House of Refuge
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Notes to Chapters

INTRODUCTION


I. MANHATTAN, GATEWAY TO THE NEW WORLD

5. SDJ, September 25, 1825, SRJD MSS SUL.
7. Case No. 1110, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.
8. Case No. 925, ibid.
House of Refuge

13. (Mrs.) A.C. Maltbie (compiler), *Gathered Records of the Home Association, Syracuse, New York* (Syracuse: Masters, Lee and Stone, 1874), 6, 82.
16. Case No. 3037, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.
17. Wilbert E. Moore, in his assessment of social change, argues that “survival uncertainties” introduce considerable flexibility into any system. The family in a so-called static society, for instance, must create a variety of positions for people to hold. Because of a high death rate, these positions often accrue to others who already hold other positions. Even the number and distribution of actual adult positions will be altered as fertility and mortality rates fluctuate; uncertainty of recruitment and successions thus disrupt the family structure. *Social Change*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), 14-15.
18. In Ireland, cottiers were peasants who rented a small piece of land under a system of renting to the highest bidder.
20. Ibid., 67.
21. Ibid.
22. Case No. 1559, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.
23. Case No. 2955, ibid.
24. Case No. 3166, ibid.
26. Cases Nos. 6354 and 6356, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.
29. Case No. 788, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.
30. Case No. 827, ibid.

II. SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF PAUPERISM

3. Colden to David Hosack, June 23, 1833 in Samuel L. Knapp, *The Life of Thomas Eddy: Comprising an Extensive Correspondence with Many Distinguished Philosophers of This and Other Countries* (New York: Conner and Cooke, 1834), 19.
Notes

6. Commercial Advertiser, Feb. 8 and 9, 1818. For a list of members of the Society see Dec. 23, 1817.
9. Haines’s speech received substantial coverage in the Commercial Advertiser, Dec. 30, 1819.
12. Rough Minutes, Dec. 6, 1820, SPP MSS.
14. *Ibid.*, 65. W. David Lewis, after an extensive examination of New York reformers, contends that they were not particularly interested in emulating anything English. For the most part, Lewis argues, New Yorkers were bent on *impressing* the English with the magnificence of American institutions, e.g., the glories of the Auburn “silent” system. Instead of advice, they courted approval. The case of the House of Refuge reformers seems to refute this contention. Americans, such as Eddy and Griscom, seemed willing to learn from English colleagues in reform. See W. David Lewis, “Punishment and Reformation in New York State, 1796–1861: A Study in Prison Reform” (Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell University, 1961), 138–39. Since the original preparation of this manuscript, Lewis has published a somewhat modified version of his dissertation and entitled it *From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796–1848* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965).
15. For a fuller account of this event, see Pickett, “A Study in Social Action . . . ,” 6–10.
16. Clinton to John Pintard, March 8, 1823, DeWitt Clinton MSS NYHS.
17. Rough Minutes, June 5, July 3, 18, 23, SPP MSS.
III. QUEST FOR SUPPORT


6. Akerly to Allen, June 4, 1827, "Miscellaneous Papers on Various Subjects," No. 2, 18 (a copy), Stephen Allen MSS NYHS.


8. Ibid., 44. William Roscoe had been considerably upset with Allen's report on the New York State Prisons. For Roscoe's protest, see Roscoe to Thomas Eddy, March 31, 1825, in Knapp, *Life of Thomas Eddy*, 313-14. For Allen's defense see *Observations on Penitentiary Discipline*. This was a public reply to a public denouncement issued by Roscoe. Allen had a number of his commentaries printed and personally forwarded one to Thomas Buxton, president of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders in London; see Allen to Buxton, May [?], 1827, Letterbooks, Allen MSS NYHS.

9. Allen to Colden, Feb. 22, 1823 [1824]. Letterbooks, Allen MSS. This letter could have been composed in 1823, but it is far more likely that Allen, in transcribing his letters to a letterbook over twenty years later, made an error.


11. Allen to Bowne, March 17, 1824, Letterbooks, Allen MSS.

12. Allen to Morss, April 1, 1824, Letterbooks, Allen MSS.


16. Feb. 21, 1824.

17. Peter Bedford to John Griscom, February 24, 1824, John Griscom MSS NYPL.


198
Notes

20. Ibid., 84–85. When the Western House of Refuge was completed in 1847, Eddy's suggestion became a reality. The New York House was apportioned to the eastern counties and the Rochester institution was given those in the west.
22. Feb. 1 and 4, 1825.
23. MAC, Dec. 15, 1825, SRJD MSS SUL.
24. In addition to the initial report, Griscom also had a hand in the creation of the 3rd (1828), 4th (1829), 6th (1831), and 7th (1832) reports. See Griscom, Memoir, 193–94.
25. Maxwell to Griscom, Oct. 21, 1825, John Griscom MSS.

IV. JOSEPH CURTIS, SUPERINTENDENT
1. MAC, April 9, 1825, SRJD MSS SUL.
2. SDJ, Jan. 20 [Jan. 1], 1825, SRJD MSS SUL.
3. SDJ, Jan. 20 [Jan. 11], 1825.
4. Case No. 11, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.
5. Case No. 5, ibid.
6. SDJ, Jan. 20 [Jan. 17], 1825, SRJD MSS.
7. SDJ, Jan. 25, 1825.
8. SDJ, Jan. 28, 1825.
9. MAC, Feb. 12, 16, and 19, 1825, SRJD MSS.
10. MAC, Aug. 16, 1825.
11. SDJ, March 4, 1825, SRJD MSS.
12. SDJ, March 30, 1825.
13. SDJ, April 17, 1825.
15. To Anna Curtis [n.d.], ibid., 80.
16. MAC, Feb. 19, March 19, and April 9, 1825, SRJD MSS.
17. MAC, March 12, 1825. For a copy of Moffat's indenture agreement see MAC, March 30.
18. Indentures, May 31, 1825, SRJD MSS.
19. MAC, April 23 and 30, 1825, SRJD MSS.
20. MAC, May 14, 1825.
21. MAC, April 26 and 30, 1825.
House of Refuge

22. “Address to Annual Subscribers,” copied in MAC, May 21, 1825, SRJD MSS.
23. SDJ, May 29, 1825; MAC, May 21, 1825, SRJD MSS.
24. MAC, Aug. 2, 1825; Case No. 69. History of Subjects, SRJD MSS.
25. Reports of the Ladies’ Committee, Aug. 5, 1825, SRJD MSS SUL.
26. Sub-Committee Report on Visitations, Sept. 15, 1825, Reports of the Ladies’ Committee, SRJD MSS SUL.
27. Ibid., Sept. 8, 1825.
28. Ibid., Sept. 22, 1825.
29. Ibid., Sept. 22 and 29, Nov. 17, 1825.
30. MAC, Oct. 18, 1825, SRJD MSS.
31. MAC, Jan. 24, 1825.
32. MAC, Feb. 11, 1826.
34. Clinton to Stanford, May 15, 1826, Clinton MSS NYHS.
35. MAC, June 6, 1826, SRJD MSS.
37. Ibid., 97–98.
38. MAC, June 13, 1825, SRJD MSS.
39. John Pintard to Eliza Davidson, June 16, 1826, Letters from John Pintard, II, 277; Stanford to Griscom, June 26, 1826, John Griscom MSS NYPL.
40. Lynds to Griscom, June 30, 1826, Griscom MSS.
41. MAC, June 26, 1826, SRJD MSS.

V. INSTITUTIONS FOR REFORMATION

1. Ware to Griscom, Oct. 14, 1825, Griscom MSS NYPL.
2. Quincy to Griscom, Dec. 2, 1825, ibid.
3. Quincy to Griscom, Dec. 12, 1825, ibid.
4. Dwight to Gerrit Smith, Jan. 22, 1826, Gerrit Smith Miller MSS SUL.
7. Ibid., 28.
Notes

18. *The Boston Asylum and Farm School for Indigent Boys, Reports* (Boston: John Wilson, 1849), 3. This list serves as evidence of the interlocking character of the many reforms of the period.
20. The Massachusetts Legislature allowed the House of Reformation to take in three classes of children in 1843, i.e., vagabonds, juvenile criminals, and neglected children, living “an idle and dissolute life” or with parents who did the same. This last group, the potential delinquents, gave the House of Reformation a character similar to that of the House of Refuge. See Boston Common Council, *City Document Number 21, Reports of the Inspectors of Prisons for the County of Suffolk, on the House of Industry . . . Boston Lunatic Hospital, House of Correction*, June, 1843 (Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1843), 11–12.
24. Boston Common Council, *City Document Number 14, City of Boston, Report of Board of Directors for Public Institutions, 1858* (Boston, 1858), 4; *ibid.*, *City Document Number 32, Boston, Annual Report of the Board of Directors for Public Institutions for the Year 1858* (Boston, 1859), 4.
27. Although it would serve to show the remarkable similarity of the developments in New York and Philadelphia, the presence of Teeters’ excellent article makes the retelling of the story of the founding of the Philadelphia House of Refuge unnecessary. Both institutions developed under the aegis of a parental
House of Refuge

voluntary association, solicited and received private and public aid, and lived to a ripe old age. Teeters quite correctly notes the absence of any evidence to substantiate a direct or formal connection between Philadelphia and New York during this period. See Teeters, Pennsylvania History, 167. As the reader can see by the text, however, ample opportunity existed for informal contact.

28. For Collins' legislative career see MAC, Oct. 12, 1827, SRJD MSS SUL. For his resignation from the Society, see ibid., Feb. 19, 1828. For his participation in the Pennsylvania group, see Minutes, PSAMPP, Jan. 11, 1830 (typescript copy), PPS.

29. MAC, Aug. 18, 1829, SRJD MSS SUL; Reports of Sub-Committee on Visitations, Reports of Ladies Committee, Sept. 25, 1829, ibid.

30. MAC, PSAMPP, May 14, 1823 (typescript copy), 138, PPS.


32. Eventually, the Philadelphia House of Refuge split into a boys' and girls' division, the one for the boys becoming the Glens Mills School and the one for the girls the Sleighton Farms School; both are still in existence. See Teeters, Pennsylvania History, 187.


VI. "MOST PROLIFIC SOURCES OF CRIME"

1. Case No. 1533, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.

2. SRJD, Thirteenth Annual Report, 18.

3. SRJD, Tenth Annual Report, 63.


5. Case No. 3428, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS.


7. SDJ, March 21, 1845, SRJD MSS.


9. SRJD, Thirty-Second Annual Report (New York: Wynkoop and Hallenbreck, 1857), 6, contains the first mention of "hereditary depravity."


202
Notes

20. Case No. 1551, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS.
21. SDJ, May 7, 1839; Case No. 4243, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS.
22. SDJ, April 26, 1839; Case No. 4243, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS.
25. Case No. 1437, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS.
31. Case No. 1816, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS.
34. Hart to Stephen Allen, Dec. 17, 1834, Miscellaneous MSS NYHS.

VII. ROAD TO ALBANY

1. MAC, Feb. 13, 1827, SRJD MSS SUL.
3. MAC, Feb. 13 and March, 1827, SRJD MSS SUL.
4. MAC, May 1, 1827 and May 29, 1827.
5. MAC, Dec. 4, 1827.
7. MAC, Jan. 23, 1827, SRJD MSS SUL.
8. MAC, Jan. 30, 1827.
9. MAC, June 26, 1827.
10. Sub-Committee Report on Visitations, Sept. 29, 1826, SRJD MSS.
11. MAC, April 3, 10, 1827.
12. Sub-Committee Reports on Visitations, Sept. 5, 1826, SRJD MSS.
13. Ibid., Oct. 26, 1827; Journal, Nov. 12, 1827, SRJD MSS SUL.
15. Sub-Committee Reports on Visitations, Nov. 16, 23, 30, 1827, ibid.
16. Carey to Gerrit Smith, Sept. 9, 1833, Gerrit Smith Miller MSS SUL.
17. MAC, Oct. 26, 1830, SRJD MSS SUL.
19. Because the managers had to rely chiefly on correspondence for follow-up reports on their charges, there is no way of knowing the degree of success met by the managers in their goal to reform the youngsters. Numerous reports were made in which they allegedly redeemed large fractions of their population, but the data to support these contentions is very spotty.
21. Hyde to Colden, March 23, 1829, Cadwallader D. Colden MSS PHS.
22. Ibid. The “contingency” referred to here is the Marine Hospital Fund (see Chapter III). This particular revenue, which normally went to the city of New York, was assessed on each ship arriving at the point of immigration into the country. Prior to the establishment of the House of Refuge, the proceeds from the tax were totally reserved for the erection and maintenance of a hospital for seamen. After the House of Refuge came into being, that portion of the tax assessed on ship passengers, a cumulative amount of no more than $8,000, was supposed to go to the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents. The amount assessed on the crews of the ship still continued to go into the Marine Hospital treasury.
23. Albany Argus, April 3, 1829.
26. Ibid., April 3, 1829; “An Act to Create a Fund in Aid of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, in the City of New York, and for other purposes” (a certified copy), in Act of Incorporation, 8-9.
27. Albany Argus, April 3, 1829.
28. W. Seaman to Colden, June 1, 1829, Cadwallader D. Colden MSS PHS.
32. Miscellaneous Papers No. 1, Stephen Allen MSS NYHS.
34. SRJD, Fourteenth Annual Report, 7-8.
35. Allen To Dix, Allen Letterbook, April, 1848, Allen MSS NYHS.
36. Allen to Nicholl, ibid.
37. Allen to Dix, June, 1848, ibid.
38. SRJD, Twentieth Annual Report, 13.
40. Kelly to Seymour, Dec. 3, 1852, Horatio Seymour MSS NYSL.
Notes


VIII. NEW YORK HOUSE OF REFUGE SYSTEM

1. Hart to Allen, Dec. 17, 1834, Miscellaneous New York City MSS NYHS.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; President Stephen Allen included all but the last phrase of this quotation in the Society’s Tenth Annual Report.
4. Ibid.
7. SDJ, May 22, 1839, SRJD MSS SUL.
8. SDJ, Sept. 9, 1839.
9. SDJ, Dec. 9, 1839.
10. MAC, April 21, 1840, SRJD MSS.
11. MAC, Feb., 1842; SDJ, April 17, 30, 1844; MAC, April 24, 1844; SRJD MSS; New York Tribune, April 20, 184r.
12. Case No. 2127, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.
13. Ibid., March 16 and 28, 1839; SDJ, March 20, 1839, SRJD MSS.
14. SDJ, March 16, 1839; Case No. 2282, March 16, 1839, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS.
15. Terry to Seward, April 10, 1839, Seward MSS URL.
16. Seward to Terry (a copy), July 8, 1839, Seward MSS URL.
17. Seward to Terry, July 16, 1839 (a copy), Seward MSS URL.
18. SDJ, July 18, 1839, SRJD MSS SUL.
19. SDJ, Sept. 25, 1839.
20. SDJ, Oct. 26, 1839; Case No. 2282, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS.
21. [A]braham Gridley to Seward, Jan. 4, 1841, Seward MSS URL.
23. Seward to Terry, Nov. 3, 1841 (a copy), ibid.; Terry to Seward, Nov. 10, 1841, ibid.
24. Seward to Terry, Nov. 16, 1841 (a copy), ibid.
25. Terry to Seward, Nov. 23 and 29, 1841, ibid.
26. MAC, Jan. 21, 1844; SDJ, March 26, 1845, SRJD MSS SUL.
29. Ibid., 4 n.
30. Ibid., 8.
House of Refuge

31. Ibid., 9.
32. (Mrs.) Lydia M. Child, Letters from New York, 3rd ed. (New York: C. S. Francis, 1847), 204.
34. Ibid., 11; Case No. 336, History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.
36. Dix to G. B. Emerson, July 1, 1844, Dix Papers No. 37, Chamberlain MSS BPL.
37. State of New York No. 8, in Senate, Jan. 9, 1857, Report of Select Committee Appointed to Visit Charitable Institutions Supported by the State, and all City and County Poor and Work Houses and Jails, (Albany, 1857), 153-57.

IX. COMING OF AGE

1. Tappan to Smith, Aug. 28, 1834, Gerrit Smith Miller MSS SUL.
2. Griscom, Memoir, 193.
4. Cited in Bradford K. Pierce, A Half-Century with Juvenile Delinquents: The New York House of Refuge and Its Times (New York: D. Appleton Company, 1859), 75. Pierce is the only quasi-contemporary account of the rise of the Refuge system. It is, however, not a scholarly work. Quotations and events are often mingled together with no citations whatsoever.
5. Knapp, Life of Thomas Eddy, 343-44; Clinton to Eddy, Sept. 18, 1827, ibid., 349.
6. Charles Clinton to DeWitt Clinton, Jr., Feb. 27, 1828, Clinton MSS NYSL.
9. Newspaper clipping, Seymour Scrapbook, Vol. II (1845-85), Horatio Seymour MSS a 70 NYSL.
10. SDJ, March 10, 1840, SRJD MSS SUL.
16. Case No. 4789, History of Subjects; Israel Russell to . . ., June 6, 1857 (a copy of letter attached to Case No. 4789), History of Subjects, SRJD MSS SUL.
17. To Israel Russell, June 22, 1857, ibid.

206


20. New York House of Refuge, Randall's Island, *Reply to the Communication of Mr. James R. Hale . . .*, 1, NYSL.


