human character; and mankind cannot have a concern so important, as the diffusion of such a spirit, by means of the most perfect and impressive examples, in which it has actually been displayed.

Among those truly illustrious persons who, in the several ages and nations of the world, have marked their track through life by a continued course of *doing good*, few have been so distinguished, either by the extent of the good produced, or the purity of motive and energy of character exhibited in the process of doing it, as the late Mr. HOWARD. To have adopted the cause of the prisoner, the sick, and the destitute, not only in his own country, but

but throughout all Europe;—to have considerably alleviated the burden of present misery among those unfortunate classes, and at the same time to have provided for the reformation of the vicious, and the prevention of future crimes and calamities;—to have been instrumental in the actual establishment of many plans of humanity and utility, and to have laid the foundation for much more improvement hereafter;—and to have done all this as a private unaided individual, struggling with toils, dangers, and difficulties, which might have appalled the most resolute; is surely a range of beneficence which scarcely ever before came within the compass of one man's exertions. Justly, then, does the name of *Howard* stand among

those which confer the highest honour on the English character; and, since his actions cannot fail to transmit his memory with glory to posterity, it is incumbent on his countrymen and cotemporaries, for their own sakes, to transmit corresponding memorials of their veneration and gratitude.

It would, indeed, be a convincing proof of the increased good sense and virtue of the age, if such characters as this were found to rise in the comparative scale of fame and applause. Long enough has mankind weakly paid its admiration as the reward of pernicious exertions,—of talents, often very moderate in themselves, and only rendered conspicuous by the blaze of mischief they have kindled. It is now surely
time

time that men should know and distinguish their benefactors from their foes; and that the noblest incitements to action should be given to those actions only which are directed to the general welfare.

Since the lamented death of this excellent person, there have not been wanting respectable eulogies of his character, and such biographical notices concerning him, as might in some measure gratify that public curiosity which is awakened by every celebrated name. There is yet wanting, however, what I consider as by much the most valuable tribute to the memory of every man distinguished by public services; I mean, a portraiture of him, modelled upon those circumstances which rendered him eminent;

displaying in their rise and progress those features of character which so peculiarly fitted him for the part he undertook, the origin and gradual developement of his great designs, and all the successive steps by which they were brought to their final state of maturity. It is this branch of biographical writing that alone entitles it to rank high among the compositions relative to human life and manners. Nature, indeed, has implanted in us a desire of becoming acquainted with those circumstances belonging to a distinguished character which are common to him and the herd of mankind; and it is therefore right that such a desire should in some degree be gratified: but to make *that* the principal object of attention, which, but for its association

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with

with somewhat more important, would not at all deserve notice, is surely to reverse the value of things, and to estimate the mass by the quantity of its alloy, rather than by that of the precious metal.

The deficiency which I have stated relative to Mr. *Howard*, it is my present object, as far as I am able, to supply; and however the task in some respect may be beyond my powers, yet the advantage I enjoyed of a long and confidential intercourse with him during the publication of his works, and of frequent conversation with him concerning the past and future objects of his enquiries, together with the communications with which I have been favoured by some of his most intimate friends,—will, I hope,

justify me in the eye of the public for taking it upon myself. I trust I have already appeared not insensible to his exalted merit, nor indifferent to his reputation.

One thing more I think it necessary to say concerning this attempt. It has been more than once suggested in print, but, I believe, without any foundation, that a life of Mr. *Howard* might be expected to appear under the sanction and authority of his *family*. It is proper for me to avow, that this is not *that* work. The undertaking is perfectly spontaneous on my part, without encouragement from his relations or representatives. Mr. *Howard* was a man with whom every one capable of feeling the excellence and dignity of his character,

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might

might claim kindred; and *they* were the nearest to him whom he made the confidants and depositaries of his designs.

JOHN HOWARD was born, according to the best information I am able to obtain, about the year 1727. His father was an upholsterer and carpet-warehouseman in Long-lane, Smithfield, who, having acquired a handsome fortune, retired from business, and had a house first at Enfield and afterwards at Hackney. It was, I believe, at the former of these places that Mr. *Howard* was born.

As Mr. *Howard's* father was a strict protestant dissenter, it was natural for him to educate his son under a preceptor of the same principles. But his choice for this purpose was the source of a lasting misfortune, which, as it has been

too

too frequent an occurrence, deserves particular notice. There was at that time a schoolmaster at some distance from London, who, in consequence of his moral and religious character, had been intrusted with the education of the children of most of the opulent dissenters in the metropolis, though extremely deficient in the qualifications requisite for such an office*. That persons whose own education and habits of life have rendered them very inadequate judges of

* I find it asserted in some memoirs of Mr. Howard in the *Universal Magazine*, that this person (whose name is there mentioned) was a man of considerable learning, and author of a translation of the New Testament and of a Latin grammar. Without inquiring how far this may set aside the charge of his being deficient as an instructor, I think it proper to say, that my only foundation for that charge is Mr. Howard's own authority.

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the talents necessary for an instructor of youth, should easily fall into this error, is not to be wondered at; but the evil is a real one, though its cause be excusable: and, as small communities with strong party attachments are peculiarly liable to this misplaced confidence, it is right that they should in a particular manner be put on their guard against it. They who know the dissenters will acknowledge, that none appear more sensible of the importance of a good education, or less sparing in their endeavours to procure it for their children; nor, upon the whole, can it be said that they are unsuccessful in their attempts. Indeed, the very confined system of instruction adopted in the public schools of this kingdom, renders it no difficult task

task to vie with them in the attainment of objects of real utility. But if it be made a leading purpose to train up youth in a certain set of opinions, and for this end it be thought essential that the master should be exclusively chosen from among those who are the most closely attached to them, it is obvious that a small community must lie under great comparative disadvantages.

The event with respect to Mr. *Howard* was (as he has assured me, with greater indignation than I have heard him express upon many subjects), that, after a continuance of seven years at this school, he left it not fully taught any one thing. The loss of this period was irreparable; he felt it all his life after, and it was but too obvious to those who conversed with him,

him. From this school he was removed to Mr. Eames's academy; but his continuance there must, I conceive, have been of short duration; and, whatever might be his acquisitions in that place, he certainly did not supply the deficiencies of his earlier education. As some of the accounts published concerning him, might inculcate the idea that he had attained considerable proficiency in letters, I feel myself obliged, from my own knowledge, to assert, that he was never able to speak or write his native language with grammatical correctness, and that his acquaintance with other languages (the French, perhaps, excepted) was slight and superficial. In estimating the powers of his mind, it rather adds to the account, that he
 had

had this additional difficulty to combat in his pursuit of the great objects of his later years.

Mr. *Howard*'s father died when he was young, and bequeathed to him and a daughter, his only children, considerable fortunes. He directed in his will, that his son should not come to the possession of his property till his twenty-fifth year.

It was, probably, in consequence of the father's direction that he was bound apprentice to a wholesale grocer in the city. This will appear a singular step in the education of a young man of fortune; but, at that period, inuring youth to habits of method and industry, and giving them a prudent regard to money, with a knowledge of the modes of employing

ploying it to advantage, were by many considered as the most important points in every condition of life. Mr. *Howard* was probably indebted to this part of his education for some of that spirit of order, and knowledge of common affairs, which he possessed; but he did not in this situation contract any of that love of aggrandisement which is the basis of all commercial exertions; and so irksome was the employment to him, that, on coming of age, he bought out the remainder of his time, and immediately set out on his travels to France and Italy.

On his return he mixed with the world, and lived in the style of other young men of leisure and fortune. He had acquired that taste for the arts which

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the view of the most perfect examples of them is fitted to create ; and, notwithstanding the defects of his education, he was not without an attachment to reading and the study of nature. The delicacy of his constitution, however, induced him to take lodgings in the country, where for some time his health was the principal object of his attention. As he was supposed to be of a consumptive habit, he was put upon a rigorous regimen of diet, which laid the foundation of that extraordinary abstemiousness and indifference to the gratifications of the palate which ever after so much distinguished him. It is probable that, from his first appearance in a state of independence, his way of thinking and acting was marked by a certain singularity. Of this, one
of

of the most remarkable consequences was his first marriage about his twenty-fifth year. As a return of gratitude to Mrs. *Sarah Lardeau* (or *Loidore*), widow, with whom he lodged at Stoke Newington, for her kind attention to him during his invalid state, he proposed marriage to her, though she was twice his age, and extremely sickly; and, notwithstanding her remonstrances on the impropriety of such an union, he persisted in his design, and it took place. She is represented as a sensible, worthy woman; and on her death, three years afterwards (during which interval he continued at Newington), Mr. *Howard* was sincerely affected with his loss; nor did he ever fail to mention her with respect, after his sentiments of things may have

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been

been supposed, from greater commerce with the world, to have undergone a change.

His liberality with respect to pecuniary concerns was early displayed; and at no time of his life does he seem to have considered money in any other light than as an instrument of procuring happiness to himself and others. The little fortune that his wife possessed he gave to her sister; and during his residence at Newington he bestowed much in charity, and made a handsome donation to the dissenting congregation there, for the purpose of providing a dwelling-house for the minister.

His attachment to religion was a principle imbibed from his earliest years, which continued steady and uniform

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through

through life. The body of Christians to whom he particularly united himself were the Independents, and his system of belief was that of the moderate Calvinists. But though he seems early to have made up his mind as to the doctrines he thought best founded, and the mode of worship he most approved, yet religion abstractedly considered, as the relation between man and his Maker, and the grand support of morality, appears to have been the principal object of his regard. He was less solicitous about modes and opinions, than the internal spirit of piety and devotion; and in his estimate of different religious societies, the circumstances to which he principally attended, were their zeal and sincerity. As it is the nature of sects in

general, to exhibit more earnestness in doctrine, and strictness in discipline, than the establishment from which they dissent, it is not to be wondered at that a person of Mr. *Howard's* disposition should regard the various denominations of sectaries with predilection, and attach himself to their most distinguished members. In London he seems chiefly to have joined the Baptist congregation in Wild-street, long under the ministry of the much-respected Dr. Stennett. His connexions were, I believe, least with that class called the Rational Dissenters; yet he probably had not a more intimate friend in the world than Dr. Price, who always ranked among them. It was his constant practice to join in the service of the establishment when he had not the opportunity

opportunity of attending a place of dissenting worship; and though he was warmly attached to the interests of the party he espoused, yet he had that true spirit of catholicism, which led him to honour virtue and religion wherever he found them, and to regard the *means* only as they were subservient to the *end*.

He was created a Fellow of the Royal Society on May 13, 1756. This honour was not, I presume, conferred upon him in consequence of any extraordinary proficiency in science which he had manifested; but rather in conformity to the laudable practice of that society, of attaching gentlemen of fortune and leisure to the interests of knowledge, by incorporating them into their body. Mr. *Howard* was not unmindful of the obligation he

lay under to contribute something to the common stock of information.. Three short papers of his are published in the *Transactions*. These are,

In Vol. LIV. On the Degree of Cold observed at Cardington in the Winter of 1763, when Bird's Thermometer was as low as $10 \frac{1}{2}$.

In Vol. LVII. On the Heat of the Waters at Bath, containing a Table of the Heat of the Waters of the different Baths.

In Vol. LXI. On the Heat of the Ground on Mount Vesuvius.

This list may serve to give an idea of the kind and degree of his philosophical research. Meteorological observations were much to his taste; and even in his later tours, when he was occupied by
very

very different objects, he never travelled without some instruments for that purpose. I have heard him likewise mention some experiments on the effects of the union of the primary colours in different proportions, in which he employed himself with some assiduity.

After the death of his wife, in the year 1756, he set out upon another tour, intending to commence it with a visit to the ruins of Lisbon. The event of this design will be hereafter mentioned. He remained abroad a few months; and, on his return, began to alter the house on his estate at Cardington near Bedford, where he settled. In 1758 he made a very suitable alliance with Miss *Henrietta Leeds*, eldest daughter of Edward Leeds, Esq; of Croxton, Cambridgeshire, king's

serjeant; and sister of the present Edward Leeds, Esq; a Master in Chancery, and of Joseph Leeds, Esq; of Croydon. With this lady, who possessed in an eminent degree all the mild and amiable virtues proper to her sex, he passed, as I have often heard him declare, the only years of true enjoyment which he had known in life. Soon after his marriage he purchased Watcombe, in the New Forest, Hampshire, and removed thither. Concerning his way of life in this pleasant retreat, I find nothing characteristic to relate, except the state of perfect security and harmony in which he managed to live in the midst of a people, against whom his predecessor thought it necessary to employ all the contrivances of engines and guns in order to preserve

preserve himself from their hostilities. He had, indeed, none of those propensities which so frequently embroil country gentlemen with their neighbours, both small and great. He was no sportsman, no executor of the game laws, and in no respect an encroacher on the rights and advantages of others. In possessing him, the poor could not fail soon to find that they had acquired a protector and benefactor; and I am unwilling to believe that in any part of the world these relations are not returned with gratitude and attachment. After continuing at Watcombe three or four years, he sold the place, and went back to Cardington, which thenceforth became his fixed residence.

Here

Here he steadily pursued those plans, both with respect to the regulation of his personal and family concerns, and to the promotion of the good of those around him, which principle and inclination led him to approve. Though without the ambition of making a splendid appearance, he had a taste for elegant neatness in his habitation and furniture. His sobriety of manners and peculiarities of living did not fit him for much promiscuous society; yet no man received his select friends with more true hospitality; and he always maintained an intercourse with several of the first persons in his county, who knew and respected his worth. Indeed, however uncomplying he might be with the free-

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doms and irregularities of polite life, he was by no means negligent of its received forms; and, though he might be denominated a man of scruples and singularities, no one would dispute his claim to the title of a *gentleman*.

But the terms on which he held society with persons of his own condition, are of much less importance in the view I mean to take of his character, than the methods by which he rendered himself a blessing to the indigent and friendless in a small circle, before he extended his benevolence to so wide a compass. It seems to have been the capital object of his ambition, that the poor in his village should be the most orderly in their manners, the neatest in their persons and habitations, and possessed of the
greatest

greatest share of the comforts of life, that could be met with in any part of England. And as it was his disposition to carry every thing he undertook to the greatest pitch of perfection, so he spared no pains or expence to effect this purpose. He began by building a number of neat cottages on his estate, annexing to each a little land for a garden, and other conveniences. In this project, which might be considered as an object of taste as well as of benevolence, he had the full concurrence of his excellent partner. I remember his relating, that once, having settled his accounts at the close of a year, and found a balance in his favour, he proposed to his wife to make use of it in a journey to London, or any other gratification she chose. “ What a pretty
cottage

cottage it would build," was her answer; and the money was so employed. These comfortable habitations he peopled with the most industrious and sober tenants he could find; and over them he exercised the superintendence of master and father combined. He was careful to furnish them with employment, to assist them in sickness and distress, and to educate their children. In order to preserve their morals, he made it a condition that they should regularly attend their several places of worship, and abstain from public-houses, and from such amusements as he thought pernicious; and he secured their compliance with his rules by making them tenants at will.

I shall here beg leave to digress a little, in order to make some general observations

fervations on the different methods that
 may be proposed for bettering the con-
 dition of the lowest and most numerous
 class among us. In the state in which
 they too frequently appear, depressed to
 the extreme point of indigence, unable
 by their utmost exertions to obtain more
 than the bare necessities of existence,
 debased by the total want of instruc-
 tion, and partaking of nothing that
 can dignify the human character, it is
 no wonder that a benevolent person of
 the higher ranks in society should con-
 sider them as creatures of an inferior
 species, only to be benefited by the con-
 stant exercise of his authority and super-
 intendence. And I believe the fact to
 be, that, from the operation of our poor
 laws and other circumstances, the poor
 in

in this country are more thoughtless, improvident, and helpless, than those of almost any other nation. Humanity will therefore, in such a state of things, think it necessary to assume the entire management of those who can neither think nor act for their own good; and will direct and over-rule all their concerns, just as it would those of children and idiots. In short, it will aim at such a kind of influence, as the Jesuits of Paraguay established, (perhaps with the same benevolent views) over the simple natives.

But is this state of pupilage to be perpetual? and, in a land of liberty and equal laws, is the great body of people always to exist in a condition of actual subjection to and dependence on the few?

Are

Are they never to be intrusted with their own happiness, but always to look up for support and direction to those who in reality are less independent than themselves? This is an idea which a liberal mind will be unwilling to admit; and it will anxiously look forward to a period, in which meanness of condition shall not necessarily imply debasement of nature; but those of *every* rank in society, feeling powers within themselves to secure their essential comforts, shall rely upon their own exertions, and be guided by the dictates of their own reason. That this is not an imaginary state of things, the general condition of the lowest classes in some countries, and even in some parts of England, where the working poor, at the same time that their earnings

ings enable them to procure the comforts of life, are inured to habits of sobriety and frugality, is a sufficient proof.

There are few counties in England which afford less employment to a numerous poor than that of Bedford; of course, wages are low, and much distress would prevail, were it not for the humanity of the gentlemen who reside upon their estates. Among these, Mr. *Howard* distinguished himself by a peculiar attention to the comfort and improvement of his dependents; and he was accordingly held by them in the highest respect and veneration. I may add, that he possessed their *love*; which is not always the case with those who render essential services to people of that class. But he treated them with kindness, as well as with beneficence;

neficence; and he particularly avoided every thing stern or imperious in his manner towards them. Whatever there might appear of strictness in the discipline he enforced, it had only in view their best interests; and if under his protection they could pass a tranquil old age in their own comfortable cottages, rather than end their lives in a work-house, the subordination to which they submitted was amply compensated. It is certain that the melioration of manners and principles which he promoted, was the most effectual means of eventually rendering them more independent; and I have reason to know, that, latterly at least, he was as well affected to the *rights*, as he was solicitous to augment the *comforts*, of the poor.

His charities were not confined to those more immediately connected with his property; they took in the whole circle of neighbourhood. His bounty was particularly directed to that fundamental point in improving the condition of the poor, giving them a sober and useful education. From early life he attended to this object; and he established schools for both sexes, conducted upon the most judicious plan. The girls were taught reading, and needlework in a plain way: the boys reading, and some of them writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic. They were regularly to attend public worship in the way their parents approved. The number brought up in these schools was fluctuating, but the institutions were uninter-

rupted. In every other way in which a man thoroughly disposed to do good with the means providence has bestowed upon him, can exercise his liberality, Mr. *Howard* stood among the foremost. He was not only a subscriber to various public schemes of benevolence, but his private charities were largely diffused, and remarkably well directed. It was, indeed, only to his particular confidants and coadjutors that many of these were ever known; but they render him the most ample testimony in this respect. His very intimate and confidential friend, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Smith of Bedford, gives me the following account of this part of his conduct, at a time when he was deeply engaged in those public exertions which might be supposed to interfere

interfere with his private and local benefactions. “ He still continued to devise liberal things for his poor neighbours and tenants; and, considering how much his heart and time were engaged in his great and comprehensive plans, it was surprising with what minuteness he would send home his directions about his private donations. His *schools* were continued to the last.” It is impossible any stronger proof can be given, that the habit of doing good was wrought into his very nature, than that, while his public actions placed him without a rival for deeds of philanthropy, he should still be unable to satisfy his benevolent desires without his accustomed benefits to his neighbours and dependents.

Another early feature of that character which Mr. *Howard* afterwards so conspicuously displayed, was a determined resistance of injustice and oppression. No one could be more firmly relied on as the protector of right and innocence against unfeeling and unprincipled power. His indignation was roused by any attempts to encroach or domineer; and his spirit led him, without hesitation, to express, both in words and actions, his sense of such conduct. As no man could be more perfectly independent, both in mind and situation, than himself, he made that use of his advantage which every independent man ought to do;—he acted as principle directed him, regardless whom he might displease by it;

it; he strongly marked his different sensations with respect to different characters; and he was not less strenuous in opposing pernicious schemes, than in promoting beneficial ones.

The love of order and regularity likewise marked the early as well as the later periods of his life; it directed his own domestic concerns equally with his plans for the benefit of others. His disposition of time was exact and methodical. He accurately knew the state of all his affairs; and the hand of economy regulated what the heart of generosity dispensed. His taste in dress, furniture, and every thing exterior, was turned to simplicity and neatness; and this conformity of disposition rendered him an admirer of the sect of Quakers, with many

individuals of which he maintained an intimate connexion.

In common with many other benevolent and virtuous characters, he had a fondness for gardening, and the cultivation of plants both useful and ornamental. Indeed, as his own diet was almost entirely of the vegetable kind, he had various inducements to attend to this pleasing occupation. That most valuable root, the potato, was a great favourite with him; and a remarkably productive species of it, which he recommended to public notice, was distinguished by his name. His garden was an object of curiosity, both for the elegant manner in which it was laid out, and for the excellence of its productions; and in his various travels he frequently brought

brought home, and distributed among his friends, the seeds of curious kinds of cultivated vegetables.

In this manner Mr. *Howard* passed the tranquil years of his settled residence at Cardington; happy in himself, and the instrument of good to all around him. But this state was not long to continue. His domestic felicity received a fatal wound from the death of his beloved wife, in the year 1765, soon after delivery of her only child. It is unnecessary to say how a heart like his must have felt on such an event. They who have been witnesses of the sensibility with which, many years afterwards, he recollected it, and know how he honoured and cherished her memory, will conceive his sensations at that trying period. He

was thenceforth attached to his home only by the duties annexed to it; of which the most interesting was the education of his infant son. This was an office which almost immediately commenced; for, according to his ideas, education had place from the very first dawn of the mental faculties. The very unfortunate issue of his cares, with respect to his son, has caused a charge to be brought against him very deeply affecting his paternal character. That this charge was in its main circumstance false and calumnious, has, I trust, been proved, to the satisfaction of the public, by appeals to facts which have remained uncontroverted. I shall not, therefore, go over again the ground of this controversy; but shall rather follow the pro-
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per line of this work, by briefly displaying Mr. *Howard's* ideas on education, and his manner of executing them.

Regarding children as creatures possessed of strong passions and desires, without reason and experience to controul them, he thought that Nature seemed, as it were, to mark them out as the subjects of absolute authority ; and that the first and fundamental principle to be inculcated upon them, was implicit and unlimited obedience. This cannot be effected by any process of *reasoning*, before reason has its commencement ; and therefore must be the result of *coercion*. Now, as no man ever more effectually combined the *leniter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*, the coercion he practised was calm and gentle, but at the same time

time steady and resolute. I shall give an instance of it which I had from himself. His child one day, wanting something which he was not to have, fell into a fit of crying, which the nurse could not pacify. Mr. *Howard* took him from her, and laid him quietly in his lap, till, fatigued with crying, he became still. This process, a few times repeated, had such an effect, that the child, if crying ever so violently, was rendered quiet the instant his father took him. In a similar manner, without harsh words and threats, still less blows, he gained every other point which he thought necessary to gain, and brought the child to such a habit of obedience, that I have heard him say, he believed his son would have put his finger into the fire if he had

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commanded him. Certain it is, that many fathers could not, if they approved it, execute a plan of this kind; but Mr. *Howard* in this case only pursued the general method which he took to effect any thing which a thorough conviction of its propriety induced him to undertake. It is absurd, therefore, to represent him as wanting that milk of human kindness for his only son, with which he abounded for the rest of his fellow-creatures; for he aimed at what he thought the good of both, by the very same means; and, if he carried the point further with respect to his son, it was only because he was more interested in his welfare. But this course of discipline, whatever be thought of it, could not have been long practised, since the child

was

was early sent to school, and the father lived very little at home afterwards. As to its *effect* on the youth's mind (if *that*, and not intention, be the circumstance on which Mr. *Howard*'s vindication is to depend), I consider it as a manifest impossibility, that controuling the *child*, should have been the cause of the *young man's* insanity. If any such remote cause could be supposed capable of producing such an effect, the opposite extreme of indulgence would have been a much more likely one. But I think it highly probable, that a father, whose presence was associated with the perception of restraint and refusal, should always have inspired more awe than affection; and should never have created that filial confidence, which is both the most pleasing
and

and most salutary of the sentiments attending that relation. And this has been the great evil of that rigorous mode of education, once so general, and still frequent, among persons of a particular persuasion. I have authority to say, that *Mr. Howard* was at length sensible that he had in some measure mistaken the mode of forming his son to that character he wished him to acquire; though, with respect to his mental derangement, I know that he imputed no blame to himself on that head. With what parental sorrow he was affected by that event will appear in the progress of the narration.

Having now given such a view of the temper and manners of this excellent person, in his private situation, as may
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serve to introduce him to the reader's acquaintance at the time of his assuming a public character, I shall, without further delay, proceed to trace him through those years of his life, the employment of which alone has rendered him an object of the curiosity and admiration of his countrymen.

In the year 1773 Mr. *Howard* was nominated High-Sheriff of the county of Bedford. An obstacle, however, lay in the way of his accepting that office, concerning which I shall take the liberty of making a few remarks.

When a principled Dissenter, whose condition in life permits him to aspire to the honour of serving his country in some post of magistracy, reflects on his situation, he finds that he must make
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his election of one of the three following determinations. He must either comply with a religious rite of another church, merely on account of its being made the condition of receiving the office; or take upon himself the office without such compliance, under all the hazard that attends it; or he must quietly sit down under that *vacation* from public charges which the state, in its wisdom, has imposed upon him, satisfied with promoting the welfare of individuals by modes not interdicted to him. It would be great presumption in me to decide which of these determinations is most conformable to duty. In fact, there is only a choice of difficulties; and the decision between them must be left to every man's own feelings, which, if his inten-

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tions be good and honest, will scarcely lead him wrong. But it was perfectly suitable to Mr. *Howard's* character to make option of *the office with the hazard*: for as, on the one hand, no consideration on earth could have induced him to violate his religious principles; so, on the other, his active disposition, and zeal for the public good, strongly impelled him to assume a station in which those qualities might have free scope for exertion; and as to personal hazard, *that* was never an obstacle in his way. There may be casuists who will condemn this choice, and regard it as a serious offence against the laws of his country, to have taken upon him an office without complying with its preliminary conditions. But, I conceive, the sincere philanthropist will
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rather make a different reflection, and feel a shock in thinking, that, had Mr. *Howard* been influenced by those apprehensions which would have operated upon most men, he would have been excluded from that situation, which gave occasion to all those services which he rendered to humanity in his own country, and throughout Europe *.

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* The penalties to which Mr. *Howard* in this instance exposed himself are declared in the following clause of the *Test Act*, which cannot too often be placed before the eyes of Britons. “ Every person that shall neglect or refuse to take the sacrament as aforesaid, and yet, after such neglect or refusal, shall execute any of the said offices or employments, and being thereupon lawfully convicted, *shall be disabled to sue or use any action, bill, plaint, or information, in course of law, or to prosecute any suit in any court of equity, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or administrator*

He entered upon his office with the resolution of performing all its duties with

“ of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office; and shall forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds, to be recovered by him or them that shall sue for the same.”—In the debate on the repeal of this act, the Mover with much eloquence introduced the very case of Mr. Howard, and seemed considerably to impress his audience by the supposition of such a man suffering its penalties, in consequence of an information which any villain might lay against him. In reply it was said, that, whatever were a man's intentions, if he voluntarily contravened a known law of his country, it ought not to be reckoned a hardship that he incurred the penalties by which it was sanctioned. And this reasoning is undoubtedly just, as it respects the interest of an individual put in competition with the security of a law. But surely it is a proper consideration for the legislature, whether a law be grounded on those principles of equity and general utility which can justify the imposition of such dreadful penalties for the breach of it, especially when experience has shewn, that the most conscientious and well-intentioned persons are most liable to incur them.

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that punctuality which marked his conduct in every thing he undertook. Of these, one of the most important, though least agreeable, is the inspection of the *prisons* within its jurisdiction. But this to him was not only an act of duty, it interested him as a material concern of humanity.

The attention of Mr. *Howard* to persons “ sick and in prison” is by himself dated as far back as the year 1756, when he was induced by a singular, but what I should call a sublime, curiosity to visit Lisbon, then lying in the recent ruins of its terrible earthquake. The packet in which he sailed being taken by a French privateer, he, with the rest of the crew, was first exposed to all the barbarities exercised by those licensed pirates, who

possess the right of the sword, not mollified by the feelings of gentlemen; and, on his arrival in France, he for a time endured some of the hardships of a prisoner of war, and became acquainted with all the sufferings of his countrymen in the same situation. These, on his return to England, he took care to make known to the *Commissioners of Sick and Wounded Seamen*, who gave him their thanks for his information, and exerted themselves to obtain redress. It was impossible that so feeling a lesson of the calamities inflicted upon the unprotected classes of mankind, by fellow-creatures “dressed in a little brief authority,” should fail to make a durable impression on such a mind as Mr. *Howard's*.

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It was not, however, till the period of his serving the office of sheriff, that the distresses of those confined in the civil prisons of his own country engaged his particular notice. In the Introduction to his *State of the Prisons* he has, with the most unassuming simplicity, related the gradual progress of his inquiries; and in what manner he was led, from an examination of the gaols in his own small county, to an investigation of all the circumstances belonging to this branch of police throughout the kingdom.

The first thing which struck him, was the enormous injustice of remanding to prison for the payment of *fees*, those who had been acquitted or discharged without trial. As the magistrates of his county, though willing to redress this

grievance, did not conceive themselves possessed of the power of granting a remedy, Mr. *Howard* travelled into some of the neighbouring counties in search of a precedent. In this search, scenes of calamity and injustice still opening upon him, he went on, and paid visits to most of the *County Gaols* in England. Some peculiarly deplorable objects coming in his view who had been brought from the *Bridewels*, he was induced to enter upon an examination of these places of confinement; for which purpose he travelled again into the counties he had before seen, and into all the rest, visiting *Houses of Correction, City and Town Gaols*.

He had carried on these inquiries with so much assiduity, that so early as March 1774 he was desired to communicate his
information

information to the House of Commons, and received their thanks. As he was then little known, I cannot much wonder that so extraordinary an instance of pure and active benevolence was not universally comprehended, even by that patriotic body; for a member thought fit to ask him, “at whose expence he travelled?” a question which Mr. *Howard* could scarcely answer without some indignant emotions. Soon after this public testimony given to the existence of great abuses and defects in our prisons, a very worthy member, Mr. *Popham*, brought into the House two bills, one *for the relief of acquitted prisoners in matter of fees*; the other, *for preserving the health of prisoners*. These salutary acts passed during the same session, and
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made a commencement of those reforms which have since been so much extended. Mr. *Howard*, aware of the great deficiency of the mode of *promulgating laws* among us, had these acts printed in a different character, and sent to every keeper of a county gaol in England.

In this year he was induced, by the urgent persuasions of his neighbours and friends of the town of Bedford, to stand candidate, in conjunction with Mr. *Whitbread*, to represent that borough in Parliament. No two persons could be better entitled to the esteem of a town; and they were very warmly supported in a contest, which however terminated in the return of two other gentlemen. Mr. *Whitbread* and Mr. *Howard* petitioned the House against the return; and the event

event was, that the former, and one of the fitting members, were declared duly elected. To those who are acquainted with the constitution of that borough, it will not appear extraordinary, that a person possessing the attachment of a majority of the inhabitant voters should lose his election. This, however, was a most fortunate circumstance for the public; since, if Mr. *Howard* had obtained a seat in the House of Commons, his plans for the reformation of prisons must have been brought within a narrow compass; and the collateral inquiries which, so greatly to the advantage of humanity, he afterwards adopted, could never have existed.

It was Mr. *Howard*'s intention to have published his account of English Prisons
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in spring 1775; but as he was sensible, that to point out defects, without at the same time suggesting remedies, would be of little advantage, he thought it best to examine with his own eyes what had been actually put in practice with respect to this part of police, in some of the most enlightened countries on the continent. Accordingly, in that year he visited France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany; and in 1776 repeated his visit to those countries, and also went to Switzerland. In the intervals he made a journey to Scotland and Ireland, and revisited the county gaols and many others in England.

Thus furnished with a stock of information greater than had ever before been collected on this subject; and, indeed, probably greater than *any* man had,

had, in the same space of time, ever collected on *any* subject that required similar pains; he offered it to the public in 1777, in a quarto volume of near 500 pages, dedicated to the House of Commons, by way of grateful acknowledgment for the honour conferred on him by their thanks, and for the attention they had bestowed on the business. Before I proceed to give an account of this work, I shall just observe, that so zealous was Mr. *Howard* to diffuse information, and so determined to obviate any idea that he meant to repay his expences by the profitable trade of *book making*, that, besides a profuse munificence in presenting copies to all the principal persons in the kingdom, and all his particular friends, he insisted on fixing the price of the vo-

lume so low, that, had every copy been sold, he would still have presented the public with all the plates, and great part of the printing. And this practice he followed in all his subsequent publications; so that, with literal propriety, he may be said to have *given* them to the world. By the large expences of his journey, charities, and publications, he has made himself even a greater *pecuniary* benefactor to mankind than can readily be paralleled in any age or country, his proportionate circumstances considered. Yet how small a part was this of the sacrifices he made!

He chose the press of Mr. Eyres at Warrington, induced by various elegant specimens which had issued from it, and by the opportunity a country press afforded,

forded, of having the work done under his own inspection, at his own time, and with all the minute accuracy of correction he determined to bestow on it. I may also say, that an opinion of the advantage he might there enjoy of some literary assistance in the revision and improvement of his papers, was a farther motive. To this choice I was indebted for that intimate personal acquaintance with him, which I shall ever esteem one of the most honourable circumstances of my life, and the lively recollection of which will, I trust, never quit me while memory remains. He resided in Warrington during the whole time of printing, and his attention to business was most indefatigable. During a very severe winter he made it his practice to rise at
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three or four in the morning, for the purpose of collating every word and figure of his daily proof sheet with the original.

As I thought it right to mention Mr. *Howard's* literary deficiencies, it is become necessary to inform the public of the manner in which his works were composed. On his return from his tours he took all his memorandum-books to an old retired friend of his, who assisted him in methodizing them, and copied out the whole matter in correct language. They were then put into the hands of Dr. *Price*, from whom they underwent a revision, and received occasionally considerable alterations. What Mr. *Howard* himself thought of the advantages they derived from his assistance, will appear from

from the following passages in letters to Dr. Price. “ I am ashamed to think “ how much I have accumulated your “ labours, yet I glory in that assistance “ to which I owe so much credit in the “ world, and, under Providence, success “ in my endeavours.”——“ It is from “ your kind aid and assistance, my dear “ friend, that I derive so much of my “ character and influence. I exult in “ declaring it, and shall carry a grate- “ ful sense of it to the last hour of my “ existence.”—With his papers thus cor-
rected, Mr. *Howard* came to the press at Warrington; and first he read them all over carefully with me, which perusal was repeated, sheet by sheet, as they were printed. As new facts and ob-
servations were continually suggesting
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themselves to his mind, he put the matter of them upon paper as they occurred, and then requested me to clothe them in such expressions as I thought proper. On these occasions, such was his diffidence, that I found it difficult to make him acquiesce in his own language when, as frequently happened, it was unexceptionable. Of this additional matter, some was interwoven with the text, but the greater part was necessarily thrown into notes, which, in some of his volumes, are numerous.

The title of this first work is, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales; with preliminary Observations, and an Account of some Foreign Prisons.* It begins with a general View of Distress in Prisons, shewing in what respects those of England

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land are deficient in the articles of food, water, bedding, and fresh air; and that the morals of the prisoners are totally neglected, the most criminal and abandoned being suffered to corrupt the younger and less practised. Notice is also taken of the *gaol-fever*, a disease which has in a peculiar manner infested the prisons of this country, and has at various times spread its ravages from them among our courts of judicature, our fleets, and armies. The author's next section is on *Bad Customs in Prisons*, under which he takes notice of the demand of garnish, the permission of gaming, the use of irons, the practice of varying the towns where the assizes are held, the local unfrequency of gaol-delivery, the fees still demanded by clerks

of assize and of the peace, the non-residency of gaolers, the crowding of gaols with the wives and children of prisoners, and the circumstance of some gaols being private property. From this, and the foregoing section, every one must be convinced of the dreadful state of our police in this important matter, and the absolute necessity for a reformation. For proof that the complaints here made in general terms are not unfounded or exaggerated, he properly refers to the subsequent account of particular gaols, where they are too abundantly verified. He concludes the second section with an enumeration of all the prisoners in England and Wales, under their several classes, who, in 1776, amounted to 4084, a number much less than some vague conjectures

jectures had stated, yet sufficiently great to demand the serious attention of the legislature, especially when it is considered that every man in prison may be reckoned to have two dependents on him for support.

Mr. *Howard's* third section offers *proposed Improvements in the Structure and Management of Prisons*. He begins with observations on the prison itself, with respect to its situation and plan, the latter of which is illustrated by an engraving. He then proceeds to that most essential topic, the regulations. These he considers under the several heads of gaoler, chaplain, surgeon, fees, cleanliness, food, bedding, rules and orders, and inspector. He much insists upon the necessity of absolutely taking away the

tap from the keepers of prisons, the possession of which was obviously the cause of promoting intemperance and riot, from the interest it gave the keeper in such irregularities. In lieu of this source of profit, he proposes a liberal addition to the salaries of this officer, the importance and respectability of whose employ he every where inculcates. He makes a separate article of bridewells, the original penitentiary-houses of the country, and planned with much wisdom, but which, by long neglect and abuse, were become rather a nuisance than an advantage to the police. In many of them, though the persons confined were sentenced to *hard labour*, no work of any kind was done; and this state of idleness, with the company of hardened criminals, proved
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to be a most effectual method of completing the corruption of young and petty offenders. Various excellent remarks and suggestions are given in the whole of this section, which contains the ground-work of all improvement in the economy of prisons and houses of correction.

In sect. IV. Mr. *Howard* gives an account of *Foreign Prisons*; not of *all* he had seen, but of such only as afforded matter of instruction; nor in these does he notice the frauds and defects he observed, for he says, “ the redress and
“ investigation of *foreign* abuses was not
“ my object.” The countries of which the prisons are described are France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and Flanders. In the first, the suspicious policy which *then* prevailed would have

rendered it very difficult for him to have obtained access to the interior part of the prisons, had he not availed himself of a benevolent rule, which permits any person to distribute *alms* to the prisoners with his own hands. A spirit of order and precision, tempered with humanity, was observable in the conduct of this department, the regulations of which were fixed by a very comprehensive and judicious code contained in an *arret* of 1717. In *Switzerland*, the separation of male and female prisoners, the solitary confinement of felons, and the employment of those called galley-slaves, are circumstances deserving notice. The *German* prisons are regulated in a similar manner; and the houses of correction at *Manheim*, *Hamburg*, and *Bremen*, afford

ford useful examples of order and industry. But it is in *Holland* that the purpose of reforming criminals by a course of discipline is carried into execution with most care and effect. Few debtors and few atrocious offenders are to be found there; and the rasp and spin-houses contain the great body of prisoners. The regulations of these are given in detail, and the different employments of the prisoners in different towns are particularly noted. Holland appears to be Mr. *Howard's* great school, to which we shall see that he was never wearied in returning. The *Austrian Netherlands* offer some of the largest establishments of the penitentiary kind, and prove the possibility of managing a great number of criminals so as to make them useful to the state,

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and decent in their behaviour, by the aid of steady discipline and separate confinement at night. Mr. *Howard* saw, what I suppose was then deemed an impossibility in England, in the house of correction at *Ghent*, near 190 stout criminals governed with as much apparent ease as the most sober and well-disposed assembly in civil society. The regulations of this prison are deservedly given at some length. Mr. *Howard* concludes this section with a forcible and manly appeal to his countrymen with respect to the comparison he was obliged to exhibit between foreign and English police in this point, so unfavourable to the latter; calling upon his reader to judge, from the facts laid before him, “whether a design of reforming our prisons be merely visionary;

visionary; and whether idleness, debauchery, disease, and famine, be the necessary attendants of a prison, or only connected with it in our ideas, for want of a more perfect knowledge and more enlarged views."

Section V. takes up the greatest part of the book. It contains a *particular account of English prisons*, arranged according to the circuits, and comprising every county in England and Wales. The mode adopted is very well contrived for the easy consultation of magistrates and other persons concerned. Every principal prison in London, and every county and city gaol, has the leading facts respecting it disposed in a short table under the four heads of *gaoler, prisoners, chaplain, and surgeon*. A brief description follows of
situation,

situation, plan, measurements, &c. with such remarks, either of approbation or censure, as the circumstances suggested. Lists are given of legacies and benefactions; and all tables of fees, and rules and orders, are copied *verbatim*. Next to these, are concise accounts of all the county bridewels, and the town gaols and bridewels, with occasional remarks. The work is closed by some *tables* relative to fees and numbers, crimes and punishments of criminals. A short *conclusion* terminates the whole, in which the author apologizes for the language of censure he has so often been compelled to use, enumerates the leading objects requiring reform, and promises, that if such a *thorough parliamentary enquiry* into this great object, as alone can prove effectual

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to put it upon a proper footing, should be undertaken, he would devote his time to a more extensive foreign journey, for the sake of obtaining new information to lay before the public.

I cannot dismiss the account of Mr. *Howard's* first and great work, without a few reflections, to which the contemplation of it gives rise. And first, we may derive from it a clear idea of the capital objects which the author had at heart respecting prisoners. These were, to *alleviate their miseries*, and *correct their vices*. As to the former purpose, he considered that men, partaking a common nature, have certain claims upon their fellow-creatures which nothing can entirely abrogate;—that even the highest degree of criminality does not absolutely exclude
compassion

compassion towards the perpetrators of crimes, especially when suffering under their effects ;—that as no man passes through life without some deviation from strict rectitude, so none has lived without the performance of some good actions ;—and that, although human laws must draw a line between such circumstances of conduct as do, or do not, come within their cognizance, yet there is a tribunal before which all mankind must appear as culprits, only distinguished by the *degree* of delinquency. He further considered, that among the inmates of a prison there is every possible degree of moral demerit, from the mere inconsiderate violation of some hard, ill-understood, local law, to the deliberate breach of the most sacred and universal rule of action ; and
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that a great number are, in the eye of the law, innocent persons, only under a temporary state of confinement, till their conduct is properly investigated. From these different views of the subject, he convinced himself, that it was the duty of every society to pay due attention to the *health*, and, in some degree, even to the *comforts*, of *all* who are held in a state of confinement;—that wanton and unnecessary rigour should be practised upon *none*;—and that *some* were entitled to all the indulgences compatible with their condition. It was, however, by no means his wish (as some chose to represent it) to render a prison so comfortable an abode, that the lowest order of society might find their condition even bettered by admission into it. On the

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contrary, the system of *discipline* which he desired to establish, was such as would appear extremely grievous to those of an idle and licentious disposition. For, whenever imprisonment was made the *punishment* of a crime, his idea of *reformation* became a leading principle in the regulation of prisons; and it was that which cost him the chief labour in collecting and applying facts. To accomplish this end, he shewed that these things were essential;—strict and constant superintendence—close and regular employment—religious instruction—rewards for industry and good behaviour, and penalties for sloth and audaciousness—distribution into classes and divisions according to age, sex, delinquency, &c.—and occasional and nocturnal solitude. In laying down

down these regulations, he might be thought to have given way to a certain *austerity*, were it not so tempered by attention to the real demands of human nature, and sanctified by a regard to the best interests of offenders themselves, that the *friend of mankind* was ever apparent, even in the strict disciplinarian. He extremely lamented that the plan of *reformation* seemed, of all parts of his system of improvement, least entered into or understood in this country. The vulgar idea that our criminals are hardened and abandoned beyond all possibility of amendment, appeared to him equally irrational and pernicious. He scorned, through negligence or despair, to give up the worst cases of mental corruption; he fully believed that proper remedies, duly
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administered, would recover a large share of them; and he thought it the greatest of cruelties to consign a soul to perdition, without having made every effort for retrieving it. Merely to *get rid* of convicts by execution or perpetual banishment, he regarded as a piece of barbarous policy, equally denoting want of feeling, and deficiency of resource; and he had not so much English prejudice about him, as to suppose, that a system not adopted in this country was therefore absurd or impracticable.

My second topic of reflection is the striking proof this work affords of the extensive benefit, arising from a *free press*. By its means we see an individual, enjoying neither royal nor ministerial, patronage, but solely borne up by ardent
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zeal for the public good, and the resources of his own mind and fortune, enabled, not only to lay before the world complete information concerning a most important and little known subject, but, in some measure, also to *enforce* the correction of abuses, by bringing before *the bar of the public* those by whose negligence or criminality they had been fostered. For as the history of mankind has shewn, on the one hand, that palpable injustice and mismanagement, even in an absolute government, cannot long stand their ground against the odium of an enlightened public; so, on the other, it has proved, that even in free constitutions, notwithstanding all their boasted checks and balances, very gross abuses may long prevail, unless they are placed in open

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day, and submitted to the censure of the nation at large. It is scarcely, I think, to be doubted, that the freedom we enjoy in this country, and the ultimate defeat of every pernicious project, are less owing to the *mechanism* of our constitution, than to the habitual practice (rather assumed by the spirit of the people than granted by the laws) of subjecting every public measure to popular discussion by means of the press. From this ready communication of facts and opinions, it has happened, that many useful designs and improvements have among us originated from persons who had neither power nor interest of their own, but whose plans were adopted in consequence of the public conviction. The respect paid to Mr. *Howard's* virtues, abilities, and industry, placed

placed him in a manner at the head of the department in which he had engaged as a volunteer ; and this, not only in his own country, but afterwards, in some measure, throughout Europe. Though in exercising the office of a censor he was superior to the fear of giving offence, yet he ever observed the utmost delicacy in marking out *individuals* as objects of blame. He boldly and forcibly displayed the *abuse*, but left it to those more immediately concerned, to take notice of the *delinquent*. It cannot be questioned, that numbers looked with an evil eye upon his keen researches and free detections ; but how could they venture, before the public, to confront a man whose assertions were correct, whose intentions were above all suspicion, and

whose life would stand the severest test? May this example animate all future friends of mankind with a noble confidence becoming their cause!

The House of Commons now took up, with laudable zeal, the important business of regulating the prisons; and in the draught of a bill “to punish by imprisonment and hard labour certain offenders, and to establish proper places for their reception,” the plan was formed upon the Rasp and Spin-houses in Holland. Mr. *Howard* was now called upon by his promise, as well as his inclination, to make a new tour for the purpose of acquiring fresh and more exact information. He, accordingly, in April 1778, went over to *Holland*, and revisited with the greatest attention the well-conducted establishments

establishments of the penitentiary kind in the United Provinces. Thence he travelled into *Germany*, taking his course through Hanover and Berlin, to Vienna. From this capital he proceeded to *Italy* by Venice; and, having gone as far south as Naples, returned by the western side of that country to *Switzerland*. Thence he pursued the course of the Rhine through *Germany*; and, crossing the *Low Countries* to *France*, returned to England in Jan. 1779. During the spring and summer of this year he made another complete tour of *England* and *Wales*, and likewise took a journey through *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

The labours of these two years were certainly not less productive of useful information than his former journies. In

some respects they were more valuable, since, being now fully master of his subject, and acquainted with the means of procuring the best intelligence, he pursued his inquiries with greater ease and effect. He was now, too, a distinguished character in Europe, and might venture to assume that kind of *authority*, to which the collection of facts, interesting to all civilized nations, seemed to entitle him. It is here proper to mention, that although he often found it necessary, especially when treading new ground, to avail himself of recommendations to persons high in rank and office; yet that he much preferred, when he could practise it, carrying on his researches as an unknown individual, whose business was not suspected, and who took such times and opportunities

tunities of making his visits, as secured him against any thing like disguise or preparation. And it was his general custom, after he had once obtained access to a prison by the presence and interposition of authority, to stay some time in the place, or revisit it, for the purpose of renewing his enquiries single and unexpected. Thus careful was he to guard against deception; and with such coolness of investigation did he execute a design which it required so much ardour of mind to conceive!

I shall not, however, conceal, that some sensible and not uncandid observers of his conduct have thought him too apt to be prejudiced by first impressions, the effects of which it appeared extremely difficult to remove; and they have also

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charged him with sometimes giving undue credit to persons of inferior condition, at the places where he was making his inquiries; and likewise with being apparently better pleased with finding occasion to censure than to commend. If, in a few instances, there may have been grounds for these imputations (as nothing human is without its defects), yet I think his works may, on the whole, be confidently referred to, as proving, by an immense mass of allowed and uncontradicted facts, the accuracy of his representations. It is likewise to be considered, that, as abuses in general proceed from *superiors*, it was not likely that a fair account of them should be obtained from that quarter: and, as his great purpose was to *correct*, it is natural that his attention should

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have been more drawn to what was wrong than what was right. A Hercules who went about in order to contend with monsters, had little to do with the fair forms of civil life. Yet numerous instances of liberal praise may be found in his works, especially where he could propose the object of it as an example proper for imitation.

The tours now before us were likewise rendered richer in utility by the comprehension of another great object, that of *hospitals*. To these institutions of humanity Mr. *Howard* had long been attached; he had been a promoter of them, and attentive to their improvement; and in his journies through this kingdom, he had seldom failed to visit the hospitals and infirmaries situated in
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our principal towns. He had also, in his first publication, taken cursory notice of a few which he saw abroad. But he now made them an avowed object of his examination; a circumstance, it may be supposed, not a little pleasing to his medical friends. For, although the knowledge collected by a professional man with similar opportunities would, doubtless, have been more applicable to the purpose of science, yet matter of fact, accurately stated by a sensible observer, must ever have its value. Besides, where can we expect to see the spirit and qualities of a *Howard*, united, in one of our profession, with his fortune and leisure?

The fruit of all this research appeared in the year 1780, in an *Appendix to the State of the Prisons in England and Wales*;
containing

containing a further Account of Foreign Prisons and Hospitals, with additional Remarks on the Prisons of this Country. It is a quarto volume of about 200 pages, with several plates. The work begins with the foreign prisons and hospitals; and *Holland* takes the lead, since a main object of the journey was a minute account of the excellent regulations of the houses of correction in that country. Many of the rules, dietaries, &c. are copied; and on quitting the country, Mr. *Howard* gives his testimony to the large field of information on this subject that it affords, and says, that he knows not which most to admire, “the neatness and cleanliness appearing in the prisons, the industry and regular conduct of the prisoners, or the humanity and attention

tention of the magistrates and governors.⁵⁵ He takes little notice of the hospitals for the sick in Holland, not approving their mode of keeping patients so warm, and excluding the fresh air. At *Berlin*, the regularity and strictness of the police shews the ruling spirit of the great Frederic. A work-house here is conducted in the best Dutch mode. *Vienna* affords little to commend in its prisons: on the contrary, its horrid dungeons seem the abode of the extremest human misery. Scarcely any thing in Mr. *Howard's* descriptions is more touching than the following picture: "In one of the dark dungeons, down twenty-four steps, I thought I had found a person with the gaol-fever. He was loaded with heavy irons, and chained to the wall: anguish
and

and misery appeared with tears clotted on his face. He was not capable of speaking to me; but, on examining his breast and feet for *petechiæ*, or spots, and finding a strong intermitting pulse, I was convinced that he was not ill of that disorder. A prisoner in an opposite cell told me, that the poor creature had desired him to call for assistance, and he had done it, but was not heard*." The

charities

* This scene is the subject of the frontispiece to *Mr. Hayley's Ode to Mr. Howard*; and it is better drawn in the following stanza of that performance.

Where in the dungeon's loathsome shade
The speechless captive clanks his chain,
With heartless hope to raise that aid
His feeble cries have call'd in vain :
Thine eye his dumb complaint explores ;
Thy voice his parting breath restores ;

Thy

charities of this city, chiefly founded by the late Empress Queen, are much more pleasing subjects of description.

Mr. *Howard* entered *Italy* with high expectations of improvement from its numerous charitable institutions and public edifices; nor does it appear that he was altogether disappointed, as this country affords him a pretty long and interesting article. The governments in which a spirit of improvement, and attention to public objects, seem most to prevail, are those of Milan and Tuscany. The hospitals in Italy afford some novelties and useful hints; but there appears to be a great difference among them as to cleanliness and good management. *Rome* and

Thy cares his ghastly visage clear
From death's chill dew, with many a clotted tear,
And to his thankful soul returning life endear.

Milan

Milan have well conducted houses of correction, of which plans and descriptions are given. In a room of the former is inscribed a sentence, which so admirably expressed Mr. *Howard's* idea concerning the purpose of civil policy relative to criminals, that he would, I believe, almost have thought it worth while to have travelled thither for that alone. PARUM EST COERCERE IMPROBOS POENA, NISI PROBOS EFFICIAS DISCIPLINA. *It is doing little to restrain the bad by punishment, unless you render them good by discipline.* The galleys belonging to various states in Italy, and used for punishment, may be usefully compared with our *hulks*.

The western side of *Germany* offers some good regulations in its houses of correction; but in general, the police of

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this

this country is no object of imitation. The dungeons of *Liege* present pictures to the imagination more dreadful, if possible, than those of Vienna. “ In descending deep below ground (says Mr. *Howard*) I heard the moans of the miserable wretches in the dark dungeons. The sides and roof were all stone. In wet seasons, water from the fosses gets into them, and has greatly damaged the floors.”——“ The dungeons in the *new* prison are abodes of misery still more shocking; and confinement in them so overpowers human nature, as sometimes irrecoverably to take away the senses. *I heard the cries of the distracted* as I went down to them.” Surely the *Liegeois* cannot be blamed for endeavouring to place civil authority in different hands from those

those who thus outraged the feelings of human nature!

The additional notices of *France* are distinguished by an account of the Bastille, extracted from a scarce pamphlet, which Mr. *Howard* procured, not without hazard, and a translation of the whole of which he likewise printed. He had reason to believe, that this exposure to all Europe of the horrid secrets of this "prison house," was a cause that his after-visits to that country were attended with no small danger to his liberty; and it was once not improbable, that Mr. *Howard* should have been in the number of those victims whom the demolition of that fortress of despotism restored to light and freedom. What a triumph must it have been to him, to have learn-

ed, that the frowning towers, which could not be approached, or even gazed at, without offence, were levelled to the ground, as the first sacrifice to the recovered rights of a generous nation ! It is remarkable, that France was of all countries that in which he found intelligence concerning the prisons, and other government establishments, most difficult to be obtained ; and this union of the suspicious rigour of the police with the exterior gaiety and frivolity of the national character, gave him no small disgust. It is to be presumed, that the change in their constitution will soften this contrast into a desirable harmony between the principles of the administration and the manners of the people.

Great Britain being then at war with
France,

France, Spain, and America, Mr. *Howard* could not be unmindful of that class of honourable prisoners to which he himself had once belonged. He very attentively visited the English prisoners of war confined in Calais and French Flanders, noting down their complaints, and all the particulars of their treatment. He also, as I have been well informed, clothed, at his own expence, several who had been shipwrecked on the French coast in the dreadful storm of December 31, 1778, and were left almost naked. He likewise exerted himself in dissuading the men from enlisting with the French, who were endeavouring to seduce them; by which he greatly offended the persons in office there, who could not imagine that he acted in all this as a private man, but

were strongly persuaded that he was a secret agent or spy of the English government. This natural supposition may serve as some apology for the suspicion and illiberality with which he was constantly treated in that country.

On his return to England, with the true spirit of a citizen of the world, he paid immediate visits to the French, Spanish, and American prisoners of war in this country; nor did he forget those in Scotland and Ireland. The results of his observations, given with the most perfect impartiality, succeed the account of foreign prisons and hospitals; and it cannot be doubted that they had considerable effect in alleviating the unavoidable hardships of war.

Mr. *Howard* next gives a brief account
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of what he observed worthy of notice in his tours through *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The former country being governed by a different system of municipal law from that of England, affords some useful remarks concerning imprisonment for debt, the form of administering an oath, and the mode of conducting executions. *Ireland*, has not been at all behindhand with the sister kingdom in passing acts for the liberal improvement of its prisons; but there did not at that time appear an equal attention in magistrates to put them in execution. Some remarks here introduced, concerning the practice of recruiting the army out of the gaols, will be thought important by those, who wish that the class of *armed citizens* should be

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respectable, in proportion to its consequence.

The next article relates to the *Hulks on the Thames*. These, at their first institution, had been extremely unhealthy, in consequence of faults which Mr. Howard pointed out in his former work. Their state was now much mended by means of parliamentary interference; yet, on the whole, it was not a mode of imprisonment and employment which met with his approbation. Some further remarks on the *Gaol-fever* succeed; which, in addition to the general causes of want of fresh air and cleanliness, he attributes to such a sudden change of diet and lodging as breaks the spirits of convicts. This corresponds with the medical doctrine

trine of the effect of *debilitating causes*, in producing fevers of the *typhus* kind; yet it seems such a cause as cannot well be avoided.

The remainder of the book is occupied by a fresh survey of the prisons in England and Wales, in which such changes as had taken place since his former publication are noted, with occasional observations. The reader will remark with pleasure, that in most parts of the kingdom, various useful alterations had been made since the period in which Mr. *Howard* began his inquiries; and the great share he had in occasioning them will be universally admitted.

His *conclusion* expresses satisfaction with the result of his labours; and mentions, that it had been his intention now to re-

tire to the tranquil enjoyment of that compe ence Providence had bestowed on him, but that the earnest persuasions of those who thought him a proper person to superintend one of the great plans he had so much recommended, had induced him still to devote his time to the public. Concerning this matter, it is proper to enter into an explanation. I shall only first mention, that, together with this Appendix, there was printed a new edition, in octavo, of the *State of the Prisons*, with which all this additional matter was interwoven.

An act for establishing *Penitentiary Houses*, on which much labour and thought had been bestowed by men of great ability, passed in 1779. By this act, three *supervisors* were appointed for
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the purpose of superintending the execution of the buildings. The whole kingdom would naturally turn its eyes on Mr. *Howard*, as the first person whose services should be engaged on this occasion; but it was not an easy task to obtain his acquiescence. Among other objections, his extreme delicacy, with respect to pecuniary emolument, stood in his way; and even the moderate salary annexed to this office, seemed to him scarcely compatible with the absolute disinterestedness of conduct he had maintained, and was determined to preserve, during the whole of his labours. At length, however, the solicitations of his friends, particularly of the late Sir W. Blackstone, the great promoter of the design, together with a consciousness of the service he might render

render the public in this station, overcame his reluctance. Having resolved to accept of no salary for himself, and having made the association of his highly-respected friend, Dr. Fothergill, a condition of his compliance, he, with the Doctor, and Mr. Whately, treasurer of the Foundling-hospital, were nominated by his Majesty as the three supervisors. The first matter for their determination was, fixing on the spot where the two penitentiary houses for the metropolis should be erected. Various situations were proposed, and Mr. *Howard* paid due attention to all the plans, by visiting the spots, and maturely considering all circumstances favourable and objectionable. The result was, that his opinion and that of Dr. Fothergill coincided in giving a preference

ference to Islington, for reasons which he has stated in his last publication. Mr. Whately preferred the situation of Limehouse. By the death-bed advice of Sir W. Blackstone, the two friends adhered to their opinion; but the matter was made an affair of obstinate contention, and remained undecided during the year 1780. At the end of it Dr. Fothergill died; upon which event, Mr. *Howard*, foreseeing that the want of the support of such a colleague would render his future interference useless, sent his resignation of the office of supervisor in January 1781, in a letter to Earl Bathurst, which he has printed.

Now that Mr. *Howard* had freed himself from the engagement, which seemed to be the only obstacle between him and
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that elegant retreat which for so many years he had inhabited, it might naturally be imagined that he would sit down in repose, for the remainder of his life, satisfied with the unparalleled and successful exertions he had made for the relief of the most distressed portion of mankind; and thenceforth employ himself only in those more confined deeds of beneficence which he had ever practised. But it was a leading feature in his character, not to be content with any thing short of the greatest perfection, which every object of his pursuit was capable of attaining; and this principle could scarcely fail of applying itself to a subject so important as that which had for some years occupied his attention. Though his researches in those foreign countries which promised

most information, might have been supposed to have exhausted that source of improvement, yet, on surveying so large a tract of Europe as yet unvisited, he could not be satisfied to remain unacquainted with the useful facts relative to his purpose, which might possibly lie there concealed. And he was convinced, that every new visit, even to places already examined, would afford new instruction.

It was therefore no surprise to those who intimately knew him, to learn, that in the summer of 1781 he was set out on a tour to the capitals of Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland, with the further intention of revisiting Holland and part of Germany. From this tour he returned towards the close of the year. I have before me a letter of his to a friend (the
Rev.

Rev. Mr Smith of Bedford), dated Moscow, September 7, 1781, whence it appears, that these parts of the world were less suitable to his mode of living than the countries through which his former travels lay. “ I thought (says he) I could live where any man did live; but this northern journey, especially in Sweden, has pinched me:—no fruit, no garden stuff, four bread, four milk:—but in this city I find every luxury, even pine-apples and *potatoes*.” He mentions having declined every honour that was offered him at Petersburg, even that of a soldier to attend him on his journey; and says, that he will not leave Moscow till he has made repeated visits to the prisons and hospitals, since the first man in the kingdom had assured him, that
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his publication would be translated into Russian.

The year 1782 he employed in another complete survey of the prisons in England, and another journey into Scotland and Ireland. The Irish House of Commons having appointed a gaol-committee, he reported to it the state of several of the prisons in Dublin. Other objects in that island also engaged his attention, of which an account will be given hereafter.

Spain and Portugal yet remained untouched ground. Considering how much the spirit of religious bigotry and civil despotism has thrown these countries back in the progress of modern improvement, much instruction was not to be expected from them; yet the very circumstance

of their difference from the rest of Europe made their systems of police an object of curiosity. He sailed to Lisbon in February 1783, and proceeded thence by land into Spain, passing from Badajos to Madrid, and through Valladolid, Burgos, and Pamplona, to France. From this last country he returned through Flanders and Holland to England. Travelling in Spain is a severe trial of patience to those who have been accustomed to easy conveyance and luxurious indulgences; but *Mr. Howard's* wants were easily satisfied. "The Spaniards (says he, in a letter to the same friend) are very sober, and very honest; and if a traveller can live sparingly, and lie on the floor, he may pass tolerably well through their country." From Lisbon to Madrid he could seldom
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get the luxury of milk with his tea; but one morning (he tells his friend) he robbed a kid of two cups of its mother's milk. He remained, however, in perfect health and spirits; and received that mark of attention which he most of all valued, a free access to the prisons of all the cities he visited, by means of letters to the magistrates from Count Campomanes.

After a short repose on his return from this tour, he made another journey in the summer of the same year into Scotland and Ireland, and again visited several of the English prisons.

His materials had now once more accumulated to such a mass, as to demand communication to the public. During the last three years his labours had been even greater than in any former

equal period; yet it could not be expected, that the matter absolutely new which he had collected should be proportionally great. It was, however, enough to employ him very closely during several months of the year 1784, in printing an *Appendix*, and a new edition of the main work, in which all the additions were comprized. The Appendix contains all the matter of that of 1780, together with what had since accrued. Of the latter I now proceed to give some account.

Several new houses of correction are described under the head of *Holland*, the country which Mr. *Howard* ever found the most fertile source of instruction in this branch of police. The plan of the large new workhouse of Amsterdam must

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be well worth studying, as affording hints for the construction of penitentiary houses. *Germany* has the addition of the prisons of Hanover and Bremen, a minute account of the great and well regulated workhouse at Hamburg, and short notices concerning Silesia. Of the northern kingdoms which he now first visited, it may in general be observed, that their models, as well with respect to police, as to mode of living, have been Holland and Germany; but their poverty, and the rigour of their climate, have made them degenerate in their imitations. In particular, they are extremely deficient in cleanliness and industry. The new articles, therefore, of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, though valuable for the information they contain, yet afford little or nothing

of instruction. The vast empire of *Russia*, lately emerged from obscurity to take a commanding station in the system of Europe, and governed by uncontrouled power, at present directed by a spirit of magnificent improvement, could not but offer in its institutions various things worthy of notice. Its police respecting criminals, its prisons, hospitals, and places of public education, are briefly mentioned by Mr. *Howard*; but he has found little to propose as an example for other countries. The regulations of the great convent at Petersburg, for the education of female children of the nobility and commoners, are given in detail, and afford some salutary rules for the preservation of the health of young persons, and for promoting habits of cleanliness and temperance.

perance. The plan and description of a magazine for medicinal herbs at Moscow, will be a pleasing novelty to most readers. Mr. *Howard* had been anticipated in his survey of the prisons and hospitals of the northern kingdoms, by that well-informed traveller, Mr. Coxe, who published a pamphlet on the subject in 1781, here referred to with commendation. The short head of *Poland* contains little but a testimony to the neglected and wretched state of public institutions in that ill-governed country. All travellers have concurred in similar representations of the whole system of affairs, internal and external, in that unhappy seat of aristocratical tyranny; so that it may be presumed, there does not exist so determined an enemy of *innovation* as not to rejoice in the change

of constitution which has lately been effected there, by means of the silent and peaceable progress of light and reason.

There are various additional articles under *Flanders*, one of which relates to a great alteration for the worse in the house of correction at Ghent. A once flourishing manufactory carried on in the prison was at an end; and the allowance of victuals to the prisoners was reduced in quantity and quality. In the account of a very offensive prison at Lille, Mr. *Howard* expresses his grateful acknowledgments to Providence for his recovery from a fever caught there of the sick.

The account of *Portugal* is almost confined to the prisons and hospitals of Lisbon; the state of which, upon the whole, does credit to the government. The employ-
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ment of about a thousand vagrant and deserted children in a manufactory, is one of the most observable circumstances.

Spain, which has been long distinguished for its charitable establishments, affords likewise in its criminal police many things deserving of attention; though the spirit of rigour and severity is perhaps too apparent, amidst much laudable order and exactness. The house of correction at Madrid, called *San Fernando*, may vie with some of the best regulated institutions of this nature; and the *Hospicio*, a kind of work-house, in which extensive manufactories are carried on, is a good example of the union of employment with confinement. The account of the charitable society of the *Hermandad del Refugio*, who patrol the streets

streets in the evening, for the purpose of inviting destitute wanderers to a comfortable supper and night's lodging, will excite pleasing sensations in the breast of every lover of humanity. The prisons of the Inquisition, those objects of horror and detestation to every protestant, and now, probably, to most catholics, excited great curiosity in Mr. *Howard*, of which, however, all his efforts could only procure a partial gratification. Yet he has been able to communicate enough concerning those of Valladolid to form a striking picture of terror. On the whole, the predilection he had long entertained for the Spanish character, was not diminished by his visit to the country; nor does he seem to have thought his pains in extending his enquiries to it, ill bestowed. The
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additional notices in *France* chiefly relate to the Paris hospitals. It is needless to dwell on these, since a very accurate description of them has since been given in a capital work by M. Tenon.

To the account of foreign prisons and hospitals succeeds a fresh survey of the prisoners of war.

The new journies to *Scotland*, now extended as far as Inverness, afford little but censure for the neglect of the prisons in that country. Under *Ireland* are introduced additional remarks on the faults and abuses still observable in the prisons there, notwithstanding a very spirited exertion of the legislature to amend their state, by framing good acts for their regulation. But, "*quid leges sine moribus, &c.*" The horrid effects of that cheap
poison,

poison, whisky, upon the health and morals of the lower classes in that country, are noticed by Mr. *Howard* with much indignant disgust. A new object of attention occurred to him in the two last visits to Ireland,—the *Protestant Charter Schools*, a noble foundation, but which he found sunk into wretched abuse notwithstanding the patronage and superintendence of the first persons in that kingdom. Erroneous accounts of them, published by a committee, and authorized by being annexed to a printed sermon of a prelate in their favour, were detected by Mr. *Howard* on his visits to some of them, and are exposed with his usual freedom.

Further accounts of the *Hulks* follow. To the remarks on the *Gaol-fever*, Mr.
Howard

Howard adds the information, that in 1782 he did not find one person in this kingdom affected with that disease; but that in 1783 he had the mortification to observe several prisons, through original bad construction and neglect, relapsing to their former state. So essential is a plan of constant vigilance and inspection, to counteract the lamentable tendency to abuse in all public institutions! This principle of corruption and decay in every thing human is so incessantly active, that, if not resisted by the timely efforts of reformation, all the contrivances of wisdom against natural and moral evils, would, like the dykes of Holland, perpetually sapped and worn by the force of the elements, fall into irremediable ruin.

The remainder of this volume is taken

up

up with a review of all the English prisons, together with particulars of all the alterations which they had undergone since the last publication. The reader will be gratified in finding, from the number of new prisons, and new buildings and conveniences added to the old, that the counties in general had by no means been deficient in liberal attention to this great object, since it had been brought forward and aided by Mr. *Howard's* indefatigable exertions. At the conclusion, among the *Tables*, is a sketch of general heads of regulations for penitentiary houses, which will be highly useful in suggesting a complete body of rules and orders for such establishments, if ever they should again be thought of in this country.

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The printing of this copious *Appendix*, together with a complete edition of his *State of the Prisons*, into which all the additions were incorporated, making a large and closely printed quarto volume, occupied much of Mr. *Howard's* time in the year 1784. The remainder of that, and the greater part of the next year, do not appear marked with his public services. They were, I believe, chiefly employed in domestic concerns, of which the choice of a proper place of education for his son, now rising towards manhood, was one that most interested him. But the habitude of carrying on researches into an object, which by long possession had acquired deep root in his mind, together with a new idea, collaterally a'lied to it, which had struck him, at length impelled

him once more to engage in the toils and perils of a foreign journey.

He had observed that, notwithstanding the regulations for preserving health in prisons and hospitals, infectious diseases continued occasionally to arise and spread in them: he had also in his travels remarked the great solicitude of several trading nations to preserve themselves from that most destructive of all contagious distempers, *the Plague*; and, at the same time, he was well apprized of the rude and neglected state in which the police of our own country is left respecting that object. Combining these ideas, he thought that a visit to all the principal *Lazarettos*, and to countries frequently attacked by the plague, might afford much information as to the means
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of preventing contagion in general, as well as particular instruction concerning establishments for the purpose of guarding against pestilential infection. His intent, therefore, was nothing less, than to plunge into the midst of those dangers which by other men are so anxiously avoided; to search out and confront the great foe of human life, for the sake of recognizing his features, and discovering the most efficacious barriers against his assaults. Who but must be struck with admiration of the firmness of courage, and the ardour of benevolence, which could prompt such a design! As a proof of his own idea of the hazards he was to encounter, it may be mentioned, that he resolved to travel single and unattended; not thinking it justifiable to

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permit

permit any of his servants to partake of a danger to which they were not called by motives similar to his own.

It was towards the end of 1785 that Mr. *Howard* set out upon this tour, taking his way through Holland and Flanders, to the south of France. As, from the jealousy and displeasure of the French government, he was not able to obtain permission to visit the establishments there, or even to gain assurance of personal safety, he travelled through the country as an English physician, never took his meals in public, and entrusted his secret only to the protestant ministers. In a letter from Nice to the friend above-mentioned, dated January 30, 1786, he acquaints him with these circumstances, and says, that he was five days at Mar-
feilles

feilles and four at Toulon; and, as it was thought that he could not get out of France by land, he embarked in a Genoese vessel, and was several days striving against wind and tide. They who at present conduct the government of France, I am persuaded, will blush at the idea, that a *Howard* was obliged to conceal his name and purpose while carrying on in their country inquiries which had no other aim than the good of mankind!

From Nice, Mr. *Howard* went to Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples, and to the islands of Malta and Zante. He then sailed to Smyrna, and thence to Constantinople. I have been favoured with a letter of his to Dr. Price from this metropolis, dated June 22, 1786, some ex-

tracts from which I shall present to the reader.

“ After viewing the effects of the earthquake in Sicily, I arrived at Malta, where I repeatedly visited the prisons, hospitals, poor-houses, and lazarettos, as I staid three weeks. From thence I went to Zant: as they are all Greeks, I wished to have some general idea of their hospitals and prisons, before I went into Turkey. From thence, in a foreign ship, I got a passage to Smyrna. Here I boldly visited the hospitals and prisons; but as some accidents happened, a few dying of the plague, several shrunk at me. I came thence about a fortnight ago. As I was in a miserable Turk’s boat, I was lucky in a passage of six days and a half. A family arrived just before

before me, had been between two and three months.

“ I am sorry to say some die of the plague about us ; one is just carried before my window ; yet I visit where none of my conductors will accompany me. In some hospitals, as in the lazarettos, and yesterday among the sick slaves, I have a constant headach, but in about an hour after it always leaves me. Sir Robert Ainslie is very kind ; but for the above, and other reasons, I could not lodge in his house. I am at a physician's, and I keep some of my visits a secret.”

He designed to proceed from Constantinople over land to Vienna ; but, having determined, upon reflection, to obtain by personal experience the fullest

information of the mode of performing quarantine, he returned to Smyrna, where the plague then was, for the purpose of going to Venice with a *foul bill*, that would necessarily subject him to the utmost rigour of the process. His voyage was tedious, and rendered hazardous by equinoctial storms; and in the course of it he incurred a danger of another kind, the ship in which he was a passenger being attacked by a Tunisian corsair, which, after a smart skirmish, was beaten off by the execution done by a cannon loaded with spike nails and bits of iron, and pointed by Mr. *Howard* himself. It afterwards appeared to have been the intention of the captain to blow up his vessel, rather than submit to be taken into perpetual slavery. It was not till the
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close of 1786 that Mr. *Howard* left his disagreeable quarters in the lazaretto of Venice, in which his health and spirits suffered considerably. Thence he went by Trieste to Vienna. In this capital he had the honour of a private conference with the Emperor, which was conducted with the utmost ease and condescension on the part of Joseph II. and equal freedom on the part of the Englishman. A relation of this instructive scene in his own words, will, I doubt not, be agreeable to the reader: "The Emperor desired to see me, and I had the honour of a private audience with him of above an hour and a half. He took me by the hand three times in conversation, and thanked me for the visit. He afterwards told our Ambassador, 'That his

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countryman spoke well for prisoners; that he used no flowers, which others ever do, and mean nothing.' But his greatest favour to me was his immediate alterations for the relief of the prisoners*." That the late Emperor had an ardent zeal for improvement of every kind, and a strong desire of promoting the prosperity of his subjects, will scarcely be denied, even by those who are the severest censurers of the mode in which he conducted his plans, and his extreme mutability respecting them. He will also be honoured, for the readiness with which he laid aside the etiquette of his rank, on every occasion where it obstructed him in the acquisition of knowledge, or the activity of exertion. Mr.

* Letter to Mr. Smith.

Howard returned through Germany and Holland, and arrived safe in England early in 1787.

It was during this tour, and while he was in solitude occupying a cell of the Venice lazaretto, that he received from England two pieces of intelligence, both of which distressed and harassed his mind, though the emotion they excited must apparently have been very different. One of these related to the melancholy derangement of mind into which his son had fallen, and which, after various instances of strange and unaccountable behaviour, terminated at length in decided insanity. They who cannot believe that the most benevolent of mankind could be a stern and unnatural parent,

parent, will sympathize in the anguish he must have felt on hearing (and in such a situation too) of an event which blasted the dearest hopes of comfort and solace in his declining years. I, who have frequently heard him speak of this son, with all the pride and affection of the kind father of an only child, cannot read without strong emotions, the expressions he uses in writing to his friend relative to this bitter calamity. When he concludes a long letter upon various topics, with the exclamation, "But, O! my son, my son!" I seem to perceive the efforts of a manly mind, striving by the aid of its internal resources to dispel a gloomy phantom, which was yet ever recurring to his imagination. But in this emergency,

emergency, as in all others, the consolations of religion were his chief refuge*.

The other cause of uneasiness by which his mind was agitated, will, to many, appear a very extraordinary one; since it arose from a testimony of esteem and veneration in his countrymen, which might be imagined to afford balm for his wounded spirit. During his absence,

* To prove that Mr. *Howard* had kind and tender feelings for *domestic* as well as for *public* occasions, will, I hope, by most persons be deemed a superfluous task. For those who require such proof, I copy the following passage from one of his letters to Mr. Smith. "My old servants, John Prole, Thomas Thomason, and Joseph Crockford, have had a sad time. I hear they have been faithful, wise, and prudent. Please to thank them particularly in my name for their conduct. Two of them, I am persuaded, have acted out of regard to his excellent mother,—who, I rejoice, is *dead*."

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a scheme had been set on foot to honour him in a manner almost unprecedented in this age and country. Without attempting to trace it to its origin, it may suffice to say, that, in a periodical work of extensive circulation, the public were called upon to testify their respect for Mr. *Howard* by a subscription, for the purpose of erecting a statue, or some other monument, to his honour. The authors of this scheme, though, doubtless, actuated by a pure and laudable admiration of illustrious virtue, yet must have been totally unacquainted with Mr. *Howard's* disposition; otherwise they would never have thought of decorating a man, whose characteristic feature had always been a solicitude to shun all notice and distinction, with one of the
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most glaring and prominent marks of public applause, which might put to the blush modesty of a much less delicate texture than his. The English national character (if national character can be said to belong to so heterogeneous a people) is by nothing so strongly marked, as by a coyness and reserve which shrink from observation, and even to those who are acting for the public, render the gaze of the public eye painful. The love of glory, which is so active a sentiment to some of our neighbours, operates feebly upon us: many do not rise to it, and some go beyond it. That "humble Allen," whose disposition it was to "do good by stealth and blush to find it fame," was a genuine English philanthropist; and such was Mr. *Howard*,

tended, perhaps, still more averse to public praise, by a deep sense of religious humility.

A similar want of acquaintance with Mr. *Howard's* designs, caused the proposers of this plan to attribute to him an *extravagance* of philanthropy, which could not but appear ridiculous to those whose judgment was not dazzled by the ardour of admiration. It was asserted, among real topics of applause, that he was now gone abroad with the view of extirpating the plague from Turkey; an idea scarcely so rational, the character of that nation considered, as would be that of a mission to convert the Grand Seignior to Christianity. Mr. *Howard* meant, undoubtedly, to do all the good which should lie within his compass in

that, as in all other countries which he visited; but he was never so romantic as to suppose that he could effect that, which would manifestly require a total change in the religious and political system of a great empire, of all the least disposed to change.

The project of a statue, however, was eagerly adopted; the subscription filled, and was adorned with the names of ministers, nobles, and persons of distinction; and a committee was appointed to determine upon the best mode of fulfilling its purpose. The confidential friends of Mr. *Howard* were in a disagreeable dilemma; for as, on the one hand, they could not but rejoice in the warmth of admiration which his country testified for his character; so, on the other, they well
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knew that its manner of display could not fail to give him extreme pain, and, if effected, probably banish him for ever. On this account, they did not concur in the scheme, and some of them ventured publicly to throw out objections to it. Some of its warm promoters, in reply, talked of *forcing his modesty*, and seemed determined at all events to put in execution their favourite design. In the mean while, Mr. *Howard* was informed of this *honourable persecution* that was preparing against him at home; and the sensations this intelligence occasioned in his breast are shewn in the following expressions contained in a letter to the intimate friend who has already furnished me with various extracts. “ To hasten to the other very distressing affair: oh, why

why could not my friends, who know how much I detest such parade, have stopped such a hasty measure!—As a private man, with some peculiarities, I wished to retire into obscurity and silence.—Indeed, my friend, I cannot bear the thought of being thus dragged out. I immediately wrote, and hope something may be done to stop it. My best friends must disapprove it. It deranges and confounds all my schemes—my exaltation is my fall, my misfortune *.” The same

* He mentions in the same letter, as a proof how opposite his wishes were to monumental honours, that before he set out on this journey, he had given directions, that in case of his death, his funeral expences should not exceed ten pounds—that his tomb should be a plain slip of marble placed under that of his dear Henrietta in Cardington church, with this inscription; *John Howard, died—aged—My hope is in Christ.*

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sentiments

sentiments on this business are expressed with equal strength in his letters to Dr. Price. Among other things he says, "My truest, intimate, and best friends, have, I see by the papers, been so kind as not to subscribe to what you so justly term a *hasty measure*. Indeed, indeed, if nothing now can be done, I speak *from my heart*, never poor creature was more dragged out in public."

That in all this there was no affectation, clearly appeared from the letter he sent to the subscribers; in which, after expressing his gratitude, he displayed so determined a repugnance against admitting of the proposed honour, deprecating it as the severest of punishments, that nothing could be urged in reply, and the business

business was dropped. Of the sum subscribed, amounting to upwards of 1500*l*. Mr. *Howard* refused to direct the disposal in any manner, and begged it might no longer be termed the *Howardian fund*. A part of it was reclaimed by the subscribers, but a considerable share remained in a stock; and, since Mr. *Howard*'s death, it has been resolved to employ it in conferring those honours on his *memory* which he would not accept while living. This intention is in every respect strictly proper; and, as the noble edifice of St. Paul's is at length destined to receive national monuments, no commencement can be more auspicious, than with a name which will ever stand so distinguished among those,

Qui sui memores alios fecêre merendo.

To resume the narrative of Mr. *Howard*'s public life:—After his return in 1787; he took a short repose, and then went over to Ireland, and visited most of the county gaols and charter schools, and came back by Scotland. In 1788 he renewed his visit to Ireland, and completed his survey of its gaols, hospitals, and schools. I shall lay before the reader part of a letter to Dr. Price, dated from Dublin, March 23, of this year.

“ My journey into this country was to make a report of the state of the charter schools, which charity has been long neglected and abused; as indeed most public institutions are made private emoluments, one sheltering himself under the name of a bishop, another under that of a lord; and for electioneering interest

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breaking

breaking down all barriers of honour and honesty. However, Parliament now seems determined to know how its grants have been employed. I have, since my visits to these schools in 1782, been endeavouring to excite the attention of Parliament; and some circumstances being in my favour, a good Lord Lieutenant, a worthy Secretary (an old acquaintance), and the First Secretary of State, the Provost, a steady friend, I must still pursue it; so I next week set out for Connaught and other remote parts of this kingdom, which indeed are more barbarous than Russia. By my frequent journies my strength is somewhat abated, but not my courage or zeal in the cause I am engaged in." During these two years, he likewise repeated his examina-

tion of all the county gaols, most of the bridewels, and the infirmaries and hospitals of England, and of the hulks on the Thames, at Portsmouth and Plymouth*.

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* It was, I believe, during his absence in some of the tours of this period, that an incident happened which the reader, I hope, will think well worth relating. A very respectable-looking elderly gentleman on horseback, with a servant, stopt at the inn nearest Mr. *Howard's* house at Cardington, and entered into conversation with the landlord concerning him. He observed, that characters often appeared very well at a distance, which could not bear close inspection; he had therefore come to Mr. *Howard's* residence in order to satisfy himself concerning him. The gentleman then, accompanied by the innkeeper, went to the house, and looked through it, with the offices and gardens, which he found in perfect order. He next enquired into Mr. *Howard's* character as a landlord, which was justly represented; and several neat houses which he had built for his tenants were shewn him. The gentleman returned to his inn, declaring himself now satisfied with the truth of all he had heard about *Howard*. This respectable stranger

The great variety of matter collected in these journies was methodized and put to the press in 1789. It composes a quarto volume, beautifully printed, and decorated with a number of fine plates, which, as usual, are *presented* to the public; and so eager were the purchasers of books to partake of the donation, that all the copies were almost immediately bought up. The title is, *An account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe, with various papers relative to the Plague; together with further observations on some foreign Prisons and Hospitals; with additional remarks on the present state of those in Great*

stranger was no other than Lord Monboddo; and Mr. Howard was much flattered with the visit, and praised his Lordship's good sense in taking such a method of coming at the truth, since he thought it worth his trouble.

Britain and Ireland. Of this work I shall proceed to give a brief analysis.

The first section relates to *Lazarettos*, beginning with that of Marseilles, in which city the horrid ravages of the plague, within the present century, have left strong impressions of dread of that destroyer of mankind. Those of Genoa, Leghorn, Malta, Zante, Venice, and Trieste follow; the descriptions of which are illustrated by excellent views and plans*. Of the lazarettos of Venice a very particular account is given, comprising the mode of reception which he

* In one of his letters, Mr. *Howard* mentions having met with a young Frenchman going to the academy at Rome, who for a few sequins thankfully worked under his eye, so that he can attest the accuracy of his draughts. Several of the plates were engraved in Holland.

himself

himself experienced, the regulations of every kind, respecting officers and their duty, visitation of ships, manner of performing quarantine, and the expurgation of goods of all classes, &c. All these appear to have been devised with much judgment and prudence; but Mr. *Howard* is obliged to give testimony to various instances of abuse and neglect, which greatly impair the utility of this institution, as well as of many others in that once celebrated and potent republic,

Seçt. II. contains *proposed regulations, and a new plan for a lazaretto*; followed by observations on the importance of such an establishment in England. In these are introduced two letters on the subject to Mr. *Howard*; one, a long and argumentative

argumentative one from the English merchants residing at Smyrna; the other, confirming their opinion, from those of Salonica. These commercial papers appear worthy of the most serious attention; and indeed it is wonderful that a nation which boasts of good sense and knowledge, should so long have remained patient under a police respecting this matter, which answers no effectual purpose of security, but seems only calculated to discourage commerce, and produce fees to persons in office, by the most barefaced impositions *.

Seet. III. consists of papers relative to

* Such is the negligence and absurdity respecting the regulations of the quarantine of *persons*, that I have been assured, a naval officer has been called out of the Opera-house, to go on board his ship and perform his quarantine.

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the plague. They commence with a set of answers, by different medical practitioners, to queries with which Mr. *Howard* was furnished by the late Dr. *Jebb* and myself. I must observe, however, that all the queries do not appear, some of them having been misapprehended, or imperfectly answered, particularly such as related to the discrimination of other fevers of the *typhus* genus from the plague. These replies will probably be thought to add little to the stock of knowledge we possessed respecting this disease; yet it is of some importance, that the leading facts on which all modes of preservation must be founded, *viz.* that the plague is not known to arise spontaneously *any where*, but is always to be traced to *contagion*; and that the distance
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to which its infection extends through the atmosphere is very small, are established in them by general agreement. The "Abstract of a curative and preservative method to be observed in Pestilential Contagions," communicated from the Office of Health in Venice to the court of Russia; and the "Abridged Relation of the Plague of Spalato in Dalmatia, in 1784" (both extracted from the Italian originals by myself), are the other papers in this section. In the latter, the medical reader will be struck with the equivocal nature of the symptoms supposed to discriminate this disease, and the very gradual progress from suspicion to certainty as to its presence.

Señ. IV. relates to foreign Prisons and Hospitals.

Hospitals. The employment of the gally-slaves in the arsenal of Toulon, is the most observable circumstance relative to the south of *France*. Under *Italy* there is a pleasing account of the improvements at Florence, in consequence of the humane attention of the Grand Duke (Leopold, the present Emperor). This prince, besides other instances of liberal favour to Mr. *Howard's* inquiries, caused a copy of his new code of laws to be presented to him, of which, on his return, Mr. *Howard* had a translation printed, and distributed among the heads of the law and other persons, in and out of parliament. Of the Grand Duke Mr. *Howard* never spoke without the warmest expressions of gratitude and respect, calling him a glorious prince, and declaring that nothing

thing could exceed his attention to whatever might promote the happiness and prosperity of his people. It is earnestly to be wished, that the same regard to the principles of justice and humanity may accompany him in the very elevated station which is now assigned him by Providence.

Malta, that celebrated seat of piracy, dignified by the spirit of chivalry and devotion, affords a new and curious article. Its great hospital, which boasts of lodging the sick in a palace, and serving them in plate, is here described by one whose penetrating eye could distinguish between parade and comfort; and it undergoes some severe censure. Mr. *Howard* visited it *before* he delivered his letter of recommendation from Sir W. Hamilton

to the Grand Master, as well as frequently afterwards.

The *Turkish dominions*, whence all light, liberty, and public spirit, are most effectually excluded, could not be expected to yield instruction in police to Europe. Yet debtors and felons are there confined in separate prisons, a refinement to which this country is not yet entirely arrived. The hospitals in the great commercial city of Smyrna seem all to belong to the Franks, Greeks, and Jews. Even at Constantinople the Turks have few hospitals, and those in a wretched state. The hospitals for lunatics there, are, indeed, examples of admirable construction, but neglected in their management. Yet, amidst this disregard of the human species, Mr. Howard

and found an *asylum for cats*. Such are the contradictions of man!

The institutions of *Vienna* shew that singular mixture of clemency and rigour, of care and neglect, that might be expected from the indecisive character of the sovereign. The perpetual confinement of criminals in dark, damp dungeons, as a substitute for capital punishment, manifestly appears to be as little an advantage on the side of lenity, as it is on that of public utility. The much beaten ground of *Holland* still affords new observations, particularly respecting the legal process for debt, in use there.

Seet. V. relates to *Scotland*; and what is new chiefly regards the charitable institutions of *Edinburgh*. As to the prisons

sons there, Mr. *Howard* was obliged to remark to the Lord Provost, "that the splendid improvements carrying on in their places of entertainment, streets, squares, bridges, &c. seemed to occupy all the attention of the gentlemen in office, to the total neglect of this essential branch of the police." This weighty animadversion deserves serious notice, as a strong confirmation of those charges against the spirit of luxury, which various modern philosophers have been fond of turning into ridicule. In fact, a spirit which increases personal wants and indulgences, and augments the distance between the higher and lower orders of society, cannot but interfere with the duties, as well of charity, as of justice, which are owing to our fellow-creatures

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of every condition. The arts of luxury may promote knowledge, and this may secondarily be employed with advantage on objects of general utility; but it is not likely that the same persons whose minds are occupied with schemes of splendor and elegant amusement, should bestow attention on the coarse and disgusting offices annexed to the care of the poor and miserable.

The subject of *Seet. VI.* is the *Irish Prisons and Hospitals*. Mr. Howard observed a very liberal and humane spirit with respect to prisons, prevailing among the gentlemen of that country, displayed in the erection of many new gaols, the plans of which, however, he could not approve. The evils occasioned by the use of spirituous liquors, particularly ap-
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parent in Ireland, draw from him much complaint and censure. It is a shocking consideration that the interest of the revenue should, in this matter, be suffered to prevail over the good of the nation; and nothing can deserve severer animadversion, than the conduct of those *servants of the public*, the commissioners of excise, who presume to grant licences to tippling houses in villages, contrary to the declared wish and opinion of gentlemen who reside on the spot, and are witnesses of their fatal consequences to the health and morals of the neighbourhood. This is indeed, reversing the order of civil government, and elevating subaltern interests to ruling principles. All the hospitals in Dublin are noticed by Mr. *Howard*, with remarks. He then

proceeds to a survey of all the county gaols and hospitals in the kingdom. The county hospitals are in fact national institutions, maintained in great part by the county rates and king's letter, and therefore are not so exactly superintended as those in England, which depend upon private subscription for their support. The consequence of this is shewn in the wretched state in which the greater part of them were found, the abodes of filth, hunger, neglect, and every species of abuse. Yet a spirit of improvement was beginning to operate among them, to which this free statement of their defects would, doubtless, much contribute.

SECT. VII. is devoted to an account of the *Charter-schools* in Ireland. The public

lic detection of misrepresentations and abuses in this great national object had excited the attention of several of the leading men; and Mr. *Howard* had been desired to lay his observations before the committee of fifteen in Dublin, who have the superintendence of them. He also made a report of their state before the Irish House of Commons; and, having entered heartily into the subject, he resolved to give it a thorough investigation. He therefore extended his visits to the whole of them, in number thirty-eight, and to the four provincial nurseries from which they are supplied. The result of his observations is here given, with free censures of defects, and candid acknowledgments of improvement. He concludes the account with some general re-

marks on the institution, and some hints for rendering it more useful; and, after expressing a wish, that the benefits of education were more generally extended over Ireland than they can be by those schools, he displays the enlarged liberality of his mind in the following sentence, which contains a maxim worthy of being written in letters of gold. “ I hope I shall not be thought, as a Protestant dissenter, indifferent to the Protestant cause, when I express my wish, that these distinctions [between Catholic and Protestant] were less regarded in bestowing the advantages of education; and that the increase of Protestantism were chiefly trusted to the dissemination of *knowledge* and *sound morals*.”

This section is concluded, with an example

ample strikingly illustrative of the ease with which education may be extended to the whole body of poor, afforded by the trustees of the blue-coat-hospital in Chester, whose report of their plan and its success is here copied: and also, with the rules of the Quaker's-school at Ackworth, excellently adapted to promote that decent and regular deportment in youth which Mr. *Howard* so much admired. Ireland has reason to think herself peculiarly indebted to him for his laborious investigations and free remarks on her public institutions. No country certainly wanted them more; and none, I believe, is better disposed to profit by them. She has not been ungrateful to her benefactor (*that* was never her character), for in no country is the memory of Mr. *Howard* more re-

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vered. During his journies there, several of the principal towns presented him with their freedom; and the University of Dublin, with great liberality, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Mr. *Howard's* aversion to all kinds of distinction, and the natural dislike of changing his usual designation at an advanced age, prevented him from publicly assuming this respectable title.

Seet. VIII. relates to *English Prisons and Hospitals*. The prisons are all specified in the order of the former works, with such remarks as the alterations made in them, and other circumstances, suggested. Many of the descriptions of hospitals are new, particularly an account of all the hospitals for the sick in the metropolis.

metropolis. It is probable that few institutions of the kind in Europe are better conducted than these; yet there are defects, both general and particular, which Mr. *Howard* has briefly pointed out, and which claim the attention of those who are really interested in the utility of these noble charities, and do not consider them merely as subservient to private emolument. In a note under the county gaol in Southwark, he mentions in strong terms of pity and indignation the state of fifty felons, sentenced for transportation in the course of the preceding five years, and kept in the most wretched condition till an opportunity should offer of putting their sentence in execution. This necessary delay of punishment must ever be a strong objection

objection to the scheme of distant banishment, and gives a decided preference, both in justice and policy, to the plan of penitentiary houses, so thoughtlessly abandoned for the Botany-bay settlement. The *injustice*, indeed, of the intermediate confinement, is lessened by an act of 24th Geo. III. which directs, that all the time during which a convict shall have continued in gaol under sentence of transportation, shall be deducted out of the term of his transportation. Still, however, such confinement is a *different*, and, in these circumstances, a *much worse*, punishment, than that to which they are sentenced.

The county bridewel at Reading occasions a note which deserves particular attention. Mr. *Howard* has been supposed

the peculiar patron of *solitary confinement*, and his recommendation has caused it to be adopted in various places, but to a degree beyond his intentions. He well knew, from manifold observation, that human nature could not endure, for a long time, confinement in perfect solitude, without sinking under the burden. He had seen the most desperate and refractory in foreign countries tamed by it; he therefore proposed in our own prisons a *temporary* treatment of this kind, as the most effectual, yet lenient, mode of subduing the ferocity of our criminals; but he never thought of its being made the sentence of offenders during the *whole term* of their imprisonment; such being not only extreme and scarcely justifiable severity, but inconsistent

sistent with the design of reclaiming them to habits of industry by hard labour. He, indeed, universally approved of *nocturnal solitude*, as affording an opportunity for serious reflection, and preventing those plans of mischief, and mutual encouragements to villainy, which are certain to take place among criminals, when left to herd together, without inspection.

The employment of convicts in building a new county gaol at Oxford, with their general good behaviour in it, affords an example of the possibility and probable good effect of occupying them in useful labour *at home*.

The *fever wards* of the Chester infirmary are very properly noticed, as a spirited instance of extending relief to
persons

persons suffering under a dangerous and infectious disease, and, by proper regulations, rendering the contagion harmless to others. I am persuaded, that the plague itself, thus managed, might be prevented from communicating itself even to those under the same roof with it. Mr. *Howard* was happy to find in this city a character congenial with his own in the ardour of active benevolence, and distinguished by various successful plans for the public good. To the medical reader, as well as to many others, it will be unnecessary to mention the name of Dr. *Haygarth*.

A particular account of all the *bulks* is given at the end of the English gaols. The condition of these floating bridewels was improved in several respects since
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Mr. *Howard's* former visits; but, if considered in any other light than as *temporary* places of confinement till some better plan is adopted, they are liable to many objections, which are here stated.

Remarks on Penitentiary Houses follow.

In these the writer states his ideas concerning their nature and object, gives the reasons which induced Dr. Fothergill and himself to fix on the situation of Islington, and relates his resignation of the office of Supervisor, as formerly mentioned. The *general heads of regulations* proposed for such houses in the last Appendix, are here reprinted; and a plate is added explanatory of the plan of building he approves. It is on every account to be lamented, that Mr. *Howard* should not have had the satisfaction of seeing
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one of his favourite designs, the subject of his most laborious research and maturest reflection, carried into execution. The objection of expence was surely unworthy of a country like this, whose prosperity and resources are so magnificently displayed, when the provinces of Holland, petty states of Germany, and cantons of Switzerland, have not been afraid of incurring it. Whether the preferred scheme of *colonizing with convicts at the Antipodes*, has the advantage of it in this respect, the public are now pretty well able to determine.

In the remarks on the *gaol-fever*, repeated with a little variation from the last publication, we are informed, that since 1782, when the prisons of this kingdom were entirely free from this disease,
several

several fatal and alarming instances of it had occurred. Its appearance and frequency will probably much depend upon the epidemic constitution of the year, as long as its occasional causes continue to subsist; but that proper care and regulations in prisons might almost entirely extirpate these causes, there seems no reason to doubt.

The *conclusion* expresses the writer's satisfaction in that humane and liberal spirit which has so much alleviated the distress of prisoners; but laments, that here its exertions seem to stop, and that little or nothing is done towards that most important object, the *reformation* of offenders. From close observation he is convinced, that the *vice of drunkenness* is the root of all the disorders of our prisons,
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and that some effectual means to eradicate it are necessary, if we mean to preserve the health and amend the morals of prisoners. Mr. *Howard* therefore subjoins, as his final legacy towards the improvement of this branch of police, the draught of a bill for the better regulation of gaols, and the prevention of drunkenness and rioting in them. Of this, the leading clauses are framed for the purpose of absolutely prohibiting the entrance of any liquor into a gaol, except milk, whey, buttermilk, and water, unless in case of sickness and medical prescription. He was fully sensible that, in this free living country, the denial of even small beer would be deemed a species of cruelty; and he doubted not that it would go far to lose him, in the popular estimation, the title

of the *Prisoner's Friend*: but as attaining a popularity of that kind was not his original object, so he could bear to forfeit it, while conscious of still pursuing the real good of those unhappy people. Being convinced from experience, that there was no medium in this matter, and that if strong liquors were at all admitted into prisons, no bounds could be set to their use, he thought it right to deny an indulgence to a few, for the sake of the essential advantage of the many. Debtors, then, while the same place of confinement serves for them and felons, must be subjected to the same restraints. And, to take off the objection of the hardship this would impose upon *innocent debtors*, it was greatly his wish, that such alterations should take place in our law for
debt,

debt, that none but *fraudulent debtors* should be liable to imprisonment, who, he justly observes, are really *criminals*. He supposes that the gentlemen of the faculty will condemn the total rejection of fermented liquors from the diet of prisoners, under the notion of their being useful as antiseptics; and I confess I was one who pleaded with him on this subject: but he answered me with arguments which he has here stated, and they are worthy of consideration. After all, many will suppose, that in his feelings, both with respect to these privations, and to his proposed indulgences of tea, and other vegetable articles, he was in some measure under the influence of his own peculiar habits of life; so natural is it for our judgment of particulars to be warped,

when our general principles remain fixed and unaltered. The *draught of a bill* will, I presume, appear in most respects excellent; and the great purpose of preserving sobriety in gaols, cannot, surely, be too much insisted on.

Mr. *Howard's* leading ideas on this subject were formed some years before. In May 1787, the Lord Chancellor, in an excellent speech on a proposed Insolvent Bill, after discussing the point of imprisonment for debt, and the nature of such bills, proceeded to some considerations respecting the management and discipline of our prisons. He said, “ he had lately had the honour of a conversation upon the subject, with a gentleman who was, of all others, the best qualified to treat of it—he meant, Mr. *Howard*, whose

whose humanity, great as it was, was at least equalled by his wisdom ; for a more judicious, or a more sensible reasoner upon the topic, he never had conversed with. His own ideas had been turned to solitary imprisonment and a strict regimen, as a punishment for debt; and that notion had exactly corresponded with Mr. *Howard's*, who had agreed with him, that the great object ought to be, when it became necessary to seclude a man from society, and imprison him for debt, to take care that he came out of prison no worse a man in point of health and morals than he went in." His Lordship afterwards recited a story which Mr. *Howard* had told him, in proof of the corruption and licentiousness of our prisons. A Quaker, he said, called upon

him to go with him and witness a scene which, if he were to go singly, would, he feared, be too much for his feelings : it was, to visit a friend in distress—a person who had lately gone into the King's-bench prison. When they arrived, they found the man half-drunk, playing at fives. Though greatly shocked at the circumstance, they asked him to go with them to the coffee-room, and take a glass of wine. He refused, saying he had drank so much punch, that he could not drink wine—however, he would call in upon them before they went away. Mr. Howard and his friend returned, with feelings very different from those with which they entered the place, but not less painful.

The volume concludes with several
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curious and valuable *tables*, which will probably be used for reference at future distant periods. The enumeration of all the prisoners in England at his visits in 1787 and 1788, shews an alarming increase, though in some measure to be accounted for, from a long suspension of the usual transportation. They amount to 7482.

Mr. *Howard* remained but a short time at home after the printing of this work. In the conclusion of it he had declared his intention “ again to quit his native country, for the purpose of revisiting Russia, Turkey, and some other countries, and extending his tour in the east.” The reason he has assigned for this determination, is, “ a serious deliberate conviction that he was pursuing

the path of his duty;" and it cannot be doubted, that this consideration was now, as it ever had been, his leading principle of action. But if it be asked, what was his more peculiar object in this new journey, no decisive answer, I believe, can be given by those who enjoyed the most of his confidence. I had various conversations with him on the subject; and I found rather a wish to have objects of enquiry pointed out to him by others, than any specific views present to his own mind. As, indeed, his purpose was to explore regions entirely new to him, and of which the police respecting his former objects was very imperfectly known to Europe (for the Turkish dominions in Asia, Egypt, and the Barbary coast, were in his plan of travels),

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he could not doubt that important subjects for observation would offer themselves unfought. With respect to that part of his tour in which he was to go over ground he had already trodden, I conceive that he expected to do good in that *censorial character*, which his repeated publications, known and attended to all over Europe, gave him a right to assume; and which he had before exercised to the great relief of the miserable in various countries. If to these motives be added the long formed habitude of pursuing a certain track of enquiry, and an inquietude of mind proceeding from domestic misfortune, no cause will be left to wonder at so speedy a renewal of his toils and dangers.

He had resolved to go this journey too,
without

without an attendant; and it was not till after the most urgent and affectionate entreaties, that his servant obtained permission to accompany him. Before he set out, he and his very intimate and highly respected friend, Dr. Price, took a most affectionate and pathetic leave of each other. From the age and infirmities of the one, and the hazards the other was going to encounter, it was the foreboding of each of them that they should never meet again in this world; and their farewell corresponded with the solemnity of such an occasion. The reader's mind will pause upon the parting embrace of two such men; and revere the mixture of cordial affection, tender regret, philosophic firmness, and christian resignation,

tion, which their minds must have displayed.

It was in the beginning of July 1789 that he arrived in Holland. Thence he proceeded through the north of Germany, Prussia, Courland, and Livonia, to St. Petersburg. From this capital he went to Moscow. Some extracts of a letter to Dr. Price dated from this city, September 22, 1789, will, I doubt not, be acceptable, as one of the latest records of his career of benevolence.

“ When I left England, I first stopped at Amsterdam, and proceeded to Osna-
burgh, Hanover, Brunswick, and Berlin;
then to Königsberg, Riga, and Peterf-
burgh; at all which places I visited the
prisons and hospitals, which were all
flung open to me, and in some, the bur-
gomasters

gomasters accompanied me into the dungeons, as well as into the other rooms of confinement. I arrived a few days ago in this city, and have begun my rounds. The hospitals are in a sad state. Upwards of seventy thousand sailors and recruits died in them last year. I labour to convey the torch of philanthropy into these distant regions. — I am quite well — the weather clear — the mornings fresh — thermometer 48, but fires not yet begun. I wish for a mild winter, and then shall make some progress in my European expedition. My medical acquaintance give me but little hope of escaping the plague in Turkey. I do not look back, but would readily endure any hardships, and encounter any dangers, to be an honour to my Christian profession.”

From

From Moscow he took his course to the very extremity of European Russia, extended as it now is to the shores of the Black-sea, where long dreary tracts of desert are terminated by some of those new establishments, which have cost such immense profusion of blood and treasure to two vast empires, now become neighbours and perpetual foes. Here, at the distance of 1,500 miles from his native land, he fell a victim to disease, the ravages of which, among unpitied multitudes, he was exerting every effort to restrain. *Finis vitæ nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura!*

From the faithful and intelligent servant who accompanied him (Mr. Thomas Thomason), I have been favoured
with

with an account of various particulars relative to his last illness, which I shall give to the reader in the form in which I received it.

“ The winter being far advanced on the taking of Bender, the commander of the Russian army at that place gave permission to many of the officers to visit their friends at Cherson, as the severity of the season would not admit of a continuance of hostilities against the Turks. Cherson, in consequence, became much crowded; and the inhabitants testified their joy for the success of the Russians by balls and masquerades. Several of the officers, of the inhabitants of Cherson, and of the gentry in the neighbourhood, who attended these balls, were almost immediately afterwards attacked with fevers; and

and it was Mr. *Howard's* idea, that the infection had been brought by the officers from Bender. Amongst the number who caught this contagion was a young lady who resided about sixteen miles from Cherson. When she had been ill some little time, Mr. *Howard* was earnestly requested to visit her. He saw her first on Sunday, December 27. He visited her again in the middle of the week, and a third time on the Sunday following, January 3. On that day he found her sweating very profusely; and, being unwilling to check this by uncovering her arm, he passed his under the bed-clothes to feel her pulse. While he was doing this, the effluvia from her body were very offensive to him, and it was always his own opinion that he then caught the fever.

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She died on the following day. Mr. Howard was much affected by her death, as he had flattered himself with hopes of her amendment. From January 3d to the 8th he scarcely went out*; but on that day he went to dine with Admiral Montgwinoff, who lived about a mile and a half from his lodgings. He staid later than usual; and when he returned, found himself unwell, and thought he had something of the gout flying about him. He immediately took some Sal Volatile in a little tea, and thought himself better till three or four on Saturday morning, when feeling not so well, he repeated the Sal Volatile. He got up in the morning,

* There seems some mistake here, as there is a full report in his memorandums, of a visit to the hospitals in Cherson, dated January 6.

and

and walked out; but, finding himself worse, soon returned and took an emetic. On the following night he had a violent attack of fever, when he had recourse to his favourite remedy, James's powder, which he regularly took every two or four hours till Sunday the 17th. For though Prince Potemkin sent his own physician to him, immediately on being acquainted with his illness, yet his own prescriptions were never interfered with during this time. On the 12th he had a kind of fit, in which he suddenly fell down, his face became black, his breathing difficult, and he remained insensible for half an hour. On the 17th he had another similar fit. On the 18th he was seized with hiccuping, which continued on the next day, when he took some musk

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draughts

draughts by direction of the physician. About seven o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 20th of January, he had another fit, and died in about an hour after. He was perfectly sensible during his illness, except in the fits, till within a very few hours of his death. This event he all along expected to take place; and he often said, that he had no other wish for life than as it gave him the means of relieving his fellow-creatures.

During his illness he received a letter from a friend, who mentioned having lately seen his son at Leicester, and expressed his hopes that Mr. *Howard* would find him better on his return to England. When this account was read to him, it affected him much. His expressions of pleasure were particularly strong, and he
often

often desired his servant, if ever by the blessing of God, his son was restored, to tell him how much he prayed for his happiness. He made a will* on the Thursday before he died; and was buried, at his own request, at the villa of M. Dauphiné, about eight miles from Cherson, where a monument is erected over his grave. He made the observation, that he should here be at the same distance from heaven, as if brought back to England. While in Cherson, he saw the accounts of the demolition of the Bastille, which seemed to afford him a very particular pleasure; and he thought it possible, the account he had himself pub-

* This must probably have been only some directions to his executors, as his will is dated in 1787.

lished of it, might have contributed to this event."

On this relation, the general exactness of which may, I doubt not, be fully relied on, I shall only make a medical remark or two. Notwithstanding Mr. *Howard's* conviction of having caught the contagion from the young lady, I think the distance of time between his last visit to her and his own seizure, makes the fact dubious. Contagion thus sensibly received, usually, I believe, operates in a less period than five days*. Perhaps his visit to the hospitals on the 6th, or his late return from the Admiral's on the 8th, in a cold season and

* According to Dr. *Lind*, its effects, shivering and sickness, are instantaneous. See *Dissert. on Fevers and Infection. Chap. ii. sect. 1.*

unwholesome climate, will better account for it. The nature of his complaint is not very clear, for it is very uncommon for the senses to remain entire till the last, in a fever of the low or putrid kind; nor are fits, resembling epileptic attacks, among the usual symptoms of such a disease. That a wandering gout might make part of his indisposition, is not very improbable, as it was a disorder to which he was constitutionally liable, though his mode of living prevented any severe paroxysms of it. At any rate, his disease was certainly attended with debility of the vital powers, and therefore the long and frequent use of James's powders must have been prejudicial. And I think it highly probable, that Mr. *Howard's* name may be added to the numerous list of

those, whose lives have been sacrificed to the empirical use of a medicine of great activity, and therefore capable of doing much harm as well as good.

It was Mr. *Howard's* written request, that his papers should be corrected and fitted for publication by Dr. Price and myself. The declining state of health of Dr. Price*, has caused the business to devolve

* Whilst I am engaged in this work, Dr. PRICE has followed his friend to the grave. A character so illustrious will, doubtless, have all justice done it by some pen qualified to display its various merits. May I be permitted, however, to take this occasion of mingling my regrets with those of his other friends and admirers, and offering a small tribute to the memory of one of the most excellent of men! Though during life the advanced station he occupied in political controversy rendered his name as obnoxious to some, as it was cherished and revered by others, yet now he is gone to that place
where

devolve solely on me, and I have executed it to the best of my power. Little was requisite to be done to the greatest part, which he had himself copied out fair. The rest was with some difficulty to be compiled out of detached and broken memorandums; but in these his own words are as much as possible preserved.

where all worldly differences are at an end, it may be hoped, that the liberal of all denominations will concur, in respecting a long course of years spent in the unremitted application of eminent abilities and acquirements, to the promotion of what he regarded as the greatest good of his fellow-creatures. A character in which were combined simplicity of heart, with depth of understanding,—ardent love of truth, with true Christian charity and humility;—high zeal for the public interests, with perfect freedom from all private views; cannot be ultimately injured by the petulance of wit, or the invectives of eloquence. Dr. Price's reputation as a moralist, philosopher, and politician, may safely be committed to impartial posterity.

Of this Supplement I shall give a general account, as I have done of the former parts of his works.

The order and regularity of *Holland* still afford useful descriptions, and some of the abuses which even there had crept in, seem to have been corrected since Mr. *Howard's* visits. The friend to humanity has yet, however, to lament the continued use of the torture there, to force confession. The state of the prisons in *Osnaburgh*, *Hanover*, and *Brunswick*, is again dwelt upon with some minuteness, obviously because the writer thought there was some probability of his attracting, in a more peculiar manner, the notice of those who have the power of remedying their defects. Who will not sympathize with him in the disappointment
he

he expresses in this instance, and bewail the strange fatality by which the utmost barbarity of the torture is retained in the dominions of a mild and enlightened Sovereign, whose interposition could not but be efficacious in suppressing it!

At *Berlin* and *Spandau* the institutions appear to preserve the good order in which they were left by the Great *Frederic*. *Königsberg* seems to shew the neglect incident to places distant from the seat of government. In a note under this place, Mr. *Howard* makes an acknowledgment of the attention with which his remarks have been honoured in various foreign countries, and properly adduces it as a reason for his adoption of that censorial manner of noting abuses, which,

which, in his later journies, he has not scrupled freely to employ.

At *St. Petersburg* he had the pleasure to observe several improvements in the hospitals, probably in great part owing to his own suggestions. Under *Cronstadt* he finds occasion, however, to animadvert upon an alteration in the plan of diet, generally adopted throughout the marine and military hospitals of *Russia*, which, in his opinion, is highly prejudicial. This alteration consists in changing milk, and various other articles, constituting the usual liquid and middle diet of the sick, for the stronger and less digestible food of men in health. The prisons at *Moscow* seem greatly neglected by those whose office it is to superintend them; but the charity displayed by individuals

dividuals towards the poor wretches confined in them, gave Mr. *Howard* a favourable idea of the humane disposition of the nation, confirmed by what he saw of their manners in his travels.

He now hastened to those scenes, where a destructive war, co-operating with an unwholesome climate, produced such evils, aggravated by neglect and inhumanity, that they gave him no other occupation than to lament and complain. After all the allowances that candour demands, for inevitable wants and hardships in the distant posts of a newly possessed country, and during the height of widely extended military operations, the Russian commanders cannot be vindicated from an inattention to the lives and comforts of their soldiers, greater, as Mr.

Howard

Howard observes, than he had seen in any other country. Ignorance, abuse, mismanagement, and deficiency, seem at their very summit in the military hospitals of *Cherson*, *Witowka*, and *St. Nicholas*. The lively pictures he has drawn of the distresses he here witnessed, and his pathetic description of the sufferings of the poor recruits, marched from their distant homes to these melancholy regions, must awaken in every feeling breast a warm indignation against the schemes of ambitious despotism, however varnished over with the colouring of glory, or even of national utility. No lesson ought to be more forcibly impressed on mankind, than, that uncontrouled power in one or few, notwithstanding it may occasionally be exercised in splendid and even beneficent

cent designs, is on the whole absolutely inconsistent with the happiness of a people*. The Empress of Russia's unjust seizure of Lesser and Crim Tartary, has been the cause of miseries not to be calculated, to her own subjects and those of Turkey, and has endangered the tranquillity of all Europe.

I shall conclude this review of the works and public services of Mr. *Howard* with brief annals of his more than Herculean labours, during the last seventeen years of his life.

1773. High-sheriff of Bedfordshire. Visited many county and town gaols.

* Scilicet ut Turno contingat regia conjunx,
Nos, animæ viles, inhumata infletaque turba,
Sternamur campis. *Æn.* xi.

1774.

1774. Completed his survey of English gaols. Stood candidate to represent the town of Bedford.

1775. Travelled to Scotland, Ireland, France, Holland, Flanders, and Germany.

1776. Repeated his visit to the above countries, and to Switzerland. During these two years revisited all the English gaols.

1777. Printed his state of prisons.

1778. Travelled through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and part of France.

1779. Revisited all the counties of England and Wales, and travelled into Scotland and Ireland. Acted as Supervisor of the Penitentiary Houses.

1780.

1780. Printed his first Appendix.

1781. Travelled into Denmark, Sweden,
Russia, Poland, Germany, and
Holland.

1782. Again surveyed all the English prisons, and went into Scotland and Ireland.

1783. Visited Portugal, Spain, France, Flanders, and Holland: also, Scotland and Ireland; and viewed several English prisons.

1784. Printed the second Appendix, and a new edition of the whole works.

From the close of the first of these years, to the beginning of the last, on his tour through
1785. Holland, France, Italy, Malta,
1786. Turkey, and Germany. Afterwards, went to Scotland and
1787. Ireland.

1788.

1788. Revisited Ireland; and during this and the former year, travelled over all England.

1789. Printed his work on Lazarettos, &c. Travelled through Holland, Germany, Prussia, and Livonia, to Russia and Lesser Tartary.

1790. January 20. Died at Cherson.

Having thus traced the footsteps of this great philanthropist from the cradle to the grave, and followed them with close inspection in that part of his course which comprehends his more public life, it only remains, to assemble those features of character which have been displayed in his actions, and to form them, in conjunction with such minuter strokes as studious observation may have enabled me to

to draw, into a faithful portraiture of the
man.

The first thing that struck an observer on acquaintance with Mr. *Howard*, was a stamp of extraordinary vigour and energy on all his movements and expressions. An eye lively and penetrating, strong and prominent features, quick gait, and animated gestures, gave promise of ardour in forming, and vivacity in executing his designs*. At no time of his
life,

* Mr. *Howard*, though frequently requested, would never sit for his picture; it is therefore no wonder that the portraits of him, given in various works, should be all totally unlike. The most resembling likeness, by much, is a head sketched by an artist in London, engraved in Dublin, and copied for this work. It is somewhat of a caricature, but has very exactly the expression of his countenance when in a very serious attentive mood. After his death, Prince Potemkin had two plaster casts

P

taken

life, I believe, was he without some object of warm pursuit; and in every thing he pursued, he was indefatigable in aiming at perfection. Give him a hint of any thing he had left short, or any new acquisition to be made, and while you might suppose he was deliberating about it, you were surprised with finding *it was done*. Not Cæsar himself could better exemplify the poet's

Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum.

I remember that, having accidentally remarked to him that amongst the London prisons he had omitted *the Tower*, he was so struck with the deficiency (though

taken from his face, one for himself, the other for the servant of Mr. Howard.

of trifling consequence, since confinement there is so rare), that at his very first leisure he ran to London, and supplied it. Nor was it only during a short period of ardour that his exertions were thus awakened. He had the still rarer quality of being able, for any length of time, to bend all the powers and faculties of his mind to one point, unseduced by every allurement which curiosity or any other affection might throw in his way, and unsusceptible of that satiety and disgust which are so apt to steal upon a protracted pursuit. Though by his early travels he had shewn himself not indifferent to those objects of taste and information which strike the cultivated mind in a foreign country, yet in the tours expressly made for the purpose of examining

prisons and hospitals, he appears to have had eyes and ears for nothing else; at least he suffered no other object to detain him or draw him aside*. Impressed with the idea of the importance of his designs, and the uncertainty of human life, he was impatient to get as much done as possible within the allotted limits. And in this disposition consisted that *enthusiasm* by which the public supposed him actuated; for otherwise, his cool and steady temper gave no idea of the character usually distinguished by that appellation. He followed his plans, indeed, with wonderful vigour and con-

* He mentioned being once prevailed upon in Italy, to go and hear some extraordinarily fine music; but, finding his thoughts too much occupied by it, he would never repeat the indulgence.

stancy,

stancy, but by no means with that heat and eagerness, that inflamed and exalted imagination, which denote the enthusiast. Hence, he was not liable to catch at partial representations, to view facts through fallacious mediums, and to fall into those mistakes which are so frequent in the researches of the man of fancy and warm feeling. Some persons, who only knew him by his extraordinary actions, were ready enough to bestow upon him that sneer of contempt, which men of cold hearts and selfish dispositions are so apt to apply to whatever has the shew of high sensibility. While others, who had a slight acquaintance with him, and saw occasional features of phlegm, and perhaps harshness, were disposed to question his feeling altogether, and to

attribute his exertions either merely to a sense of duty, or to habit and humour. But both these were erroneous conclusions. He felt as a man should feel; but not so as to mislead him, either in the estimate he formed of objects of utility, or in his reasonings concerning the means by which they were to be brought into effect. The reformation of abuses, and the relief of misery, were the two great purposes which he kept in view in all his undertakings; and I have equally seen the tear of sensibility start into his eyes on recalling some of the distressful scenes to which he had been witness, and the spirit of indignation flash from them on relating instances of baseness and oppression. Still, however, his constancy of mind and self-collection never deserted him.

him. He was never agitated, never off his guard; and the unspeakable advantages of such a temper in the scenes in which he was engaged, need not be dwelt upon.

His whole course of action was such a trial of intrepidity and fortitude, that it may seem altogether superfluous to speak of his possession of these qualities. He had them, indeed, both from nature and principle. His nerves were firm; and his conviction of marching in the path of duty made him fearless of consequences. Nor was it only on great occasions that this strength of mind was shown. It raised him above false shame, and that awe which makes a coward of many a brave man in the presence of a superior. No one ever less “feared the face

of man," than he. No one hesitated less in speaking bold truths, or avowing obnoxious opinions. His courage was equally passive and active. He was prepared to make every sacrifice that a regard to strict veracity, or rigorous duty, could enjoin; and it cannot be doubted, that, had he lived in an age when asserting his civil and religious rights would have subjected him to martyrdom, not a more willing martyr would ever have ascended the scaffold, or embraced the stake.

The resolute temper of Mr. *Howard* displayed itself in a certain peremptoriness, which, when he had once determined, rendered him unyielding to persuasion or dissuasion, and urged him on to the accomplishment of his purpose, regardless of obstacles. He expected prompt obedience

obedience in those from whom he had a right to require it, and was not a man to be treated with negligence and inattention. He was, however, extremely considerate, and sufficiently indulgent to human frailties; and a good-will to please him could scarcely fail of its effect. That his commands were reasonable, and his expectations moderate, may be inferred from the long continuance of most of his servants with him, and his steady attachment to many of those whom he employed. His means of enforcing compliance were chiefly rewards; and the withholding them was his method of showing displeasure*.

The

* The following characteristic anecdote was communicated to me by a gentleman who travelled in a
chaife

The spirit of independence by which he was ever distinguished, had in him the only foundation to be relied on, *moderate desires.*

chaise with him from Lancashire to London in 1777. Mr. Howard observed, that he had found few things more difficult to manage than post-chaise drivers, who would seldom comply with his wishes of going slow or fast, till he adopted the following method. At the end of a stage, when the driver had been perverse, he desired the landlord to send for some poor industrious widow, or other proper object of charity, and to introduce such person and the driver together. He then paid the latter his fare, and told him, that as he had not thought proper to attend to his repeated requests as to the manner of being driven, he should not make him any present; but, to show him that he did not withhold it out of a principle of parsimony, he would give the poor person present double the sum usually given to a postillion. This he did, and dismissed the parties. He had not long practised this mode, he said, before he experienced the good effects of it on all the roads where he was known.

A more extraordinary instance of his determined spirit

desires. Perfectly contented with the competence which Providence had bestowed on him, he never had a thought of increasfing it; and, even when in a situation to expect a family, he made it a spirit has been related to me. Travelling once in the king of Prussia's dominions, he came to a very narrow piece of road, admitting only one carriage, where it was enjoined on all postillions entering at each end, to blow their horns by way of notice. His did so; but, after proceeding a good way, they met a courier travelling on the king's business, who had neglected this precaution. The courier ordered Mr. Howard's postillion to turn back; but Mr. Howard remonstrated, that he had complied with the rule, while the other had violated it; and therefore that he should insist on going forwards. The courier, relying on an authority, to which, in that country, every thing must give way, made use of high words, but in vain. As neither was disposed to yield, they sat still a long time in their respective carriages: at length the courier gave up the point to the sturdy Englishman, who would on no account renounce his rights.

rule

rule with himself to lay up no part of his annual income, but to expend in some useful or benevolent scheme the superfluity of the year. Lest this should be converted into a charge of carelessness in providing for his own, it may be proper to mention, that he had the best-grounded expectations, that any children he might have, would largely partake of the wealth of their relations. Thus he preserved his heart from that contamination, which (taking in the whole of life) is perhaps the disease most frequently attendant on a state of prosperity, — *the lust of growing rich*; a passion, which is too often found to swallow up liberality, public spirit, and, at last, that independency, which it is the best use of wealth to secure. By this temper of mind

mind he was elevated to an immeasurable distance above every thing mean and sordid; and in all his transactions he displayed a spirit of honour and generosity, that might become the “ blood of the *Howards*” when flowing in its noblest channels.

Had Mr. *Howard* been less provided with the goods of fortune, his independency would have found a resource in *the fewness of his wants*; and it was an inestimable advantage which he brought to his great work, an advantage perhaps more uncommon in this country than any of those already mentioned, that he possessed a command over all corporeal appetites and habitudes, not less perfect than that of any ancient philosopher, or modern ascetic. The strict regimen of

diet which he had adopted early in life from motives of health, he afterwards persevered in through choice, and even extended its rigour, so as to reject all those indulgences which even the most temperate consider as necessary for the preservation of their strength and vigour. Animal foods, and fermented and spirituous drinks, he utterly discarded from his diet. Water and the plainest vegetables sufficed him. Milk, tea, butter, and fruit, were his luxuries; and he was equally sparing in the quantity of food, and indifferent as to the stated times of taking it. Thus he found his wants supplied in almost every place where *man* existed, and was as well provided in the posadas of Spain and caravanserai of Turkey, as in the inns and hotels

of England and France. Water was one of his principal necessaries, for he was a very Mussulman in his ablutions; and if nicety or delicacy had place with him in any respect, it was in the perfect cleanliness of his whole person. He was equally tolerant of heat, cold, and all the vicissitudes of climate; and, what is more wonderful, not even sleep seemed necessary to him, at least at those returns and in those proportions in which mankind in general expect it. How well he was capable of enduring fatigue, the amazing journies he took by all modes of conveyance, without any intervals of what might be called repose (since his only baiting places were his proper scenes of action), abundantly testify. In short, no human body was probably ever more perfectly
the

the servant of the mind by which it was actuated; and all the efforts of the strongest constitution, not inured to habits of self-denial, and moral as well as corporeal exercise, would have been unequal to his exertions*.

With

* The following account of his mode of travelling, communicated to me by a gentleman in Dublin, who had much free conversation with him, and the substance of which I well recollect to have heard from himself, will, I doubt not, prove interesting. “ When he travelled in England or Ireland, it was generally on horseback, and he rode about forty English miles a day. He was never at a loss for an inn. When in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, he used to stop at one of the poor cabins that stick up a rag by way of sign, and get a little milk. When he came to the town he was to sleep at, he bespoke a supper, with wine and beer, like another traveller, but made his man attend him, and take it away, whilst he was preparing his bread and milk. He always paid the waiters, postillions, &c. liberally, because he would have no discontent or dispute,

With respect to the character of his understanding, that, too, was as happily adapted to the great business in which he engaged. He had not, in a high degree, that extensive comprehension, that faculty of generalizing, which is said to dispute, nor suffer his spirits to be agitated for such a matter; saying, that in a journey that might cost three or four hundred pounds, fifteen or twenty pounds addition was not worth thinking about. When he travelled on the continent, he usually went post in his own chaise, which was a German one that he bought for the purpose. He never stopped till he came to the town he meant to visit, but travelled all night, if necessary; and from habit could sleep very well in the chaise for several nights together. In the last tour but one he travelled twenty days and nights together without going to bed, and found no inconvenience from it. He used to carry with him a small tea-kettle, some cups, a little pot of sweetmeats, and a few loaves. At the post-house he could get his water boiled, send out for milk, and make his repast, while his man went to the *auberge*."

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distinguish

distinguish the man of genius, but which, without a previous collection of authentic materials, is ever apt to lead into erroneous speculations. He was rather a man of detail; of laborious accuracy and minute examination; and therefore he had the proper qualities for one who was to lead the way in researches where all was ignorance, confusion, and local custom. Who but such a man could have collected a body of information, which has made even professional men acquainted with interesting facts that they never before knew; and has given the English reader a more exact knowledge of practices followed in Russia and Spain, than he before had of those in his own country? This minuteness of detail was what he ever regarded as his peculiar province.

As

As he was of all men the most modest estimator of his own abilities, he was used to say, " I am the *plodder*, who goes about to collect materials for men of genius to make use of." Let those who look with fastidiousness upon long tables of rules and orders, and measurements of cells and work-rooms, given in feet and inches, consider, that when a scheme is brought into practice, these small circumstances *must* have their place; and that the most ingenious plans often fail in their execution for want of adjustment in the nicer parts. Perhaps even the great Frederic of Prussia was more indebted for success to the exactness of his dispositions in every minute particular connected with practice, than to deep and sublime views of general principles.

From a similar cast of mind, Mr. *Howard* was a friend to subordination, and all the decorums of regular society; nor did he dislike vigorous exertions of civil authority, when directed to laudable purposes. He interfered little in disputes relative to the theory of government; but was contented to take systems of sovereignty as he found them established in various parts of the world, satisfied with prompting such an application of their powers as might promote the welfare of the respective communities. A state of imprisonment being that in which the rights of men are, in great part, at least, suspended, it was natural that his thoughts should be more conversant with a people as the subjects, than as the source, of authority. Yet he

he well knew, and properly valued, the inestimable blessings of political freedom, as opposed to despotism; and, among the nations of Europe, he considered the Dutch and Swiss as affording the best examples of a strict and steady police, conducted upon principles of equity and humanity. To the character of the Dutch he was, indeed, peculiarly partial; and frequently asserted, that he should prefer Holland for his place of residence, to any other foreign country. I can add, from undoubted authority, that Mr. *Howard* was one of those who (in the language of the great Lord Chatham) “rejoiced that America had resisted,” and triumphed in her final success; that he was principally attached to the popular part of our constitution;

and that in his own county he distinguished himself by a spirited opposition to aristocratical influence.

His peculiar habits of life, and the exclusive attention he bestowed in his later years on a few objects, caused him to appear more averse to society than I think he really was; and it has been mentioned as an unfortunate circumstance, that his shyness and reserve frequently kept him out of the way of persons from whom he might have derived much useful information. But it is vain to desire things incompatible.

Mr. *Howard* can scarcely be denied to have chosen the best way, upon the whole, of conducting his enquiries; and if he had been a more *companionable* man, more ready to indulge his own curiosity, and gratify

gratify that of others, he would no longer have possessed one of the chief advantages he brought to his great work. Yet while he assiduously shunned all engagements which would have involved him in the forms and dissipation of society, he was by no means disinclined to enter into conversations on his particular topics; on the contrary, he was often extremely communicative, and would enliven a small circle with the most entertaining relations of his travels and adventures.

Mr. *Howard* had in a high degree that respectful attention to the *female sex* which so much characterises the *gentleman*. Perhaps, indeed, I may here be referring to rules of politeness which no longer exist. But he was as thorough-

ly impressed with the maxim of *place aux dames* as any Frenchman, though without the strain of light and complimentary gallantry which has accompanied it in the individuals of that nation. His was a more serious sentiment, connected with the uniform practice of giving up his own ease and accommodation, for the sake of doing a real kindness to any female of decent character. It is excellently illustrated by an anecdote related in a magazine, by a person who chanced to sail with him in the packet from Holyhead to Dublin, when, the vessel being much crowded, Mr. *Howard* resigned his bed to a servant-maid, and took up with the cabin floor for himself. It is likewise displayed throughout his works, by the warmth with
which

which he always censures the practice of putting female prisoners in irons, and exposing them to any harsh and indelicate treatment. He was fond of nothing so much as the conversation of women of education and cultivated manners, and studied to attach them by little elegant presents, and other marks of attention. Indeed, his soft tones of voice and gentleness of demeanour might be thought to approach somewhat to the effeminate, and would surprise those who had known him only by the energy of his exertions. In his judgment of female character, it was manifest that the idea of his lost Harriet was the standard of excellence; and, if ever he had married again, a resemblance to her would have been the principal motive of his choice. I recollect

lect to this purpose a singular anecdote, which he related to us on his return from one of his tours. In going from one town in Holland to another in the common passage boat, he was placed near an elderly gentleman, who had in company a young lady of a most engaging manner and appearance, which very strongly reminded him of his Harriet. He was so much struck with her, that, on arriving at the place of destination, he caused his servant to follow them, and get intelligence who they were. It was not without some disappointment that he learned, that the old gentleman was an eminent merchant, and the young lady,—*his wife*.

Mr. *Howard's* predilection for female society, was in part a consequence of his

his abhorrence of every thing gross and licentious. His own language and manners were invariably pure and delicate; and the freedoms which pass uncensured or even applauded in the promiscuous companies of men, would have affected him with sensations of disgust. For a person possessed of such feelings, to have brought himself to submit to such frequent communication with the most abandoned of mankind, was perhaps a greater triumph of duty over inclination than any other he obtained in the prosecution of his designs. Yet the nature of his errand to prisons probably inspired awe and respect in the most dissolute; and I think he has recorded, that he never met with a single insult from the

the prisoners in any of the gaols he visited.

As Mr. *Howard* was so eminently a *religious* character, it may be expected that somewhat more should be said of the peculiar tenets he adopted. But, besides that this was a topic which did not enter into our conversations, I confess, I do not perceive how his general plan of conduct was likely to be influenced by any *peculiarity* of that kind. The principle of *religious duty*, which is nearly the same in all systems, and differs rather in strength than in kind in different persons, is surely sufficient to account for all that he did and underwent in promoting the good of mankind, by modes which Providence seemed to place

place before him. It has been suggested, that he was much under the influence of the doctrine of *predestination*; and I know not what of *sternness* has been attributed to him as its natural consequence. For my own part, I am not able to discover in what those notions of Providence, general and particular, which make part of the profession of all religions, differ essentially from the opinions of the predestinarians; and, from manifold observation, I am certain, that the reception of the doctrine of predestination, as an article of belief, does not necessarily imply those practical consequences which might seem deducible from it. The language, at least, of our lower classes of people is almost universally founded upon it; but when one of them dies

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of an infectious disease, notwithstanding the bystanders all speak of the event as fated and inevitable, yet each, for himself, does not the less avoid the infection, or the less recur to medical aid if attacked by it. With respect to Mr. *Howard*, he never seemed to adopt the idea that he was moved by an irresistible impulse to his designs; for they were the subject of much thought and discussion: nor did he confront dangers because he had a persuasion that he should be preserved from their natural consequences, but because he was elevated above them. This sentiment he has himself more than once expressed in print; and surely none could be either more rational, or more adequate to the effects produced. “ Being in the way of my duty (says he),

I fear no evil." I may venture to affirm, that those of the medical profession, whose fearlessness is not merely the result of habit, must reason upon the same principle, when they calmly expose themselves to similar hazards. *They*, for the most part, use no precautions against contagion: Mr. *Howard* did use some; though their effects were probably trifling compared with that of his habitual temperance and cleanliness, and his untroubled serenity of mind. On the whole, his religious confidence does not appear to have been of a nature different from that of other pious men; but to be so steadily and uniformly under its influence, and to be elevated by it to such a superiority to all worldly considerations, can be the lot of none but those who have

have formed early habits of referring every thing to the divine will, and of fixing all their views on futurity.

From Mr. *Howard's* connections with those sects who have ever shewn a particular abhorrence of the frauds and superstitions of popery, it might be supposed, that he would look with a prejudiced eye on the professors and ministers of that persuasion. But such was his veneration for true vital religion, that he was as ready to pay it honour when he met with it in the habit of a *monk*, as under the garb of a *teacher*: and throughout his works, as well as in conversation, he ever dwelt with great complacency on the pure zeal for the good of mankind, and genuine Christian charity, which he frequently discovered

among the Roman Catholic clergy, both regular and secular. He was no friend to that hasty dissolution of convents and monasteries which formed part of the multifarious reforms of the late Emperor of Germany. He pitied the aged inmates, male and female, of these quiet abodes, who were driven from their beloved retreats into the wide world, with a very slender and often ill-paid pittance for their support. “ Why might not they (he would say) be suffered gradually to die away, and be transplanted from one religious house to another as their numbers lessened ?” Those orders which make it the great duty of their profession to attend with the kindest assiduity upon the sick and imprisoned, and who therefore came continually with-

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in his notice, seemed to conciliate his good-will to the whole fraternity; and the virtues of order, decency, sobriety, and charity, so much akin to his own, naturally inclined him to a kind of fellowship with them. He rigorously, however, abstained from any compliances with their worship which he thought unlawful; and gave them his esteem as men, without the least disposition to concur with them as theologians.

Such were the great lines of Mr. *Howard's* character—lines strongly marked, and sufficient to discriminate him from any of those who have appeared in a part somewhat similar to his own on the theatre of the world. The union of qualities which so peculiarly fitted him for the post he undertook, is not likely,

in our age, again to take place; yet different combinations may be employed to effect the same purposes; and, with respect to the objects of police and humanity concerning which he occupied himself, the information he has collected will render the repetition of labours like his unnecessary. To propose as a model, a character marked with such singularities, and, no doubt, with some foibles, would be equally vain and injudicious; but his firm attachment to principle, high sense of honour, pure benevolence, unshaken constancy, and indefatigable perseverance, may properly be held up to the view of all persons occupying important stations, or engaged in useful enterprises, as qualities not less to be imitated, than admired.

I shall conclude with some account of the *literary honours* which Mr. *Howard* has received from his countrymen. It would, indeed, have been extraordinary, if, while senates and courts of judicature offered him their tribute of applause, poetry and eloquence should have shewn an insensibility to his merits. Besides the acknowledgments paid him in every publication upon topics similar to his own, he became the theme of the elegant muse of Mr. *Hayley*, who addressed to him an ode in the year 1780, to which reference has already been made. In the succeeding year, Mr. *Burke*, adverting, in a speech to the freemen of Bristol, to a fact in Mr. *Howard's* book, struck out, with the enthusiasm of genius, into a panegyrical digression on his plans and actions,

actions, decorated with his peculiar strain of glowing imagery. This speech was afterwards printed, and the passage concerning Mr. *Howard* was copied into various periodical writings, and read with universal approbation. His character was even exhibited on the stage; for a comedy of Mrs. *Inchbald's*, entitled *Such Things Are*, contained a part evidently modelled upon his peculiar cast of benevolence, which for a time rendered the piece popular.

Dr. *Darwin's* very beautiful poem of *the Botanic Garden*, printed in 1789, amidst an unexpected variety of subjects, presents an eulogium of Mr. *Howard*, so appropriate and poetical, that I am sure no reader of taste will require an apology from me for inserting it.

—And

—And now, BENEVOLENCE! thy rays divine
 Dart round the globe from Zembla to the Line;
 O'er each dark prison plays the cheering light,
 Like northern lustres o'er the vault of night. —
 From realm to realm, with cross or crescent crown'd,
 Where'er mankind and misery are found,
 O'er burning sands, deep waves, or wilds of snow,
 Thy HOWARD journeying seeks the house of woe.
 Down many a winding step to dungeons dank,
 Where anguish wails aloud, and fetters clank;
 To caves bestrew'd with many a mouldering bone,
 And cells, whose echoes only learn to groan;
 Where no kind bars a whispering friend disclose,
 No sunbeam enters, and no zephyr blows,
 He treads, inemulous of fame or wealth,
 Profuse of toil, and prodigal of health;
 With soft assuasive eloquence expands
 Power's rigid heart, and opes his clenching hands;
 Leads stern-eye'd justice to the dark domains,
 If not to sever, to relax the chains;
 Or guides awaken'd mercy through the gloom,
 And shews the prison, sister to the tomb! —
 Gives to her babes the self-devoted wife,
 To her fond husband liberty and life! —
 —The spirits of the good, who bend from high
 Wide o'er these earthly scenes their partial eye,
 When first, array'd in VIRTUE's purest robe,
 They saw her HOWARD traversing the globe;

Saw

Saw round his brows her sun-like glory blaze
 In arrowy circles of unwearied rays ;
 Mistook a mortal for an angel-guest,
 And ask'd what seraph-foot the earth imprest.
 —Onward he moves!—Disease and death retire,
 And murmuring demons hate him, and admire.

After these lines, I cannot be prompted by vanity in transcribing some greatly inferior ones, which, too, have already been offered to the public. But, as they were written under the influence of heartfelt emotions, and refer to the leading principle of his actions, I hope they will not be thought misplaced as the close of a volume, the purpose of which is to represent his character in strong and faithful colours.

ON THE DEATH OF MR. HOWARD.

HOWARD, thy task is done ! thy Master calls,
 And summons thee from Cherfon's distant walls.
 " Come, well-approv'd ! my faithful servant ! come ;
 " No more a wand'rer, seek thy destin'd home.
 " Long have I mark'd thee with o'er-ruling eye,
 " And sent admiring angels from on high,
 " To walk the paths of danger by thy side,
 " From death to shield thee, and thro' snares to guide.
 " My *minister of good*, I've sped thy way,
 " And shot thro' dungeon glooms a leading ray,
 " To cheer, by thee, with kind unhoped relief,
 " My creatures lost and whelm'd in guilt and grief.
 " I've led thee, ardent, on thro' wond'ring climes,
 " To combat human woes and human crimes.
 " But 'tis enough !—thy *great commission's* o'er ;
 " I prove thy faith, thy love, thy zeal, no more.
 " Nor droop, that far from country, kindred, friends,
 " Thy life, to duty long devoted, ends ;
 " What boots it *where* the high reward is giv'n,
 " Or *whence* the soul triumphant springs to heav'n ?"

F I N I S.

ERRATUM.

Page 92, l. 13, for *where* read *when*.



