one cent instead of the previous six, newspapers now were available and they were sold daily on street corner and they were sold daily on street corner and the United States more than the United States more than the solution of daily papers in the United States more than the solution of daily papers in the United States more than the solution of daily papers in the United States more than the solution of daily papers in the United States more than the solution of the soluti 38 one cent instead of the previous SIX, How were sold daily on street available one cent instead of the previous SIX, How were sold daily on street available one cent instead of the previous SIX, How were sold daily on street available one cent instead of the previous SIX, How were sold daily on street available one cent instead of the previous SIX, How were sold daily on street available for the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the previous SIX, How were available one cent instead of the previous SIX, How were sold daily on street available for the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the previous SIX, How were sold daily on street available for the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public, and they were sold daily on street corners of the general public between 1830 and 1840 (Masur 1989:114).

Capital ruin

DOCUMENT 12: An Account of the State Prison or penitentiary House, in the City of New-York (Thomas Eddy,

In New York, one of the strongest supporters of the prison reform movement was Thomas Eddy (1758–1827). Eddy, a Quaker of Irish descent, was a successful New York businessman who devoted himself primarily to philanthropic activities.

Influenced by the ideas of Cesare Beccaria, Charles-Louis Montesquieu, William Penn, and noted English prison reformer John Howard, Eddy was especially devoted to the cause of prison reform.

After visiting Philadelphia's new penitentiary at the renovated Walnut Street Jail in 1796, Eddy and his fellow activists were instrumental in obtaining legislative authorization for a similar penitentiary in New York—the Newgate Prison in Greenwich Village. Eddy acted for several years as an inspector and agent for the new penitentiary and helped supervise its operations.

However, soon after the turn of the century, it became apparent to many citizens in New York and elsewhere that the penitentiary system wasn't living up to its promise to reform criminals and prevent crime. In addition, the new penitentiaries already were becoming overcrowded, and costs were mounting (Masur 1989:88-89).

Eddy—who remained convinced that it was only a matter of time before society would begin to reap the benefits of the penitentiarywas concerned about the public's growing dissatisfaction with the new system, and he feared a call for the resurrection of the death penalty for many crimes.

In his 1801 report An Account of the State Prison or Penitentiary House, in the City of New-York, which included a detailed account of the prison itself, prison operations (including costs), and the treatment of prisoners and efforts to reform them, Eddy took the opportunity to address many of the criticisms against the penitentiary system, urging legislators and citizens to be patient and not to thwart the new reform effort in its infancy.

The work of reformation is slow, and must encounter many and strong prejudices, and the force of long-established opinions. It was prudent to listen to the voice of those who advised a forbearance of further change till experience had fully ascertained the advantages and defects of the new system. These will be gradually developed in the progress of the experiment; but many years are necessary to its completion. A slight acquaintance with the nature of man and the history of society is suffi-

cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer, that the cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer, that the cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer, that the cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer, that the cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer, that the cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer, that the cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer, that the cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer, that the cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer, that the cient to convince the considerate and dispassionate observer. cient to convince the considerate and cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt, nor the trial of the effects of an institution of this kind cannot be felt. cient to convince the convince of this kind of the kind of the convince the convinc wisdom and efficacy be fairly and persevering attention to its management and operations, and persevering attention to its many good citizens, feeling

Capital

nd persevering attention to its many good citizens, feeling a just abhorrence It is to be lamented, that many good virtuous indignation, rather under the suggestions of virtuous indignation, rather under the suggestions of virtuous indignation. It is to be lamented, that many got at the lamented, that many got at crimes, consulting the suggestions of virtuous indignation, rather than at crimes, consulting the suggestions of virtuous indignation, rather than at crimes, consulting the suggestions of virtuous indignation, rather than at crimes, consulting the suggestions of virtuous indignation, rather than at crimes, consulting the suggestions of virtuous indignation, rather than at crimes, consulting the suggestions of virtuous indignation, rather than at crimes, consulting the suggestions of virtuous indignation of the suggestions of virtuous indignation, rather than at crimes, consulting the suggestions of virtuous indignation of the suggestions of virtuous indignation. at crimes, consulting the suggestions at crimes, consulting the suggestion at crimes at crimes, consulting the suggestion at crimes at the principles of justice, become first the principles of the principles code has not yet produced greater to code has no ished the number of the guilty. The state of the guilty is a state of the number of the guilty. The state of the number of the guilty is a state of the number of the guilty. The state of the number of the guilty is a state of the state of at the change which has been with and terror, wish to see every offence system of accumulated severity and terror, wish to see every offence system of accumulated severity with death; as if crimes would system of accumulated severity with death; as if crimes would cease against life and property punished with death; as if crimes would cease against life and property purished against life against li with the extermination of the with the with the extermination of the with the with the extermination of the with the with the with the extermination of the with the ward upon their own hearts, the wishes arise. Let them consider the effects produced on society and man wishes arise. Let them consider the effects produced on society and man. wishes arise. Let them consider wealth and luxury, natural population, and man, ners by the rapid increase of wealth and luxury, natural population, and ners by the rapid increase of the number of crimes, and emigration, which consequently augment the number of crimes, whether emigration, which consequently augment the number of crimes, whether emigration, which consequency. Let them consult reason, and the experted laws be mild or sanguinary. Let them consult reason, and the experted laws be mild or sanguinary. Let them consult reason, and the experted laws be mild or sanguinary. the laws be mild of sanguing, which prove beyond all contractions, which prove beyond all contractions of the most enlightened nations, which prove beyond all contractions are most rice. rience of the most enightener rience of the most enightener where the laws are most rigourous; diction, that crimes are most frequent where the laws are most rigourous; diction, that crimes are most and more effectually prevent crimes than that punishments mild and certain more effectually prevent crimes than that punishments mild and severe. Let them at least examine, before those which are sanguinary and severe. Let them at least examine, before those which are sangularly those which are sangularly they condemn, a system sanctioned by different legislatures, prudent and they condemn, a system sanctioned by different legislatures, prudent and they condenii, a system day the wisest and best men in all civilized enlightened, and applauded by the wisest and best men in all civilized countries.

Source: Thomas Eddy, An Account of the State Prison or Penitentiary House, in the City of New-York (New York: Isaac Collins and Son, 1801), 15-16.

## DOCUMENT 13: Report on the Penitentiary System in the United States (1822)

Twenty-one years after Thomas Eddy argued that patience would prove the benefits of the penitentiary system (see Document 12), he and eight other members of a New York committee appointed to conduct a nationwide evaluation of the system concluded that the system had failed to fulfill the expectations of its founders and advocates.

In its lengthy report, the committee identified numerous defects in the system—including poor design of the prisons, failure to separate novice or nonviolent criminals from violent and hardened offenders,

overcrowding, frequent pardons, inappropriate diet, lack of a school overcrowding, needs absence of moral and religious instruction, the for juvenile offenders, absence of moral and religious instruction, the for juvenile of superintendents and governors, and too much refrequent change of superintendents and governors, and too much re-

gard to revenue. But despite these failures, the committee maintained that the peni-But despite the still could be modified and improved to meet the penitentiary system still could be modified and improved to meet the extentiary system still could be modified and improved to meet the extentiary system still could be modified and improved to meet the extentiary system still could be modified and improved to meet the extentiary system still could be modified and improved to meet the extentiary system strainally had been set for it—to reform criminals and pectations that originally had been set for it—to reform criminals and pectations. Toward this end, it provided a series of recommendations are crime. pectations that one in the provided a series of recommenda-reduce crime. Toward this end, it provided a series of recommendareduce crime. The reduce crime of the above concerns. Central to the reform tions that addressed each of the above concerns. Central to the reform tions that address the notion that solitary confinement was key to plan was a return to the notion that solitary confinement was key to reforming serious and violent offenders.

In defending the recommendation to retain and improve the faulty In defending the committee asserted that "the Penitentiary System, as it now system, the United States, with all its defects is professionable and improve the faulty system, the United States, with all its defects, is preferable to the exists, in the United States, with all its defects, is preferable to the exists, in the exists, in the exists, in the exists, in the systems of punishment in this country." Some of the commitformer systems—in which it also stressed the importance of serv-tee's final arguments—in which it also stressed the importance of servtee's final algument to other countries undergoing penal reform—are ing as a role model to other countries undergoing penal reform—are excerpted below.

We are fully aware, that great consideration is attached to the Peni-We are fully with the United States, by the enlightened men in Europe, tentiary System in the United States, by the enlightened men in Europe, tentiary system their exertions to produce a radical reform in who are now combining their exertions to produce a radical reform in who are now combining their exertions to produce a radical reform in who are now. Nor are improvements in the execution of Penal Penal Jurisprudence. Nor are improvements in the execution of Penal Penal Julispie doing in France to combine execution of Penal laws confined to England. The Report of the Prison Society of Paris, laws commission of the labourg of the Dublin A punishment with reformation. In Ireland, the labours of the Dublin Association, for the improvement of prisons, are working salutary changes. In Switzerland, some useful reforms are taking place. In Russia, an Association for the same purpose has been created: the location is at St. Petersburgh, under the sanction of the Emperor Alexander, who, is giving force and authority to its proceedings, throughout his wide dominions. In Sweden, and Norway, information of the condition of all the jails is collecting under the patronage of the two governments, that the hand of correction may be successfully applied in the treatment of criminals after their sentence to public prisons. Let them not feel their prospects darkened—let not their efforts be weakened, by the partial failure of our own system. Not a fact remains on record—not a defect has been revealed, in the progress of thirty years, to convince us that it cannot be rendered all that it was ever expected to be. And the Committee do feel themselves bound to lay down the following broad positions:

First. That the Penitentiary System, as it now exists, in the United States, with all its defects, is preferable to the former systems of punish-

ment in this country. Secondly. That it is capable of being so improved, as to become the