Locked Up:

Exploring Prisoner Rights and the Eighth Amendment

Greg Bognich

Prior to the 1960s, prevailing attitudes about the rights of prisoners in the American criminal justice system could be summed up by a Virginia Supreme Court opinion written almost a century earlier:

A convicted felon ... punished by confinement in the penitentiary instead of with death ... is in a state of penal servitude to the State. He has, as a consequence of his crime, not only forfeited his liberty, but all of his personal rights except those which the law in its humanity accords to him. He is for the time being the slave of the State.¹

According to the Virginia Supreme Court, prisoners essentially had no rights, or in other words their rights were forfeited when they chose to break the law. Most courts accepted this interpretation of the law through the first half of the twentieth-century. They regularly refused to hear any cases concerning the conditions under which prisoners were confined. Known as the "hands-off" doctrine, this judicial laissez-faire attitude allowed prison administrators a large degree of autonomy. Prisoners were allowed certain privileges based upon their conduct and behavior while incarcerated. However, those privileges could

be arbitrarily granted or revoked by prison officials who were subject to little oversight.

If a prisoner felt his constitutional rights were violated, there was little recourse. The main course of action was to file a writ of habeas corpus. According to Article 1, Section 9 of the U.S. Constitution: "The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public safety may require it." The writ is a court order ordering a person (a warden or jailer) holding a prisoner to produce that person in court so the legality of his confinement can be adjudicated.² However, courts would only issue the writ in cases of unlawful confinement, not a challenge to the conditions in which the prisoner was confined. If this method failed, a prisoner could petition the governor in state cases or the president of the United States in federal cases, in hopes of obtaining executive clemency.

The 1960s ushered in a socially volatile period in U.S. history. A combination of events, including an increase in poverty, particularly in urban areas, the civil rights movement, and growing animosity toward the Vietnam War, led to a spike in the crime rate. Faced with increasing pressure from the American public, both the executive and the judicial branches of government were forced to respond. They began turning away from the "hands-off" approach to take

a more activist role in criminal justice.

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson formally launched the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. The commission was made up of several task forces, each mandated to study the crime problem and the structure of criminal justice administration, and make recommendations for change. The recommendations were summarized in a report titled The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, published in 1967. While acknowledging that some jurisdictions had made dramatic improvements in their policies toward treatment of inmates, the commission had to acknowledge a basic fact of prison life:

Life in many institutions is at best barren and futile, at worst unspeakably brutal and degrading. To be sure, the offenders in such institutions are incapacitated from committing further crimes while serving their sentences, but the conditions in which they live are the poorest possible preparation for their successful reentry into society, and often merely reinforce in them a pattern of manipulation or destructiveness.³

The Supreme Court also got into the act during this decade. The court justices began hearing a series of cases that

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Definitions and one will not be made. As the second property of the Street Nume Non. G. T. Makersham. No. Department of Justine. n.c. Town Washington. County State 1908 IR" Prisoners are permitted to write only on this style of paper and with pencil. T. A. Kating August 29th 5903 except by a special order. Register No. Name

Hon. G. W. Wickersham,

Mir:- I wish to sull your attention to some of the conditions in this institution.

water often stood on the floor. I contracted a covere cold chich finally developed into tuberculests of the stormed. I sould get to a cell in basement of new cell building, these cells are illy here in January 1904, and placed to work in stone shed-assigned no officient treatment under Dr. Shomar, the old open harn like of the food, all centributed to aggravate the disease until my stone ahed, the continual breathing of dust, the poor quality I was transferred from the old to the new prison Fontilated and worse lighted, and so damp at that time that right lung become affected.

blood, for more than two years. I have made efforts to get out tinuous pain in top of right ling for twenty months, a chronic have received proper nedical attention, but I have bad a con-Marden, the Doctor, the Deputy Warden, ond the Inspector. I after ur. Yohe come here nome two years ago, I sore throat, a cold and egitting which is often tinged with of the stone shop on account of the dust. I have seen the now appeal to you.

Including mynelf in that gang". There has never been any account served terms aggregating twenty-three years, and eight of us are expense, the rest of us est hesh made largely of liver and such present administration, it would neen that near a man as Marden Modification and of above a permonal Yongeance, after these men being punished in various ways, - dragging bails and chains for oriminated against, there is now some twenty-five "life timers" months, - being chained up in their cells, after cight men have other little knick knacks, absolutely necessary to good health. inent, and this class are given the good jobs and take their we are not even allowed the privilege . All I ask, or ever have neked, is to be needgned to work not injuroisn to my health. I empet no favor. I am known here ag one of the "mutineers", and a laww come to the constanton seals on "bankers table" , furnished good food at government to work, unless the prisoners happens to be wenithy or promtaken of a prisoner's physical condition here in ansignment fobtaining in all up to date prinons, of buying fruits, or Any prisoner with longer than five years, and assigned to work in the etone shop is being unjustly disthat its impossible for us to get a square deal under the still doing life, I think they ought to be satisfied. food on we can got.

give every dann one of you fellows hell, we are not through with you yet, there are my orders from the Warden and Capt. Trelaford you see they are carried out", (I quote his own words) I can any marden in presence of capt. Trelaford, "that we are going to in early part of 1904 i was told by the Benuty truthfully that this order has been literally carried out.

I believe largely responsible for abuses existing in this tover! reached the limit, the Deputy Warden on the elective officer, is but if you will not take some action, it will be necessary that if you will send an agent here to investigate our case or willow are justly entitled to a transfer to some other federal prison. as to transmit a statement through the Inspector, dealing com-"Mutiny" the manner and proceedure of our trial, the treatment I omploy an attorney to take these nattorn up for me, for its we have received aince, the things we must contend with otc., I believe I can convince the Department that we prehensively with conditions before and at the time of the only within human nature to endure so much, we have about

challenged the constitutionality of the conditions of prison life. Specifically, the Court addressed the right of an inmate to bring legal action against his overseers (Monroe v. Pape and Cooper v. Pate), the right of an inmate to secure legal services while incarcerated (Johnson v. Avery, Younger v. Gilmore, Wolff v. McDonnell, and Bounds v. Smith), to practice one's religion (Cruz v. Beto), and the right of an inmate to medical services (Estelle v. Gamble). However, the Court acknowledged that certain individual rights could be curtailed by the needs of prison officials to maintain a safe environment. The court also denied prisoners the right to form a labor union (Jones v. North Carolina Prisoners' Labor Union).

The National Archives in Kansas City retains records related to Leavenworth (Kansas) Federal Penitentiary. One popular series of records is the inmate case files. Every inmate incarcerated at Leavenworth is assigned a prisoner number and a corresponding case file. The contents of those files can vary widely, but many contain personal correspondence. One example is a copy of a letter written by one prisoner to the attorney general in 1909 (see p. 78). It was sent along with another letter (see pp. 80–81) written by the warden of the penitentiary in response to the prisoner's letter. The prisoner explicitly complains about the conditions of his confinement and seeks a transfer to a different institution. The warden presents a long history of the prisoner in order to justify the actions taken against him, while trying to dispel what he believes are some myths the prisoner has complained about.

Understanding the prisoner's background is necessary for putting these letters into proper context. Thomas A. Kating, inmate #5903, was originally sent to Leavenworth penitentiary in 1900 for stealing horses. He was arrested in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) and given a five-year sentence. On November 7, 1901, Kating was one of the leaders in a mass escape attempt of 27 prisoners. During the riot, one prisoner and one guard were shot and killed. His initial

escape attempt was successful, but he was captured and returned almost two years later. Kating, along with seven other escapees, subsequently received life sentences for the death of the guard. There was no direct evidence to prove any one of the prisoners had pulled the trigger. Kating was involved in another escape attempt shortly after writing his letter to the attorney general. On April 21, 1910, Kating and four other inmates took control of a supply train within the prison walls. They drove the locomotive through the prison doors in the west wall. It was a bold and daring move, but once again he was recaptured and sent back to Leavenworth. He continued his letter writing campaign and complained to anyone who would listen about the conditions at the penitentiary. One person who did seem to listen was President Woodrow Wilson. In 1913, Kating wrote a 19-page letter to the president airing his grievances regarding the prison administration dating back more than a decade. Only two and a half months later, Kating's sentence was commuted by Wilson. He was released from federal custody on July 21, 1914.

Today, prisoners have more rights than ever in recorded history. Some would argue that the pendulum has swung too far in the other direction, and that prisoners have far too many rights. Yet prison reform advocates see the advances in the rights of prisoners as small gains in a larger struggle. Gone are the days of the gallows and the ball-and-chain, but the United States is still the country with the highest per capita incarceration rate in the world. There continues to be a growing racial disparity among incarcerated individuals, and prison allocation funds are continually being reduced by state legislatures and Congress. As a result of the loss of funding, there has been an explosion of growth in the private, forprofit prison industry, which presents its own set of challenges for reformers. The search for available alternatives to mass incarceration will dominate the talking points concerning prison reform well into the twenty-first century.

Activities for the Classroom

Discussion

Imagine you are Attorney General G.W. Wickersham in 1909. You have just received these two letters (see pp. 78, 80-81). Kating wants a full investigation to be conducted on the prison administration. He would also like a personal interview with one of the investigators in order to tell his side of the story. Warden McClaughry insists that his administration has done nothing wrong, and he argues that Kating's story is full of lies. The warden also invites a full investigation to be conducted. What would be your next course of action? What is Kating referring to when he writes about the "bankers table?" Kating argues that his escape attempts were the only reasonable action to be taken under such dire circumstances. Do vou believe his escapes were justified? Kating has been described by one writer as "the type of inmate jailers love to hate."4 Why do you think the writer made this characterization?

Classroom Debate

The Eighth Amendment to the Constitution forbids the use of "cruel and unusual punishment." Has the prison administration broken the law by requiring someone complaining of lung problems to continue working in a stone shed? Do you think the punishment of "dragging balls and chains" and "being chained up in their cells" qualifies as cruel and unusual? Divide the class in half; consider a classroom debate in which students discuss the pros and cons of punishment in the American prison system. Numerous articles are available for research on this topic that can help students build an argument around the current prison system and argue the merits of what constitutes cruel and unusual punishment. In addition, students could go further and research/debate the entire concepts of prison reform, a controversial issue since the early twentieth century.

Washington, D. C.

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attorney General,

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March/April 2016

Research Project Assignment

Assign students a research paper/ project around the topic of habeas corpus. Numerous court cases are available through either Docs Teach or the National Archives online catalog that can aid in this research. Additional sources to consider include the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice files located at the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, searchable in the National Archives catalog: www. archives.gov/research/catalog, or through the Johnson Presidential Library at www. Ibilibrary.org/research. Additional information can be found in DocsTeach at www.DocsTeach.org, using the search term "8th amendment."

Research Resources

Several National Archives facilities house inmate case files from the Bureau

of Prisons for Federal penitentiaries, including San Francisco (Alcatraz) and Atlanta (Atlanta USP).

A web page for prison research resources at the National Archives is available at: www.archives.gov/research/prisons/. Included are links to the prison inmate indexes for Alcatraz, Atlanta, and Leavenworth Federal Penitentiaries. Also included are research guides for McNeil Island Penitentiary and a guide for researching Criminal Case Files from Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Notes

- Ruffin v. Commonwealth, 62 Va. (21 Gratt.) 790, 796 (1871)
- For more information, see James Landman, "You Should Have the Body: Understanding Habeas Corpus," Social Education 72, no. 2 (2008): 99–105.
- 3. The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society: A Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), 159.
- $4. \quad {\it Joe Jackson}, {\it Leavenworth Train: A Fugitive's Search}$

for Justice in the Vanishing West (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2001), 203.

Citations for Letters

Thomas A. Kating, Federal Inmate, to George W. Wickersham, U.S. Attorney General, Washington, D.C., August 29, 1909; File folder #5903; Inmate Case Files, 1895–1957; U.S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas; Records of the Bureau of Prisons, Record Group 129; National Archives at Kansas City.

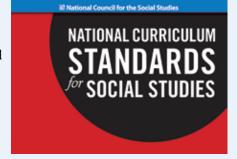
Robert W. McClaughry, Prison Warden, to George W. Wickersham, U.S. Attorney General, Washington, D.C., September 2, 1909; File folder #5903; Immate Case Files, 1895-1957; U.S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas; Records of the Bureau of Prisons, Record Group 129; National Archives at Kansas City.

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