

Index

absolute solitary confinement, see solitary confinement: relied on continuously: without labor abuses, see punishment: violations administrators (Eastern State Penitentiary) abandonment of Pennsylvania System, xlviii-xlix as a group, xl, lvi see also 'conflict: amongst themselves' as gentlemen reformers, 71-79 as policymakers, li-lii autonomy, 264-265 challenges to, 265 see also 'discretion'; 'identity as professional experts'; 'personal control' below baser instincts, 231-232, 247 benevolence, xlvii, 174, 179–180, 183-185 commitment to values in the penal field, 174 conflict, among themselves, 232-247 with New York penologists, 285-291 with PSAMPP, xl-xli, 265-271 with the state legislature, xl, 271-279 see also 'refusal to enforce Commutation Law' below defense of Pennsylvania System, xli-xlii based on experience, 268-270

based on science, 280-285 benefits, 195-196 eventually unnecessary, xlviii, 265 due to alternative status, 294-295 due to decline in criticism, 299 explained by personal institutionalization, xlvi-xlvii, 170 see also organizational defense through neutralization techniques, 137-138, 169, 173 see also characterizations; evaluations; name changes; scapegoating; undermining, through their annual reports, 136-137, 170 demonstration of conformity, 172-173 deviations, 203 see also Eastern State Penitentiary: as 'a deviant prison'; Pennsylvania System: violations difficulties, 123-127 discretion, 98 duties, 68-71 efforts to alleviate overcrowding, 305-309 endorsement of Pennsylvania System, 154-155 fiscal responsibility, 149-151, 189-194 hands-on management, 71 identity as professional experts, based on experience, 299 based on science, 280-285



340 Index

administrators (Eastern State Penitentiary) annual reports basis on science, 281-282 see also annual reports: examination examination by the legislature by the legislature encouraged; encouraged, 275-276 Pennsylvania: penal code revision: production, 136 without advice of the administrators trustworthiness, lv-lvi at Eastern, xlviii, 265, 291-294 use to condemn the Pennsylvania System, Janus-face character, 231-232 motivations contrasted with reformers, use to counter criticism, 136-137, 170 vlviii see also evaluations other activities, 77-78 anonymity, see hooding of prisoners; oversight, 88-89 privacy of prisoners see also inspectors; investigations; anxiety, see uncertainty official visitors; prisons: oversight, Arch Street Prison, 18-19 88-89 assaults by prisoners, 309-310 personal control, 97-98 Auburn State Prison pragmatism, xlvii-xlviii, 203 use of solitary confinement propagation of creation myths, 174, authorization, 28-29, 37 181-183 continuously (pure solitary refusal to enforce Commutation Law, 97, confinement), 5-6, 29-30, 37, 103 264-265, 276-279 partially (hybrid system) see Auburn role in the retention of the Pennsylvania System System, xl Auburn System claimed inferiority, 151 uncertainty, see uncertainty: over administration of Pennsylvania claimed superiority, 119-120 System contrast with the Pennsylvania veracity of accounts, liv-lvi System, xxv vulnerability to criticism, 172-173 conversion costs, xxxiii see also Pennsylvania System: distinction from pure solitary administration; and individual confinement, 101, 104 wardens, inspectors, physicians etc. endorsement by BPDS, 39, 102 administrators (other Pennsylvania initially recommended for Eastern State System-style prisons) Penitentiary, 44-48 criticism of Pennsylvania System, xli operation, xxiii-xxiv, 28, 38-39 African Americans popularity, 39-41, 113-114, 300 assignment to out-of-cell labor, 218 undermining by the administrators at blamed for disease and mortality rates, Eastern, 186-194 158-160 use of whipping condemned, 48, blamed for increased costs, 161-162 186-189 Alabama State Penitentiary, 114 see also solitary confinement alcohol access by prisoners, 224-225 Bache, Dr. Franklin (PSAMPP member and American Revolution Physician (1829–1837)) influence on penal reform, 7 alliances, 233 analyses (of the Pennsylvania System) testimony on ability to interfere with by scholars, xxxi-xxxii decisions to punish, 84 by the administrators at Eastern, visits, 237 145-155, 281-282 Bacon, John (Inspector (1831–1859)) see also annual reports alliances, 233 animosities, see conflict career, 337



Index 341

Commissioner for the Erection of the Eastern Penitentiary, 24-25 debate over resident physician, 240-242 investigations into Warden Thompson, 244 into Warden Wood, 235 Barnes, Harry Elmer explanation for retention of Pennsylvania System, xxxiv-xxxv Becker, Howard study of deviance, xxxvii, xl Beckham, Armistead, xxxv, 273-274 behavioral constraints, xxxviii behind-the-scenes practices, see Pennsylvania System: violations benevolence of the administrators at Eastern, xlvii, 174, 179-180, 183-185 of the Pennsylvania System, 174–179 Bentham, Jeremy Panopticon, 32 Bevan, Matthew L. (Inspector (1834-1849)), 239 bias, see calumnious myths; creation myths 'Big House' model, 321 Bigler, Governor William visit to Eastern State Penitentiary, 92 blame, see scapegoating blindfolding of prisoners, 55 Blundin, Mr. (Richard) and Mrs., 250-251 Board of Public Charities, 73, 88-89, 271 Boston Prison Discipline Society (BPDS) condemnation of pure solitary confinement, 102-103 criticism of delay in constructing Eastern, 103-105 criticism of Eastern, 108-110, 169-170 response, 110-112, 115, 170 enthusiasm for Auburn System, 130 propagation of calumnious myths, 107-108 efficacy, 112-115, 118-123 role in transforming Eastern into a deviant prison, 106-107 skepticism over Pennsylvania System, 104-105 see also individual members: Dwight (Rev. Louis); Howe BPDS, see Boston Prison Discipline Society Bradford, Jr., Thomas (PSAMPP member and Inspector (1829-1851))

alliances, 235 appointment as president, 235 campaign for more than one state prison, 24 conflict with the visiting inspectors, 233-234 Commissioner for the Erection of the Eastern Penitentiary, 24-25 conflict with Warden Thompson, 242-247 death, 232 debate over resident physician, 237-242 experience, 72, 74 influence in the annual reports, 136 testimony on escapes, 225 testimony on out-of-cell labor, 82, 214-215, 217-221 testimony on the choice of punishments, 206-207 uncertainty over the Pennsylvania System, 123-124 views on best prison regime, 42 bread and water diet, 46 Brockway, Zebulon, 286 call for new 'prison science', 286 Brown, Charles (Inspector (1838-1841), 72 Buchanan Crosse, James, liv Building Commissioners, see Commissioners for the Erection of the Eastern Penitentiary building costs, xxxiii-xxxiv Bussinger, D.W., 322 calumnious myths, 107 propagated against Pennsylvania System, 107-108 Campbell, Hugh (Inspector (1850-1853), capital punishment re-authorization, 17 case studies importance of Eastern State Penitentiary, Cassidy, Michael J. (Warden (1881-1900)), 291-293, 322 cellblocks new construction, 308-309, 321 certainty, see uncertainty chance encounters, 221-222 change, see penal reform characterizations, 174–186



charity work	conscience
by the administrators at Eastern, 77–78	'giving way to convenience', 329-330
see also Board of Public Charities	see also benevolence
children	constraints on behavior, xxxviii
education, 204, 273	contact, see separation
see also juvenile facilities	contraband
cognitive dissonance, 226	access by prisoners, 224-225
cognitive frames, xxxix	convenience, see gap between theory and
Commissioners for the Erection of the	practice
Eastern Penitentiary	conversion costs, xxxiv
appointment, xliv	corporal punishment
Report, 49	comeback, 17
Commissioners on the Penal Code	see also whipping
appointment, 44	costs
Report, 44–48	of Eastern State Penitentiary, xxxiii
PSAMPP response, 49	defended, 189–194
commitment	see also 'sunk costs' theory
by the administrators at Eastern, 174	explained by scapegoating, 160-165
limit, 231-232	of the proto-prisons, 16
by PSAMPP, 237	county jails, see jails
Commonwealth (The) ex rel. Johnson v.	Coxe, Charles Sydney (Inspector
Halloway, see Commutation Law	(1829–1835))
Commutation Law, 270–271, 307–308	alliances, 233
'condemnation of the condemnors', 186	career, 72, 337
confinement, see solitary confinement	conflict with Warden Wood and
confirmed criminals, see crime class	Inspector Bradford, 233-234
conflict	investigation into Warden Wood,
amongst the administrators themselves,	234-235, 248
232-247	membership of PSAMPP, 73
between the administrators and New	resignation, 232
York penologists, 285–291	crafts-style labor
between the administrators and	profitability, 164–165
PSAMPP, xl, xli, 266–271	creation myths
between the administrators and the state	propagated in support of Pennsylvania
legislature,	System, 174, 181–183
see also administrators (Eastern State	crime class, 311-312, 320-321
Penitentiary): refusal to enforce	criminal code, see penal code
Commutation Law	criminal justice organizations
see also Pennsylvania System: 'forged in	application of theory of personal
conflict'	institutionalization, xlv-xlvi
conformation, xxxviii	see also prisons
by the administrators at Eastern	criminal justice system
see also Eastern State Penitentiary: as	modernization, 65–66
'a deviant prison'	Crosse, James Buchanan, liv
confusion, see uncertainty	Grosse, James Zuenanan, n.
congregate system, see Auburn System	Darrach, Dr. William (PSAMPP member
congresses	and Physician (1837–1844))
reception of the administrators at	alliances, 236
Eastern, 288–290	report on sickness among
Connecticut, see Old Newgate Prison;	African-American prison
Wethersfield State Prison	population, 158–160
	r - r



report on sickness owing to 'self-abuse',	enthusiasm for Auburn System, 39–40
158	see also Boston Prison Discipline Society
residence debate, 236-241	Dwight, Theodore W. (NYPA member)
death, see mortality rates	comparison of the two systems, xxvi, 41,
debate, see hard labor: inclusion debate;	113, 300
Pennsylvania: debate on best prison	conflict with Richard Vaux, 289
regime; Pennsylvania System: merits	study of the treatment of prisoners, 315
debated	orang of the treatment of prisoners, jrj
defense, see organizational defense;	carly pricans
Pennsylvania System: defense	early prisons
deinstitutionalization	failure: impact on penal reform, 6–7
due to alternative status, 324	see also jails (county); proto-prisons; and
due to decline in criticism, 299, 302	particular prisons such as Eastern
due to overcrowding, 318	State Penitentiary
denials of injury, 145–146	early release, see Commutation Law
denials of responsibility, 155	Eastern State Penitentiary
design of prisons	administration, 67
importance to success or failure, xxiii	see also administrators (Eastern State
see also redesign of prisons	Penitentiary)
deviance	as 'a deviant prison', xxxvii, xl, xlix, 101
challenges counteracted by personal	see also non-conformation: by the
institutionalization, xlvi-xlvii	administrators at Eastern
concept, xxxvii	as the 'Quaker Prison', xxxii
from rules of Pennsylvania System,	authorization to be built, 20–21
see Pennsylvania System: violations	bureaucratization, 293-294
see also Eastern State Penitentiary: as 'a	conduciveness to personal
deviant prison'; organizational	institutionalization, xlvi
deviance	see also personal institutionalization,
Dickens, Charles	creation
criticism of Pennsylvania System, xxvi,	authorization, 24-25
99–101, 126–127, 202	bill passed, 24
diet of bread and water, 46	commission see Commissioners for the
discipline see 'prison discipline'	Erection of the Eastern Penitentiary
disease and mortality rates, 146–149	early requests, 21
explained by scapegoating, 155–160	legislative committee
disinterestedness, 173	recommendations, 21-23
Dix, Dorothea, 329	design, 25
documents, liii	fame, 328
Doll, Eugene	histories, xxxi–xxxii
explanation for retention of Pennsylvania System, xxxv	importance to study of penal history,
double-celling, 208–213, 303–305	xxviii–xxx
	inclusion in prison histories, xxvii–xxviii
consequences, 309–310	investigation into wrongdoings at,
see also overcrowding doubt, see uncertainty	74-75, 97, 106-107, 230-231,
Drexel, Anthony J. (Inspector	234-235, 247-254
(1865–1870)), 337	jurisdiction, 84–88
Durkheim, Emile	change to alleviate overcrowding,
study of deviance, xxxvii	306, 308
Dwight, Rev. Louis (BPDS founder)	claimed by the administrators,
death, 300	274–279
acam, 500	-/+ -/J



344 Index

Eastern State Penitentiary (cont.) external factors, see penal reform: exogenous factors see also administrators (Eastern State Penitentiary): identity as professional experts 'face saving' theory, xxxv overcrowding, 303-313, 315-316 failure, see penal failure oversight, see inspectors; investigations; in solitary confinement, 34 official visitors; prisons: oversight family visitation, 297-298 redesign abandoned, xxxiv fear of failure, see uncertainty unique status, xlii use of solitary confinement fighting among prisoners, 309-310 financial self-interest, see administrators initially recommended to be without (Eastern State Penitentiary): baser labor, 49 instincts with labor, see Pennsylvania System Findley, William visit by Dickens, 100 request for second state prison, 21 economic climate first-time offenders, 301-302 as a cause of unprofitability, 163-164 Friends, see Quakers economics funding of Eastern State Penitentiary, 149-151, requests by the administrators at 189-194 Eastern, 162-163, 271-272, 274 failures explained by scapegoating, see also 'sunk costs' theory 160-165 of the proto-prisons, 16 gap between theory and practice Edelman, Lauren at Eastern State Penitentiary, 330 concept of legal endogeneity, xlix in the proto-prisons, 14-17 education, 204, 273 gentlemen reformers see also moral and religious instruction death, 321-324 Elmira Reformatory, 301 Georgia Elwell, Elizabeth Velora, 216–217, proto-prison, 15 222-224 Given, Dr. Robert (Physician (1844–1851)) employment, see labor explanation for the disease and mortality endogeneity, see penal reform: endogenous rates, 155-156 factors praise of the officers, 183-184 escapes, 225-226, 311 report on sickness owing to 'self-abuse', evaluations (of the Pennsylvania System) 158 by the administrators at Eastern, views on the comparison of systems, 145-155, 281-282 148-149, 282 see also annual reports Goodwin, William (Inspector exclusive solitary confinement, see solitary (1857-1859)), 72, 337 confinement: relied on continuously: grand juries: official visits, 92, 94 without labor Green Jackson, Albert, 216-217, 222-224, exogeneity, see penal reform: exogenous Gridley Howe, Samuel, 118, 148 factors experience, see Pennsylvania System: Habeas corpus petitions, 95, 96 experience; professional expertise Halloway, John S. (Clerk (1831-1850) and experimentation Warden (1850–1854, 1856–1870)) language use, 281 account of a family visit, 297 proof account of fighting among prisoners, 310 by demonstration, 282-285 account of overcrowding, 306 by statistics, 281 account of prisoner's exercise, 60 see also statistical evaluations, accusations of inappropriate behavior expertise, see professional expertise by, 249-251



death, 292	insanity
election as warden, 257	at Eastern State Penitentiary, 119-120,
embarrassment over escapes, 225	147-149
endorsement of Pennsylvania System,	explained by scapegoating, 272-273
151	insecurity, see uncertainty
experience, 76–78	inspectors
explanation for recidivism, 152	duties, 68
rejection of prison's reputation for poor	experience with criminal justice, 72-74
health, 146	oversight of the prison, 89-90
taking of vegetables from the prison's	power to make rules, 90
garden, 255-256	table, 337
hard labor	see also individual inspectors such as
ambiguity over inclusion in Pennsylvania	Bradford; Harrison, Mercer; Porter;
System, 79–80	Vaux (Richard); Vaux (Roberts)
inclusion debate, 42	institutionalization
requirement in Pennsylvania penal code,	as the cause of an organization's goals,
33, 43	xlii
use at Western State Penitentiary	conceptualization
hindered by architectural problems,	by neoinstitutional scholars, xlii-xliii
33-34	by Selznick, xliii
see also labor	influence by Michels, xliii-xliv
Harrison, George L. (Inspector	see also personal institutionalization,
(1879–1885)), 73	instruction, see moral and religious
Hartshorne, Dr. Edward, 147, 240, 242	instruction
Hastings, Daniel, xxxiv	internal factors, see penal reform:
health of the prisoners, 146-149	endogenous factors
failures explained by scapegoating,	internecine debate, see Pennsylvania:
155–160	debate on best prison regime;
Henry, Alexander (Inspector (1859–1882)),	Pennsylvania System: merits debated
72-73,96	intoxication, 224-225
hereditary criminality, 311-312	interpersonal animosities, see conflict
histories of prisons, xxvii	investigations, 95-97
importance of Eastern State Penitentiary,	see also Eastern State Penitentiary:
331-335	investigation into wrongdoings at,
see also Eastern State Penitentiary:	investment
histories	requests by the administrators
Hood, William H. (Inspector	at Eastern, 162–163, 271–272, 274
(1831–1842)), 235	see also 'sunk costs' theory
hooding of prisoners, 202	Irish immigrant prison population,
Howe, Samuel Gridley, 118, 148,	306-307
humanitarianism, see benevolence	Irish System, 302
Huntingdon Reformatory, 320	isolation
hybrid system, see Auburn System	of Eastern State Penitentiary, xxxvi
	see also Eastern State Penitentiary: as
identity switching, 138-139	'a deviant prison',
ideology, see penal ideology	of prisoners, see solitary confinement
Illinois State Penitentiary, 113	
incarceration, see penitentiary system	Jackson, Albert Green, 216-217,
individual treatment system, 313-319	222-224
inherent depravity, 311-312	jails (county)
injury denial, 146	inadequacy, 7-8



jails (county) (cont.) as a cause of recidivism, 165–166, 272	see also administrators (Eastern State Penitentiary): refusal to enforce
see also prisons	Commutation Law
Johnson v. Halloway, see Commutation	investigation into wrongdoings at
Law	Eastern, 74–75, 97, 106–107,
Jones, Charles Thomas (Inspector	230-231, 234-235, 247-254
(1873–1883), 337	liquor
Jones, Samuel (Inspector (1854–1864)),	access by prisoners, 214
337	local jails, see jails
journal, see warden's log	local variation, xxx
judicial review	lockstep, xxiv, 38
of refusal to enforce Commutation Law,	log, see warden's log
97, 264–265, 276–280	Lyman, Stanford M., <i>see</i> identity switching
jurisdiction	Lyman, Stamord W., see identity switching
of Eastern State Penitentiary, 84-88	M : 6 P :
change to alleviate overcrowding,	Maine State Prison
306, 308	adoption of Auburn System, 123
claimed by the administrators, 265,	use of pure solitary confinement, 30–31,
274-280	102-103
see also administrators (Eastern State	maintenance costs
Penitentiary): identity as	of Eastern State Penitentiary, xxxiii,
professional experts	149-151
juvenile education, 204, 273	explained by scapegoating, 160–165
juvenile facilities, 301–302	of the proto-prisons, 16
see also Huntingdon Reformatory	management of prisons
	importance to success or failure, xxiii
keepers, 69	see also administrators
see also Blundin; Merrill; Roe,	manipulations, see Pennsylvania System:
King, Edward, see Commissioners on the	violations
Penal Code	Maris, John M. (Inspector (1870–1891)),
	73, 337
labor	Mark System, 302
as implemented at Walnut Street Prison,	Maryland Penitentiary
10	use of solitary confinement, 15, 123
profitability, 164–165	Massachusetts State Prison, 7
rationale, 204	use of solitary confinement, 15
violations, 204–206	masturbation ('self-abuse')
see also hard labor; out-of-cell labor	blamed for disease and mortality rates,
Larcombe, Rev. Thomas, 71, 153, 179,	158, 169
188, 270	Matza, David, see denials of injury; denials
lawsuits, 95–97	of responsibility; techniques of
legacies, l	neutralization
legal endogeneity	McKibben, Chambers (Inspector
adaptation to the penal context, xlix-l	(1853–1857)), 377
concept, xlix	McLennan, Rebecca
legislative investigations, 95–97	account of the Eastern State Penitentiary,
see also Eastern State Penitentiary:	see also Rebecca M. McLennan,
investigation into wrongdoings at legislature (Pennsylvania)	xxix
authority over the prison, xl	mechanization
conflict with the prison administrators,	as a cause of unprofitability, 165
xl. 271–280	mental illness, see insanity



Mercer, Singleton A. (Inspector	non-conformation, xxxviii
(1851–1854)), 72	by the administrators at Eastern,
Merrill, W. O. B., 212, 254-255	172-173
Michels, Robert	see also Eastern State Penitentiary: as
study of oligarchical tendencies, xliii-xliv	'a deviant prison'
Miller, Andrew (Inspector (1853–1859)),	norms, xxxviii
337	see also penal norms,
Miller, Daniel H. (Inspector (1829–1831)),	NYPA (New York Prison Association), see
232	Dwight (Theodore W.); Wines
Milne, Caleb J., 74	_
moral and religious instruction	official visitors, 90–95
funding, 271–272	Old Newgate Prison (Connecticut), 7-8
provision at Eastern criticized, 109	organization of prisons
rationale, 204	importance to success or failure, xxiii
moral instructor: duties, 70–71	organizational defense
see also individual instructors:	as a reason for gaps between theory and
	practice, 330–331
Larcombe; Ruth	concept, xliv
'moral science' references, 281	provision of 'aura of disinterestedness',
mortality rates, 146–149	173
explained by scapegoating, 155–160	organizational deviance, xxxvii-xxxviii
Moyamensing Prison, 213	see also Eastern State Penitentiary: as 'a
murders: by prisoners, 211, 310	deviant prison'
myths	organizations
as a means of persuasion, 107	'life of their own', xlii
propagated against Pennsylvania System	see also criminal justice organizations
(calumnious myths), 107–108,	out-of-cell labor, 208, 213-220, 308-309
112-113	consequences, 221–226
efficacy, 114–115, 118–123	overcrowding
propagated in support of Pennsylvania	in the post-Civil War period, 301
System (creation myths), 174,	at Eastern State Penitentiary, 303–313,
181-183	315–316
	in the proto-prisons, 12–13, 16, 19
name changes, 138-145, 313-314,	see also double-celling
316-318	overseers, 69
neoinstitutional theory, xxxviii-xxxix	see also individual overseers: Blundin;
as an organizational theory, xl	Merrill; Roe
neutralization techniques, 137	Werrin, Roc
see also characterizations; evaluations;	'pamphlet warfare'
name changes; scapegoating;	over merits of Pennsylvania System,
undermining	110–112
New Jery State Prison	Panopticon, 32
abandonment of Pennsylvania System,	pardons
xxvi, 113, 122–123	1
adoption of Pennsylvania System, xxv	as a cause of recidivism, 166–169 Patterson, Robert (Inspector (1835–1847)),
tour by the administrators at Eastern,	236
125–126	
New York, see Auburn State Prison; Elmira	penal change, see penal reform
Reformatory; Newgate Prison	penal code (Pennsylvania) revision
New York Prison Association (NYPA),	
	of hard labor requirement, 42–48
see Dwight (Theodore W.); Wines	without advice of the administrators
Newgate Prison (New York), 15-16	at Eastern, 273, 275–276



penal failure	steadfastly believed in, 34
fear of, see uncertainty	see also prisons; solitary confinement
impact on penal reform, l, 34	Penn, William
importance to study of penal history,	credit for the Pennsylvania System, xxxii
331-335	Pennsylvania
see also Pennsylvania System: violations;	debate on best prison regime, 36, 41-42
proto-prisons: failure	need for more than one state prison, 20
penal history	penal code revision
importance of Eastern State Penitentiary,	of hard labor requirement, 33, 42-48
331-335	without advice of the administrators
see also Eastern State Penitentiary:	at Eastern, 273, 275–276
histories	prisons, see Arch Street Prison; Eastern
penal ideology	State Penitentiary; Huntingdon
gap between theory and practice,	Reformatory; Moyamensing Prison;
329-330	Walnut Street Prison; Western State
at Eastern State Penitentiary, 330	Penitentiary
in the proto-prisons, 14, 17	see also legislature (Pennsylvania)
penal norms	Pennsylvania System
emergence from within penal system, l-li	abandonment, xxv–xxvi, 122–123
penal policy	at Western State Penitentiary, 273–274
development within penal system, li-lii	by the new administrators, 323–324
feedback effects, l	due to deauthorization, 323 due to deinstitutionalization
penal reform	see 'deinstitutionalization' below
after the American Revolution, 7	due to overcrowding, 316–318
endogenous factors, l-lii	process, 319–321, 324
exogenous factors, l	administration
limitation, lii	scrutiny by PSAMPP, 266–268
impact of penal failure, l, 34	uncertainty, 79–84, 88
importance of Eastern State Penitentiary,	see also administrators
xlix	as a distinct system, 105–106
permeating values, see values in the	as intended at Walnut Street Prison,
penal field	9–10, 17
through prison science, 286	as the 'separate system', 138, 141–143
penal reformers, see Boston Prison	as the system of 'solitary or separate
Discipline Society; gentlemen	confinement', 139-141
reformers; Philadelphia Society for	authorization, 50–51
Alleviating the Miseries of Public	benevolent approach to punishment,
Prisons; Society for the Prevention	174, 175–179
of Pauperism in the City of New	campaign by PSAMPP, 35-36, 50
York	claimed superiority, 282–284
penal science	criticism
basis of claims by the administrators at	by BPDS, 108–110, 169–170
Eastern, 280–285	response, 110–112, 115, 170
penitentiaries, see Philadelphia: as the	by prominent writers, xxxvi, 101
birthplace of the penitentiary;	see also Dickens: criticism of
prisons; and particular penitentiaries	Pennsylvania System
such as Eastern State Penitentiary	by the administrators, xli
penitentiary system	decline, 299–302
effectiveness as a method to reform	directed at administrators rather than
criminals, 17, 25-26	system, 126



effect on administrators, 126-127	by Commissioners on the Penal Code,
precipitating event, 106-107	44-48
deauthorization, 321	institutionalization, see personal
defense	institutionalization
by PSAMPP members <i>see</i> 'campaign by PSAMPP' <i>above</i>	legislative committee recommendations,
by the administrators at Eastern,	merits debated, xxv
xli–xlii	more 'stringent' form, 144-145
based on experience, 268-270	myths
based on science, 280-285	propagated by BPDS (calumnious
benefits, 195–196	myths), 107–108
eventually unnecessary, xlviii, 165	efficacy, 112–113, 114–115,
due to alternative status, 294	118-123
due to decline in criticism, 299	propagated by the administrators at
explained by personal	Eastern (creation myths), 174,
institutionalization, xlvi, 170	181–183
see also organizational defense	name changes, 137
through their annual reports, 136,	operation, xxiv-xxv, 35-36
170	profitability, 149–151
through neutralization techniques,	failures explained by scapegoating,
137–138, 169, 173	160–165
deinstitutionalization	retention by Eastern State Penitentiary,
due to alternative status, 265,	xxvi–xxvii
294-295, 324	attributed to religion, xxxii-xxxiii,
due to decline in criticism, 299, 302	xxxiii
due to overcrowding, 318	attributed to sunk costs, xxxiii
diffusion, 113	attributed to support at a personal
discredit, 107	level, xxxiv–xxxv
distinction from Auburn System, 314	see also administrators (Eastern
distinction from pure solitary	State Penitentiary)
confinement, 103, 140–141	attributed to unique status, xlii
efficacy, 151–153	see also status
failures explained by scapegoating,	consequences, xxxvii
165–169	difficulties, xxxvi
endorsement by the administrators, 154	historically unaccounted for,
evaluations	xxix-xxxii, xxxiv-xxxv
by scholars, xxxi	role of the Quakers, xxxii–xxxiii, 42
by the administrators at Eastern,	skepticism of BPDS, 104–105
145-155, 281-282	suitability for the crime class, 320–321
experience	two spheres of supporters, 68
as described by critics, 202	underfunding, 162–163, 271–272, 274
as imagined by supporters, 52–62	violations, 203–204, 207–208, 229
in reality, 202–203, 229 'forged in conflict', 36–37	accounted for, 155, 226–229
goal of prisoner reformation, 174,	consequences, 220–221, 309–312 see also double-celling; labor:
individual treatment emphasis, 313–318	violations; out-of-cell labor;
initially advised against	punishment: violations; visitation of
by Commissioners for the Erection of	prisons: by family members,
the Fastern Penitentiary 40	see also solitary confinement



350

Index

penologists conflict with administrators at Eastern, 285-291 penology basis of claims by the administrators at Eastern, 280-285 personal gain, see administrators (Eastern State Penitentiary): baser instincts personal institutionalization achieved through administrative violations, 203 achieved through neutralization techniques, 137-138, 174, 194-197 application to criminal justice organizations, xlv-xlvi as counterforce to challenges of deviance, xlvi, xlvii at Eastern State Penitentiary, xlvi concept, xliii-xliv conducive organizations, xliv-xlv personally institutionalized entities 'infused' with value, xliii from status, xliii-xliv see also status, Philadelphia as the birthplace of the penitentiary, 332 prisons, see Arch Street Prison; Eastern State Penitentiary; Moyamensing Prison: Walnut Street Prison Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons (PSAMPP) abandonment of Pennsylvania System, campaign for Pennsylvania System, 35-36, 49, 50 commitment to work, 237 conflict with the prison administrators, xl-xli, 265-271 control over Walnut Street Prison, 68 formal authority over Eastern, 271 see also Board of Public Charities formation, 8-9 membership, 73 motivations contrasted with administrators, xlviii official visits to Eastern State Penitentiary, 91-95 reform of Walnut Street Prison, 8-10 inadequately implemented, 18-19

request for more than one state prison, response to Commissioners on the Penal Code Report, 49 success in passing of Commutation Law, see also individual members: Bache; Bradford; Darrach; Rogers; Scattergood; Smith; Townsend; Vaux (Roberts); Wood philanthropy, see benevolence physician ability to interfere with decisions to punish, 84 duties, 69-70 residence debate, 236-242 see also individual physicians: Bache; Darrach; Given Pittsburgh, see Western State Penitentiary policy, see penal policy politics of imprisonment, xxx Porter, William A. (Inspector (1847-1851), 72, 377 Powers, Gershom condemnation of solitary confinement, Powers, Thomas H. (Inspector (1859-1878)), 337practice/theory mismatch, xxxvi pragmatism of the administrators at Eastern, xlvii-xlviii, 203, 330 'prison discipline' importance to success or failure, xxiii prison science basis of claims by the administrators at Eastern, 280-285 Prison Society, see Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons prisoners early release, see Commutation Law health, 146-149 failures explained by scapegoating, 155-160 of the crime class, 311-312, 320-321 privacy, 332 see also hooding of prisoners rights, 279 treatment, 314-315



prisons	gap between theory and practice, 14-16,
administration, 66–67	17
early uncertainty, xlv–xlvi, 116–123	see also Arch Street Prison; Walnut Street
histories	Prison
importance of Eastern State	PSAMPP, see Philadelphia Society for
Penitentiary, 331–335	Alleviating the Miseries of Public
see also Eastern State Penitentiary:	Prisons
histories	public documents, liii
oversight, 88–89	punishment, additional to the whip, 188–189
visitation,	plan for a stratified system, 26
as a popular activity, 101	violations, 206–207, 311, 319–320
by official visitors, 90–95	see also Eastern State Penitentiary:
by visiting inspectors, 68	investigation into wrongdoings at,
see also Eastern State Penitentiary:	see also capital punishment; corporal punishment
fame	pure solitary confinement, see solitary
see also jails (county); penitentiary	confinement: relied on continuously:
system; proto-prisons; and particular prisons such as Eastern	without labor
State Penitentiary	
privacy of prisoners, 332–333	Quakers
see also hooding of prisoners	credit for the Pennsylvania System,
private documents, liii	xxxii–xxxiii, 42
professional expertise	qualifications, see professional expertise
meaning, 280	racist beliefs
of the administrators at Eastern, xlviii,	as the basis for assigning out-of-cell
265, 291–294	labor, 218
based on experience, 268–270	as the basis for scapegoating, 158-160,
based on science, 280–285	161–162
see also annual reports: examination	Ragen, Joseph, 97–98
by the legislature encouraged;	Raguet, Condy
Pennsylvania: penal code revision:	bill to create Eastern State Penitentiary,
without advice of the administrators	Randall, Josiah (Inspector (1829)), 232
at Eastern	rational myths, 107
profitability	recidivism rates, 152–153
of Eastern State Penitentiary, 149-150	explained by scapegoating, 165–169
failures explained by scapegoating,	recognition
160–165	need by the administrators at Eastern,
of the proto-prisons, 16	325-326
use in evaluating criminal punishment	explained by uncertainty, 326-327
condemned, 186	redesign of prisons, xxxiii-xxxiv
violations of Pennsylvania System,	reflection
204–206	promotion by solitary confinement, xxxii reform, <i>see</i> penal reform
progressiveness, see benevolence	reformers, see Boston Prison Discipline
proto-prisons,	Society; gentlemen reformers;
costs, 16	Philadelphia Society for Alleviating
development, 7–8, 11	the Miseries of Public Prisons;
failure, 16	Society for the Prevention of
impact on penal reform, 6-7	Pauperism in the City of New York



352 Index

release of prisoners, see Commutation Law recording of prisoners' condition, reliability of accounts, lii-liii, 117-118 128-129 see also annual reports: trustworthiness, views on out-of-cell labor, 218-219 views on trades within the prison, Religious Society of Friends, see Quakers rendezvous, 222-224 205-206 visit to New Jersey's prison, 125-126 reputation preservation by the administrators at basis of claims by the administrators at Eastern, 257-258 Eastern, 280-285 responsibility denial, 155 Scott, Marvin B., see identity switching rhetorical strategies, 173 'self-abuse' (masturbation) success, 194-196 blamed for disease and mortality rates, see also characterizations; undermining, 158, 169 Rhode Island State Prison self-aggrandizement, 265 abandonment of Pennsylvania System, see also personal institutionalization; xxvi, 122 self-praise adoption of Pennsylvania System, xxv, self-doubt, 123–129 self-image, see reputation tour by the administrators at Eastern, self-interest, see administrators (Eastern 125-126 State Penitentiary): baser instincts Richards, Benjamin W. (Inspector self-praise, 173 (1829-1834)), 235 see also personal institutionalization; rights of prisoners, 279 self-aggrandizement Roe, Thomas A., 209, 226-228 Selznick, Philip Rogers, Dr. William organizational theory, xlii campaign for more than one state prison, version of institutionalization, xliii influence by Michels, xliii Roscoe, William see also personal institutionalization observations on penitentiary system, 25 sentencing practices Rothman, David J. complaints by the administrators at account of the Eastern State Penitentiary, Eastern, 163, 166-167, 272 xxviii-xxix 'separate or solitary confinement' see also conscience: 'giving way to ambiguity over meaning, 80-84 convenience' separate system, see Pennsylvania System: rule of silence, xxiv, 41, 202 as the 'separate system' rules, xxxviii separation Ruth, Rev. John, 270 hindrance of out-of-cell labor, 221-224 rationale, 203-204 'saving face' theory, xxxv Shaler, Charles, see Commissioners on the scapegoating, 155-169 Penal Code Scattergood, Thomas (PSAMPP member Shephard, Furman (Inspector and Warden (1845-1850)) (1859-1872)), 337 alliances, 233 Shulze, John Andrew benevolence, 183 request for penal code revision, 43 continuation of other activities, 76-77 Shunk, Governor Francis R. election as warden, 245-246 visits to Eastern State Penitentiary, 92 endorsement of Pennsylvania System, silence rule, xxiv, 41, 202 154 silent system, see Auburn System experience, 75 Smith, George Washington explanation for economic loss, 160 campaign for Pennsylvania System, 50 crisis of confidence, 118 misconduct, 254-257



Index 353

social change, see penal reform: exogenous state legislature, see legislature (Pennsylvania) factors state-level variation, xxx Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in the City of New York (SPPNY) state prisons, see Philadelphia: as the investigation into solitary confinement, birthplace of the penitentiary; statistical evaluations (of the Pennsylvania Society of Friends, see Quakers solitary confinement System),145-155 see also annual reports ability to promote reflection, xxxii status as a uniquely effective punishment, 26-27 conferring value, xliii-xliv as crucial component of penitentiary connection with organizational theory, system, 27 derived from professional expertise, xlviii as solution to reform of criminals, 17-18, 26, 26, 27-28, 139-140 see also administrators (Eastern State Penitentiary): identity as authorization professional experts at Auburn State Prison, 28-29, 37 at Western, and Eastern, state of prison administration, 328-329 penitentiaries, 20 uniqueness of Eastern State Penitentiary, xlii early use credited to the Quakers, xxxii-xxxiii straight jacket indispensability, 37 use under Pennsylvania System, 207 relied on continuously see also punishment: additional to with labor, see Pennsylvania System the whip without labor (pure solitary strategic manipulations, see Pennsylvania confinement) System: violations Strickland, Nimrod (Warden (1854–1856)) at Auburn State Prison (first experiment), 5-6, 29-30, 37, 103 accounts of prisoners, 85-86, 157, 210, at Maine State Prison, 30-31, 212-213 experience, 75 102-103 condemnation, 31, 102-103 objection to accusations of illicit distinction from Auburn System, practices, 226-228 views on official visits, 93 101, 104 suicide, see insanity; mortality rates distinction from Pennsylvania System, 101, 103, 104, 140–141 'sunk costs' theory, xxxiii-xxxiv initially recommended for Eastern supermaximum security prisons State Penitentiary, 49 distinction from Eastern State relied on partially (hybrid system), Penitentiary, 119-120, 333-334, see Auburn System Sutton, John R. steadfastly believed in, 34 study of criminal justice organizations, use at Western State Penitentiary xlvhindered by architectural problems, Swift, John (Inspector (1829–1831)), 232 Sykes, Gresham, see denials of injury; 31-33, 51-52 use in proto-prisons, 15 denials of responsibility; techniques widespread support, 26, 28 of neutralization solitary system, see Pennsylvania System techniques of neutralization, 137 trustworthiness, lii-liii see also characterizations; evaluations; see also reliability of accounts name changes; scapegoating; SPPNY, see Society for the Prevention of undermining Pauperism in the City of New York Texas State Penitentiary, 114



354 Index

theory/practice mismatch, xxxiv uncertainty Thomaston prison, see Maine State Prison explanation for need for recognition, Thompson, George (Warden (1840–1845)) 326-327 over administration of Pennsylvania account of an official visit, 92 System, 79-83, 88, 123-126, account of prisoner John Billman, 211-212 126-129, 174 over best prison regime, xlv-xlvi, alliances, 233, 236 conflict with Inspector Bradford, 116-123 over jurisdiction of Eastern State 242-247 Penitentiary, 84-88 debate over resident physician, 238-239 undermining, 268 decline of re-election to warden, 77, 257 unreliability, see reliability of accounts endorsement of Pennsylvania System, endorsement of Warden Scattergood, 183 value from status, xliii-xliv experience, 75 explanation for disease and mortality see also status 'infused' entities, xliii rates, 147 limitation of access to the prisoners, values in the penal field 94-95 commitment by the administrators at praise of his officers, 184 Eastern, 173 recording of prisoners' condition, limit, 231-232 127-129 Vaux, Richard (Inspector (1842–1895)) visits to other prisons, 125, 128 alliances, 246-247 torture, see punishment: violations conflict with New York penologists, total solitary confinement, see solitary 287-291 confinement: relied on continuously: death, 322 without labor debate over resident physician, 240-241 Townsend, Dr. Edward (PSAMPP member defense of Warden Townsend, 96 and Warden (1870-1881)) experience, 72, 377 account of an official visit, 91 feelings on Dickens' criticism, 127 account of family visits, 297 influence in the annual reports, 136 account of fighting amongst the influence of science on, 282, 287-288 prisoners, 310 nomination as President of PSAMPP, 73 account of out-of-cell labor, 309 other activities, 78 account of overcrowding, 305, 308 role in retention of Pennsylvania System, attendance at court, 96 xxxiv-xxxv continuation of other activities, 78 views on the crime class, 320 embarrassment over escapes, 225 views on the Pennsylvania System, 124 experience, 75 views on trades within the prison, 205 explanation for economic loss, 165 Vaux, Roberts (PSAMPP member and feelings on Dickens' criticism, 127 Inspector (1829)) rejection of prison's reputation for poor Commissioner for the Erection of the health, 146 Eastern Penitentiary, 25 views on the crime class, 312 experience, 73-74 training, 204 other activities, 77-78 see also labor recognition of the difficult task ahead, treatment of prisoners, 314-315 325-326, 327 trustworthiness, see reliability of accounts recommendations for penal code turnkeys, 69 revision, 43-44 see also Blundin; Merrill; Roe resignation, 232



Index 355

views on best prison regime, 27, 42 views on the inspectors' oversight, 90 Velora Elwell, Elizabeth, 216–217, 222-224 veracity of accounts, see reliability of accounts violence by prisoners, 309-310 Virginia proto-prison, 15 visitation of prisons, as a popular activity, 101 by family members, 297-298 by official visitors, 90-95 see also Eastern State Penitentiary: fame visiting inspectors, 68 voluntary work by the administrators at Eastern, 77-78 Walls Unit (Texas), 114 Walnut Street Prison, 8 closure, 21 deterioration of conditions, 11-14 grand jury investigation, 19-20 reform by PSAMPP, 8, 9 inadequately implemented, 18, 19 backgrounds, 74-77 concern for prisoners, 127-129 duties, 69 see also individual wardens: Beckham; Bussinger; Cassidy; Halloway; Scattergood; Strickland; Thompson; Townsend; Wood warden's log, liii-liv Washington Smith, George campaign for Pennsylvania System, 35-36, 49, 50 crisis of confidence, 118 well being of the prisoners, 146-149 failures explained by scapegoating, 155-160 Western State Penitentiary abandonment of Pennsylvania System, xxvi, 122 authorization to be built, 20-21 design flaws, 32-33 influence by Bentham, 32

use of hard labor hindered by architectural problems, 33-34 use of solitary confinement hindered by architectural problems, 31, 32-33, 51-52 Wethersfield State Prison, 114 Wharton, Thomas J., see Commissioners on the Penal Code whipping use under Auburn System condemned, 48, 186–189 see also punishment White, Dr. J. William, 74 Wines, Enoch C. (NYPA member) call for new 'prison science', 286 career, 285-286 comparison of the two systems, xxvi, 41, 113, 300 conflict with Richard Vaux, 404.1 study of the treatment of prisoners, 315 Wood, Samuel R. (PSAMPP member and Inspector (1829-1840)) accounts of official visits, 91-92 alliances, 233 benevolence, 176, 179, 185 campaign for more than one state prison, campaign for the Pennsylvania System, 50 Commissioner for the Erection of the Eastern Penitentiary, 24-25 complaint about the African-American prisoner population, 159, 161 conflict with the visiting inspectors, 233-234 consultation of inspectors regarding escapees, 88 consultation of physician regarding punishment, 84 debate over resident physician, 237-238 endorsement of Pennsylvania System, 153-155 experience, 76-77 explanation for recidivism, 165-166 explanations for economic loss, 160, 163-164 fiscal responsibility, 190-192 opposition to pardons, 167-169 opposition to short sentences, 163, 166-167

out-of-cell labor, 214

redesign, xxxiii-xxxiv



356

140

Wood, Samuel R. (PSAMPP member and Inspector (1829–1840)) (cont.) punishments, 188 recording of prisoners' condition, 128 requests for funding, 162 role in wrongdoings investigated, 74–75, 97, 230–231, 234–235, 247–254 selection, 268 use of out-of-cell labor, 221 views on best prison regime, 42

views on pure solitary confinement,

Index

views on the Pennsylvania System, 124, 126 visit to New York's Sing Sing prison, 125 work, see labor Work System, 302 workshop-style labor profitability, 164–165 young offenders, 301–302 see also children: education; Huntingdon Reformatory

zombie imagery, 324