

JOHN HOWARD

(1726 -1790)

HOSPITAL AND PRISON REFORMER: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY

LEONA BAUMGARTNER, M. D., PH. D.

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

ARNOLD M. MUIRHEAD, M. A., *Oxon.*

BALTIMORE

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

1939



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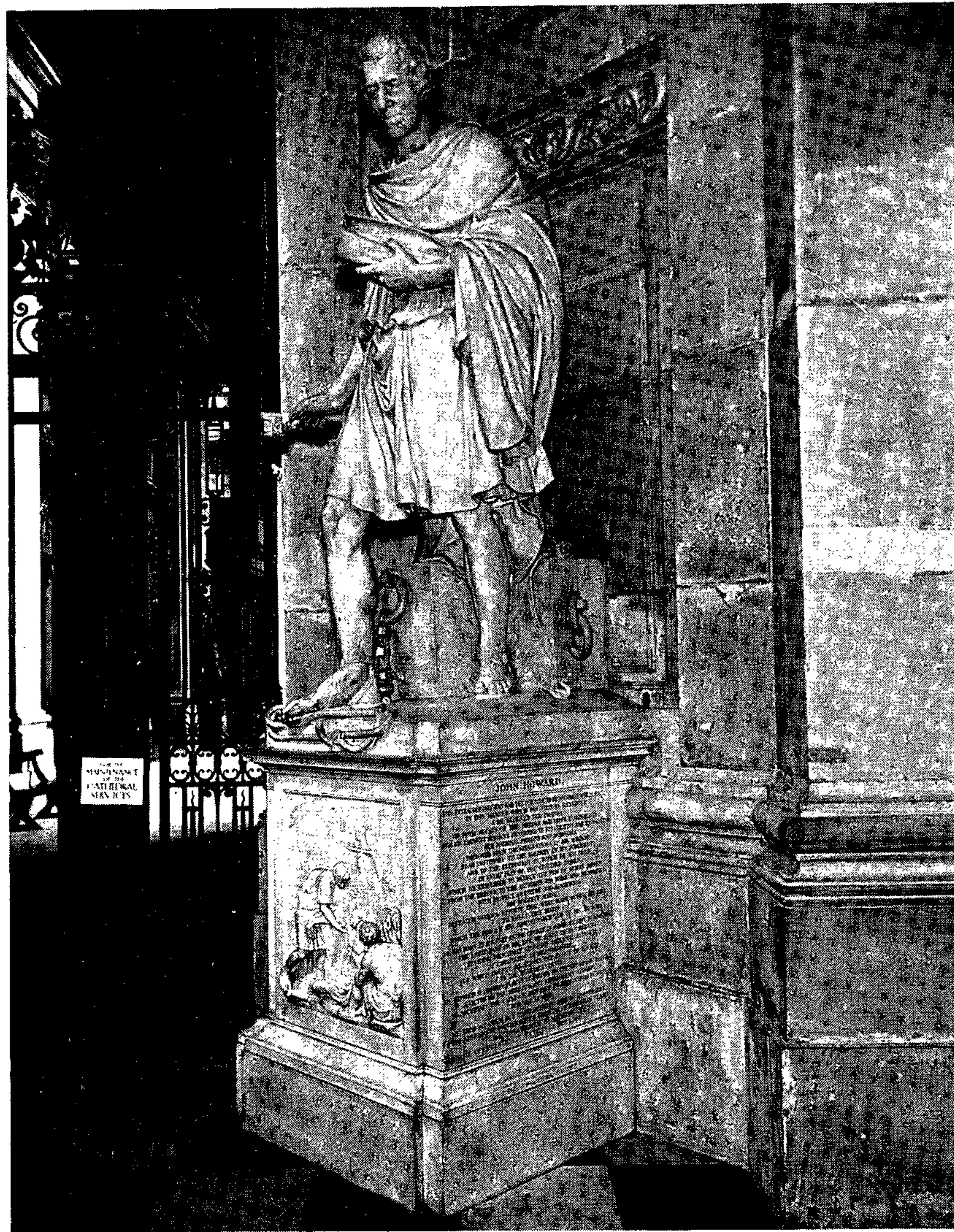


Fig. 1.

Statue of John Howard, St. Paul's Cathedral, London.
(Kindness of Dr. Logan Clendening.)

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PRELIMINARY NOTE

The present bibliography of John Howard's works was first formulated from the titles in the British Museum *General catalogue of printed books* and the A. M. Muirhead Collection of Howardiana, now in the Library of Dr. John F. Fulton at the School of Medicine, Yale University. Subsequently a preliminary list of these titles was circulated to more than one hundred representative libraries in this country and abroad; in this way many uncommon items were discovered and some indication was obtained of the distribution and rarity of Howard's principal writings. I am especially grateful to Mr. L. Newcombe, Librarian of the National Central Library, London, who voluntarily collected material from many of the smaller libraries in Great Britain, and by so doing, has contributed much to the completeness of the bibliography. The British Museum list was based, not only upon its published catalogue of printed books, but also upon the present active catalogue examined in July, 1938. Whenever possible the titles and descriptions have been made directly from the volumes, the copy described being in each case the first one listed under "Copies." A key to the abbreviations for the libraries consulted is included. Full transcriptions and collations have been

*From the Department of Health of the City of New York; Laboratory of Physiology, Yale University School of Medicine, and Department of Pediatrics, Cornell University Medical College, New York City.

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made only for the more important works of Howard and are not reproduced in quasi-facsimile. Illustrations have been listed in some detail since they are, for the most part, large engravings which frequently occur separately and may be misbound in any one of the several editions.

Many friends have aided me in compiling this bibliography. Individual contributors are mentioned in the text, but there are many others: generous librarians who have repeatedly responded to enquiries, three secretaries who made a patient excursion into bibliography by typing the script, Miss Elizabeth E. Schramm of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, who has checked many items, Dr. and Mrs. John Fulton whose enthusiasm has been a constant source of inspiration—all these must be given particular thanks. The part which Mr. Muirhead has played speaks for itself—not only in first collecting the nucleus of books which created the incentive for the bibliography, but in writing the scholarly introduction which follows. For invaluable aid in the reading of the proofs I am much indebted to Dr. William Willoughby Francis, Protobibliothecary of the Osler Library.

L. B.

May, 1939.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN HOWARD:

AN INTRODUCTION

ARNOLD M. MUIRHEAD

I

Few men discover their life's work at the age of nearly fifty, and exchange the easy routine of rather invalidish retirement for days and years of unremitting toil, and exhausting travel calling for the most determined courage and complete indifference to personal dangers and discomforts. Still fewer, unless they be princes, or successful soldiers or sailors, inspire poets and dramatists, receive the thanks of the Commons at the Bar of the House and win such general approbation that it is proposed to erect a statute to them in their lifetime. Yet all these things happened to John Howard, and were made possible by an all pervading love for his less fortunate fellow-beings, and by the complete and unselfish dedication of the remaining years of his life to their service.

John Howard, the son of a wealthy city upholsterer and a Dissenter, was born at Clapton on September 2nd, 1726. Owing to his delicate health and the death of his mother while he was yet an infant, he passed his early years in the country at Cardington, near Bedford, where he was later to make his home. From there he was sent first to a Dissenting School at Hertford, where he remained for seven years, and then to a Dissenting Academy in London kept by John Eames, but although the education of Dissenters in the eighteenth century was usually far in advance of the instruction given elsewhere, Howard was either unlucky in his schools or was not an apt pupil. He certainly was never very happy in the compositions of the pen, although Aikin's statement that "he was never able to speak or write his native language with grammatical correctness" was perhaps too critical and literary a judgment. Later, at any rate, he mastered French well enough to be able to pass himself off as a Frenchman without much difficulty. He must early too have developed a fondness for science, for meteorological studies in par-

ticular were a lifelong hobby, and he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Howard, on leaving school, was apprenticed to a wholesale grocer, but after his father's death in 1742, which left him with more than ample means, he seems to have taken an early opportunity of buying himself out of a business that was quite uncongenial to him, and to have devoted himself to private pursuits and travel abroad.

In 1752 he displayed some of his quixotic character by insisting on marrying Sarah Lardeau, a woman more than twice his age, out of gratitude for her successful nursing of him during a severe illness. The marriage was not unhappy, but was ended after only three years by the death of his wife. He decided to travel again and to visit Lisbon which had been destroyed by a great earthquake. However, his ship was captured by a French privateer and taken to Brest, but after a few months he was released in exchange for a French naval officer. In the light of after events, it is interesting to find that the experience of suffering personal privation and beholding even worse horrors among other prisoners produced no other immediate effect beyond stirring him to bring certain facts to the notice of the Commissioners of Sick and Wounded Seamen.

In 1758 Howard married, as his second wife, Henrietta Leeds of Croxton, Cambridge. Her piety (she was a Churchwoman) matched his own, her tastes were simple and the marriage was very happy. Howard certainly believed in being master in his own house, for it was agreed between them that in any difference of opinion that might arise, the final decision should always be his. At Cardington, where they finally settled, Howard busied himself improving his estate and seeing to the welfare of his tenants. His benevolence was considerably despotic, and his tenants were expected to conform to their landlord's standards of conduct and religious observance and were merely tenants-at-will, but for all that, he won their affection as well as respect.

Unfortunately his wife died immediately after bearing him a son. Howard has received many unfounded strictures for his harsh treatment of this son, but the truth appears to be that, in a desire not to spoil him, he perhaps erred on the side of over-severity, and his protracted absences from home in later years meant that his son

was left in the charge of servants and others and was often lonely. But some inherent weakness, perhaps aggravated by his upbringing, was the real cause of his son's mental breakdown and death in an asylum. Howard did not lack warmth of feeling, as his affectionate friendship with his neighbours, the Whitbreads, and the eager welcome he always got from children, bear testimony.

In 1773 his appointment as High Sheriff for Bedfordshire wrought a momentous change in his life. Even now, fate might have played a scurvy trick and robbed the world of Howard's services, for under the provisions of the Test Act, Howard, although a Dissenter, would be expected to qualify for his office by receiving Holy Communion. Fortunately, however, the Act was loosely administered, and Howard served his year of office without anyone raising objections against him.

It was now for the first time that Howard discovered that some prisoners, although acquitted at the Assizes, were carried back to prison because of their inability to pay the customary fee due to the gaoler and tipstaff when originally taken into custody. When Howard applied to the justices for a salary for the gaoler in lieu of fees, they asked for a precedent for charging such expense to the County. "I therefore," he wrote, "rode into several neighbouring counties in search of one; but I soon learnt that the same injustice was practised in them; and, looking into the prisons, I beheld scenes of calamity, which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate. In order, therefore, to gain a more perfect knowledge of the particulars and extent of it by various and accurate observations, I visited most of the *County Gaols* in England."

For the remaining seventeen years of his life Howard was rarely at home for any length of time, and by 1784 he estimated he had covered over forty thousand miles in search of information. Altogether he made three comprehensive journeys in England and Wales and seven tours abroad in the course of which he visited every country in Europe. His valetudinarianism forgotten, he spent long days in the saddle (for he preferred to ride on horseback in England), and it was nothing for him to travel all night in the chaise he kept for his foreign tours. Fortified by his belief in his mission he seemed indifferent to fatigue and privations, and as his diet was always of

the simplest kind, (he was both a vegetarian and a total abstainer) meals never presented a great problem even in strange countries. He constantly risked his life by exposure to gaol fever and other noisome infections and, later, when examining lazarettos, to the plague, but the precautions he took were few. For Wolsey's orange he substituted a vial of vinegar, and avoided taking deep breaths when visiting gaols; sometimes he gargled and washed his hands, but faith was his chief safeguard—"Trusting in Providence I fear no evil." Often his notebook was so tainted he had to spread it before the fire before he could use it.

The state of the prisons as Howard found them was appalling. Buildings were more often than not in a state of decay, there was no sanitation and no proper medical attention. Communication between prisoners and the outside world was easy and escapes were frequent. There was no proper classification or segregation of prisoners, and often young and old, men and women, innocent and hardened were all herded together. Drinking and gambling were rife, the gaoler usually adding to his fees by being tapster and so encouraging the consumption of liquor, food was seldom supplied by the authorities, and the statutory inspection was hardly ever carried out.

All these facts Howard industriously collected, and as methodically recorded in the books and appendices he published. Others before him had interested themselves in the reform of the existing system but no one had produced such a damning indictment based on such incontrovertible evidence. His tours abroad were taken in the hope that he might discover some remedies for the abuses at home. On the whole he found prison management and conditions often better understood on the Continent, and in Holland in particular, he welcomed the successful attempts to reform the criminals. He not only examined prisons, but also bridewells, the transportation system and hulks. Finally he decided that much might be learnt about the question of contagion in prisons by studying the methods adopted in dealing with the plague. "It struck me," he wrote, "that establishments, effectual for the prevention of the most infectious of all diseases, must afford many useful hints for guarding against the propagation of contagious distempers in general." He therefore

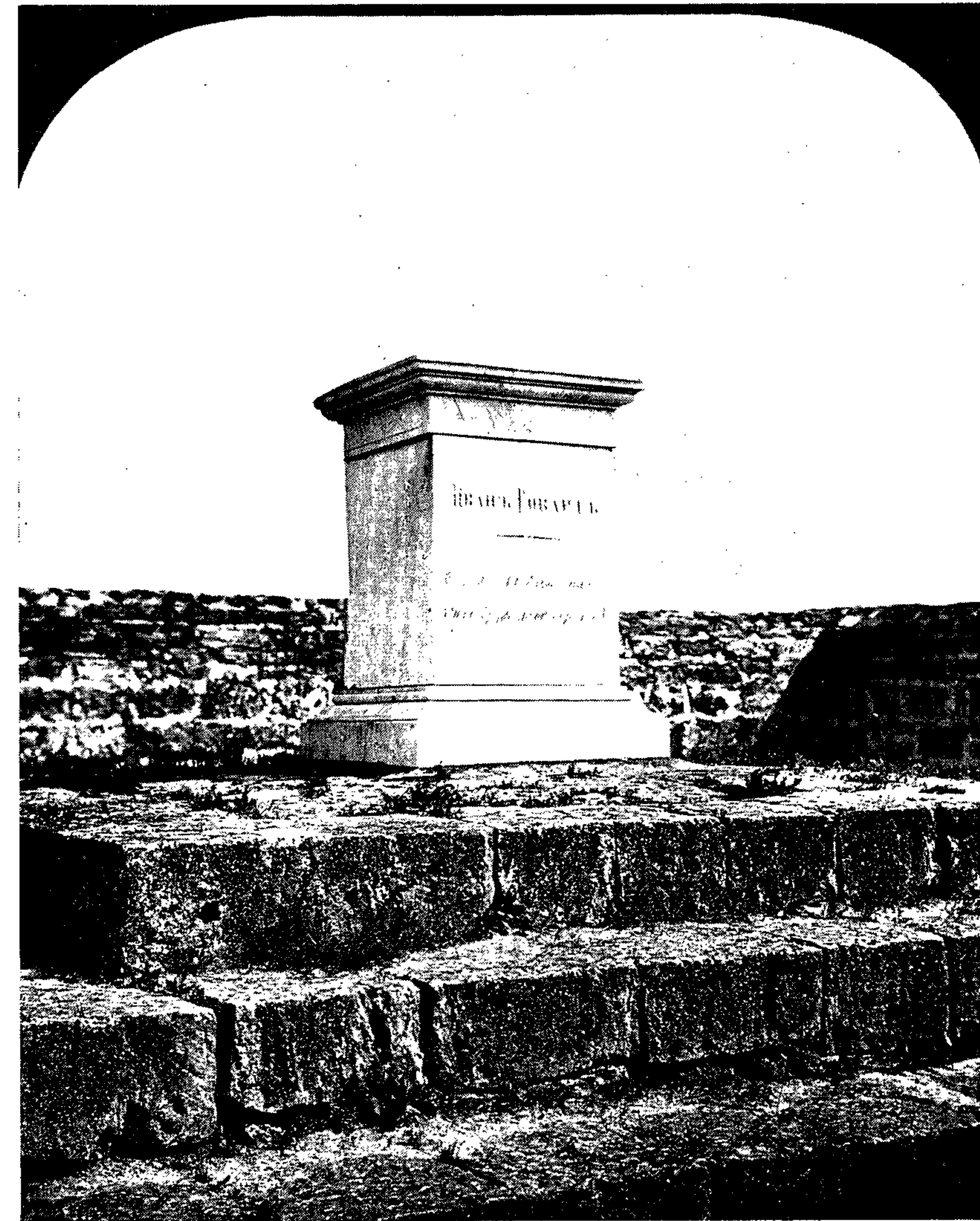


Fig. 2.

Howard's tomb near Cherson, Russia.

visited the principal lazarettos in Europe and even took passage in a ship with "a foul bill" in order to have personal experience of the quarantine regulations. On his last journey into Russia he was anxious to inspect the conditions of the military hospitals (Russia and Turkey were at war) but at Cherson he caught a chill and camp fever (possibly typhus) and died there January 20th, 1790. Such was his reputation even in that remote place that, despite his last wishes, he was given an almost royal funeral. It is perhaps interesting to record that Howard had great confidence in Dr. James's powders, and Aikin thought that in his last illness these prejudiced his recovery and made him yet another martyr to their empirical use.

Howard appears to have had an extreme aversion to sitting for his portrait, and all sketches of him were consequently made surreptitiously and in profile.* He was of short stature but well proportioned, and he moved briskly: his nose was very aquiline and his eyes and complexion dark. He had a serious but kindly manner, and his presence commanded immediate respect. His piety was a real force, and in later years he became increasingly ascetic in his habits with an almost morbid fear of indulging in even the most harmless pleasures of the table or diversions of music and society. Any praise of his efforts was highly distasteful to him, and he was genuinely perturbed at the proposal to erect a statue to him in his

* In the American edition of Aikin's biography (see No. 48, page 135) appears the following statement: "Mr. Howard had so much contempt for worldly honors that he would never sit to any painter whatever, and this has given rise to an opinion that there is no correct likeness of him. In this report, however, the public seems to be under a mistake. An ingenious and respectable artist, Mr. T. Halloway, whose talents are justly admired, had an opportunity of being in company with Mr. Howard in a public place where a sketch of his features might be stolen. The temptation was too great to be resisted. An accurate sketch was made, and an engraving, executed from it, accompanies this life, and will afford a very just idea of the features of this great good man.

"The American editor can assure the public, that, the original sketch alluded to above is now in the possession of Mr. Caleb Lownes of this city." Through the kindness of Miss Mary A. Givens of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania it has been possible to trace this portrait. It was willed by Howard Edwards of Philadelphia in 1925 to Miss Effie Wylie. Miss Wylie's present address has not yet been ascertained. The London edition (No. 47, p. 209) also mentions that Prince Potemkin had two post-mortem plaster casts taken and one of these probably served as the model for the profile on the Russian tomb. L. B.

lifetime. He was generous to a degree in both public and private benefactions, and he spent not only his own fortune but also money inherited from his sister in pursuing his researches and publishing their results.

If it is asked how much Howard actually accomplished, the answer must be very little, as far as immediate results and reforms were concerned. An Act passed in 1774 for preserving the Health of Prisoners in Gaol and preventing the Gaol Distempers did bring some improvement in sanitary conditions and a marked decrease for the time being in the incidence of gaol fever—but the long war with France soon gave further reforms little chance. Still, Howard had collected the evidence and stirred public opinion so that the abuses could not always remain, and both through and after the war his work was carried on by others such as Bentham, Neild, Romilly and Elizabeth Fry, until, under Peel's vigorous Home Secretaryship, definite reforms were made. Moreover, as Dr. Leona Baumgartner pointed out in her paper, "John Howard and the public health movement" (No. 91), Howard was an important link in the development of that movement and the wider aspect of his work in that field has been unduly neglected because of the prominence always given to his efforts solely as a prison reformer. His carefully reported observations let the facts speak for themselves: "I am the *plodder*, who goes about to collect materials for men of genius to make use of."

Howard's work reveals how much can be done even in the face of official lethargy and discouragement, by a determined individual possessed of the means to pursue his inquiries. Burke said that Howard's labours and writings had done much to open the eyes and hearts of all mankind, and when his statue, the first to be admitted into St. Paul's, and a dissenter's at that, was erected by public subscription, Dean Milman truly spoke of him as "the genuine Apostle of Him among whose titles to our veneration and love, not the least befitting, not the least glorious was that He went about doing good."

II

Dr. Baumgartner, wisely following the tradition of humanized bibliography set by Keynes and Fulton, has written such full and interesting notes to each separate publication of Howard that only a few general remarks are called for here.

The various English editions of *The state of the prisons* and *Lazarettos*, with the single exception of the second edition of the *Prisons* in octavo, are all handsome and attractively printed quartos. Howard made a wise choice when he asked William Eyres of Warrington to be his printer, for Eyres had already made a reputation with the excellent volumes he was turning out for the tutors of Warrington Academy, and other dissenting writers. Howard was influenced also by his friend Aikin's presence in Warrington and by a desire to employ a country printer whose work he thought he could supervise better than a Londoner's. Aikin tells us that Howard took lodgings near the printer's, and for many weeks rose as early as three each morning to correct with his meticulous care for detail the proofs of the previous day's composition. (See below, No. 1.) Presentation copies of the first three editions of *The state of the prisons* are fairly common, for Howard distributed them not only to his friends, but to many persons holding important positions in the Kingdom. Such copies are often in elaborate presentation bindings, and usually the half-title has been removed and a fresh leaf inserted bearing an inscription, of which the following is typical: "Mr. Howard presents his respects to Dr. Kiplin and requests his acceptance of this book as a small testimony of his esteem. Cardington, April 12th, 1785."

Although we possess no actual figures of the numbers printed of each edition of the *Prisons*, the issues must have been large for, with the exception of the second *Appendix* (1784), the book is still very common. A reason for this seems to have been that, as long as the publisher had any stock in hand, Howard was always giving away fresh copies, and therefore the steady public demand had sooner or later to be met by a new edition. Howard then took advantage of the opportunity to incorporate the new material he had collected, and to bring up to date his statistics about each prison,

and so keep the public fully informed of any changes for better or worse. In later editions, too, additional plates were inserted: the first contains three plates, the third twenty-two.

Eyres also printed the first edition of the *Lazarettos* (1789), but the second edition (1791) containing an appendix of memoranda made on Howard's last tour, and the fourth edition of the *Prisons* (1792) were published in London. These last may be regarded as the definitive edition of Howard's works, and some copies are found with the ordinary half-title removed and cancels inserted proclaiming them volumes one and two of "The Works of John Howard Esq." (See below, Nos. 4 and 5, and 22 and 23.) In the year that Howard died a volume of extracts from both the *Prisons* and *Lazarettos* printed at Newcastle had a wide circulation. Bound with it is often found an anonymous Life of Howard issued by the same publisher. Both the *Prisons* and *Lazarettos* were translated into French by the order of the French Government in the series *Recueil de mémoires sur les établissements d'humanité*. German translations of both books, and an Italian version of the *Lazarettos* reveal the wide interest Howard's travels and inquiries had aroused on the continent.

The Society for Giving Effect to His Majesty's Proclamation against Vice and Immorality also reprinted in 1789 in pamphlet form various regional extracts from the *Prisons*, and distributed them—for information and suggested reforms, to the judge, sheriffs, etc., of the different circuits to which each set of extracts referred. Copies of these extracts are today probably the scarcest of all Howardiana, and very few have been located in national or local libraries.

Howard, in spite of several attempts, had always failed to gain admission to the Bastille, and this fact lends particular interest to the English translation (1780) he sponsored of Broussay's *Historical remarks and anecdotes on the Castle of the Bastille*. In a note signed by Howard appearing as an advertisement after the title, he tells his readers that he has had some difficulty in finding a copy and some danger in bringing it to England, as its sale in France was prohibited by the severest penalties, and that the account affords 'a very interesting and instructive comparison between the

horrors of despotic power, and the mild and just administration of equal laws in a free state.' This translation was reprinted separately several times, as well as in the fourth edition of the *Prisons*, and evidently appealed to a curious public.

If any proof were wanting that Howard fired the imagination of his own generation, it would surely be found in Section Six of this Bibliography, which lists an imposing array of biographical material. Mrs. Inchbald, in a note to her play *Such things are* (1788), states that the theme was suggested by reading of Howard's visits to prisons and that the character of the hero, Mr. Haswell, represents Howard. William Hayley's *Ode to Howard* (1780), with the well-known engraving by Bartolozzi, went through several editions. Erasmus Darwin apostrophizes Howard in his *Botanic garden*, and Samuel Jackson Pratt paid a tribute with the *triumph of benevolence occasioned by the national design of erecting a monument to John Howard* (1786), a few copies of which contain an interesting list of the first subscribers, before Howard had had an opportunity to pour cold water on the proposal. William Lisle Bowles wrote two poems *Verses to John Howard* (1789) and *The grave of Howard* (1790), which were frequently reprinted in his collected poems.

Of the several funeral sermons preached in his honour, one at least was printed at "the earnest request of several hearers," and in the same year appeared three anonymous Lives, the most engaging of which is *Anecdotes of the life and character of John Howard Esq., F. R. S., written by a gentleman whose acquaintance with that celebrated philanthropist gave him the most favourable opportunity of learning particulars not generally known*. A few copies are found with a most interesting frontispiece depicting Howard visiting a prison. There were also many contemporary printed notices of his death which Dr. Baumgartner has succeeded in ferreting out.

The first official biography appeared two years later (1792), written by John Aikin, but it does not pretend to be more than a slight and rather uncritical tribute, although, of course, it is valuable as being written by one of Howard's few intimate friends. The public had to wait until 1818 for a full length biography, when

James Baldwin Brown produced his *Memoir of the public and private life of John Howard, the philanthropist*, a large quarto of over five hundred pages making full use of diaries, letters and other sources of information. This still remains an indispensable book for any student of Howard, but it suffers from having no index. In a second edition in octavo published in 1823, the original dedication to William Wilberforce gives place to a fulsome tribute to Alexander, Emperor of Russia. Brown, unfortunately, had not gained permission to use the correspondence between Howard and his neighbours and friends the Whitbreads, and it was not until 1855 that Field was able to publish this in a volume entitled *The correspondence of John Howard the philanthropist not before published*, which threw much fresh light on Howard's Life. A full and definitive edition of Howard's correspondence is much needed. A number of biographies appeared from time to time during the nineteenth century indicating that the interest in his work had never died. The most useful and authoritative modern account is E. C. S. Gibson's *John Howard* (1901), unfortunately now out of print. The founding of the *Howard Society for Penal Reform* was another outcome of Howard's influence, and the Society has a long record of achievement to its credit.

III

I am happy that the collection of John Howard's works formed by me and later given to my friend John Fulton to fill a gap in his great medical Library, proved so stimulating and helpful a basis for the compilation of the present bibliography. As one who has worked a little in the same field and is acquainted with some of the difficulties, I can congratulate Dr. Baumgartner on the successful outcome of her wide and pertinacious researches. She has added very considerably to our previous knowledge of Howard, and it is unlikely that any important printed material now remains undiscovered. Here, at last, collected from many scattered sources, is presented in one volume with scholarly orderliness, and yet also with human interest, all the available bibliographical information about John Howard,—an inestimable service for which collectors and students alike will long be grateful.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS OF LIBRARIES *

Am	Bibliothèque Communale de la Ville d'Amiens, France
B	Library of Dr. Leona Baumgartner, New York City
Belf.	Queens University, Belfast, Ireland
Bes.	Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, France
BM	British Museum Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford, England
Br PL	Bristol Public Library, Bristol, England
Br R	Bristol Reference Library, Bristol, England
BUB	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Berlin
CaMM	McGill University Library, Montreal, Canada
CaMMOs	Osler Library, McGill University, Montreal, Canada
Card	University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff, Wales
CaTAM	Academy of Medicine, Toronto, Canada
CCO	Christ Church, Oxford, England
CSf	Public Library, San Francisco, California
CsmH	Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California
CtY	Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut
CU	University of California Library, Berkeley, California
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
DSG	Army Medical Library, Washington, D. C.
DU	Durham University, Durham, England
Edin.	University Library, Edinburgh, Scotland
F	Library of Dr. John Fulton, New Haven, Connecticut
GL	Goldsmith's Library of Economic Literature, University Library, South Kensington, London
GLUL	General Library, London University Library, South Kensington, London
GU	University Library, Glasgow, Scotland
HLPR	Howard League for Penal Reform Library, Victoria Street, London
Hull	Hull University College Library, Hull, England
IaU	Iowa University Library, Iowa City, Iowa
IC	Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Illinois
ICJ	John Crerar Library, Chicago, Illinois
ICU	Chicago University Library, Chicago, Illinois
JRL	The John Rylands Library, Manchester, England
KIB	Bibliothek des Kungl. Karolinska Mediko, Kirurgiska Institutet, Stockholm, Sweden
LC	See DLC
LeP	Leeds Public Library, Leeds, England
LEEDS	University of Leeds Library, Leeds, England
LPL	Liverpool Public Library, Liverpool, England
LSE	British Library of Political and Economic Science, Library School of Economic and Political Science, London
LUC	University College, London
MAN U	University Library, Manchester, England
MB	Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts
MBM	Boston Medical Library, Boston, Massachusetts
MdBj-W	Welch Medical Library, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland
MdBM	Library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty, Baltimore, Maryland
MH	Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts
MH-And	Harvard Divinity School Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts

* The abbreviations of American libraries included herewith conform with the standard Library of Congress abbreviations, the first unit of the abbreviation commencing with the state, *i. e.*, M for Massachusetts, C for Connecticut, etc.

MH-L	Law School Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
ML	Manchester Public Libraries, Manchester, England
MoS	St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Missouri
MoSW-M	Washington University Medical School Library, St. Louis, Missouri
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
NhD	Baker Memorial Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales
NN	New York Public Library, New York City
NNNAM	New York Academy of Medicine, New York City
NNC	Columbia University Library, New York City
NNR	Russell Sage Foundation Library, New York City
NjP	Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey
OCI	Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio
Osler	See CaMMOs.
PLB	Birmingham Public Libraries, Birmingham, England
PP-C	Carson Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PPCP	College of Physicians Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
QU	Queens' College Library, Cambridge, England
RLB	Central Reference Library, Public Libraries, Bristol, England
RPB	John Hay Library, Providence, Rhode Island
RSM	Royal Society of Medicine, London
RU	Library of the University of Reading, Reading, England
SBB	Stadtbibliothek Berlin, Berlin, Germany
SBF	Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany
SoFL	Society of Friends, London, England [British Museum]
SU	Library of the University of Sheffield, Sheffield, England
SUB H	Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany
SUB K	Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Königsberg, Germany
SvLB	Svenska Läkaresällskapet, Stockholm, Sweden
TCD	Library of Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland
UBB	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Bonn, Germany
UBG	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Göttingen, Germany
UBGr	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Greifswald, Germany
UBH	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Halle, Germany
UBK	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Kiel, Germany
UBL	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Leipzig, Germany
UBM	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Marburg, Germany
UBMu	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Münster, Germany
UCS	University College Library, Southampton, England
ULT	University Library of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia
VL	Vatican Library, Rome
W	Library of Dr. Erik Waller, Lidköping, Sweden
WLS	Dr. Williams Library, Gordon Square, London
WPL	Warrington Public Library, Warrington, England

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I. STATE OF PRISONS—WITH APPENDICES AND EXTRACTS

The first edition of Howard's *The state of prisons* was brought out in 1777 by the versatile printer, William Eyres, of Warrington. Howard had settled in Warrington for the expressed purpose of writing and watching his book as it passed through the presses. John Aikin, the physician, Howard's most faithful contemporary biographer who was then living in Warrington, recorded that he went over Howard's material paragraph by paragraph as it passed through the press, and he gives the following vivid picture of how the book was compiled: "On his [Howard's] 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. . . . With his papers thus corrected, 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. . . . He resided in Warrington during the whole time of printing, and his attention to the business was most indefatigable. During a very severe winter he made it his practice to rise at three or four in the morning, for the purpose of collating every word and figure of his daily proof sheet with the original" [See Aikin, No. 47, pp. 64-65, 63].

The book was handsomely executed in all details and yet offered to the public for the modest figure of 12 shillings. (Robert WATT, *Bibliotheca britannica*, London, 1824). Aikin remarks "that so

zealous was Mr. *Howard* to diffuse information, and so determined to obviate any idea that he meant to repay his expenses 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 volume so low, that, had every copy been sold, he would still have presented the public with all the plates, and a great part of the printing." [*Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.]

That all copies, not only of *The state of the prisons*, but of Howard's other writings as well were rapidly sold is indicated by a quotation from the anonymous editor of the *Extracts* (see No. 12) who, in 1790, the year of Howard's death, states "In order to aid the general object of his benevolence, it was the custom of Mr. Howard to give away a great many copies of his different productions. This, of course, narrowed the number on sale, and thro' the lapse of time and the great avidity with which they have been bought up, his works are now not to be had, at any price." Presentation copies, inscribed by Howard to some one recipient, have now become very common. The plates depict elaborate plans of the prisons he visited, the methods of punishing prisoners, etc. They are all steel engravings and many of them large folding plates. As pointed out in the following descriptions, each edition had additional plates. In later editions certain plates appear to have been re-etched, since, although duplicates of those in earlier editions, they have been numbered. An excellent index accompanies the text of each edition.

The first four editions were dedicated to the House of Commons, before which Howard had been examined in March of 1774. Parliament had considered the condition of prisoners in gaols during the sessions of 1773 before Howard had begun any of his investigations, but after the Reform Bill which had been introduced by Mr. Popham, member of the House from Taunton, was read twice, the committee had dropped it. The following year after Howard's impressive presentation of the conditions he had found in his visits to prisons Parliament promptly passed two bills designed to better the status of prisoners. At this time Howard was also summoned to the Bar to receive the thanks of the House, to which he apparently refers in the

dedication of this volume: "To the Honourable House of Commons, in Gratitude for the Encouragement which they have given to the Design, and for the Honour they have conferred on the author." Each edition was almost completely rewritten; that is to say, Howard added to his original description of a given institution the details of each subsequent visit he made to it. The description of the first four editions of *The state of the prisons* is quite simple. However, the publication in 1780 and 1784 of an *Appendix to the state of the prisons in England and Wales . . . containing a farther account of foreign prisons and hospitals, with additional remarks on the prisons of this country* complicates the bibliography of Howard's works and the various 'Appendices' demand separate description. The first edition of this *Appendix* appeared simultaneously with the second edition of *The state of the prisons* and though with separate signatures and separately paginated it occurs bound with many editions of both *Prisons* and *Lazarettos*. Similarly the second edition of the *Appendix* and the third of the *Prisons* appeared in 1784, but with separate pagination. The *Extracts*, published in 1790 took materials from both the work on *Prisons* and from *Lazarettos*. Therefore it is essential to refer to all of these works separately, relisting them when indicated.

The quotation,

Ah! little think the gay . . .
Whom pleasure, power, and affluence surround;
How many pine in want, and dungeon-glooms;
Shut from the common air.

appears on the title page of the first four editions of the *State of the prisons*. It is from James Thomson (1700-1748). Chilian H. Leonard (*The rise of humanitarianism in English poetry of the 18th century*. Cornell Univ., M. A. thesis, 1927) has pointed out that in Thomson's poetry the humanitarianism of the 18th century had its first appearance. The first example, according to Dr. Leonard, is in *Winter* published in March of 1726, the year of Howard's birth. The above quotation appeared in an edition of the same poem published in a series called *The seasons*, issued in 1730, and the lines are taken directly from a passage dealing with the jail committee of 1729 (See lines 302-303, 312).

T H E
S T A T E
O F T H E
P R I S O N S
I N
E N G L A N D A N D W A L E S.
W I T H
P R E L I M I N A R Y O B S E R V A T I O N S,
A N D A N A C C O U N T O F S O M E
F O R E I G N P R I S O N S.
B Y J O H N H O W A R D, F. R. S.

AN! LITTLE THINK THE GAY -----
WHOM PLEASURE, POWER, AND AFFLUENCE SURROUND;
HOW MANY FINE IN WANT, AND DUNGEON-GLOOMS.
THOMSON.

W A R R I N G T O N,
P R I N T E D B Y W I L L I A M E Y R E S,
A N D S O L D B Y T. C A D E L L I N T H E S T R A N D, A N D N. C O N A N T
I N F L E E T S T R E E T, L O N D O N.
M D C C L X X V I I.

Fig. 3.

Title page of the first edition of *The state of the prisons*. (No. 1)

1. STATE OF PRISONS (1st ed.) *Warrington, 1777, 4°*

Title: The | state | of the | prisons | in | England and Wales, | with | preliminary observations, | and an account of some | foreign prisons. | By John Howard, F.R.S. | [quotation from Thomson] | Warrington, | Printed by William Eyres, | and sold by T. Cadell in the Strand, and N. Conant | in Fleet Street, London. | MDCCLXXVII. [See fig. 3]

Collation: 4° : [A] B-Z Aa-Zz Azz-Ttt⁴; [8] 490 [22] pp., 3 pl., 275 × 215 mm.

Contents: [A]1a half-title; [A]2a title; [A]3a Dedication to the House of Commons; [A]4a Table of contents; B1a-3b (pp. 1-6) Introduction; B4a-Rrr1a (pp. 7-489) text; Rrr2a-Ttt4a Index; Ttt4b Directions to the Book-binder.

Half-title: ([A]1a) : State | of the | Prisons | in | England and Wales.

Illustrations: The first edition contains only three plates, all unnumbered, *i. e.*, Howard's plan for a county gaol and prisons at Ghent and Newgate, inserted respectively at pp. 48-49, 140-141 and 152-153; all are folded.

Note: The meticulous care with which Howard edited this handsome edition has been described above. Pages 7, 25, 38, 78, 147, 476, 477 and 487 are unnumbered. Seven tables are reproduced on pp. 477-486. The press of William Eyres was well established in Warrington when Howard went there. As early as 1704 Henry Eyres had been a bookseller, and probably a printer, in Warrington. He was succeeded by John Eyres and subsequently by John's two sons, Thomas and William. By the middle of the century these brothers were deep in the business of printing chap-books and commercial printing. At the age of 24 and 21 they edited and printed the "Eyres Weekly Journal or Warrington Advertiser." This venture was short-lived and soon after Thomas abandoned the partnership—leaving William to begin a career of 40 years as one of the best known printers of England. The first really important work from his press was Priestley's *History of electricity* (1767), one of the earliest works on the subject and one of Priestley's most celebrated writings. In 1770 appeared Dr. Reinhold Forster's popular *Travels* in 3 volumes—then Dr. John Aikin's *Essays in longevity* (1772); Miss Anna Laetitia Aikin's *Poems* and Enfield's *History of Liverpool* (1773). These volumes were so superiorly produced that they established Eyres as a printer of the first rank. There followed a series of Warrington classics and finally in 1777, Howard's *Prisons*, and William Roscoe's first tome *Mount Pleasant*. The best specimen produced by Eyres was probably *The History of the Earls of Warren and Surrey* (1782) with plates engraved by Basire and possibly by Blake. Blake did the portrait of Haller in a life Eyres printed in 1783. Eyres did not retire from the business until 1803, after which, the press slowly degenerated in the hands of the Haddocks. He died six years later. (See Page H. Stuart, *Classics and chap-books, being a short account of the work of William Eyres*, Warrington "Sunrise" Publishing Co., 1899, 12 pp.)

Copies: B, F, BM, CtY, PLB, VL, SBB, UBM, UBB, UBG, GL, GU, WPL, DU, LPL, WL, QU, NLW, HLP, Bod., IUL, PP-C (2), CSMH, ICJ, RPB, NNR, Man U, Edin.

2. STATE OF PRISONS (2nd ed.) *Warrington, 1780, 8°*

Title: The | state | of the | prisons | in | England and Wales, | with | preliminary observations, | and an account of some | foreign prisons and hospitals. | By John Howard, F.R.S. | [quotation from Thomson] | The second edition. | [rule] | Warrington, | Printed by William Eyres; | and sold by T. Cadell in the Strand, and N. Conant | in Fleet Street, London. | MDCCLXXX.

Collation: 8° : [a]⁴ B-Z Aa-Ff⁸ Gg-Hh⁴ Ii²; [8], 449, [19] pp. 10 pl.



Note: This is volume 1 of a two-volume work, No. 23, being the second volume. In the Fulton collection are two sets of these collected works—one, uncut, apparently bound in original blue boards. Volume 1, however, in this does not have the preliminary half-title on 'The works.' It has not been possible to determine from any copy how these two preliminary leaves are gathered, probably as 3Z3 and 3Z4.

Copies: F(2), PLB, OCI, MB. Other copies may also exist since in the handlist sent to libraries the difference in the two issues was not noted, so that, unless otherwise stated by the reporting library, all copies of the edition have been attributed to the first issue (No. 4).

6. STATE OF PRISONS (5th ed.) *London, New York, 1929, 8°*

Title in ornamental border: The state of | the prisons | [device] | by John | Howard
[device] | [ornament] | London & Toronto | Published by J. M. Dent | & Sons
Ltd & in New York | by E. P. Dutton & Co |

Collation: 8°: xxii, 306 pp.

Contents: p. i half-title; p. ii statement about Everyman's library; p. iii blank; p. iv 'Hoc solum scio quod nihil scio' in ornamental borders; p. v title; p. vi imprint; p. vii contents; p. viii blank; pp. ix-xv introduction signed Kenneth Ruck; p. xvi blank; p. xvii editor's note; p. xviii blank; pp. xix-xxii Howard's introduction; pp. 1-275 text; pp. 276-92 tables; pp. 293-297 notes; 298 blank; 299-306 index.

Half-title: Everyman's Library | edited by Ernest Rhys | Science | Howard's state of | the prisons. With an introduction by Kenneth Ruck.

Note: This modern edition, No. 835 of Everyman's Library, is based on the third edition of *Prisons* (1784) and the 1789 *Lazarettos*. It contains all the general observations on prisons as a whole and only condensations of descriptions of individual institutions. The editor has summarized in Table I (p. 276) the number of prisoners in the gaols of England and Wales as found on the 1779 and 1782 journeys of Howard; in Table II (pp. 282-283) those in Ireland on the 1787 and 1788 journeys; in Table III (pp. 283-85) those in England and Wales on the last journeys in 1787 or 1788. The remaining tables (pp. 285-292) summarize other interesting data on the prisons. Happily the editor has also included Howard's description of quarantine and some observations on schools and education. Mr. Ruck's introduction evaluates Howard's work, gives few biographical details, and quotes certain appreciations. A bibliography of the prison reform movement is also included.

Copies: B, F, etc.

7. STATE OF PRISONS French (1st issue) *Paris, 1788, 8°*

Title (Vol. 1): État des prisons, | des hôpitaux | et des maisons de force: | Par
John Howard. | Traduit de l'Anglois. | [rule] | [4 lines from Thomson in English
and French] | [rule] | Tome premier. | [vignette] | A Paris, | Chez Lagrange,
Libraire, rue S. Honoré | vis-à-vis le Palais Royal | [double rule] | 1788.

(Vol. 2): Same as vol. 1 save for words 'Tome second,' and "ÉTAT" is without acute accent.

Collation: 8°: portr., [*]² A-Z Aa-Bb⁸ Cc⁴; [iv], 406 [2] pp., 19 plates. [*]² A-Z Aa-Ee⁸ Ff⁸; [iv], 458 [2] pp., 5 plates.

Contents (Vol. 1): [*]1a half-title; [*]1b blank; [*]2a title; [*]2b blank; A1a-Bb8a (pp. 1-399) text; Bb8b (p. [400]) blank; Cc1a-3b (pp. 401-406) table of contents; Cc4a errata.

ÉTAT DES PRISONS,
A
DES HÔPITAUX
ET DES MAISONS DE FORCE:

PAR JOHN HOWARD.

TRADUIT DE L'ANGLAIS.

Ah little think the gay

*Whom pleasure, power and affluence surround
How many pine in want, and dungeon-glooms
Shut from the common air. (THOMSON.)*

Ah! combien peu les hommes légers qui vivent dans les plaisirs
environnés du pouvoir & de l'abondance, pensent à ceux qui lan-
guissent dans le besoin, dans l'obscurité des prisons, privés de
l'air commun à tous!

TOME PREMIER.



A PARIS.

Chez LAGRANGE, Libraire, rue S. Honoré,
vis à vis le Palais Royal.

1788.

Fig. 4.

Title page of the first French edition of *The state of the prisons*. (No. 7)

(*Vol. 2*): [*]1a half-title; [*]1b blank; [*]2a title; [*]2b blank; A1a-Ee5a (pp. 1-441) text; Ee5b-7b (pp. 442-446) statistical table adapted from Howard by translator; Ee8a-Ff2a (pp. 447-451) remarks on gaol fever; Ff2b-3b (pp. 452-454) conclusion; Ff4a-5b (pp. 454-458) table of contents; Ff6a (p. [459]) errata; Ff6b (p. [460]) list of illustrations.

Half-title (*Vols. 1 and 2*): État des prisons, | des hôpitaux | et des maisons de force. *Portrait* (*between* [*]1 and [*]2: A profile of Howard set in a medallion and signed "N. Thomas, sculp."

Illustrations: Same as listed under No. 3

Note: This, the first French translation, is a rather free rendering of the 1784 English edition. There is no evidence of the identity of the translator in the volume, but J.-M. Quérard (*La France littéraire ou dictionnaire bibliographique des savants*, Paris, Firmin Didot, 18 vol., 1827-57) attributes the translation to Louise-Félicité Guinement de Kéralio (1758-1821). Mlle. de Kéralio wrote several historical treatises, including a history of Queen Elizabeth. She translated other works (from English), edited a 14-volume, *Collection des meilleurs ouvrages français*, and was a regular contributor to the *Censeur universel et mercure national*. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, however, mentions J.-P. Bérenger as the translator. The 22 plates are all numbered and titles and labels have been translated. Plate No. 2 is bound with vol. 2. The list of illustrations in this volume includes the portrait which serves as a frontispiece. Pages 400 and 401 of vol. 1 and p. 455 of vol. 2 are unnumbered.

Copies: B, SBB, UBH, BN, Bes.

8. STATE OF PRISONS French (2nd issue) Paris, 1791, 8°

Title (*Vol. 1*): État des prisons, | des hôpitaux | et des maisons de force; | par John Howard. | Traduit de l'Anglois. | Nouvelle édition. | [rule] | [4 lines of quotations from Thomson in both English and French] | [rule] | Tome premier. | [half rule] | A Paris | Chez Maradan, Libraire, rue Saint-André-des-Arcs, | hôtel de Châteaux-vieux. | [double half rule] 1791.

(*Vol. 2*): Same as Vol. 1 save for words 'Tome second.'

Collation: Same as No. 7.

Contents: Same as No. 7.

Half-title: Same as No. 7.

Illustrations: Same as those of vols. 1 and 2, No. 7.

Note: This issue seems, except for the title-pages, identical with that published under the name of Lagrange. No differences could be detected save that the engraved plates seemed less sharply cut. See notes on No. 7.

Copies: NN, SBF, KIB, Leeds.

9. STATE OF PRISONS German (1st ed.) Leipzig, 1780, 8°

Title: Ueber | Gefängnisse und Zuchthäuser. | Ein Auszug aus dem Englischen | des | William Howard, | Mitglieds der Königl. Societät | der Wissenschaften in London. | Mit | Zusätzen und Anmerkungen, | und Kupfern, | von | Gottl. Ludolf Wilhelm Köster. | [Als Motto ein Zitat von Thomson. Antiqua.] Leipzig, | in der Weygandschen Buchhandlung. | 1780.

Collation: 8°, 180 × 110 mm. [16 SS. unbezeichnet.] A-U, X [in zum Teil ungleichen Abständen]. [1-3,] 4-12, [13-16,] [1]-286 SS. VII Tabellen [II-VII Falttabellen, nebst 2 SS. Erklärungen].

Contents: [1]a Titel; 2a Widmung an Detlef Alexander von Wenkstern, Königlich Grosbrittannischen[!] und Churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Geheimen Rath und Cammerpräsidenten; 3a-7b [Vorwort] (SS. [11-12]); 8a-9b Inhalt; A1a-A4b Einleitung (SS. [11-8]); A5a-T5b [Text] (SS. 9-286); T6a-X4b Anhang einiger Tabellen, nebst Erklärungen.

Illustrations: Außer den 7 Tabellen im Anhang sind 3 Falttafeln in den Text eingeschaltet, und zwar zwischen den Seiten 68 und 69 (Tab. I. Grundriß eines Gefängnißes[!] [242 × 347 mm.]), 84 und 85 (Tab. II. Grundriß eines aus Holz aufgeführten Gefängnißes[!] [116 × 144 mm.]), 268 und 269 (Tab. III. Grundriß der Maison de Force zu Ghent [289 × 370 mm]).

Note: This is the first German translation of Howard's *Prisons*. The description was furnished through the kindness of Dr. Ernest Crous of the Bibliotheksrat, Berlin, and Dr. H. Fuchel of the University of Göttingen. No information concerning Köster, the translator, has been uncovered. "William" in title is a mistranslation for "John."

Copies: SBB, ULT, BM, UBL, UBB, UBG, UBK, UBGr, SUBK.

10. APPENDIX TO PRISONS (1st ed.) Warrington, 1780, 4°

Title: Appendix | to the | state of the prisons | in | England and Wales, | &c., | By John Howard, F.R.S. | Containing a farther account of | foreign prisons and hospitals, | with additional remarks on the | prisons of this country. | [Latin quotation] | Warrington, | Printed by William Eyres; | and sold by T. Cadell in the Strand, and N. Conant in | Fleet-Street, London. | MDCCLXXX.

Collation: 4°; [a]² A-Z Aa-Cc⁴ Dd³; [4] 205 [9] pp. 6 pl., 272 × 210 mm.

Contents: [a]1a title; [a]2a half-title; A1a contents; A2a-Bb2a (pp. 3-195) text; Bb2b-Cc3a (pp. 196-205) tables; Cc3b-Dd3a index; Dd3b directions to book binder.

Half-title: on [a]2a Appendix | to the | State of the Prisons, &c.

Illustrations: Of the eleven unnumbered plates appearing in *The state of prisons* (1780) six have been included in this volume:

- 1) Breda, house of correction (p. 22)
- 2) Rome, front of prison (p. 44)
- 3) Rome, house of correction (p. 50)
- 4) Milan, house of correction (p. 62)
- 5) Berne, employment of criminals (pp. 66-7)
- 6) Bastille (p. 88)

Note: This *Appendix* first appeared in the same year as the second edition of *The state of the prisons* (No. 2). The text of the descriptions of various prisons is often identical in the two books but this edition has been completely reset and the index entirely remade. The B, F and CtY copies have the half-title on [a]1a and are bound with the 1777 edition of *State of prisons*.

Copies: B, F, CtY, MANU, WPL, PP-C, UBG, Bod., VL, BM.

11. APPENDIX TO PRISONS (2nd ed.) Warrington, 1784, 4°

Title: Appendix | to the | state of the prisons | in | England and Wales, | &c. | containing a farther account of | foreign prisons and hospitals, | with additional remarks on the | prisons of this country. | By John Howard, LL.D. F.R.S. | Quotation—'parum . . . Disciplina.' | Warrington, | Printed by William Eyres. | MDCCLXXXIV.

Collation: 4°: [A] B-Z Aa-Pp⁴ Qq². [8], 286, [10] pp. 17 plates numbered.

Contents: [A]1 blank; [A]2a half-title; [A]3a title; [A]4a contents; B1a-Nn2a (pp. 1-275) text; Nn2b-Pp1b (pp. 276-286) tables; Pp2a-Qq1a index; Qq2a directions to the book-binder for insertion of plates; Qq2b blank.

Half-title [A]2a: Appendix | to the | state of the prisons | in | England and Wales, &c.

Illustrations: Plates 3 to 21 inclusive from the 1784 *State of prisons* (No. 3) with same numbering appear in this volume. None seem to have been re-etched. Some, although numbered in the directions to the binder, have no corresponding designation on the plate.

Note: Howard has added here the stories of his journeys in 1781 and 1783 to those previously published in the *Appendix* of 1780 (No. 10). Much of the text is the same.

Copies: B, F(3), UBM, UBB, ICJ, RPB, PP-C, CSmH, CSF.

12. EXTRACTS FROM PRISONS (1st ed.) *Newcastle*, 1790, 8°

Title: Extracts | selected from the | writings and observations | of the late | John Howard, Esq. | LL.D and F.R.S. | viz. | the state of prisons and hospitals | in . . . | with particular account of English prisons, | in | . . . | to which is added, an | account | of the | lazarettoes. [sic] | rule | Newcastle: | Printed by W. Thompson. | M,DCC,XC.

Collation: 8° in fours: [*]² A-Q Q-Z⁴ Aa². 2, 186 (*i. e.*, 194) pp.

Contents: [*]1a title, [*]2a 'address,' A1a-Aa1b (pp. 1-194[186] text; Aa2 blank.

Note: This is a cheaply printed volume of extracts from the 2nd edition of *The state of the prisons* and from *Lazarettos* (No. 21). It is frequently included with *The life of John Howard*, Newcastle, 1790 (No. 61) and, as its editor says, was put out shortly after Howard's death because most of the editions of Howard's works were exhausted. Pages 129-194 have been incorrectly numbered 121-186, probably because the gathering "Q" is included twice, Q1 in each case being numbered 121-122.

Copies: B(lacks Aa2), F(with Aa2), CaMM-Os(No. 1214), LSE, DLC, Nhd.

II. ACCOUNT OF PRESENT STATE OF PRISONS

Despite the title, eight separate reprints of extracts taken from the second half of the 1789 edition of *Lazarettos* (No. 21) make up this collection. Inasmuch as they are concerned exclusively with prisons they are described separately. The Society for Giving Effect to His Majesty's Proclamation Against Vice and Immorality, was responsible for the publication of these extracts. This Society was interested in various social problems; prison reform, begging, convict labor, etc. Other publications include the volume described under No. 189. These reprints were designed for wide distribution to local groups and it seems strange that more copies have not been located. The President of this Society was the Duke of Montagu.

Each reprint covers one geographical area. Mr. Arnold Muirhead has compared the texts and has found them identical. The pre-

liminary matter of each consists of vi + xvi pages and is followed by the extracts. The six preliminary pages are apparently the same in each volume, though not always bound in the same sequence. They contain the following materials:

p. i, half-title; p. ii, a statement signed 1789 and reading: "If any gentlemen to whom this pamphlet is sent will be kind enough to give the Society an account of the improvements undertaken in consequence of these observations, such communications will be esteemed a favour by the Society and are requested to be addressed to their Secretary, Mr. Bennett, under a cover directed to his Grace, the Duke of Montague, President of the Society for giving effect to his Majesty's Proclamation.

Privy Garden, London
June, 1789."

p. iii, title; p. iv, a statement reading: "In those places in the following Extracts in which the words 'No Alteration' are inserted, particular attention is recommended to be paid to the gaols, as those gaols will for the most part be found in very bad condition. A reference to Mr. Howard's Publication in 1784, would on those occasions be advisable—;"

p. v, a resolution of the Society dated June 12, 1789, signed by Montagu, stating that eight pamphlets had been issued and were to be sent to judges, sheriffs, etc.

p. vi, errata to the introduction.

pp. i-xvi are introductory material describing the gaol conditions before and after Howard and contain the interesting statement that "gaol fever --- is now almost eradicated" (p. iii).

13. ACCOUNT OF PRISONS Norfolk circ. *London* [1789], 8°

Title: An | account | of the | present state of the prisons | and | houses of correction | in the | Norfolk circuit. | [rule] | Taken from a late publication of | John Howard, Esq. F.R.S. etc. [see Fig. 5].

Collation: 8°; [†A]²⁺¹ a-b †B-†E⁴ †F² a⁴; [6], xvi, 34, [2], 7, [1]pp.; 200 × 124 mm.

Contents: [†A]1a half-title; [†A]1b request for information; [†A]2a resolution of the Committee of the Society; [†A]2b errata; [†A]3a title; [†A]3b note; a-b (pp. i-xvi) introduction; †B-†F1b (pp. 1-34) abstract of Mr. Howard's account of the English prisons; †F2 blank; a1a-a4a (pp. 1-7) abstract from the acts of 14th and 24th Geo. III; a4b blank.

Note: This description was kindly furnished by Mr. G. Vine of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England.

Copies: JRL, BM, Bod.

14. ACCOUNT OF PRISONS Northern circ. *London* [1789], 8°

Title: Same as No. 13 except for the words "Northern circuit" instead of "Norfolk circuit."

Collation: 8°; [‡‡A]²⁺¹ a-b ‡‡B-‡‡GH⁴ ‡‡I² a⁴; [6], xvi, 58, [2], 7, [1] pp.; 200 × 124 mm.

Contents: [‡‡A]1a half-title; [‡‡A]1b request for information; [‡‡A]2a resolution of the Committee of the Society; [‡‡A]2b errata [‡‡A]3a title; [‡‡A]3b

AN
A C C O U N T
 OF THE
PRESENT STATE OF THE PRISONS
 AND
HOUSES OF CORRECTION
 IN THE
NORFOLK CIRCUIT.

Taken from a late Publication of
JOHN HOWARD, Esq. F.R.S.
 By Permission of the Author.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
AN INTRODUCTION,

STATING

<p>The Acts lately passed for improving the Prisons in this kingdom. The good Effects which have resulted from those Acts, where they have been carried into Execution.</p>	<p>The Abuses which still continue where they have been neglected and and The means by which those Abuses may most effectually be corrected.</p>
---	--

The best laws will fail in their effect, unless the assiduous and zealous endeavours of Magistrates be exerted in a strict attention to their execution.....HOWARD, page 234.

LONDON:

Printed by Order of the SOCIETY lately instituted for giving Effect to his Majesty's Proclamation against VICE and IMMORALITY.

Fig. 5.

Title page of *An account of the present state of the prisons. . . .* (No. 13)

note; a-b (pp. i-xvi) introduction; ††B-††I 1b (pp. 1-58) abstract from Mr. Howard's account of the English prisons; ††I2 blank; a1a-a4a (pp. 1-7) abstract from the Acts of the 14th and 24 Geo. III; a4b blank.

Note: This description was furnished by Mr. G. Vine of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England, and the collation and contents have been confirmed by Mr. W. B. Briggs, Librarian of Harvard University Library.

Copies: JRL, MH.

15. ACCOUNT OF PRISONS Oxford circ. *London* [1789], 8°

Title: Identical with that of No. 13 except for the substitution of the word "Oxford" for "Norfolk."

Collation: 8°; [**A]²⁺¹ a-b **B-**F⁴ **G² a⁴; [6], xvi, 44, 7, [1] pp.; 200 × 124 mm.

Contents: [**A]1a half-title; [**A]1b request for information; [**A]2a resolution of the Committee of the Society; [**A]2b Errata; [**A]3a title; [**A]3b note; a-b (pp. i-xvi) introduction; **B-**G (pp. 1-44) abstract from Mr. Howard's account of the English prisons; a1a-a4a (pp. 1-7) abstract from the Acts of the 14th and 24th Geo. III; a4a blank.

Note: The description was kindly furnished by Mr. G. Vine of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England.

Copies: JRL.

16. ACCOUNT OF PRISONS

Chester, N. and S. Wales circ. *London* [1789], 8°

Title: Identical with that of No. 13 except for the substitution of two lines with the words "Chester, | North and South Wales circuits,|" instead of one with the words "Norfolk circuit."

Collation: 8°: *³, a-b⁴, ***B-***D⁴ ***E², a-a⁴; vi, xvi, 28, 8 pp.

Contents: i, half-title; ii, request for information; iii, title; iv, statement about extracts; v, resolution of the Society; vi, errata to the introduction; i-xvi Introduction; pp. 1-28 abstract from Mr. Howard's account of the English prisons; pp. (1)-7 abstract from the Acts of the 14th and 24th Geo III; (8) blank.

Note: It is this volume from which the quotations given in the general introductory descriptions of these 'Accounts' were taken. Mr. Arnold Muirhead not only furnished this description but made comparisons with the original text.

Copies: BM.

17. ACCOUNT OF PRISONS

London and Westmin. circ. *London* [1789], 8°

Title: Same as that for No. 13, exception for the lines "in | London and Westminster.|" in place of the ones "in the | Norfolk circuit.|"

Collation: 8°: [A]³ a-b⁴ c² B-C⁸ D⁴ a⁴; [6], [i]-xviii, 2, [1]-40, [1]-7 pp.

Contents: A1a half-title; A2a resolution of the Society; A2b erratum; A3a title; a3b blank; a1a-c1b (pp. i-xviii) introduction; c2 blank; B1a-D4a (pp. 1-39) abstract from Mr. Howard's account; D4b (p. [40]) blank; a1a-a4a (pp. [1]-7) abstract from the Acts of the 14th and 24th Geo. III.

Note: This description was furnished by Mr. Donald Wing of the Yale Library, who has also helped in searching for other items in this bibliography. The two copies in the Yale library are identical.

Copies: CtY (2 copies), MH-L, BM, GL.

18. ACCOUNT OF PRISONS Midland circ. *London* [1789], 8°
Full description of this volume was not secured, but Mr. Arnold Muirhead has found that it agrees with the one quoted in the introduction to this section, save for an additional inserted leaf which reads:

“ Sir:

The Society, lately instituted for giving effect to His Majesty's Proclamation against Vice and Immorality, request your acceptance of a short Account of the Prisons and Houses of Correction in the Midland Circuit.

The Society has prefixed to this Statement, an Introduction, pointing out the means by which some Abuses, which are suffered to exist in many of our Gaols, may easily be corrected; and they have added the Act, which has been ordered by the Legislature to be hung up in every Prison.

The Society beg leave to recommend this undertaking to your Attention, and flatter themselves that your Executions will be productive of very beneficial Effects.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient etc.

Montagu, President ”

Montague House,
July 6, 1789.

The date of this volume is thus after that of the others—since the statement concerning the other 8 volumes was dated June 12, 1789, but having found no trace of any additional extracts, we decided that this one must have been included in the 8 mentioned in the Society's resolutions.

Copies: BM, JRL, SBB.

19. ACCOUNT OF PRISONS Western circ. *London* [1789], 8°

A full description of this volume was not secured but Mr. Arnold Muirhead states that it agrees with the one outlined in the introduction to this section.

Copies: BM, BrPL, PLB, JRL.

20. ACCOUNT OF PRISONS Home circ. *London* [1789], 8°

Title: Identical with No. 13, except that the word “Home” is substituted for “Norfolk.”

Collation: 8°: [*]³ a-b B-C⁴ D²; [vi], xvi, 20 pp.

Contents: [*]1a-b4b introductory materials as previously described; B1a-D2a (pp. 1-19) text; D2b (p. [20]) blank.

Half-title: An | account | of the | prisons and houses of correction | in the | home circuit.

Note: The ‘home’ circuit includes Hertfordshire.

Copies: BM, DSG, JRL.

III. ACCOUNT OF PRINCIPAL LAZARETTOS— WITH APPENDICES

Shortly after Howard had visited his first prisons in the winter of 1773 he became interested in other public institutions and began to investigate bridewells, hospitals, and lazarettos. He soon became aware of the various medical and public health problems which are indigenous in such institutions. As he says in the introduction to the *Lazarettos*: “In my latest tours, I had with pain observed, that notwithstanding the regulations which had been made in our country, and elsewhere, for preserving health in prisons and hospitals, yet that infectious diseases continued occasionally to arise and spread in them. I had also been led, by the view of several lazarettos in my travels, to consider how much all trading nations are exposed to that dreadful scourge of mankind [plague]. . . .” (p. 1, No. 21.) He had recorded in the 1784 edition of *The state of the prisons* (See No. 3, p. 109) a wish “that some future traveller would give us plans of this lazaretto [Leghorn], and that at Ancona and other places.” The following year he sailed abroad to do the job himself. The plans and careful notes on the management and personnel of the various institutions he visited constitute the bulk of the *Lazarettos*.

He took with him a set of questions on plague prepared for him by his friends, Dr. John Aikin of Warrington, and a Dr. Jedd. These he put to various physicians and officials whom he met and on his return carefully tabulated all the answers in a section of this volume. Moreover, he was so interested in following quarantine procedures that he deliberately took passage in a ship with a foul bill and subjected himself to a “new” lazaretto. This is described as “a very dirty room full of vermin, and without table, chair or bed.” The volume is somewhat confusing because Howard included

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;
 AND ADDITIONAL REMARKS
 ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THOSE IN
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.
 BY JOHN HOWARD, F. R. S.
 "O let the sorrowful sighing of the PRISONERS come before thee."
 WARRINGTON,
 PRINTED BY WILLIAM EYRES;
 AND SOLD BY W. CADELL, J. JOHNSON, C. DILLY, AND J. TAYLOR, IN LONDON.
 M DCC LXXXIX.
 [Price Twelve Shillings unbound.]

Fig. 6.

Title page of the first edition of *An account of the principal lazarettos*. (No. 21)

not only the materials he gathered about lazarettos, quarantine and plague, but also his notes of his latest inspections of Irish, Scottish and English prisons. Each edition and appendix is re-edited and enlarged, and all volumes are profusely illustrated.

21. LAZARETTOS (1st ed.) *Warrington, 1789, 4°*

Title: 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; | and additional remarks | on the present state of those in | Great Britain and Ireland. | By John Howard, F. R. S. | [quotation] | [rule] | Warrington, | printed by William Eyres; | and sold by T. Cadell, J. Johnson, C. Dilly, and J. Taylor, in London. | MDCCLXXXIX. | [Price twelve shillings unbound] |

Collation: 4°: [A]B-Z Aa-Mm⁴ [*]: viii, 259, [15] pp. 22 pl. with 1 folding table: 295 × 230 mm.

Contents: [A]1 blank; [A]12a half-title; [A]12b blank; [A]13a title; [A]13b quotations from Cicero; [A]14 (pp. vii-viii) contents; B1 (pp. 1-2) introduction; B2a-Hh3b (pp. 3-238) text; Hh4a-L12a (pp. 239-259) tables; L12b-Mm4b index; [*]1a directions to the book-binder.

Half-title: [A]12a: An | account | of the principal | lazarettos | in | Europe &c. |

Illustrations: The following numbered plates appear in the volume. The titles and legends in some plates are in English, in others in French and Italian. In the Fry copy plate 1 is unnumbered.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Marseilles lazaretto and infirmary plan. | 11. Plans of lazaretto at Messina. |
| 2. Genoa lazaretto, elevation and plans. | 12. Ground plan of Venice lazaretto. |
| 3. Genoa lazaretto from the sea. | 13. New Trieste Lazaretto. |
| 4. Lazaretto at Spezia. | 14. Sketch for a lazaretto. |
| 5. Lazaretto at Varignano in Gulf of Spezia. | 15. A view of Portman Castle. |
| 6. Ground plan of the lazaretto at Varignano. | 16. Plan and section of prison at Portman Castle. |
| 7. Plan of lazaretto of St. Leopoldo at Leghorn. | 17. Hospital of St. Maria Nuovo Florence. |
| 8. Plan of lazaretto of San Rocco at Leghorn. | 18. Smyrna—new hospital for plague. |
| 9. Naples, health office. | 19. Haslar Royal Hospital. |
| 10. Elevations of lazaretto at Messina. | 20. Sketch of a plan for penitentiary house, etc. |
| | 21. Petersburg—House of Correction. |
| | 22. View of a proposed lazaretto. |

Note: This handsomely printed volume is a fine example of Eyre's best work. The following letter inserted in the copy in the Osler Library indicates that the book appeared before May 20th of 1789:

" Sir

With pleasure I send one of the two remaining copies of my last editⁿ. on Prisons. I left at Mr. Johnson's for Mon^r Ferron my Publicatⁿ. on Lazarettos. I read little on the subject of the Plague; as I wish to draw my inferences from close observation on the disorder itself; and those not from the Theories of Persons who have never visited Patients in that distemper and indeed my present opinion of it, is different from any I have yet found in books.

With esteem, I remain | Sir

Yr M[ost] Ob[edient] Ser[vant]

May 20, 1789

J. Howard."

There are 22 numbered, engraved plates, not always bound in sequence. The last folding table is a reprint of Janssen's tables, which is sometimes described as a separate entry. However, the review of this volume in the *Monthly Review*, 1790, 1, 134-144; 248-255, states that this table was included in the copy which the contemporary reviewer saw, and the directions to the book-binder indicate that this sheet formed an integral part of the volume. It is a large folio sheet with the statistics regarding prisoners sentenced, executed, pardoned, or dead in Newgate prison from 1749 to 1779. (See No. 40)

A catchword on Mm4b indicates that the next page [*] should contain the directions to the printer. A copy owned by Dr. Clements C. Fry, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, establishes A1 and A2 as conjugate leaves and is bound in original paper covers bearing a label 'Howard | on Lazarettos' in a simple border. The Harvard catalogue lists a "folio" edition, but this is really a quarto according to Dr. Henry R. Viets who kindly examined the volume. In the F copy, Bb-Nn are misbound, these gatherings being inserted directly after M.

Vellum copy: A vellum copy is described in the catalogue of Le Comte de MacCarthy-Reagh (*Catalogue des livres rares et précieux de la Bibliothèque de feu M. le Comte de MacCarthy-Reagh*, t. 1, pp. 323-324, lot 2065, Paris, 1815) and appears again in Van Praet's *Catalogue des livres imprimés sur vélin*, Paris, 1824, t. 1, pp. 287-288, lot 93. Van Praet describes it as a quarto of viii, 259 pages and 22 plates which he believes to be unique and which at the MacCarthy sale fetched 380 francs. The copy in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Vélins No. 1,025) is obviously this copy, although it is erroneously described above as having the plates on ordinary paper with plate 22 missing. Actually all the plates are on vellum, plate 22 is included and is marked with the BN stamp. All are numbered; moreover, the volume has the MacCarthy, No. 2065 in pencil on the paper fly-leaf. The title is identical except that "Price twelve shillings unbound" is omitted. This phrase is also omitted from the Fry copy.

Copies: B, F(3), HLPR, SBB, GL, JRL, NNR, NNNAM, DIB, SvLB, BM, BN, RSM, PLB, NLW, MH-L, CtY, MB, MBM, CaMM-Os (No. 1212), ICJ, MH, ICU, DSG, NjP, PPCP, NNC, MoSW-M, DLC, PP-C, Bod., MdBj-W(2), GLUL, CaTAM.

22. LAZARETTOS (2nd ed., 1st issue) London, 1791, 4°

Title: 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; | and additional remarks | on the present state of those in | Great Britain and Ireland. | By John Howard, F. R. S. | [rule] | The second edition, with additions. | [rule] | [quotation 'O let . . . thee'] | [rule] | London: | printed for J. Johnson, C. Dilly and T. Cadell. | M.D.CC.XCI.

Collation: 4°: [A] B-Z, Aa-Mm⁴; [8], 259, [13] pp. 23 pl.

Contents: [A]1a half-title; [A]2a title; [A]2b quotation from Cicero; [A]3 (pp. [v]-vi) Contents; [A]14a directions to the book-binder; [A]14b blank; B1 (pp. 1-2) Introduction; B2a-Hh3b (pp. 3-238) text; Hh4a-L11b (pp. 239-258) tables; L12a (p. 259) plan; L12b-Mm4b Index (Nn1a-Qq4b etc., see No. 29).

Half-title [A]1a: An | account | of the principal | lazarettos | in | Europe & . |

Illustrations: The directions to the book-binder on [A]14a call for 23 plates. The large Janssen plate (See No. 40) is included as plate 23, the plates are identical with those of the previous edition (No. 21).

Note: The second edition of the *Lazarettos* came out in 1791, just after Howard's death and simultaneously with the *Appendix containing observations concerning foreign prisons and hospitals*. From the note signed by Aikin, who edited these volumes, it seems that the *Appendix* was brought together after a second edition of *Lazarettos* was ready to appear. Many of the copies of the second edition of

Lazarettos are designated as Vol. 2 of collected works (No. 23). In comparing the texts of the two issues no distinguishing characteristics have been discovered, except in the preliminary leaves. There are 13 tables on pp. 239-258, duplicating those in the previous edition.

Copies: F(lacking [A]1), CU, MB, MBM, CaMM, CaMM-Os (No. 1213), NjP, BM, ICU, HLPR, KIB, RPB, CtY, NNNAM, MH, LUC, PP-C, PLB, UBK.

23. LAZARETTOS (2nd ed., 2nd issue) London, 1791, 4°

Title: As in previous entry.

Collation: 4°: [A]⁵ B-Z, Aa-Mm⁴; [10], 259, 13 [pp].

Contents: [A]1a half-title; [A]1b blank; [A]2a half-title; [A]2b quotation from Cicero; [A]3a advertisement; [A]4a-[A]4b (pp. [v]-vi) contents; [A]5a directions to the book-binder; [A]5b blank; the rest as in previous entry.

Half-title: [A]1a: The | works | of | John Howard, Esq. | Vol. II. | containing | the history of lazarettos.

Half-title: [A]2a: An | account | of the principal | lazarettos | in | Europe & . |

Illustrations: As in previous entry.

Note: This issue is page-for-page identical with the preceding issue except for the new half-title which made it part of the two-volume collected works, the first volume of which is the 4th ed. of *The state of the prisons* (See No. 5). Some copies lack either one of the half-titles, and probably many copies listed under the previous issue are actually this one (both were not listed in the preliminary hand-list circularized). [A]2 and [A]4 are conjugate leaves, the others all inserted. In the copy described the 'Advertisement,' usually appearing in the *Appendix* (1791), has also been bound with the preliminary leaves.

Copies: F(2), MB, OCI, PLB, UBG, CSmH.

24. LAZARETTOS & APPENDIX French (1st ed.) Paris, 1799, 8°

Title: Histoire | des principaux | lazarets de l'Europe, | Accompagnée de différents mémoires relatifs | à la peste, | et suivie d'observations | ultérieures sur quelques prisons et | hôpitaux, ainsi que de remarques | additionnelles sur l'état présent de ceux | de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Irlande; | Par Jean Howard, membre de la Société royale. | [rule, | quotation | rule]. | Publiée par ordre du Ministre de l'Intérieur. | [rule] | Tome Premier. | [rule] | A Paris, | De l'Imprimerie de Henri Agasse, | rue des Poitevins, no. 18. | [rule] | An 7 de la République.

(*Vol. II*): Same as Vol. I, except for 'Tome Second.'

Collation: 8°: A-Z⁸; 372 pp.; A-Z Aa-Dd⁸ Ee⁸; 443 [1] pp. 4 folding leaves.

Contents (Vol. I): A1a half-title; A1b note concerning plates; A2a title; A3a-A5b (pp. 5-10) introduction; A6a-Z4b (pp. 11-364) text; Z5a-Z8b (pp. 365-372) index.

(*Vol. II*): A1a half-title; A2a title; A3a-Y6b (pp. 4-348) text; Y7a (p. [459] half-title to *Appendix*; Y7b blank; Y8 (pp. 351-2). Aikin's introduction; Z1a-Cc3a (pp. 353-405) text of appendix; Cc3b-Ee1a (pp. 406-433) letters from Haygarth; Ee1b-Ee6a (pp. 434-443) contents; Ee6b (p. 444) blank.

Half-titles: [half rule] [No. 6.] | [half rule] | Recueil | de mémoires sur | les établissements | d'humanité. | On verso of this: Avis. | Les planches dont il est questions dans l'ouvrage | d'Howard paraîtront avec la dernière livraison.

HISTOIRE
DES PRINCIPAUX
LAZARETS DE L'EUROPE,

*Accompagnée de différens Mémoires relatifs
à la PESTE, et suivie d'Observations
ultérieures sur quelques PRISONS et
HÔPITAUX, ainsi que de Remarques
additionnelles sur l'état présent de ceux
de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Irlande;*

Par JEAN HOWARD, membre de la Société royale.

*« Fais que les gémissémen plaintifs des
prisonniers arrivent jusqu'à toi. »*

Publiée par ordre du Ministre de l'Intérieur.

TOME PREMIER.

A PARIS,
De l'Imprimerie de HENRI AGASSE,
rue des Poitevins, n°. 18.

AN 7 DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE.

Fig. 7.

Title page of the first French edition of the *Lazarettos*. (No. 24)

(Vol. II): (Suite des Nos. 6, 9, 13. | [half rule] | [No. 19] | [half rule] | Recueil |
de mémoires | sur | les établissemens | d'humanité. | [on Y7a (p. 349)] Appendix |
contenant | des observations | sur les prisons et les hopitaux | des pays étrangers, |
Recueillies par M. Howard dans son dernier | voyage; | Suivies de deux lettres
écrites à M. Howard | par J. Haygarth, D.M.

Note: This first edition of a French translation contains both the *Lazarettos* and the 1791 Appendix to it. It appeared in the *Recueil des mémoires sur les établissemens d'humanité*, Vol. I, in Nos. 6, 9, 19, and Vol. II in No. 19. In the F copy an unsigned and unnumbered leaf between the H and I gatherings constitutes the half-title to No. 9; a similar leaf between Q and R is headed "No. 13, suite des Nos. 6 et 9." In Vol. II 4 folding leaves, three of which are numbered 344, are inserted after G4. They contain tables 7 to 13 inclusive.

The translation is a literal one and the translator has apparently made no comments of his own. The translator, Théodore-Pierre Bertin (1760?-1819), first because of poverty in his youth and later because of his sympathy with the Bourbon return in 1814, was forced to earn his livelihood for much of his life from his translations. According to Quérard (*La France littéraire ou dictionnaire bibliographique des savants*, Paris, Firmin Didot, 1827-1857), these numbered more than 100 volumes. It has been suggested that the haste in which many of these were of necessity put together, explains their lack of style and inaccuracies. Bertin is, however, chiefly remembered for having adapted a simplified system of stenography to the French language (See *Biographie universelle*, Supp., vol. 48, pp. 144-145, Paris, L. G. Michaud, 1835).

Copies: F, SBB, UBK, MBM, BM, Bes, DSG.

25. LAZARETTOS French (2nd ed.) Paris, 1801, 8°

Title: Histoire | des principaux lazarets | de l'Europe, | Accompagnée de différens
mémoires relatifs à la peste, | aux moyens de se préserver de ce fléau destructeur, |
et aux différens modes de traitement employés pour en | arrêter les ravages. | Par
Jean Howard, | de la Société royale de Londres, auteur de l'état des | prisons
de l'Angleterre. | Traduite de l'Anglais par Théodore-Pierre Bertin. | Suivie |
d'un traité sur la peste, | par Richard Méad, Médecin du Roi d'Angleterre;
traduction de | l'Anglais, revue et corrigée par l'Editeur. | [rule] | A Paris, |

Chez { T.-P. Bertin, rue de la Sonnerie, no. 1.
{ Delalain fils, libraire, quai des Augustins, no. 29.

[double rule] | An IX.—1801. |

Collation: 8°: [*]², *³, A-Z³[Aa]⁴; [4], vi, 374 [2] pp.

Contents: [*]1a half-title; [*]2a title; *1a-*3b (pp. i-vi) Preface; A1a-M3a (pp. 1-181) text of Howard's *Lazarettos*; M3b (p. 182) blank; M4a half-title to Mead's dissertation on plague; M4b (p. 184) blank; M5a-Z4b (pp. 185-368) Mead's work on plague; [Aa]1a-[Aa]3b (pp. 369-374) Index; [Aa]4a advertisement.

Half-title [*]1a: Histoire | des | principaux lazarets | de l'Europe.

Note: This edition is a page-for-page reprint of the preceding edition (1799), but includes only the first three sections of the former (through p. 149) dealing entirely with hospitals, plans for a lazaretto in England and questions on plague. The only differences found in the two editions were in reference to plates, a few omissions or abbreviations of the lengthy footnotes, some revisions of chapter headings, and the separation of the text into small chapters or subheadings in this edition. The author of the laudatory preface, probably Bertin, the translator, paraphrases Burke's Eulogy of Howard without reference to Burke and states that Howard died of plague in Cherson. See notes to No. 24 for notes on Bertin.

John Howard's Esq.
Mitglied der königl. Soc. der Wissenschaften

Nachrichten
von den vorzüglichsten
Krankenhäusern und Pesthäusern
in Europa.

Nebst einigen Beobachtungen über die Pest und fortgesetzten
Bemerkungen über Gefängnisse und Krankenhäuser.

Aus dem Englischen.

Mit Zusätzen des deutschen Herausgebers,
Christian Friedr. Ludwig,
welche besonders die Krankenhäuser angehen.

Mit Kupfern und Tabellen.

Leipzig,
bey Georg Joachim Göschen. 1791.



Fig. 8.

Title page of the first German edition of the *Lazarettos*. (No. 26)

Pages 182, 183, 184, 184, 189, 225, 295 are unnumbered; 239 misnumbered 241 and 240, 242. The F copy is handsomely bound and was from the library of Count Chermiteff, Chamberlain of Czar Nicholas I.

Copies: F, Bes, Am, ICS, W, SBB, UBK.

26. LAZARETTOS German (1st ed.) Leipzig, 1791, 8°

Title: John Howard's Esq. | Mitglied der königl. Soc. der Wissenschaften | Nachrichten | von den vorzüglichsten | Krankenhäusern und Pesthäusern | in Europa. | [rule] | Nebst einigen Beobachtungen über die Pest und fortgesetzten | Bemerkungen über Gefängnisse und Krankenhäuser, | [rule] | Aus dem Englischen. | Mit Zusätzen[sic] des deutschen Herausgebers, | welche besonders die Krankenhäuser angehen. | [rule] | Mit Kupfern und Tabellen. | [rule] | Leipzig, | bey Georg Joachim Göschen. 1791.

Collations: 8°: *A-Z Aa-Pp⁸ Qq⁴; xvi, 616 pp.

Contents: *1a (p. [i]) title; *1b blank; *2a-*6b (pp. [iii]-xii) translator's preface; *7a-*8b (pp. xiii-xvi) Contents; A1a-Dd6b (pp. 1-428) text; Dd7a (p. [429]) half-title to Appendix; Dd7b (p. [430]) blank; Dd8a-Qq1b (pp. 431-610) text of translator's Appendix; Qq1b-4b (pp. 610-616) translator's notes.

Half-title: Dd7a, p. [429]: Zusätze.

Illustrations (all with German titles and inserted at the end of the volume):

Pl. 1, Genoa lazaretto. Pl. 4, Royal hospital in Haslar.
Pl. 2, Plan of Messina lazaretto. Pl. 5, Plan for a prison.
Pl. 3, Plan for a lazaretto.

Note: This German translation came from the pen of Christian Friedrich Ludwig (1751-1823), a prominent physician of Leipzig where he received his degree in 1779. After some travel he joined the Leipzig faculty, was professor of medicine (1796), and subsequently professor of pathology (1812). He wrote on obstetrics, vaccination, neurology etc. Ludwig has translated most of Howard's footnotes and added his own. The last part of the book (pp. 431-600) is devoted to Ludwig's ideas and plans for hospitals. Pages 429-430 are unnumbered. I am indebted to the director of the University Library in Leipzig for assistance in the description of this volume.

Copies: UBL, VL, ICJ ULT, DSG, UBG, SBB, UBB, UBMu, UBK, UBGr, SuBK.

27. LAZARETTOS Italian (1st ed.) Venice, 1814, 8°

Title: Ragguaglio | de' principali lazaretti | in Europa, | con varie carte relative alla peste | di Giovanni Howard | F. R. S. 1789 | ed una descrizione | delle prigioni, penali leggi, | e nuovo codice in Russia | di Giulielmo Coxe A. M. | Volgarizzamento | di Pietro Antoniutti. | Venezia 1814. | Presso Andea Santini e figlio. | A spese dell'Autore.

Collation: 8°: a-g⁸, 112 pp., 237 × 163 mm.

Contents: [a1] title; a2 Origine de' lazaretti; [a5] Introduzione; [f8] Avvertimento; g[1] Viaggi in Russia di Mr. Coxe; [g8 verso] indice.

Note: This description was obtained through the kindness of Anselmo M. Albareda, No. 6, Prefect of the Vatican Library. No information has been forthcoming about the translator, Pietro Antoniutti.

Copies: VL, DSG.

28. APPENDIX TO LAZARETTOS (1st issue) *London*, 1791, 4°

Title: Appendix | containing | observations | concerning | foreign prisons and hospitals: | collected by Mr. Howard, | in his concluding tour. | Together with | two letters to Mr. Howard, | from John Haygarth, M. D. |

Collation: 4°: A⁴⁺, B-D⁴; 2, 32 pp.

Contents: A1a title; [*]a advertisement signed J. Aikin; A2a-C3a (pp. 3-21) text; C3b-D4b (pp. 22-32) letters from John Haygarth.

Note: The *Appendix* came out in at least two issues, identical save for signatures. Both issues were noted on the preliminary handlist that was circularized in the expectation of finding additional copies but only one of the present issue has been located. This is bound with the first edition of the 'Lazarettos' and may, therefore, have been overlooked. In a rather tragic note at the end of the contents of the first edition of *Lazarettos* (No. 21) Howard promises this *Appendix* in the pleasing words: "I take the liberty of suggesting, that, if I should be spared to finish another foreign journey, which I have in view, I propose then to publish an *Appendix* to this work; which I here mention, as some Gentlemen may choose to bind them up together." But Howard was not spared. In the advertisement signed 'Dec. 1, 1791,' John Aikin states that Howard's servant brought back to England, after his master's death in Russia, a memorandum book and papers which Howard had requested Drs. Price and Aikin to edit and publish. Due to Dr. Price's illness, Aikin brought the material together and added the two letters on lazarettos which Dr. Haygarth had written Howard. The leaf on which this information is given is unsigned in both issues and in the F copy of this issue is inserted between the signed leaves A1 and A2.

Copy: F (bound with No. 21).

29. APPENDIX TO LAZARETTOS (2nd issue) *London*, 1791, 4°

Title: *Appendix* | containing | observations | concerning | foreign prisons and hospitals: | collected by Mr. Howard, | in his concluding tour. | Together with | two letters to Mr. Howard, | from John Haygarth, M. D. | Nn.

Collation: 4°: Nn-Qq⁴ [*]; 32 [2] pp.

Contents: Nn1a title; Nn2a-Pp3a (pp. 3-21) text; Pp3b-Qq4b (pp. 22-32) letters from Haygarth; [*]1a advertisement signed J. Aikin and dated December 1, 1791.

Note: The present issue, apparently the second, is identical with the preceding except for signatures. This one is bound with the 1791 edition of *Lazarettos* with signatures continuous with that work. The leaf with the Aikin statement is not always bound in the same place in the various copies seen, but is always on a single unsigned leaf. In the Osler copy a sheet has been inserted between Nn1 and Nn2, the first of the inserted leaves bearing the Advertisement and the second being cut off, leaving half an inch of stub.

Copies: F, CaMM-Os (No. 1213), LSE, NjP, CaMM, WPL, BrR, OCl.

30. APPENDIX TO LAZARETTOS French *Halle*, 1796, 4°

Title: Suite | des observations | sur les prisons et les hopitaux | faites | par Mr. Howard | dans | son dernier voyage | avec | une notice de sa vie | et | deux lettres sur la peste qui lui ont été | écrites par Mr. Haygarth. | [Quotation from Thomson Eng. and French] | A Halle | de l'imprimerie de la maison des orphelins. | 1796.

Collation: 4°: [A]A²-K[K²]; 75 pp., 275 × 230 mm.

Contents: [A]1a title; [A]1b quotation from Cicero; A^{2a}-B^{4b} (pp. 3-16) Notice sur la vie de Mr. Howard; C^{1a}-F^{3a} (pp. 17-45) Introduction; F^{3b}-H^{2a} (pp. 46-59) Lettre adressé à Mr. Howard par Mr. Haygarth médecin a Chester; H^{2b}-H^{4a} (pp. 60-63) Seconde lettre de Mr. Haygarth a Mr. Howard; H^{4b}-J^{1a} (pp. 64-65) Liste des prisons et des maisons de correction qui sont baties d'après le dessein de Mr. Howard, ainsi que des hôpitaux qui sont les plus dignes de servir de modèle; J^{1a}-J^{4a} (pp. 65-71) Description de l'hôpital de Plymouth et de la maison de charité de l'île de Wight; J^{4b}-K^{1a} (pp. 72-73) Opinion de Mr. Howard sur la situation et l'arrangement convenables a un hôpital, extraite de la traduction française de ses ouvrages faite en 1788; K^{1b}-K^{2a} (pp. 74-75) Recette d'un pain de munition dont on se sert avec succès dans l'hôpital de Birmingham, et qui a été communiquée par le docteur Pearson comme pouvant servir a l'usage des laboureurs et des militaires.

Note: We are indebted to the Librarian of Universitätsbibliothek of Leipzig for this detailed description, while an identical one has also been supplied by Dr. Ernest Crous of the Bibliotheksrat, Berlin. The copy from the Library at Tartu, according to the description, includes two additional leaves for the gathering K, but no text on these leaves was described. This last volume measured only 275 × 212 mm.

Copies: UBL, ULT, SUB (lacking K).

31. APPENDIX TO LAZARETTOS French *Paris*, 1799, 8°

Half-title: Y7a: See no. 24.

Collation: Y-Z⁸ Aa-Dd⁸ Ee⁸ pp. [350]-443.

Contents: Y7a half-title; Y7b blank; Y8 (pp. 351-352) Aikin's introduction; Z1a-Cc3a (pp. 353-405) text; Cc3b-Ee1a (pp. 406-433) letters from Haygarth; Ee1b-6a (pp. 434-443) contents for entire volume (see also No. 24); Ee6b blank.

Note: This forms a part of volume 2 of the first French translation of the *Lazarettos* (No. 24). The advertisement, although a translation of Aikin's preface to the English edition, is without his signature. For notes concerning Bertin, the translator, see No. 24.

Copies: F, MBM, BM, DSG.

IV. WORKS EDITED BY AND ATTRIBUTED TO HOWARD

The following works have been attributed to John Howard. There seems to be no reason to question the fact that he had an edict of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Broussay's *Bastille*—reprinted—but other volumes often attributed to him have been examined without finding evidence that he had anything to do with them. *A letter to the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas on the speech delivered in the House of Commons . . . 26 February, 1795, on Mr. Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave trade*, London, 1795, 8°, is signed

HOWARD, and is obviously from the pen of Lord Howard. *The observations, moral and political* have been described, and the evidence suggestive that this is not John Howard, the philanthropist, presented.

32. HISTORICAL REMARKS London, 1780, 8°

Title: Historical | remarks | and anecdotes | on the castle of the | Bastille. | [half rule] | Translated from the French | published in 1774. | [half rule] | London: | printed for T. Cadell and N. Conant. | MDCCLXXX.

Collation: 8° : A-B⁸ C²; [vi], 30 pp.

Contents: A1a (p. [i]) title; A1b (p. [ii]) blank; A2a (p. [iii]) Howard's introductory note, dated "Cardington, March 27th, 1780"; A2b (p. [iv]) blank; A3 (pp. [v-vi]) French editor's preface; A4a-C2a (pp. 1-29) text; C2b (p. [30]) blank.

Illustrations: A folding plate is inserted in the Yale copy before p. [1], A4a.

Note: Howard had this curious pamphlet translated and reprinted (see *Monthly Review*, 1781, 64, 95-97) at his own expense, but with some difficulty because its publication was prohibited in France. He was interested in it not only because of its description of the Bastille, but, as he says, "as affording a very interesting and instructive comparison between the horrors of despotic power, and the mild and just administration of equal laws in a free state." Brossais du Perray, the author, describes the prison, its food, and management. In anecdotes he relates accounts of various famous people who had been confined there. No information concerning Brossais (also spelled Broussays) was located. We are indebted to Mr. Donald Wing of the Yale University Library for a description of this volume.

Copies: CtY, NN, BM, MB, ML, Bod.

33. HISTORICAL REMARKS (2nd ed.) London, 1784, 8°

Title: Historical | remarks | and | anecdotes | on the castle of the | Bastille. | Translated from the French | published in 1774. | [half rule] | The second edition. | [half rule] | London: | printed for T. Cadell, and J. Johnson | MDCCLXXXIV | Price Six-pence. |

Collation: 8° : A-B⁸ C⁴; [vi], 34 pp.

Contents: A1a (p. [i]) title; A1b (p. [ii]) blank; A2a (p. [iii]) Howard's introductory note, dated "Cardington, March 27th, 1780"; A2b (p. [iv]) blank; A3 (pp. [v-vi]) French editor's preface; A4a-C4a (pp. 1-33) text; C4b (p. [34]) blank.

Note: A second edition which has been reset but not altered in text except for a footnote to Howard's introductory remarks in which he quotes from Sir William Blackstone. See notes to No. 32 for comments on this work.

Copies: F, NN, BM, SBB, PLB, WLS, WPL, CSmH.

34. HISTORICAL REMARKS (3rd ed.) London, 1789, 4°

Title: Historical remarks | on the | Castle | of the | Bastille: | with curious and entertaining | anecdotes of that fortress, | &c. &c. | From the French. | The third edition, considerably enlarged. | [Quotation from Mr. Howard's State of the

prisons. Third edit. p. 174.] | London: | Printed for H. Gardner, opposite St. Clement's Church, | n [sic] the Strand; J. Sewell, Cornhill; J. Walter, | Charing-Cross; and J. Debrett, Piccadilly. | 1789.

Collation: 4° : [A] B-I, K-O⁴; 107 pp. 1 plate and 1 folding plan. 208 × 125 mm.

Contents: [A]2a title; [A]2b blank; [A]3a-4a Dedication to John Howard (pp. [i-iii]) signed, The Translator. | [A]4b blank; B-B2 Preface, by the Editor. (pp. v-viii); B3a-H3b Historical remarks, &c. &c. (pp. 9-58); H4a-K4b Anecdotes (pp. 59-76); La-b Advertisement (pp. 77-78); L2a-O4a Appendix (pp. 79-107); O4b blank.

Illustrations: The plate precedes the title-page; the plan is between pp. 12-13.

Note: This item has been bound in a volume of pamphlets, and probably slightly trimmed at the edges. The plate, bearing the same date, Aug. 17, 1789, as the other, 76 pp. edition, seems to have been printed later, as the details are blurred in places. The half-title, [A]1 is lacking. In the imprint the i of in the Strand is not printed, as noted above. See note to No 32 for other comments. I am indebted to the Librarian of University College, London, for this description. This edition was not listed in the preliminary handlist and may, therefore, be more commonly than this list suggests.

Copies: LUC.

35. HISTORICAL REMARKS. . . . London, 1792, 4°

With the 4th edition of *The state of the prisons*, 1792, 1st issue (No. 4) is bound Perray's *Historical remarks*. A full description is included under this number. See No. 32 for comment on the contents.

36. HISTORICAL REMARKS . . . London, 1792, 4°

With the 4th edition of *The state of the prisons*, 1792, 2nd issue (No. 5) is bound the translation of Perray, edited by Howard and the full description is given with that number. See No. 32.

37. HISTORICAL REMARKS (4th ed.) Norwich, 1796, 4°

Title: Curious and entertaining | anecdotes | together with | historical remarks | of the | Bastille; | wrote and published | in London, in 1774. | [line] | By a person who was long confined | in that prison. | [line] | The fourth edition. | [line] | Norwich: | printed by | John Trumbull. | [line] | 1796. |

Collation: small 4° : [G]1⁴-H³ 1 pl., pp. [39]-46. 16 × 9 cm.

Contents: [G]1a title page; [G]12a-H1b (pp. [39]-46) text.

Note: This formed a part of a volume entitled *A true and minute account of the destruction of the Bastille*, by Jean Jacques Calet, printed in Norwich, Connecticut. It was brought to our attention by Mr. Donald Wing of the Yale University Library. Unfortunately it was not included in the preliminary handlist and may therefore not be uncommon. See No. 32.

Copies: CtY.

38. EDICT OF GRAND DUKE Warrington, 1789, 8°

Title: Edict | of the | Grand Duke of Tuscany, | for the reform of | criminal law | in his dominions: | translated from the Italian: | together with the original. |

[rule] | Warrington, | printed by W. Eyres. | MDCCLXXXIX. | A few copies to be had gratis of Messrs. Cadell, Johnson, Dilly, and Taylor. | [This pamphlet not to be sold.]

Collation: 8°: A° B-H° I° [2], [i]-x, 68, i-lv pp.

Contents: A1 blank; A2a (p. [i]) half-title; A2b (p. [ii]) blank; A3a (p. [iii]) title; A3b (p. [iv]) blank; A4a (p. [v]) editor's statement; A4b (p. [vi]) blank; A5a-6b (pp. vii-x) contents; B1a-F2a (pp. 1-67) English text; F2b (p. 68) blank; F3a-I6b (pp. i-lv) Italian text.

Half-title: A2a: Edict | of the | Grand Duke of Tuscany. | for the reform of | criminal law.

Note: Pages i-vi and 68 are unnumbered. There is no indication in the volume that Howard edited it or had it published, but it is attributed to him by the catalogue of the British Museum. The Grand Duke of Tuscany referred to is Peter Leopold of Austria. We are also indebted to Mr. Walter B. Briggs of the Harvard College Library for supplying information concerning this work.

Copies: BM, SBB, WPL, MH, JRL, LUC, Bod.

39. OBSERVATIONS, MORAL ETC. *London, 1784, 4°*

Title: Observations, | moral and political, | particularly respecting | the necessity of | good order and religious œconomy | in our prisons. | Occasioned by | Fidelo's letters | to the | Common Council of London | in fifteen letters. | By J. H. Esq. | London; | sold by Dodsley in Pall-mall; Sewell in Cornhill; | and Bew in Pater-Noster-Row. | MDCCLXXXIV.

Collation: 4°: [*]a³ B-L⁴ M³; [ii], v-viii, [ii], 86 pp.

Contents: [*]1a (p. [i]) title; [*]1b (p. [ii]) blank; a1a-a2b (pp. v-viii) introduction signed "J H" and dated June 29, 1784; a³ (pp. [ix-x]) table of contents; B1a-M1b (pp. 1-82) text of 13 letters; M2b-M3b (pp. 83-86) A. P. P.'s reply to "Mr. J. H."

Note: This volume contains a series of letters signed J. H. and is frequently attributed to the philanthropist. Dated from May 17, 1784, to June 16, 1784, the letters deal with various phases of prison reform but closer examination makes it clear that "J. H." the author, is not John Howard, the prison reformer. In A. P. P.'s reply to these letters Howard is spoken of as a third party (pp. 84 and 86)—and quotations like these from the letters signed "J. H." seem convincing: "The zealous Mr. Howard gives us an account of that prison as it stood on Feb. 1782" (p. 15) and "as Mr. Howard informs us they do in other countries" (p. 29). This item was not listed in the original hand list so other copies may be common.

Copies: BM, NLW.

40. SESSIONS AT OLD BAILEY *London, 1784, fol*

Title: [SIR STEPHEN JANNSEN] This sheet contains three tables . . . shewing the number of sessions in Old Bailey . . . the number of persons executed from each sessions . . . the numbers from each session, either pardoned, transported, or died at Newgate . . .

Collation: fol.: 1 sheet.

Contents: A large table covering the statistics noted in the title.

Note: This large sheet with an engraved statistical table formed an intrinsic part of the first edition of *Lazarettos* (see notes to No. 22) is to be found with other

Howard works, and is sometimes catalogued separately. For the latter reason only it has been described separately here. A footnote on the sheet states that it was first published August 1, 1772, and republished by Howard in March, 1784. The first date has not been traced.

Copies: B, F, PLB, BM, etc.

41. PRACTISCHES SYSTEM *Leipzig, 1797, 8°*

Title: Howards | practisches System | auf die | Gefängnisse in Philadelphia | angewandt, | zum Besten der Menschheit | und | als Beyspiel für andere Staaten. | Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. | Leipzig, | bey Christian Gottlob Hilscher. | 1797.

Collation: 8°: A-H⁸; 132 pp. 1 folding table. 165 × 100 mm.

Note: This description was furnished by the Honorable Tr. Puksoo, Librarian of the University Library at Tartu. No further description of contents was secured, but it was ascribed to Howard by M. Puksoo. The work is also noted by Kayser in his *Bücherlexicon*.

Copies: ULT.

V. CONTRIBUTIONS TO JOURNALS (OTHER THAN LETTERS AND PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS) 1764-1784

The following three papers constitute the only contributions Howard made to the Royal Society to which he elected a fellow on May 13, 1756. The observations on the heat of the ground on Mount Vesuvius were also described in a letter Howard wrote to Lady Mary Whitbread. It has been reprinted in several of his biographies.

42. An account of the degree of cold observed in Bedfordshire. By John Howard, Esq.; F. R. S., in a letter to John Canton, M. A., F. R. S. *Philos. Trans. [Roy. Soc., Lond.]*, 1764, 54, 118.

Read April 12, 1764. A short note of half a page recording a temperature of 10½° F. (Bird's thermometer) at Cardington on November 22, 1763.

43. Extract of a letter from John Howard, Esq., F. R. S. to William Watson, M. D., F. R. S., giving some observations on the heat of the waters at Bath. *Philos. Trans. [Roy. Soc., Lond.]*, 1767, 57, 201-202.

Rec'd Jan. 30, 1767; read April 2, 1767. Short paper of two pages. Observations in November and December 1765 with "Bird's Thermometer" by Fahrenheit's Scale. Temperature varied from 89° to 114°, average about 97-98°.

44. Observations on the heat of the ground on Mount Vesuvius: By John Howard, Esq., F. R. S. *Philos. Trans.* [Roy. Soc., Lond.], 1771, 61, 53-54.

Read January 17, 1771. A short letter of one and one half pages. He found 218° on the outside slope; at one place in the crater 240° F.

The following work appeared independently and portrays in narrative form the life of the Danish prisoner. It has also been listed among the items in the *Universal Magazine* (see p. 000), but seems sufficiently important to describe here in greater detail.

44a. Account of the prisons, and modes of punishment in Denmark; with a curious representation of the manner of publicly exposing a criminal in Copenhagen. *Universal Mag.*, 1784, 74, 297-299 (June).

Note: An engraved plate illustrating a criminal led about in a Spanish mantle in Copenhagen, faces p. 297. It is apparently the same as plate 7 in *State of prisons*, 1784 (No. 3), but does not carry the same title.

VI. BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM

Items for this section were not included in the preliminary handlist circularized to libraries. However, the catalogues of many important libraries (BM, BN, DCL, CtY, Bod., CaMM-Os, CSMH, DSG, IC, MB, MBM, MdBj-W, MH, MWA, NhD, NLS, NN, NNNAM, NNC, NNR, NjP) were examined. Copies have not been listed, except in the instance of Dr. Fulton's collection, which have been marked "F" after the note.

Certain accounts in standard biographical compilations have been included but only when they were unusually extensive or not readily available elsewhere.

45. ABRAHAM, James Johnston. *Lettsom. His life, times, friends and descendants.* London, William Heinemann, 1933, 4°, xx, 498 pp.

This volume contains an interesting account of the efforts to raise a monument to Howard before his death and contains reproductions of many of the letters which appeared in the columns of *The Gentlemen's Magazine* by Howard, Lettsom, et cetera. [F].

46. AIKIN, J[ohn]. On the death of Mr. Howard. *Universal Magazine*, 1790, 86, 152.

A short poem beginning, "Howard, thy task is done, thy Master calls," and signed, "J. Aikin, M. D."

47. AIKIN, John. *A view of the character and public services of the late John Howard, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S.* London, J. Johnson, 1792, 8°, 248 pp., portr.

At least three English editions appeared of this excellent biography of John Howard. It will be remembered that Dr. Aikin was closely associated with Howard all during the writing and printing of his works. As one of the leading physicians of his day, Aikin's opinions are to be highly regarded. This account is one of the chief sources for all subsequent biographies. The first edition was reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1792, 8, 297-309, and it was described as selling for 3s. 6d. [F].

48. ——. Another edition. Philadelphia, John Ormrod, 1794, 196 [5] pp., portr.

On pp. 187-196 is found a subscribers' list. Hayley's *Ode* is reprinted on pp. 167-185. The last 5 pages are advertisements. [F].

49. ——. Another issue. Boston, Manning and Loring, 1794, 8°, viii, [2], 10-178 pp.

The *Ode* by Hayley is on pp. 163-178, bearing date of 1795.

50. ——. Another issue. New York, David Huntington, 1814, 12° (8 × 14 cm.), 180 pp.

The *Ode* by Hayley occupies pp. 161-172.

51. ——. French trans. *Vie de Jean Howard. Célèbre philanthrope anglais, ou caractère et services publics de ce bienfaiteur des prisonniers.* Paris, Décade philosophique, 1796, 173 [3] pp.

The translator was A. M. H. Boulard, who was obviously well acquainted with all of the editions of Howard's writings. The text of Aikin's biography is profusely annotated by M. Boulard. (See copy in B. N.) Another edition of this translation (1806, 12°) is noted in Panckoucke, *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales* and in *Biographie universelle*, but no copy has been found.

52. ——. German trans. *Leben Character und Verdienste John Howard's, Esq. der Menschen Freundes.* Leipzig, J. S. Heinsius und Sohn, 1792, 214 [2] pp., frontispiece.

A teacher of Erlangen, Johann Christian Fick, was the translator and the volume is dedicated to D. Georg Friedrich Seiler, professor of theology. The Hayley *Ode* has also been translated. Of Howard, Herr Fick says, "denn auch wir Deutsche haben den von seiner Landsleuten so allgemein anerkannten Verdiensten Howard's in Beziehung auf Gefang. . . ."

53. [AIKIN, John]. *General biography; or lives, critical and historical* by John Aikin, Thomas Morgan and William Johnston. London, T. Davison, 1804, 10 vols.

In vol. 5, pp. 273-297, Aikin writes an excellent short sketch of Howard for this monumental dictionary of which he was the principal editor. He aptly describes Howard as "one of that small class of men who have perpetuated their names by the good they have done to their fellow-creatures" and says of his work on *Prisons* . . . "As soon as it appeared, the world was astonished at the mass of valuable

materials accumulated by a private unaided individual, through a course of prodigious labour, and at the constant hazard of life, in consequence of the infectious diseases prevalent in the scenes of his enquiries. The cool good sense and moderation of his narrative, contrasted with that enthusiastic ardour which must have impelled him to his undertaking, were not less admired; and he was immediately regarded as one of the extraordinary characters of the age, and the leader in all plans for meliorating the condition of that wretched part of the community for whom he interested himself. . . ."

54. ANON. *The protection of Providence: an ode. Sacred to the fame of Mr. Howard.* London, T. Cadell and G. Nicoll, 1787, 4°, 19 pp.

A well printed eulogy beginning "Why this sudden sacred dread:" with several footnotes on Howard, biblical quotations, etc. It has a short prose preface presenting the object of the *Ode*.

55. ANON. *The vindication of fame. An ode in honour of John Howard.* London, 1786.

This is an item reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1786, 75, 392, and it appears in the Bodleian Library Catalogue.

56. ANON. *A tour sentimental and descriptive through the United Provinces . . . With some observations on the Howardian system.* 1788, 120 pp.

A contemporary comment upon Howard's plan of prison reform; the only copy traced is in the British Museum.

57. ANON. Authentische Nachrichten von dem Leben und den menschen freundlichen Bemühungen des verstorbenen John Howards, Esq. Mitglied der Königl. Societät der Wissenschaften zu London. *Hannoversches Magazin*, 1790 (October) 28, No. 85, columns 1345-1360, and No. 86, columns 1341-1376.

A well written and rather full account of Howard's life and writings. Mention is made of the German translation of *Prisons* (see No. 9), and also of the forthcoming edition of *Prisons* (No. 4), but there is no critical account of his influence in Germany.

58. ANON. Notes of a conversation held with Mr. Howard in May 1789. *European Magazine*, 1790, 17, 163-165.

An account with interesting comments on Howard's habits of living, his avoidance of letters of introduction, his idea of the Turks, the Berlin police, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Emperor of Germany. Mention is made of the fact that he had read little on the subject of the plague nor had he read Darwin's lines in the *Botanic garden*. There was no indication of the identity of Mr. Howard's interviewer, Mr. Reginald Hill of the Bodleian Library reports a 4-page folder, 2 copies of which were found in the Bodleian copy of *Prisons* (No. 1), one bearing the name "Dr. Heberden." These are identical with the *European Magazine* item.

59. ANON. *The life of the late John Howard, Esq., with a review of his travels. To the above work, as confirming Mr. Howard's*

ideas of the effects of solitary imprisonment, is annexed the letter which appeared in the paper of the World, on the case of Saville, tried at Chelmsford for murder. . . . London, printed for the author and may be had of J. Ridgway, 1790, viii, 88 pp.

In addition to the letter referred to in the title (appearing on pp. 78-84), "Verses to the memory of John Howard Esq.," are printed on pp. 85-88. There is a half-title indicating also that the pamphlet sold for 2s. 6d. Edward Topham is the author of the letter on solitary confinement. The volume was reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1790, 3, 471-2, but no hint of authorship has been traced. A few biographical details are recorded with a full account of Howard's influence on contemporary legislation and practice, and a review of prison conditions in the countries he visited. [F]

60. ANON. *Anecdotes of the life and character of John Howard. Written by a gentleman, whose acquaintance with that celebrated philanthropist gave him the most favourable opportunity of learning particulars not generally known.* London, Hookham, Sewall, and Mrs. Harlow, 1790, 8° in fours, 41 pp., frontispiece.

The author states in his preface that he is not a writer, but is presenting these few anecdotes which he thinks "will prove not unentertaining." A brief record of Howard's life and acts of kindness to various persons in distress follows. The volume sold for 2s. and was reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1790, 3, 471-2. The frontispiece is based, according to an explanatory note, on a pencil sketch made by a lady who lived for some months underneath the same roof with Mr. Howard. It depicts Howard in a prison and was also used in several of the anonymous 19th century biographies. [F]

61. ANON. *The life of John Howard, Esquire, LL.D. and F.R.S.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne, W. Thompson, 1790, 8°, [4], 60 pp.

The author of this short biography, which appeared just after Howard's death, quotes frequently from Howard's writings, prints Aikin's (p. 21), Darwin's (pp. 50-51) and Mrs. Inchbald's (pp. 59-60) verses on Howard and gives the story of the movement for a Howard monument. [F]

62. ANON. Authentic memoirs of the life and philanthropic labours of the late John Howard, Esq., F.R.S. with a striking likeness of that great citizen and patriot of the world taken from a large print engraved by Mr. Edmund Scott, from an original painting in the possession of Mr. William Ellis. *Universal Mag.*, 1790, 86, 169-174, 255-264, portr.

63. ANON. *True honour. An ode. Occasioned by the death of John Howard, Esq.* London, Robinsons, 1791, 4°, 6d.

This was reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1791, 6, 230, but no evidence of authorship was found, nor has any copy been traced.

64. ANON. *A pastoral care. A didactic poem in three parts. Addressed to the junior clergy.* London, Hatchard, 1808, 8°, 174 pp.

This contains a panegyric on Howard which is a partial versification of Burke's

eulogy (See No. 101). It is reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.* (2nd ser.), 1809, 58, 103-104 and sold for 12 s.

65. ANON. John Howard, *Encyc. Brit.*, Edinburgh, 1815, 10, 648-651.

An almost contemporaneous account which quotes extensively from Dr. Palmer's funeral sermon (No. 165). [F].

66. ANON. *Select biography. The life of John Howard. A collection of lives of eminent men who have been an honour to their country.* London, Watton & Jarvis, 179 pp. [1821-22].

A small volume, vol. 2 of a series of 13 volumes which appeared between 1821-22. It begins "John Howard was born about the year 1727," etc.

67. ANON. *The life of John Howard . . . compiled from the most authenticated documents; and a memoir of W. Venning.* Edinburgh, Arch. Allardice & Co., 1825, 12°, x, 289 pp.

The life of Howard ends on p. 236. No evidence of authorship was found, but the volume is one of a series entitled *Eminent philanthropists* and was dedicated in October, 1825, to the "Society of Great Britain for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and for the Relief of Destitute Imprisoned Debtors."

68. ANON. Life of John Howard. *The Youth's Instructor and Guardian*, 1828, 6 [Sept.]. See below.

Parts of a life of Howard are found on pp. 337-343, 385-395, 438-449, 480-495 and 547-555. This American periodical ran through a few volumes but a complete set was not located. [F].

69. ANON. *The life of John Howard, the philanthropist. Abridged from authentic sources. By a friend of Sabbath Schools.* New York, B. Waugh and T. Mason, for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1833, 128 pp., frontispiece.

The only additional information given on the card in the DLC catalogue is that the volume measured 13.5 cm. It was not examined.

70. ANON. *Christian biography, containing the lives of Rich. Baxter, Mrs. M. Baxter, J. Howard, Claudius Buchanan, Viscountess Glenorchy.* London [1834], 12°.

Original not seen; the book is listed in the BM catalogue.

71. ANON. Biography of John Howard. *Pinnock's guide to knowledge*, 1835 (Jan. 10), 152, 9-12.

A short biography with reproductions of the bas-relief on Howard's monument at St. Paul's and his tomb at Cherson in Russia. [F]

72. ANON. John Howard. *Penny cyclopaedia*, 1838, 12, 329-330.

A short note, based largely on Aikin (No. 47), but containing an interesting refutation of Howard's cruelty to his son from the pen of Dr. R. W. Darwin of

Shrewsbury who had lived with Howard's son at Dr. Blacklock's in Edinburgh in 1783-4. [F].

73. ANON. *Chivalry and charity: illustrated by the lives of Bertrand du Guesclin and John Howard.* London, Charles Knight & Co., 1840, 8°, 198 pp., 13 illustr.

Printed under the superintendency of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, a short life of Howard occupies pp. 135-198. It is based largely on Brown's life (No. 98). Two of the illustrations are concerned with Howard.

74. ANON. *The life of John Howard, the philanthropist. Embracing an account of his great and successful labours in meliorating the condition of prisoners in European gaols.* Presbyterian Board of Publication [Philadelphia, 1844], [4], 154 pp., frontispiece.

A letter from the present publication department of the Board states that the first edition of 1844 was 1000 copies and sold for 33 cents a copy. It measured 4 × 6 inches. Later reports indicated that a 28-cent and a 22-cent edition were published, but no additional information could be secured concerning dates of publication, authorship, etc. (We are indebted to Mr. K. G. Berger of the Westminster Press for the above information.)

75. ANON. John Howard. *Chamber's Miscellany*, 1850, 13, [32 pp].

A vignette, with a profile of Howard, adorns the beginning of this short popular life of Howard. The author quotes Aikin frequently. [F].

76. ANON. Shades of the departed. John Howard. *The Leisure Hour*, 1853, 2, 73-77, illust.

An account of the London haunts of John Howard and his father, including the chief prisons of the period, with 2 textual illustrations. [F].

77. ANON. *Christian biography. Life of John Howard, Esq. the philanthropist.* London, Religious Tract Society, instituted 1799, 72 pp. Sold at the depository, 56 Paternoster Row; and by the booksellers. [n. d., ca. 1856].

A small duodecimo with signatures from T-2A°. There is no introduction or hint of authorship, though a footnote on p. 3 states that the book was "compiled from Dr. Brown's Life of Howard, and other authentic documents." [F].

78. ANON. *Biography of eminent Christians. Howard the philanthropist.* London, Religious Tract Society, W. Clowes & Sons, [ca. 1856], 32 pp.

These volumes appeared in 3 series between 1856 and 1868, but the one on Howard was found only in Series 1 in which it is Number 3. They are cheaply printed, small volumes, bound together though each biography has separate or unnumbered pagination. There is no evidence of date on this volume. The contents are not identical with those of No. 77.

79. ANON. *Notices sur la vie et les travaux de quatre éminents serviteurs de Dieu: John Howard, Rowland Hill, William Wilberforce, Sir Thomas Buston.* Toulouse Société des Livres Religieux, 1857, 16°, 329 pp.
- A small volume in which Howard is discussed on pp. 1-85. An unsigned editor's note gives no hint of authorship. The pious account of Howard is undocumented and inconsequential.
80. ANON. *John Howard: some lessons of his life.* [London, 187—] the Howard association, 4 pp.
- The DLC catalogue card gives the above information, states that the volume measured 21.5 cm. and that the title was a caption.
81. ANON. John Howard, the philanthropist. *Sunday at Home*, 1873, 712-716, portr.
- A copy of Holloway's portrait engraved by Freeman accompanies this short biography. Howard's directions for the inscription on his monument are reproduced, as well as excerpts from Cowper's poem (No. 107). [F].
82. ANON. *The story of John Howard, the prison reformer.* London, T. Nelson & Sons, 1876, 120 pp., 8°, 2 illustr.
- A colored frontispiece and colored title page of Howard at prisons adorn the volume which is designed for children. The text is not that of Cooper (No. 106). This was one of ten volumes entitled *Lessons from noble lives*.
83. ANON. John Howard, an essay. *J. ment. Sci.*, 1876 (July), 22, 180-196.
- A footnote says this was an original essay from an Australian contributor. The essay is a critical discussion of Howard's motives, his relationship to his son, and the results of his work. The editor has added his own comments in several footnotes. The author believes that Howard's enthusiasm for ameliorating the physical conditions of prisoners tended "to confound the judgement of good and evil . . . throughout society . . . has rewarded the guilty and taught immorality to the innocent."
84. ANON. [Four photographs, 1890].
- Made by N. L. Tiraspolsky in Cherson, Russia, these include a picture of the house in which Howard died, his grave, the monument to him and a profile placque from the latter. All are dated 1890. Copies are in the British Museum.
85. ANON. *John Howard. Notice sur les hommages rendus [sic] sa mémoire en Russie.* St. Petersburg, Expedition pour la confection des papiers de l'État, 1890, 4°, [vi], 2, 12, [2] pp., 1 illustr.
- The Librarian of the Library of the University of Tartu kindly called our attention to this item and furnished a description. The text occupies 12 pages and the illustration is a portrait of Howard.
86. ANON. *The story of Howard and Oberlin.* London and Edinburgh, W. & R. Chambers, 1894, 8°, 127 pp., frontispiece, 2 illust.
- An account of Howard's life (pp. 1-68) with an attempt to evaluate his con-

- tributions to prison reform. Two drawings and the frontispiece depict episodes in his life. Another edition appeared in 1896 under the title *Four great philanthropists. Lord Shaftsbury, George Peabody, John Howard, J. F. Oberlin*, London, 68 pp., 3 illustr.
87. ANON. *John Howard, Congregationalist, philanthropist and reformer.* Deacons of Howard church, Mill Street, Bedford, n. d. [ca. 1900], 20 pp., 15 illustr.
- This small paper bound volume, sold by the Deacons for 3d., gives a short life of Howard and a fuller account of the churches associated with his name. The illustrations include statues of Howard, the tomb and monument in Russia, churches and mementoes of Howard at the Howard church in Bedford. The pencil likeness of Howard on the title-page is reported (p. 18) to have been taken by stealth in church and to have come from the Mr. Palmer, M. P., for Reading who is known as having carried the "Tom and Jerry Act." The copy in the Fulton Library is bound in green paper covers and bears this same likeness on the title-page. [F].
88. ANON. John Howard. Prison reform pioneer. London, *The Times*, Jan. 20, 1936, p. 13.
- A note at the time of the bicentenary celebration of Howard's birth at St. Paul's. A profile portrait accompanies the life, which stresses the Bastille incident. [F].
89. BAILEY, James Blake. *The condition of gaols, hospitals and other institutions as described by John Howard.* London, H. K. Lewis, 1884, 8°, [4], 48 pp.
- This essay was awarded a special prize by the Council of the Statistical Society. A table recording the principal statistics on the number of prisoners, size of cells and rooms, sewage and water supplies in jails is appended to the text (pp. 37-48). Bailey was resident librarian of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London. [F].
90. BARKER, G. F. R. Life. *Dictionary national biography*, 1891, 27, 44-50.
- An excellent account of the life of Howard and a list of the chief biographical sources.
91. BAUMGARTNER, Leona. John Howard and the public health movement. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Med.*, 1937, 5, 489-508.
- A short account of Howard's contributions in the field of public health by the present compiler. [F].
92. BAYNE, Peter. *The Christian life.* Boston, Gould & Lincoln. New York, Sheldon, Lamport and Blakeman, 1855, viii, 528 pp.
- This contains a short and pious account of Howard under the title *Howard and the rise of philanthropy* [pp. 96-157]. According to the *Dictionary of national biography* (Vol. 22, supp.) the volume appeared with imprints of Edinburgh, 1855, Boston, 1856 (CtY), Boston, 1857, and London in 1859. I have not attempted to trace these editions—but have identified one, New York (Sheldon, Lamport and Blakeman), viii, 528 pp. The same contents appeared under the title of *Six Christian biographies*, London, D. Bayne & Co., 1887, 8°, 299 pp., and in *Men worthy to lead*, London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1890, 299 pp.

(I am indebted to Helen S. Read of the Kansas City Public Library and Carl B. Roden of the Chicago Public Library for assistance in describing these volumes.)

93. BELLOWS, Henry W. John Howard, his life, character, and services. *International Penitentiary Congress. Transactions*, London, 1872, Longmans, Green & Co., 796 pp.

An address on Howard delivered to this Congress by the New Yorker, Rev. Henry Bellows, is found on pp. 739-796. After reviewing the chief events of Howard's life, Bellows attempts to evaluate his contributions in the light of contemporary social development.

94. BENTHAM, Jeremy. *Panopticon postscript*. Part II. London, T. Payne, 1791, iv, 232 pp.

In this plan of management for a penitentiary house, Bentham comments on Howard (pp. 1-2). He criticizes the lack of orderliness of Howard's writings, but points out he "was much better employed than in arranging words and sentences. Instead of doing what so many could do if they would, what he did for the service of mankind was what scarce any man could have done, and no man would do, but himself."

95. BOWLES, W. L. *Verses to John Howard, F.R.S. on his state of prisons and lazarettos*. Bath, R. Cruttwell, and sold by C. Dilly, London and C. Rann, Oxford, 1789, 4°, [4], 17 [1] pp.

Reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1790, 1, 309, and priced at 1s. 6d. The poem is dedicated to Rev. Dr. J. Warton, Master of Winchester School. Verses "on the Death of Mr. Headly" are on pp. 15-17. [F].

96. ——. *The grave of Howard. A poem*. Salisbury, E. Easton and sold by C. Dilly, T. Hookham and S. Dodsley, London, 1790, 4°, [2], 11, [1] pp.

Reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1790, 2, 462, and priced at 1s. The poem begins, "Spirit of Death, beneath whose pinions dread The crouded tents of busy life are spread." It was reprinted in Bowles's *Sonnets* (No. 97). [F].

97. ——. *Sonnets, (third edition) with other poems*. Bath, printed by R. Cruttwell and sold by C. Dilly, Poultry, London, 8°, [n. d., ca. 1791].

This contains the poems, "On Mr. Howard's account of Lazarettes," and "The grave of Mr. Howard." Earlier editions of the *Sonnets* have not been traced.

98. BROWN, James Baldwin. *Memoirs of the public and private life of John Howard, the philanthropist; compiled from his own diary, in the possession of his family; his confidential letters; the communications of his surviving relatives and friends; and other authentic sources of information*. London, Rest Fenner, 1818, 4°, xxvii, [3], 690, [2], pp. 2 portr., 28.5 cm.

This is a handsome edition of one of the fullest biographies of Howard. Well documented, it has many letters which did not appear in earlier accounts and the notes,



JOHN HOWARD, THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Engraved by Fenner from an original drawing by Holloway

London: Published by Rest Fenner 1818

My Tomb, to be a plain slip of Marble, placed
under that of my dear Annetta's in Fardington
Church, with this inscription John Howard Died April
My Hope is in Christ

London: Published by Rest Fenner 1818

Fig. 9.

Frontispiece to Brown's *Memoirs* (No. 98). The engraving is based on Holloway's profile.

pp. 661-690, are particularly valuable. Errata appear on p. [691]. This edition was dedicated to William Wilberforce. According to a statement on the original gray boards, in which the F copy is bound, the price of the volume was £2.5s. The frontispiece, engraved by Freeman, is taken from the profile by Holloway. The other illustration is an engraving, from the same hand, of Henrietta Howard taken from a miniature alleged to be in Howard's possession. Jeremiah Holmes Wiffin's poem beginning, "Why, when souls we loved are fled" is on pp. xxi-xxvii. See Fig. 9. [F].

99. ——. 2nd ed. (*Memoirs . . . A second edition*, London, Thomas & George Underwood, 1823, xxxii, 657 pp. 2 portr.).

Dedicated to "Alexander, the Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias." A preface, signed and dated from "3 Hare-court, Temple, December 26, 1822," states that "the failure of their original publisher a few months after they first issued from the press; and a Chancery suit arising out of that failure, and withdrawing from circulation, for nearly three years, the few remaining copies of the quarto edition." This edition has been abridged, largely in the detailed accounts of Howard's travels and the conditions of individual prisons, and has a few additional data which Brown had collected from other of Howard's friends. [F].

100. ——. 3rd ed. *The memoirs of Howard, compiled from his diary. Abridged by a gentleman of Boston*. Boston, Lincoln & Edmonds, 1831, xx, [4], 352 pp., 2 portr.

The pagination is irregular, for after the four unnumbered leaves constituting an editor's preface, dated 1831, the preface to the 1818 edition begins, but this is numbered pp. xvii-xx. The text follows immediately pp. [21]-352. On pp. 347-352 is an account of the Howard Benevolent Society in Boston with lists of officers of the Society from 1812 on. The names of Eliot, Tappan and Warren are on p. 348.

101. BURKE, Edmund. *The works*. A new ed. London, F. C. & J. Rivington, 1815.

See vol. 3, pp. 380-381, *Speech at Bristol*, 1780. Mr. Burke's oft-quoted tribute to Howard was made in a speech at the Guild Hall in Bristol in 1780, previous to the election. This speech was, in the main, a defense of Burke's conduct in Parliament, and the passage on Howard was introduced parenthetically when Burke mentioned that Howard had found almost no persons in prisons for debt in Holland. The speech is contained in many editions of Burke's writings.

102. CARLYLE, Thomas. *Collected works. Latter-day pamphlets*. London, Chapman and Hall, 1850, vol. 19, pp. 75-80.

Carlyle's criticism of Howard is in his paper on "Model prisons," dated 1st March, 1850, and may be found in any of his collected works. He considers Howard "dull and even dreary" and scorns the tide of "benevolent sentimentality" that came in his wake.

103. CHILD, L. Maria. *Mrs. Howard, wife of Mr. John Howard. The gift book of biography for young ladies*. London and Edinburgh, Thomas Wilson, 1848, 263 pp.

Pp. 237-245 of this volume, written by Miss M. Kendrick and Mrs. L. Maria Child, are devoted to the life and good works of the second Mrs. John Howard. Only a fragment of the volume was examined, but the index indicated that it was at least 263 pp. in length, and that Mrs. Child wrote this particular biography. [F].

104. CLARKE, E. D. *Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*. London, T. Cadell & W. Davis, 1811. Pt. 1, 2nd ed., vol. I.

Clarke describes Howard's grave as he found it on his travels in Russia (pp. 599-600); he gives a short account of Howard on pp. 604-611, and there is a vignette of the grave on p. 575.

105. COCHRANE, Robert. *Eminent philanthropists, patriots and reformers*. Edinburgh, William P. Nimmo & Co., 1879, 224 pp., portr.

The life of Howard on pp. 86-127 is based almost entirely on Dixon's biography (See No. 111). A portrait of Howard serves as frontispiece to the volume which contains the lives of other pious gentlemen.

106. COOPER, Lina Orman. *John Howard, the prisoner's friend: his home life and his work*. London, Morrison & Gibbs, The Sunday School Union, [1904], 132 pp., 11 illustr.

A well illustrated, simply written life of Howard with emphasis on his personality and home life. Illustrations include several of Bedfordshire, the Howard statue there, etc. Mrs. Cooper wrote other volumes for this series of small religious tracts, including one on John Bunyan. Another edition was brought out in 1922, with no illustrations save Howard's portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London. (*John Howard*. . . The National Sunday School Union, Morrison & Gibbs, London, 157 pp.).

107. COWPER, William. *Poems*. London, J. Johnson, 1782, 8°, [iv] 367 pp.

In "Charity," one of Cowper's poems, is a laudatory section devoted to Howard (pp. 194-195). Other editions of the poems appeared in 1786, 1788, 1793, 1794, etc.

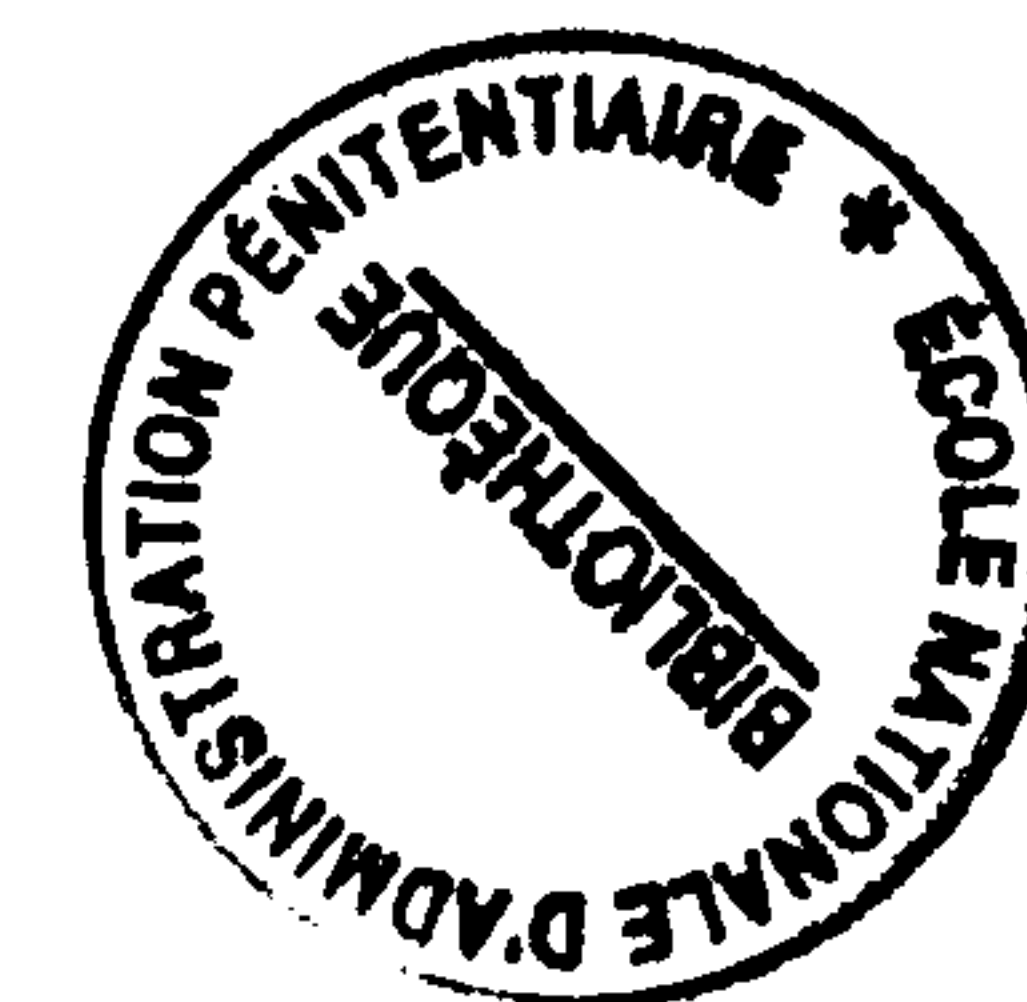
108. CURRIE, James. *Memoirs of Dr. Currie*. London, 2 vol., 1831. An account of Howard's offering money for the erection of a lunatic asylum in Liverpool (See vol. I, p. 471). [F].

109. "D.-A., W. H." The Howard centenary. *The Illustr. London News*, March 15, 1890, 339-341.

An account of Howard with particular emphasis on conditions in London jails in the 18th century. There are two pages of illustrations depicting jail practices, the Holloway profile of Howard, and the Frances Wheatly print of "John Howard visiting an English prison." Signed "W. H., D.-A." [F]

110. DARWIN, Erasmus. *The botanic garden. Pt. II. The lives of the plants*. Dublin, J. Moore, 1790, xvi, 206 pp. [Canto II, lines 439-471].

Appearing in at least seven English editions between 1781 and 1825 (Logan, James Venable. *The poetry and aesthetics of Erasmus Darwin*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1936, vi, 162 pp.), this was the first of Darwin's published poems and one of the most popular. The eulogistic lines concerning Howard appear as a digression of the main theme at the end of Canto II, lines 439-471, in the above edition, which is designated the third, although Logan does not list one with a Dublin imprint.



111. DIXON, Hepworth. *John Howard and the prison-world of Europe. From original and authentic documents.* London, Jackson & Walford, 1849, 8°, xii, 405 [3] pp., frontispiece.

This life of Howard was written by a popular writer of the 1850's who, because of his interest in prisons, was well qualified to compile the first detailed biography which had appeared in 30 years. Dixon was known chiefly for his *Prison life in Europe* and for the controversy he had with Macaulay on the character of William Penn. He describes the prison world before Howard and appraises his contributions to penal reform in addition to reviewing the biographical details. The text is written in a somewhat popular style, and is not documented. The frontispiece of this edition is dedicated to Douglas Jerrold, the author. The book was apparently quite popular, going through at least 6 editions or issues. Not all have been examined, but 6 can be identified as follows: [F].

112. ——. 2nd ed. London, 1850.
 113. ——. 3rd ed., London, Jackson, 1850, xx, 393 pp. plates (with additional illustrations—6s. cost).
 114. ——. 4th ed., New York, R. Carter & Brothers, 1850, [31], 401 [6] pp.
 A slightly abridged text with an essay by Richard W. Dickinsen.
 115. ——. 4th ed., same as above with 1861 on title.
 116. ——. 5th ed., Webster, Massachusetts, F. Charlton, 1852, 422 pp.
 117. ——. 6th ed., issued under the title, *John Howard; a memoir. A new edition.* London, Jackson and Walford, 1854, 8°, viii, 257 pp., frontispiece.

In the preface the author states that he rewrote this edition—"the literary art of twenty was not found satisfactory at thirty-three." [F].

118. —, in Thomas Babington Macaulay. *New biographies of illustrious men.* Boston, Whittemore, Niles and Hall, 1857, xxii, [2] 408 pp.

A collection of biographies by various writers in which Hepworth Dixon's biography of Howard appears on pp. 85-105. The collection was made up from materials which had just appeared in the 8th edition of the *Encyc. Brit.*, because, as the author of the preface [S. C. E.] tells us, "the magnitude of that work places it quite beyond the reach of most persons."

119. DOBSON, Austin. The journeys of John Howard. *National Rev.*, London, 1918, 172, 197-213. Reprinted in *Later Essays.* London, Milford, Oxford University Press, 1921, frontispiece, [8] 180 pp. [see pp. 70-96].

An attractive and informative essay based largely on Brown's *Memoirs*, and his quotations from Aikin (see No. 47). [F].

120. [DOLAN, Thomas Michael]. John Howard; sanitarian and philanthropist. *Scalpel*, London, 1897, 2, 12-16; 43-48; 83-87; 113-116; 145-149; 188-192.

This is apparently by Thomas Michael Dolan for the article is signed "by the editor" and Dolan is given as editor of the *Scalpel*, a magazine which appeared in 5 volumes from 1896-1900. The author summarizes Howard's view on various topics of interest to the sanitarian; water, air, ventilation, etc. [F, typed copy].

121. DORNFORD, Josiah. *Nine letters to the Right Hon. Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London on the state of the prisons and prisoners within their jurisdiction.* London, J. Andrews, [1786], [iv], 164 pp.

A collection of letters to and from Dornford about prison reform which quote freely from Howard's observations. Most of the letters are dated November 1785, although one is as early as April, 1785 and the latest is a comment reprinted from the *Morning Chronicle* of July 1786.

122. "R. E." Memoir of Howard. *The Select Magazine for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Persons.* 1823, 4, 135-151 (September).

An engraving signed "H. Adlord, sculp." taken from the Holloway profile portrait of Howard, found in Brown's life (No. 98), is used as a frontispiece. The memoir gives a brief account of Howard's life with some emphasis on his work in behalf of his dependents on the Cardington estate and his general impressions of foreign prisons. [F].

123. FARRAR, Eliza Ware. *The life of John Howard.* Cambridge, Brown, Shattuck and Company; Boston, Hilliard, Gray and Company, 1833, xiv, 274 pp.

This edition is listed in the DLC catalogue as vol. 1 of the *Lives of the philanthropists.* A second title-page in this copy and two others we have seen, however, list it as vol. 2 of *The Sunday Library for young persons* which was edited by the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr. The preface is dated and signed "H. W. Jr., Cambridge, 16 June 1833." Mrs. Farrar (Eliza Ware Rotch, 1791-1870) was also the author of *Congo in search of his master* and other religious tracts. This biography is typical of the many which appeared in the 19th century sponsored by some church organization.

124. FIELD, John. *The life of John Howard; with comments on his character and philanthropic labours.* London, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1850, 8°, xvi, 495 pp., portr.

This biography, dedicated to H. R. H. Prince Albert, was prompted, according to the author, by the scarcity of either the writings of Howard or the Aikin or Brown biographies. Source material (magazines, etc.) are given in detail and direct quotations are numerous. The portrait is the Holloway profile, engraved by Fry. [F].

125. ——. 2nd ed., abridged, appeared about 1856. (*The life of John Howard.* Abridged from the life of Howard by Rev. J. Field, M.A., London, Society for promoting Christian knowledge, 8°, xii, 502 pp., printed by R. Clay, Son and Taylor.) [F]

126. ——. *Correspondence of John Howard, the philanthropist, not before published. With a brief memoir and illustrative anecdotes.* London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855, viii, 208 pp., portr.

An abridged life with several letters which had not appeared in the earlier work. The letters are for the most part addressed to Howard's good friend and neighbor, Samuel Whitbread—but also include one [p. 206] from Sir Joshua Reynolds on the Howard monument in St. Paul's, London. The portrait is the profile by Holloway. [F].

127. Fox, R. Hingston. *Dr. John Fothergill and his friends. Chapters in eighteenth century life.* London, Macmillan and Company, 1919, xxiv, 434 pp.

Pp. 223-225 have short items about Howard.

128. GALVETE, Javier. *Juan Howard. Apuntes biográficos.* Madrid, Libreria Nacional y Estranjera, 1876, 8°, 29 pp.

This is the only Spanish account of Howard which was discovered. It is a cheaply printed pamphlet, reviewing details of his life and travels. It is not documented and is a part of a series "La moralidad en nuestros tiempos, filantropos y reformadores," in which the author proposed to write lives of Pestalozzi, Elizabeth Fry, etc.

129. [GALKIN-VRASKOÏ, M.] *Notice historique sur les deux monuments de John Howard à Kherson. (Russie méridionale).* St.-Petersbourg Expédition pour la correction des papiers de l'État, 1885, 12 pp., 2 pl.

The DLC card states that this notice was signed by M. Gálkine-Wraskoy and that the volume measured 25 cm.

130. GARDNER, Arthur Robert Lee. *The place of John Howard in penal reform.* London, The Howard League for Prison Reform, 1926, 8°, 14 pp., portr., being No. 9 of the n. s. of Howard League Pamphlets. Also in *Howard Journal*, 1926, 2, 14-28, portr.

A short biographical account followed by excerpts from the 3rd edition of his *State of prisons* and a brief discussion of his proposals for prison reform. The portrait is taken from that of Mather Brown in the National Portrait Gallery.

131. GIBSON, Edgar Charles Summer. *John Howard.* London, Methuen & Co., 1901, xiii, [3], 211 pp., 11 illustr.

A readable life of Howard with many letters. It has a fairly good index and is well illustrated with reproductions of most of the earlier portraits of Howard, his wife, house, tomb, etc. [F].

132. [GUY, William Augustus]. Thomas Carlyle and John Howard. *Fraser's Magazine* (London), 1850, 41, 400-410.

A retort to Carlyle's remarks on John Howard, defending Howard's courage and

originality. It is unsigned and no indication of authorship appears in the volume, but Guy lists it as from his own pen in his *John Howard's winter voyage* (No. 137).

133. ——. *Public health. A popular introduction to sanitary science.* London, Henry Renshaw, 1870, 216 pp.

Lecture VII, entitled *The jail distemper*, quotes liberally from Howard's writings on the subject and devotes 7 pages (186-192) to his life and works. Guy was Professor of Forensic Medicine in Kings College, London.

134. ——. *1773; or John Howard, Sheriff of Bedford.* London, Henry Renshaw, 1873, 16 pp., 8°, portr.

A small paper bound (red) pamphlet adapted from the lecture on John Howard in *Public Health* (No. 133). Guy calls attention not only to Howard's good works but to the originality of the methods he adopted. He calls him "a prince of statistical inquirers" and suggests that 1873 not pass without some fitting memorial at Bedford.

135. ——. John Howard as a statist. *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 1873, 36, 1-18.

An account of Howard as a statistician, pointing to his methods of tabulation. Guy makes comparisons of jail fever and of prisoners Howard saw on various journeys, etc. A critical biography, based largely on Aikin, follows. [F, typed copy].

136. ——. John Howard's true place in history. A supplement to the paper entitled "John Howard as Statist." *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 1875, 38, 430-437.

This was a short note following the address made January 1873 on the centenary of Howard's appointment as High Sheriff of Bedford. Guy says "Howard's true place in history, then, is as discoverer or inventor of that modern method of dealing with social wrongs which gradually built a civilization deserving the name. His place in History does not in any way detract from his place as Statist, nor does it at all take away from his place as a Philanthropist, for he showed at all times a practical sympathy towards every variety of human suffering."

137. ——. *John Howard's winter's journey.* London, Thomas De la Rue & Co., 1882, 12°, viii, 78, [10] pp.

Dr. Guy, in this attractively written volume, dedicated to Samuel Whitbread, descendants of the Whitbreads, neighbors and friends of John Howard, who did much to assist his work, gives a vivid account of Howard's travels and attempts to "ascertain the true place in history of that remarkable man." The winter's journey refers to Howard's first trip through English prisons in 1773-1774, which preceded his notable appearance before the House of Commons. [F].

138. HALL, Thomas. *Poems, on various subjects, written in the Debtor's Ward, Winchester.* 2nd ed. London, J. Hatchard, [1808], 8°, x, 54 pp.

These poems are dedicated to His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland. One pp. 11-13, is entitled "To the Memory of John Howard, Esq., who died in 1789." The first edition of these poems has not been traced. [F].

139. HAYGARTH, John. Two letters from John Haygarth, M. D. to John Howard, Esq., F.R.S. [no imprint ?1790].

This is a quarto of 14 pages (a⁴, b²) containing the 2 letters which were reprinted with the Appendix (No. 28). Both letters were addressed from Chester, the first under the date of May 30, 1789, and the other June 19, 1789. The copy of this item, from the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire reported by Mr. S. O. Moffet, was the only copy located. It is inscribed "For the Right Honorable the Master of the Rolls from the Author."

140. HAYLEY, William. Ode, inscribed to John Howard, Esq. F.R.S. Author of "The state of English and foreign prisons." *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1780, 50, 483.

This ode, beginning with the lines

"Fav'rite of Heaven, and friend of Earth!
Philanthropy, benignant Power!"

refers to Stephen Hales, and Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham as well. It appeared under the same title in a handsome edition (London, J. Dodsley, Pall Mall, 1780, 4°, 20 pp., portr., 1s. 6d.) in which the frontispiece by Bartolozzi is an elaborate engraving depicting a prisoner, Howard and a jailer. [F].

141. ——. 2nd ed. Completely reset, this appeared in 1781 (London, J. Dodsley, 4°, 20 pp., portr.) and a correspondent of the San Francisco Public Library has called our attention to another edition from the same press in 1782.

142. ——. Still another edition, undated, but set as *circa* 1785, is in the Library of Congress. Its imprint reads "Philadelphia, reprinted and sold by Enoch Story."

The *Ode* is often quoted and is reprinted with title page in the Boston edition (Nos. 48, 49) and Philadelphia editions of Aikin on pp. 163-178 and pp. 167-185, respectively.

143. ——. *The eulogies of Howard. A vision.* London, Robinson's, 1791, 8°, 80 pp.

A poem published for 2 shillings and reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1792, 7, 416. A letter from Hayley presenting this poem to Nichols for publication is reprinted in Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the 18th century*, vol. 4, pp. 741-2 (See No. 163).

144. HENDERSON, E[benezer]. *Biblical researches and travel in Russia.* London, James Nisbet, 1826, 538 pp.

Details of Howard's death and his grave in Russia are discussed on pp. 280 and 285.

145. HOLFORD, George. *Thoughts on the criminal prisons of this country.* . . . London, Rivington, 1821, 8°, iv, 80, viii pp.

A discussion of Howard and his relation to George III. Cap. 20. "An act for the relief of prisoners," appears on pp. 1-6.

146. HOLTZENDORFF, Franz von. John Howard und die Pestsperr gegen Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. *Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge* 1879, 14, 139-176.

A discussion of Howard's observations on the plague with translations from his *Lazarettos*.

147. HOWARD ASSOCIATION, London. *John Howard: some lessons of his life.* Howard Society [London 187—] 4 pp.

Listed in the Library of Congress catalogue. The indices of the transactions of this Society yielded other Howardiana of note. The Association was founded in 1866 for the "promotion of the most efficient means of penal treatment and the prevention of crime." There were other local Howard Associations, the one in Norfolk, Virginia, for example, assisting in an epidemic of yellow fever in 1855 (see Report, 1857).

148. HOWARD MISSION AND HOME FOR LITTLE WANDERERS. This society was founded in 1861 by a Rev. W. C. Van Water, but there was no mention of John Howard in the annual reports searched.

149. INCHBALD, Elizabeth. *Such things are*; a play, in five acts. As performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. London, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1788, [8], 74 [2] pp.

The character of Haswell in this play is founded on John Howard. There were several editions. Mrs. Inchbald was a successful dramatist and her account of the success of this play is of some interest. "The travels of an Englishman throughout Europe . . . to soften the sorrows of the Prisoner, excited in the mind of the Author the subject of the following pages, which, formed into a dramatic story, have produced from the Theatre a profit far exceeding the usual pecuniary advantages arising from a successful Comedy" (see edition of 1787, London, Robinson, [8], 66, [3] pp.). [F, 2].

150. JEBB, John. *Thoughts on the construction and policy of prisons with hints for their improvement.* . . . London, C. Dilly, 1786, xxvi, [2], 106 pp.

There are many references to Howard's contributions to prison reform and quotations from his writings.

151. KAZALET, E. A. [*On the significance of John Howard in the history of prison reform.*] Moscow, Press of the Society for the Propagation of Useful Books—Tordetskoi, 1892, 91 pp.

This is No. 575 of the publications put out by the Society for the Propagation of Useful Books. No translations from the Russian were located.

152. [LADD, William. *Philanthropos, pseudo.*]. *Howard and Napoleon contrasted in eight dialogues between two Sunday School scholars.* By the author of "The Sword or Christmas Presents." Portsmouth, N. H., John W. Shepard, 1830, 104 pp.

The book was written particularly for young people in the hope that it might be "successful in removing the prejudices of some against those distinguishing doctrines of the Christian religion." Dialogues 4, 5, 6 and 8 contain most of the material on Howard. This is apparently a rare volume. The only copy we have traced is a small paper volume, cheaply printed with advertisements of other volumes printed by John Shepard on the back and a full title-page in borders on the front covers. This is in the Dartmouth College Library.

The dialogues were reprinted in 1840 under the title *Howard and Napoleon contrasted, in eight dialogues between two young Americans*. viii, 91 pp., London, Houlston and Stoneman. A copy is in the British Museum. These works are probably from the pen of William Ladd [1778-1841] who was interested in peace movements and published several dissertations on this subject under the same pseudonym (See Library of Congress catalogue). The author's preface of the Portsmouth volume is signed "Philanthropos."

153. LANG, Leonora Blanche. [Mrs. Andrew Lang]. *The red book of heroes*. Edited by Andrew Lang. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1909, iv, 221 pp. including illustr. plates.

A juvenile book including stories of several reformers, Florence Nightingale, Howard (under the title of "Prisoners and captives"), Father Damian, Fernando and Henry Havelock.

154. LONG, Constance. *The prisoner's friends. John Howard, Elizabeth Fry and Sarah Martin*. [1917].

Listed in the catalogue of the National Library of Scotland, this book was not examined nor located elsewhere.

155. LOVELL, William. *A lecture entitled John Howard, the great philanthropist; his life and its lessons*. London, George John Stevenson, [1867], 23 pp.

This is a cheap reprint (4d.) of a speech delivered at the Crystal Palace in Sydenham on Thursday, February 21, 1867. The only copy found, that in the British Museum, is a presentation copy.

156. MARTIN, R. G. John Howard. *Trans. Congreg. Hist. Soc.*, 1926, 9, 255-61.

A short biographical sketch which attempts to evaluate Howard's position in the prison reform movement. It concludes, "Since Howard's day, and largely through his efforts, our treatment of crime and our attitude to prisoners have changed beyond recognition . . ." although no evidence in support of the conclusion is offered. Burke's eulogy (No. 101) is quoted.

157. MILMAN, Henry Hart. *Annals of St. Paul's cathedral*. London, John Murray, 1868, xiv, 533 pp.

On pp. 480-81 is described briefly the first statue admitted at St. Paul's—that of John Howard.

158. MITCHELL, Samuel L. Thoughts on quarantines and lazarettos; addressed to R. Bayley, Esq. . . . by Dr. Mitchell in a letter dated July 7, 1801. *Med. Repository*, 1802, 5, 243-254.

This was an article addressed to Richard Bayley, health officer of the Port of

New York, by Dr. Mitchell. Howard's observations are quoted on pp. 247-248 and Dr. Mitchell believes Howard's observations on the value of whitewashing walls with lime to be very important.

159. MONTGOMERY, James. *Verses to the memory of the late Richard Reynolds, of Bristol*. London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1816, 32 pp.

A short account of the marble tablet erected by John Birtill of Bristol to John Howard, Jonas Hanway, John Fothergill and Richard Reynolds is given on p. 12. This is designated as the second edition. The first has not been traced. [F].

160. MURRAY, John. *Handbook for travellers in Russia, etc.* London, John Murray, 1888, 4th ed., 571 pp.

Murray included a detailed description of Howard's grave and the monument to him which he found in his Russian travels.

161. MURRAY, Lindley. *The power of religion on the mind, etc.* York, 1810.

This well-known work contains a short section on John Howard which quotes extensively from Aikin and from Howard's letters—and, in the 15th edition (which was the only one examined) is on pp. 410-418. The material is illustrated by a profile of Howard and his tomb. Interleaved in the BM copy on a small irregular leaf is also an anecdote of Howard taken from Brown, and a presentation note to Mr. Winter written in Howard's hand and obviously cut from the first leaf of a complimentary copy of his works.

162. NICHOLS, John. *Literary anecdotes of the 18th century*. . . . London, Nichols, son and Bentley, 1812-1816, 9 vols.

Vol. 2, p. 416, states that the man who proposed the first Howard memorial was Dr. John Warren, the clergyman. He signed himself 'Anglus' in the first letter in the *Gentlemen's Mag.* (1786, 59, 359-361). Later he, Nichols, and John Coakley Lettsom were the most active members of the memorial committee. Warren was in Bedfordshire in 1771.

Vol. 2, p. 643-45 describes the Howard monument in St. Paul's, stating that this was the first statue that was proposed for the chapel.

Vol. 6, p. 271, tells of Howard's attempts to get Richard Gough to accompany him on his European voyages of 1767 and 1769.

Vol. 9, pp. 7-8, lists Pratt's *Triumph of Benevolence*, 2nd ed. (see No. 168) confirming Pratt's authorship of the poem.

163. ——. *Illustrations of the literary history of the 18th century*. . . . London, Nichols, son and Bentley, 1817-1858, 8 vols.

Vol. 4, pp. 741-742. Letters from Hayley to Nichols identifying himself as the author of *Eulogies of Howard*, which he is presenting to Nichols for publication. (See No. 143).

Vol. 2, pp. 673, 682, 684. Lettsom's part in the Howard monument plan with extracts of Lettsom-Nichols correspondence concerning it.

Vol. 2, p. 691. A letter from James Nield, the prison performer, to Lettsom about Howard and the memorial.

164. NORRIS, Rev. W. H. *The life of John Howard, the philanthropist. Abridged from authentic sources*. New York, Lane & Scott, 1851. 16°, 128 pp., portr.

One of the many biographies of Howard which appeared about this time. The frontispiece is a woodcut depicting the philanthropist relieving the miseries of prisoners in a dungeon.

165. PALMER, Samuel. *The true patriot. A sermon . . . on . . . the death of John Howard . . . preached at Hackney, his native place. With memoirs of his life and character.* London, J. Johnson, 1790, 8°, [4], 43 pp.

This eulogy was reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1790, 1, 476. The F copy is bound in original paper covers. Burke's remarks are reprinted (pp. 41-43). [F].

166. PEARSE, Mark Guy. John Howard. *London Quart. Rev.*, 1926, 5th ser., 32, [146], 38-47.

A short account of Howard on the occasion of the bicentenary of his birth. It is not documented.

167. PETTIGREW, T[homas] J[oseph]. *Memoirs of the life and writings of . . . John C. Lettsom. . .* London, Longman, Hurst, etc., 1817, viii, 620 pp.

This volume has reprinted much of the correspondence concerning the monument to Howard.

168. [PRATT, Samuel Jackson]. *The triumph of benevolence; occasioned by the national design of erecting a monument to John Howard, Esq.* Dublin, P. Byrne, 1786, 8°, 16 pp. ([A] B⁴).

This was reviewed as coming from the Dodsley press in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1786, 75, 223-5, but no hint of authorship was given. The succeeding edition (No. 169) was also reviewed in the same volume on p. 395. But in the same magazine for 1796, 19, 306, the work is attributed to Pratt. The NN catalogue card supplies the "Samuel Jackson" but gives no authority for the information.

In a preface (p. 3) the author addresses the poem "to the committee" and alludes to the projects which were being promulgated to honor Howard saying: "Your purpose, Gentlemen, being widely to circulate whatever may promote this truly virtuous design; if you should imagine the following stanzas would assist the cause, they are at your disposal, to be made public in any way you may think proper."

A sonnet to Dr. Lettsom and excerpts from the correspondence in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for May concerning the Howard statue are on pp. 12-16. The poem begins: "What lofty sound through crested Albion rings!" and ends: "A recompensing God will give thee rest." [F]

169. ——. Another edition. London, J. Nichols, and sold by J. Dodsley, J. Robson, T. Cadell, P. Elmsley, and C. Dilly: by Mr. Prince at Oxford, and Mr. Merrill at Cambridge. 1786, 4°, 45 [1] pp.

This edition has been enlarged by additional correspondence from *The Gentlemen's Mag.* through August 24th, 1786, from Burke's speech at Bristol, and from the *General Evening Post*. A list of subscribers under the date of August 28th, 1786

(pp. 43-45, G1-G2), is often lacking. The separate entry in the BM catalogue (8275. b. 30) is probably this list. [F].

170. ——. *Gleanings through Wales, Holland . . . to which is added humanity.* London, Longman, 1795, 3 vol., 8°.

Contains several references to Howard. Reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1796, 19, 300.

171. PYE-WATERS, Howard. Five sonnets to eminent persons. IV. To John Howard, Esq. *Gentlemen's Mag.*, 1788, 83, 347-8.

The other four "eminent persons" are William Hayley, Miss Seward, Rev. Warton and Henry Cary. The sonnet to Howard begins "Oh thou, whose quick penetrating eye" and ends "When angels crown thy toils with palms of endless glow."

172. RANSOM, John E. John Howard on communicable diseases. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Med.*, 1937, 5, 131-147.

An important recent account of Howard's ideas compiled by the present Assistant Director of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland.

173. ——. John Howard on quarantine. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Med.*, 1938, 6, 111-116.

Dr. Ransom has quoted at some length from Howard's *Lazarettos* and adds some notes on the subsequent reforms in post quarantine measures in England.

174. RENDER, William H. *Through prison bars; the lives and labours of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, the prisoner's friends.* London, S. W. Partridge & Co., [1894], vii, 160 pp. frontispiece, illustr., portr.

A biography written in a popular style in which pp. 1-95 are devoted to Howard. The volume is profusely illustrated and there are a good many short quotations from Howard's writings.

175. RICHARDSON, Benjamin Ward. John Howard, LL.D., F.R.S. *Aesclepiad.* 1894, 11, 55-80, 2 illustr.

This is the inaugural address which Richardson made at the time of the unveiling of the Bedford monument to Howard. A foreword concerning the monument is appended. Richardson believes Dixon to be Howard's best biographer, discusses several controversial points in Howard's life (birthplace, treatment of Howard's son) and inserts quotations on gaol fever, hospital construction, education in Ireland, bad effects of alcoholic drinks taken from Howard's writings. The frontispiece to this volume of *Aesclepiad* is of Howard, from a portrait preserved in the Howard chapel, Bedford, and a pen sketch of a portrait in the *Bedfordshire Mercury* is reprinted in the text.

176. ——. "John Howard, LL.D., F.R.S." in *Disciples of Aesculapius.* London, Hutchinson & Co., 1900, 2 vols. portr.

This is a short account of Howard (vol. 2, pp. 751-768), stimulated by the unveiling of Alfred Gilbert's statue in Bedford, March 28th, 1894. Richardson's inaugural address is given and an epitome of Howard's life and work, as well as 2 portraits of Howard and a drawing of the Cardington house.

177. RICHE. Recherches sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Howard. . . . *Rapports généraux des travaux de la Société Philamatique de Paris*. Paris, Ballard, 1793, vol. 1, pp. 115-130.

A short comment by the secretary of the Society giving a sketch of Howard's life and some remarks on the conditions he found in jails.

178. ROBERTS, Robert Evan. *Centenary of John Howard, the prison philanthropist. A brief sketch of his life and arduous labour on behalf of prisoners, and of the dreadful state of prisons in his day*. Bedford, Porter, 1892, 8°, iii, 60 pp., portr.

This volume, from the library of the Howard League for Penal Reform, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, was not examined.

179. ROMERO, Félix. *El sistema penitenciario tratado*. . . . Mexico, Imprenta moderna, 1897, 39 pp.

The biography of Howard appears on pp. [30]-39.

180. ROWE, John G. *John Howard prison reformer and philanthropist*. London, the Epworth Press, J. Alfred Sharp, [1927], 128 pp., portr.

A modern life containing nothing new in it. A poor portrait of Howard serves as a frontispiece. [F].

181. RUCK, S. Kenneth. In *Christian social reformers of the nineteenth century*. Edited by Hugh Martin. London, Student Christian Movement, 1927, 12°, vi, 242 pp. [portr.].

Ruck's account (pp. 17-42) comments on the status of prisons in the 18th century, reviews briefly Howard's life and works, and evaluates them. Ruck was Assistant Director of the Borstal Association and editor of the Everyman edition of *The state of prisons* (see No. 6). The Brown portrait of Howard is reproduced.

182. ———. 2nd ed. 1933, 239 pp.

183. RUGGLES-BRISE, Sir Evelyn. *John Howard and prison reform*. *Saturday Rev.*, London, 1926, 141, 82-83.

Sir Evelyn, then President of the International Prison Commission, presents a short appreciation of Howard's contribution in arousing the public imagination about prison reform.

184. SARGENT, G. E. *The philanthropist of the world; a life of John Howard*. London, Benjamin L. Green, 1849, [47 pp.], viii, 24°, portr.

A juvenile biography.

185. SCHELTEMA, C.S., Adama Van. *John Howard, en zijn arbeid onder de gevangenen, honderd jaren na zijn öpenbaar optreden herdacht*. Amsterdam, Höveker & Zoon, 1874, 16 pp., 8°.

A small paper bound life of Howard, dated November 1873, put out by The Sunday School Union of the Netherlands. No evidence of source of the material is given.

186. SCOTT, Walter. In Lockhart, J. G. *Memoirs of the life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* 1838, Edinburgh, Robert Cadell, vol. 7, p. 115.

The following comment in Scott's diary was evoked by the call of a prison reformer: "The philanthropy of Howard, mingled with his ill-usage of his son, seems to have risen to a pitch of insanity. Yet without such extraordinary men, who call attention to the subject by their own peculiarities, prisons would have remained the same dungeons which they were forty or fifty years ago."

187. SCULLARD, H[erbert] H[ayes]. *John Howard. A lecture*. London, The Beds. Publishing Co., and London, Hazell, Watson and Viney, Ltd., 1899, 8°, [10], 75 [2] pp. 12 illustr.

An amply illustrated booklet, based on a lecture which the author, minister of the Howard Congregational Church, Bedford, gave under the sponsorship of the Bedford and District Free Church Council. He discusses the relationship of Wesley and Howard and the latter's position as a Free churchman. The illustrations include photographs of Howardiana, Cardington, Russian monuments, etc. [F].

188. ———. *The life of John Howard, the philanthropist*. London, Congregational Union, 1911[?], 8°, 28 pp., plate.

This volume was not examined but is reported by the Librarian of the Howard League for Penal Reform, and also appears [without specific title] in the BM catalogue as a part of the Congregational Worthies Series, No. 7, under date of 1911.

189. SOCIETY FOR GIVING EFFECT TO HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION AGAINST VICE AND IMMORALITY. *Statement and proposition . . . delivered to the magistrates . . . 5th of May, 1790*. London, George Stafford, 1790, 28 pp.

The second of these statements (pp. 19-28) calls attention to Howard's recommendations concerning prisons and refers also to the publications of the Society (Nos. 13-20). Seven specific propositions for prison reform are made.

190. STENNETT, Samuel. *A sermon occasioned by the decease of John Howard, Esq. Preached in Little Wild-street, near Lincoln's Inn-fields, March 21, 1790, on Acts. x. 38*. London, T. Cadell, Stand, C. Dilly, etc., 1790, [6], 41 pp.

This funeral sermon was reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.*, 1790, series 2, 1, 476.

191. ———. 2nd ed. London, 1790 (see BM catalogue).

192. STOUGHTON, John. *The Christian philanthropist. A memorial of John Howard*. London, Jackson & Walford, 1853, 8°, iv, 60 pp.

An address, delivered in October 1852 in the Howard chapel, Bedford, quotes Dixon's life [No. 111] generously. An appendix reproduces an original letter from Howard to John Prole, his servant, about farming. The Bedford statue is impressed into the rear cloth cover.

193. ——. *Howard the philanthropist and his friends*. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1884, 8°, viii, 380 pp., frontispiece.

This rather lengthy life of Howard emphasizes his religious peculiarities, but is based upon the biographies of Aikin, Field and Brown. The author had long been interested in Howardiana and visited Howard's homes and haunts. He states that he was urged by his publishers to put out the volume as most of the former biographies of Howard were out of print. The frontispiece is an excellent view of the Cardington house. There is a good index. [F].

194. SWEETING, R[ichard] D[eane] R[oker]. *Essay on the experiences and opinions of John Howard on the preservation and improvement of the health of the inmates of schools, prisons, workhouses, hospitals, and other public institutions*. London, Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1884, 8°, [vi], 96 [2] pp.

Sweeting was awarded the Howard Prize Medal for this essay in 1883. It was subsequently abstracted in the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 1884, 47, 125-141. The author discusses Howard's recommendations on ventilation, water supply, personal hygiene, etc., and compares these with the conclusions of various hygienists of his own day. Sweeting points out that Howard should be recognized not only as a social reformer and philanthropist, but as a sanitarian. [F].

195. TAYLOR, Thomas. *Memoirs of John Howard, Esq., F.R.S., the Christian philanthropist*. . . . London, John Hatchard and Son, 1836, 8°, xvi, 440, 8 pp., frontispiece.

Dedicated to Lord Bexley, this was the first popular and concise life to appear after Aikin's. The preface is dated December 17, 1835. The text is full of details, but is poorly documented. The Halloway profile, engraved by Fry, serves as frontispiece. Taylor also wrote a life of Cowper. [F].

196. ——. 2nd ed., 1836.

Identical with first edition save for reset title. [F].

197. [THELWALL, John]. *Sketch of the life of John Howard*. London, T. Rickaby, 1790, iv, 28 pp., 2 portr.

This volume was not examined, but the DLC card says that it was bound with the author's *Poems*. . . . London, 1795. Two portraits were inserted and the address signed John Thelwall.

198. TRUE, Charles Kittredge. *Memoirs of John Howard, the prisoner's friend*. Cincinnati, Hitchcock and Walden; New York, Nelson & Phillips, 1878, 225 pp., portr.

This volume was not seen but is described as above in the DLC catalogue.

199. WAKEFORD, Constance. *The prisoner's friends; John Howard, Elizabeth Fry and Sarah Martin*. London, Headley Bros., [1917], 154 pp., 8°.

The life of Howard, written for children, is on pp. 7-63. Five drawings by George Soper accompany this legendary text. The volume is a part of the Kingsway 2s. 6d. series.

200. WALL, Martin. *A letter to John Howard*. 1784, 16 pp., 8°.

Dr. Wall protested against Howard's criticisms in the 4th edition of the *Prisons* (p. 342) on the state of the Radcliffe Infirmary. The letter was subsequently printed and sent to the subscribers of the Infirmary. Wall admits that some of the criticisms might be justified (sewers) but objects to Howard's insistence on open windows, pointing out that some patients couldn't stand open windows, etc. The letter is dated Oxford, Dec. 6, 1784. There is no indication of place of publication or printer.

201. WALTERS, W. *The life and character of John Howard. The monthly literary scientific lecturer*, (London), 1850, 1, 182—?.

Reported by Mr. Reginald Hill of the Bodleian library but not examined.

202. WESLEY, John. *The journal of the Rev. John Wesley*. [Edited by Nehemiah Curnock.] Standard edition. London, R. Culley, [1010-16], 8 volumes. (See vol. 7, p. 295).

The oft-quoted Howard-Wesley interview is recorded by Wesley in his *Journal* as follows: "Thursday, 28 [July, 1787] I had the pleasure of a conversation with Mr. Howard, I think one of the greatest men in Europe. Nothing but the mighty power of God can enable him to go through his difficult and dangerous employments. . . ." Howard tried again to see Wesley in 1789 in Dublin.

203. WIFFIN, Jeremiah Holmes. [Poem on Howard] on pp. xxi-xxvii of No. 98, Brown's life of Howard.

Wiffin, according to Brown, was a youthful member of the Society of Friends—and this poem on Howard seems to have been one of his earlier works.

204. WYCHERLEY, R. Newman. *Good John Howard*. *Holborn Rev.*, 1926 (April), 68, 210-219.

VII. CONTEMPORARY BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND REVIEWS

The following notes and reviews have been found in contemporary journals. Reviews of Howard's books and of the early biographies and eulogies have been listed in chronological sequence in this section as well as in the notes on the individual volumes concerned.

Although of a later date the following issues of the *Bedfordshire Mercury* in the year 1894 are of particular interest. The unveiling of a new statue of Howard in Bedford and a memorial service gave rise to them. (See also No. 87.)

March 20. A preliminary notice about the unveiling with a transcription of a letter from Howard to Thomas Thomasson from the Venice Lazaretto, October 12, 1786.

March 31. Contains leading article and account of 8½ columns of print about the unveiling ceremony by the 11th Duke of Bedford of Alfred Gilbert's statue with a sketch of Howard's life and pictures of the statue, Howard's villa at Cardington, and a composite portrait.

April 7. A short account of the memorial service that was held later.

ALLGEMEINE LITERATUR ZEITUNG.

1790, No. 145, 434-436. A German review of *Lazarettos* (No. 22) but without any note of other German items of Howard.

1790 (*Intelligenzblatt*), No. 87, 712. A short notice of Howard's death.

CRITICAL REVIEW.

1789, 68, 9-17. An anonymous review of *Lazarettos* (No. 22). This is one of the most interesting of the reviews examined. The author, for example, notes that "His idea of a perfect hospital contains much (we suspect, very useless) refinement, but as it is the refinement of Mr. Howard, we shall subscribe to it. . . . On the whole, the volume contains many facts of importance, and many observations of real utility . . . and we leave it with the best founded expectations that our author's past and future labors will not be wholly in vain."

THE GENTLEMEN'S MAGAZINE. The numbering of volumes in this popular contemporary magazine was not always regular. In the references listed below, the more modern renumberings in use in the Yale University Library are employed, although this may not always conform to the number as listed on the title page of the journal. The inclusion of years and volumes, however, makes confusion impossible. Editors from 1778-1792 were David Henry and Richard Carr; from 1792-1826 David Henry and John Nichols.

1742, 12, 499. A note on the death of Howard's father.

1758, 28, 243. Notice of John Howard's marriage to Miss Leeds.

1777, 47, 444-447; 596-597. Review of Howard's *State of prisons* (No. 1).

1780, 50, 481-483. A review of Howard's *Appendix, state of prisons* (No. 10).

483-484. A review of Hayley's *Ode* (see No. 140).

1786, 59, 359-361. A suggestion of a Howard memorial with editorial comment. The note is signed 'Anglus' and the writer had just seen Howard in Italy. According to Nichols (No. 162) 'Anglus' was Dr. John Warren, the clergyman.

Ibid., 447-448. Letter from J. C. Lettsom on the Howard memorial suggesting a monument with editorial comments.

Ibid., 484. Letter from Sir Thomas Beevor on Howard's character and work with mention of the memorial.

Ibid., 485. A letter on Howard's character signed 'Thickness.'

1786, 60, 535-537. Letters on the memorial signed 'Polyxena,' 'S.P.,' 'S.P.W.,' 'W.H.,' 'A.A.,' 'A subscriber,' with a reprint of Burke's eulogy of Howard from his Bristol speech.

Ibid., 627-632. Additional suggestion on the proposed memorial signed 'B.N.T.,' James Hedger, John Call, J. P. Andres, 'P.,' 'D.N.,' and many anonymous notes.

Ibid., 723-728. Letter from other subscribers to the memorial fund, including J. C. Lettsom, Thomas Reid, Graphicus, etc. A letter of Howard's written in Salonica appears on p. 725. Plans of a memorial building by Mr. Dance in crescent form to be erected in St. George's Field are inserted.

Ibid., 823-824. More comment on the memorial with suggestions for an inscription and a 20-line poem eulogizing Howard. It begins "When Britain's genius . . ." and ends "model of purest worth."

Ibid., 992. A report of the memorial subscription committee meeting with the announcement of £1418 17s. 6d. collected.

1787, 61, 44. Letter on memorial signed S.P.

Ibid., 101-102. Two letters from Howard, dated Vienna, Dec. 15, 1786, and London, Feb. 16, 1786, declaring his "repugnance" to such a design (the monument) and later that he will "have no concern in the disposal of the money subscribed."

Ibid., 102. Anonymous letter and comment on the disposal of the Howard fund monies.

Ibid., 178. Howard's presentation to the Emperor in Vienna is described in the *Historical chronicle*.

Ibid., 284. Letter from Sam. Denne dated Wilmington, April 22, 1787, concerning the memorial.

Ibid., 464. A long letter from Dr. Lettsom on the memorial, proposing a medal. It is dated, June 27, London.

1787, 62, 579-580. A letter on Howard's character signed 'O. O.'

Ibid., 672-673. Another letter from S. Denne on the memorial.

Ibid., 731 (page misnumbered 631). A note on Howard's visits to Irish prisons.

Ibid., 1150-1151. Extracts from a letter of John Coakley Lettsom to Benjamin Rush concerning Howard's visits to Turkish, French and German prisons, Howard's meeting the Emperor in Vienna, the flight in Lyons and Marseilles, etc. Lettsom had had a three hour conversation with Howard and makes several personal comments about him.

1788, 63, 214-216. A note on Howard's character signed 'Gustavus.'

Ibid., 347-348. A sonnet to Howard by Howard Pye-Waters (See No. 171).

1788, 64, 638. Verses to Howard sent in by J. Stanwick from Philadelphia under the date of April 20. They do not seem to have been composed by Stanwick. Beginning "From distant climes," they end "and richer gifts to scatter from the sky."

1789, 65, 191. Letter from Thomas Percival concerning changes proposed in the Manchester Infirmary after Howard's visit there and certain suggestions (signed T. P.) about the Infirmary.

Ibid., 196. A note on Howard's character signed "A lover of merit."

1789, 66, 825-827. Review of Howard's *Lazarettos* (No. 21) and his edition of the Edict of the Grand Duke of Tuscany (No. 38), signed 'H.,' quoting the current review of the latter in the *Monthly Review* as well.

Ibid., 1129. An anonymous sonnet dedicated to Mr. Howard, beginning "On sullen wings . . ." and ending "deathless laurels twine."

- 1790, 67, 82. A note on Howard's visit to Russian prisons and the remedy he used.
Ibid., 276-279. Howard's obituary signed 'Urbanus.'
Ibid., 287. Corrections for the obituary signed 'Philo Veritas.'
Ibid., 287-288. Notes on the obituary and Howard's treatment of his son, signed 'W.F.'
Ibid., 289-290. Further discussion of Howard's treatment of his son in letters by John Aikin, 'A.B.', and Jack Prancer.
Ibid., 351. A note on Aikin's *Life and character of John Howard, Esq.*, stating that it is a "wretched performance with wretched frontispiece containing a portrait of the man without the least shadow of resemblance" (See No. 47).
Ibid., 416-481. A letter to John Aikin on Howard's character, the birthplace, etc., signed 'One of Mr. Urban's biographers.'
Ibid., 369. A note on Howard's birthplace.
Ibid., 491-492. Aikin's reply to the above letter and a defense of Howard, signed 'L.M.'
Ibid., 541-542. Review of Palmer's sermon on Howard, *A true patriot* (See No. 165).
Ibid., 542. Review of Stennet's sermon (See No. 190), quoting it at some length.
1790, 68, 685. An exchange of letters between Howard and a Dublin bookseller regarding the sale of Howard's books and illustrating Howard's extreme generosity. Letters presented by 'Hibernicus.'
Ibid., facing p. 685. An engraved portrait of Howard, drawn March, 1788.
Ibid., 713-714. The particulars of Howard's will.
Ibid., 714. A letter from S. Palmer concerning Howard's alleged severity to his son.
Ibid., 717. Additional evidence concerning the birthplace of Howard from 'R.G.'
Ibid., 795. Comments on the poor portrait of Howard, apparently the one facing p. 685 of the same volume.
Ibid., 1050. Notes on Howard's death.
Ibid., 1090. Comment on Howard's character signed 'Observer.'
1791, 69, 395-396. Further note on Howard memorial, signed 'L.'
1791, 70, 595. Note signed 'A traveller' telling of Howard's personally leaving books for him.
Ibid., 893. The rumor that Howard had been ordered arrested (which Howard believed) was not traceable in Paris, according to 'Humanus.'
Ibid., 906. Further letter from Erling on Howard's cruelty.
1792, 71, 12. Anonymous letter concerning an inscription for Howard's monument in St. Paul's.
Ibid., 61-65; 156-157. A lengthy review of Aikin's life of Howard. See No. 47. The reviewer notes that Aikin "has executed the task he set himself with equal credit to himself and his subject: neither elevating himself on the stilts of inflated panegyric nor degrading his composition into dry minuteness."
Ibid., 137. Retort from 'Bebelius' on Aikin's remarks concerning Howard's teacher, Mr. Worsley of Hartford.
Ibid., 195. John Aikin's reply to the above criticism of Mr. Worsley.
1793, 73, 513. A note signed M. Green, concerning Howard's birthplace with an engraving of the house in Clapton in which it is alleged he was born.
1793, 74, 925-926. A short review of Howard's *Appendix to Lazarettos* (No. 28), quoting Aikin's introduction to this work.
1796, 79, 179-181. Descriptions of Howard's monument in St. Paul's which was unveiled February 23, 1796; the story of the earlier Howard memorial proposal; the names of the memorial committee members; a note from J. Bacon the sculptor; and the epitaph on the monument. An engraving of the monument acts as frontispiece of this number of *The Gentlemen's Magazine*.
1796, 80, 570. J. P. Malcolm notes that someone has broken off a thumb of one of the figures in the bas-relief of the Howard Statue at St. Paul's.
1803, 93, 55. A review of a volume on *Travels in the Crimea* which comments on the fact that Prince Potemkin and Howard are both buried in Cherson but that "of the latter not the smallest notice is taken."
1804, 95, 3-4. Another letter from Lettsom concerning prison reform with an anecdote of one of Howard's visits to the Litchfield prison.

- Ibid.*, 195-197. Other Howardiana recounted by Lettsom.
1806, 99, 99-101. Notes on James Nield's reforms with references to Howard by J. C. Lettsom and Alex Sanderson.
Ibid., 301. Mention of Howard and his popularity with his friends and neighbors at Cardington in a travel account written by 'clericus Leicestriensis.'
1807, 102, 917. James Nield in a report on Shrewsbury Prison notes that a bust of Howard is over the gate.
1811, 109, 137-140. Howard's death and burial as described in Clarke's *Travels* (see No. 104) are quoted at length by the reviewer of the work.
1815, 117, 243. Burke's eulogy of Howard is quoted from a review of *Flowers of wit*, by Henry Kett.
1816, 119, 29. Letter from James Baldwin Brown (see No. 98) asking for letters, and assistance in compiling his proposed biography of Howard.
1816, 120, 298. An original Howard letter written in Rome, June 16, 1770 to the Rev. Mr. Peckard, good friend and minister of Carter-Lane, the church which Howard attended when in town.

LONDON GAZETTE.

- 1790, March 23. Announcement of Mr. Howard's death. It was unusual to announce the death of private individuals in this sheet—according to the writer in the *Universal Magazine*.

- MONTHLY REVIEW. It has been possible to identify the writers of certain of the reviews in this journal by means of B. C. NAGLE'S *The Monthly Review, First series, 1749-1789, Indexes of contributors and articles*. Oxford University Press, 1934. Enfield who was apparently concerned with the reviews of Howard's books, was a friend of the younger Aikin, and on the staff at the Warrington Academy until 1785 and therefore probably knew Howard personally (Nagle, p. 129). Notice should be taken of the fact that the 2nd series began in 1790 and hence a new series of volume numbers appears at this time.
1777, 57, 8-14. A review of *The state of the prisons* by Enfield (No. 1).
1780, 63, 530-534. A review by Enfield of *Appendix to state of prisons* (see No. 10).
1781, 64, 95-97. A review of *The Castle of the Bastille* (No. 32) which names Howard as the editor of the translation.
68, 530. A review of the *Bastille* (No. 32).
1785, 72, 42-45. A review of the *Appendix*, 1784 (No. 98) noting that Howard gave, not sold, it to the subscribers of his former works.
1786, 75, 223-224. A review of the *Triumph of benevolence* (No. 168) with a lengthy extract from it.
Ibid., 392. A review of *Vindication of fame* (No. 55) and *Triumph of benevolence* (No. 169) noting them both as anonymous poems.
1789, 81, 1206. A review of the *Edict of the Grand Duke of Tuscany* (No. 38) naming Howard as editor.
1790, 1, 134-144; 248-255. A review of *Lazarettos* (No. 21) with extended remarks on the character and work of Howard.
Ibid., 306-308. A review of Bowles, *Verses to Howard* (No. 95).
1790, 2, 462. A review of Bowles, *Grave of Howard* (See No. 96).
1790, 3, 471-472. A review of *Anecdotes . . .* (See No. 60).
Ibid., 472. A review of the *Life of the late John Howard . . .* (No. 59).
1791, 6, 230. A review of *An ode* (No. 63).
1792, 7, 416-417. A review of Hayley's *The eulogies of Howard* (No. 143).
1792, 8, 297-309. An excellent review of Aikin's *Life of Howard* (No. 47).
1796, 19, 301-306. A review of Pratt's *Gleanings* (No. 170).
1809, 58, 103-104. A review of *The pastoral care* (No. 64).
1816, 81, 445-446. A review of a description of St. Paul's with a copy of the inscription, attributed to Whitbread, which is on Howard's statue there.
- NOTES AND QUERIES.
1851, 3, (1st s.) 142. A query on Howard's Russian medal.
1855, 11 (1st s.), 408; 472. Answers to query on the medal and on Howard's grave in Russia.

1871, 8 (4th s.), 527; 9, 94. On Howard's grave in Russia.
1889, 8 (7th s.), 203; 240. On Howard's grave in Russia.

UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

- 1780, 67, 150. An extract from Hayley's *Pleasures of benevolence* (No. 140). Begins with "Sweet is the joy" and ends with the last line, "who liv'd but to relieve the Miseries of Man."
Ibid., 303-304. Burke's speech at Bristol including his remarks on Howard (No. 101).
1784, 74, 297-299. Howard's account of Danish prisons (No. 44a).
1787, 80, 97. A review of Mrs. Inchbald's play (No. 149) which does not refer to Howard.
Ibid., 108. A letter from Howard dated London, February 16, to the subscribers of the fund.
1789, 84, 181. An incident concerning Howard and a skirmish with a Tunisian privateer.
Ibid., 264-265. A reprint of Darwin's *Panegyric* (No. 110).
1790, 86, 50. A note on Howard in Russia.
Ibid., 164. A quotation from the *London Gazette* on the death of Howard with a note to the effect that it is the "first instance of the death of a private individual being given in that paper."
Ibid., 263. A quotation from Burke on Howard (No. 101) and a letter from S. Palmer to the editor concerning the *Memoirs* of Howard printed in the same issue of the journal (No. 62).
Ibid., 318-319. Another communication from S. Palmer on the *Memoirs* (No. 62).
1790, 87, 142-143. Vindications of Howard's treatment of his son by S. Palmer and M. Townsend.

VIII. UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

Most of the letters written by Howard on his travels have been gathered in a volume by the Reverend Field (see No. 126) or are reprinted in his earlier biographies (Brown, Aikin, Field). A few original letters are among the manuscripts of the British Museum:

- #5409. A note dated May 20, 1789 in which he says "my present opinion of it [the plague] is different from any I have yet found in books."
#5418. A letter dated October, 1786 from Venice suggesting his proposed visit to Salonica and the lazaretto.
#28104. A letter dated Cardington, December 27, 1780 signed J. H. in which he comments on Fothergill's death and asks that his resignation from the committee [on prison reform] be sent on to the King.
#26055. A note on the inscription to Howard in the Salford Gaol.

- #f. 53. The correspondence and memoranda of proceedings of the committee for the Howard Memorial with letters of Sir Thomas D. Ackland, James Martin, Earl of Ossory, Bacon's designs for the memorial, list of subscribers from August 28, 1786, Hayley's *Ode*; et cetera. One letter from Howard from Vienna is included.

Howard's public letter refusing the offer of a statue to be raised in his honor should also be mentioned. (*Universal Magazine*, 1787, 80, 108.) The "letter" referred to in the catalogue of the British Museum as being inserted in Murray's *The power of religion on the mind* (see No. 161) is merely the first sheet from a copy of his printed works inscribed in Howard's writing—and frequently found in many of the copies of the *Prisons* or *Lazarettos* as Howard gave away so many of these. The letter to the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas listed in the same catalogue (E.2168.4) is not from John Howard, though it is signed 'Howard,' and must be from the pen of Lord Howard.