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Book Author(s): Brian Jarvis

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Notes

1. THE BIRTH OF A PRISON NATION

1. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter* (Bedford, St Martin's Press: New York, 1991) p.41. All subsequent references are to this edition.
2. Ogden Nash, *The Face is Familiar: The Selected Verse of Ogden Nash* (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1940), p.209.
3. Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'English Traits' in *Essays and Lectures* (Viking Press: New York, 1983), p.849.
4. Cited in Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some: 500 Years of Imprisonment in America* (Northeastern University Press: Boston, 1998) p.46.
5. *Ibid.*, p.7.
6. *Ibid.*, p.51.
7. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (A. A. Knopf: New York, 1945), p.94.
8. Thomas Paine, 'An answer to a friend regarding *The Age of Reason*', May 12, 1797, in *Collected Writings* (Viking: New York, 1995), p.712.
9. Cited in Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some*, p.88.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, *On the Penitentiary System in the United States and Its Application in France. With an appendix on penal colonies and also statistical notes*, Francis Lieber trans. (Carey, Lea and Blanchard: Philadelphia, 1833), p.201.
12. *Ibid.*, p.211.
13. David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1971), p.83.
14. See Daniel Burton-Rose, Dan Pens, Paul Wright (eds), *The Celling of America: An Inside Look at the US Prison Industry* (Common Courage Press: Portland, Maine, 1998).
15. Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Memoirs from the House of the Dead* (Oxford University Press: London, 1956), p.12.
16. Sigmund Freud, 'The Economic Problem of Masochism', in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. XIX* (Hogarth: London), p.162.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Sigmund Freud, 'A Child is Being Beaten', in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. XII* (Hogarth: London), p.185.
19. Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (Routledge: New York, 1992), p.190.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p.191.
22. *Ibid.*, p.211.
23. *Ibid.*

24. Gilles Deleuze, *Masochism: Coldness and Cruelty* (Zone Books: New York, 1991), p.58.
25. Ibid.
26. Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, p.186.
27. Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer, *Punishment and Social Structure* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1939), p.18.
28. Ibid. p.23.
29. Norman Mailer, introduction to Jack Henry Abbott, *In the Belly of the Beast: Letters from Prison* (Vintage Books: New York, 1991), p.xii.
30. Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some*, p.xiv.

2. THE SCARLET LETTER AND THE LONG FOREVER OF PURITAN PUNISHMENT

1. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter* (Bedford, St. Martin's Press: New York, 1991), p.92. All subsequent references are to this edition.
2. Since this inaugural slaughter, approximately 15,000 people have been executed in North America.
3. Cited in Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some: 500 Years of Imprisonment in America* (Northeastern University Press: Boston, 1998), p.7.
4. Karen Kupperman, 'Apathy and Death in Early Jamestown', *Journal of American History*, 66 (June 1979), pp.24–40.
5. It should also be noted that the Puritan penal code was founded in part on a long history that included the vagaries of English common law and Levitical exegesis.
6. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647* (Knopf: New York, 1970), p.3.
7. Michael Wigglesworth, *The Day of Doom: Or a Poetical Description of the Great and Last Judgement, with a Short Discourse about Eternity* (Thomas Fleet: Boston, 1751), Nos. 37, 139.
8. Cited in Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (John Wiley & Sons: New York, 1966), p.186.
9. Ibid., p.188.
10. Ibid.
11. Lawrence Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (BasicBooks: New York, 1993), p.32.
12. Jonathan Edwards, *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God, A Sermon, Preached at Enfield, July 8th, 1741, at a Time of Great Awakenings, and Attended with Remarkable Impressions on Many of the Hearers* (Riggs and Stevens: New York, 1815), pp.15–16.
13. Michael Wigglesworth, *The Day of Doom*, p.20.
14. John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity*, in Paul Lauter et al. (eds), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, 4th edition (Houghton Mifflin: Boston, 2002), p.232.
15. Cited in Robert Martin, 'Hester Prynne, C'est Moi', in Joseph Allen Boone and Michael Cadden (eds), *Engendering Men: The Question of Male Feminist Criticism* (Routledge: London, 1990), p.110.

16. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647*, p.228.
17. Michael Wigglesworth, *Day of Doom*, p.63.
18. Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, pp.168–9.
19. John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity*, p.228.
20. Kathy Acker, *Blood and Guts in High School, Part Two* (Grove Press: New York, 1989), pp.66, 69.
21. Cited in Bruce Daniels, 'Did the Puritans Have Fun? Leisure, Recreation and the Concept of Pleasure in Early New England', *Journal of American Studies*, 25.1 (1991), p.17.
22. Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, p.157.
23. See Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (Norton: New York, 1997).
24. Cited in Elizabeth Reis, *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1997), p.114.
25. Cited in Roger Thompson, 'Attitudes Towards Homosexuality in the Seventeenth-Century New England Colonies', *Journal of American Studies*, 23.1 (1989), p.30.
26. Cited in Bruce Daniels, 'Did the Puritans Have Fun?' p.8.
27. Friedrich Nietzsche, *On The Genealogy of Morals: A Polemic by way of Clarification and Supplement to my Last Book 'Beyond Good and Evil'*, Douglas Smith trans. (Oxford Paperbacks: Oxford, 1998), pp.42–3.
28. Michael Wigglesworth, *Meat Out of the Eater, or Meditations Concerning the Necessity, End, and Usefulness of Afflictions unto God's Children* (T. Green: Connecticut, 1770), p.61.
29. Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic* (Routledge: New York, 1992), p.218.
30. Cited in Elizabeth Reis, *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England*, p.116.
31. Roger Thompson, 'Attitudes Towards Homosexuality in the Seventeenth-Century New England Colonies', p.34.
32. *Ibid.*, p.31. It should be noted that execution for 'sodomitical uncleanness' was practically non-existent in seventeenth-century New England. Several cases were brought to court and William Plaine of Guildford was hanged for 'corrupting youths', but colonial court records actually contain more cases of bestiality. Between 1641 and 1673, there were five executions involving charges of unnatural relations with animals. Notoriously, in the case of Thomas Granger in 1642 in Plymouth, this involved the mass butchery of a mare, a cow, two goats, five sheep, two calves and a turkey. Investigative procedure included placing the suspect in close proximity with his 'partners' to see if they behaved in an 'aroused' fashion. It was also technically possible for animals themselves to be sentenced to death for promiscuous conduct.
33. René Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*, Yvonne Freccero trans. (Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1976), p.21.
34. Nathaniel Hawthorne, 'Mrs. Hutchinson', in *Tales and Sketches* (Viking Press: New York, 1982), p.21.
35. *Ibid.*
36. For the record, Judge Hathorne ordered a Quaker woman to be stripped to the waist and severely flogged.

37. Cited in Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some*, p.19.
38. Cesare Beccaria's seminal *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764) and John Howard's *The State of Prisons in England and Wales* (1777) are noteworthy in this respect.
39. Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, *On the Penitentiary System in the United States and Its Application in France, with an appendix on penal colonies and also statistical notes*, Francis Lieber, trans. (Carey, Lea and Blanchard: Philadelphia, 1833), p.175.
40. Charles Dickens, *American Notes, for General Circulation* (New York: 1972), p.155.
41. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage: New York, 1995), p.189.
42. John Winthrop, 'City on a Hill', in Lauter et al. (eds), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, 4th edition, p.233.
43. Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, pp.169–70.
44. Cited in Michael Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy: The Politics and Art of Melville* (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1983), p.267.
45. This was also a *de facto* policy of birth control amongst 'undesirables'. Such a policy was officially adopted after 1870, when the nascent eugenics movement encouraged legislation prohibiting criminals, with their inferior 'germ plasm', from reproducing.
46. Charles Dickens, *American Notes*, pp.146–7.
47. See, for example, Larry Reynolds' 'The Scarlet Letter and Revolutions Abroad', *American Literature*, 57.1, (1985), pp.44–67, and Jonathan Arac, 'The Politics of *The Scarlet Letter*', in Sacvan Bercovitch and Myra Jehlen (eds), *Ideology and Classic American Literature* (Cambridge University Press: London, 1986), pp.247–65.
48. Larry Reynolds, 'The Scarlet Letter and Revolutions Abroad', p.51.
49. Cited in Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, pp.117–18.
50. Angelina Grimké, 'Appeal to the Christian Women of the South', in Lauter et al. (eds), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, 4th edition, p.853.
51. Nathaniel Hawthorne, 'Mrs. Hutchinson', p.18.
52. Cited in Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, p.105.
53. Nathaniel Hawthorne, 'Mrs. Hutchinson', p.18.
54. Cited in Richard Brodhead, 'Sparing the Rod: Discipline and Antebellum Fiction', *Representations*, 21, 1998, Winter, p.73.
55. *Ibid.*, p.70.
56. Cited in Bruce Daniels, 'Did the Puritans Have Fun?' pp.19–20.
57. American Anti-Slavery Society, 'The Declaration of Sentiments', in Lauter et al. (eds), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, 4th edition, p.902.
58. Cited in Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, p.202.
59. *Ibid.*, p.201.
60. *Ibid.*, p.202.
61. Mark Colvin, *Penitentiaries, Reformatories and Chain Gangs: Social Theory and the History of Punishment in Nineteenth-Century America* (Macmillan: London, 1997), p.107.
62. Cited in Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some*, p.178.

63. Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some*, p.19.
64. For example, a bumper sticker sold at the 1995 National Federation of Republican Women Convention declared the following: 'THE MIRACLE OF AIDS TURNS FRUITS INTO VEGETABLES.'
65. Cited in Gary Wamser, 'The Scarlet Contract: Puritan Resurgence, the Unwed Mother and Her Child', in Bruce Rockwood (ed.), *Law and Literature Perspectives* (Peter Lang: New York, 1996), p.385.
66. *Ibid.* p.380.

3. READING THE ROSENBERGS:

THE PUBLIC BURNING AND THE BOOK OF DANIEL

1. Robert Coover, *The Public Burning* (Grove Press: Berkeley, 1997), p.211. All subsequent references are to this edition.
2. Cited in Stanley Goldberg, 'The Secret about Secrets', in Marjorie Garber and Rebecca Walkowitz (eds), *Secret Agents: The Rosenberg Case, McCarthyism and Fifties America* (Routledge: New York, 1995), p.45.
3. *Ibid.*, p.46.
4. Cited in Robert Coover, *The Public Burning*, p.250.
5. *Ibid.*, p.466.
6. See Paul Maltby, *Dissident Postmodernists: Barthelme, Coover, Pynchon* (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1991). Studies by LeClair and Ramage are singled out for failing to contain a single reference to the Cold War. See Thomas LeClair, 'Robert Coover, *The Public Burning* and the Art of Excess', *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*, 23.3, 1982, pp.5–28 and John Ramage, 'Myth and Monomyth in Coover's *The Public Burning*', *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*, 23.3, 1982, pp.52–68.
7. Paul Maltby, *Dissident Postmodernists*, p.101.
8. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage: New York, 1995), p.199. All subsequent references are to this edition.
9. Richard Godden, 'So That the Dead Shall Not Be Killed Again: Mailer, Doctorow and the Poetics of a Persecuting Society', in Michael Klein (ed.), *An American Half-Century: Post-War Culture and Politics* (Pluto: London, 1991), pp.30–58.
10. Cited in Michael Paul Rogin, 'Ronald Reagan', *The Movie and Other Exercises in Political Demonology* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1987), p.239.
11. Bruce Robbins, 'Helplessness and Heartlessness: Irving Howe, James Bond and the Rosenbergs', in Marjorie Garber and Rebecca Walkowitz (eds), *Secret Agents*, p.144.
12. E. L. Doctorow, *The Book of Daniel* (Picador: London, 1972), pp. 134–5. All subsequent references are to this edition.
13. Joyce Nelson, 'TV, the Bomb, and the Body: Other Cold War Secrets', in Garber and Walkowitz (eds), *Secret Agents*, p.38.
14. Robert Proctor, 'Censorship of American Uranium Mine Epidemiology in the 1950s', in Garber and Walkowitz (eds), *Secret Agents*, p.60.

15. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Genealogy of Morals: A Polemic by way of Clarification and Supplement to my Last Book 'Beyond Good and Evil'*, Douglas Smith, trans. (Oxford Paperbacks: Oxford, 1998), pp.47–8.
16. Mikhail Bakhtin, from *Rabelais and his World*, in Pam Morris (ed.) *The Bakhtin Reader. Selected Writings of Bakhtin, Medvedev and Voloshinov* (Edward Arnold: London, 1994), p.204.
17. Sylvia Plath, *The Bell Jar* (Faber: London, 1992), p.3.
18. Sylvia Plath, *The Unabridged Journals of Sylvia Plath* (Anchor: New York, 2000), pp.81–2.
19. Cited in Blanche Weisen Cook, 'The Rosenbergs and the Crimes of the Century', in Garber and Walkowitz (eds), *Secret Agents*, p.25.
20. Mikhail Bakhtin, from *Rabelais and his World*, in Pam Morris (ed.) *The Bakhtin Reader*, p.217. All subsequent references are to this edition.
21. Andrew Ross, 'The Work of the State', in Garber and Walkowitz (eds), *Secret Agents*, p.297.
22. Alice Jardine, 'Flash Back, Flash Forward: The Fifties, The Nineties, and The Transformed Politics of Remote Control', in Garber and Walkowitz (eds), *Secret Agents*, p.150.
23. Richard Godden, 'So That the Dead Shall Not Be Killed Again: Mailer, Doctorow and the Poetics of a Persecuting Society', in Michael Klein (ed.), *An American Half-Century*, p.42.
24. *Ibid.*, p.45.
25. Joyce Nelson, 'TV, the Bomb, and the Body: Other Cold War Secrets', in Garber and Walkowitz (eds), *Secret Agents*, p.33.
26. Karl Klare, 'Arbitrary convictions? The Rosenberg Case, the Death Penalty, and Democratic Culture', in Garber and Walkowitz (eds), *Secret Agents*, p.277.

4. PUNISHMENT, RESISTANCE AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

1. Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (Picador: London, 1987), p.181. All subsequent references are to this edition.
2. John Edgar Wideman, 'Introduction', in S. E. Anderson and Tony Medina (eds), *In Defence of Mumia* (Writers & Readers: New York, 1996), p.127.
3. George Jackson, *Soledad Brother. The Prison Letters of George Jackson* (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1970), p.127.
4. *Ibid.*, p.204.
5. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain. The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1985) p.109.
6. Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (Women's Press: London, 1981) p.177.
7. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, The African* (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1995, first published in 1789), pp.55, 58.
8. See Kali Tal, *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1996).

9. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, p.58.
10. Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some: 500 Years of Imprisonment in America* (Northeastern University Press: Boston, 1998), p.29.
11. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, p.55.
12. Peter Parish, *Slavery: History and Historians* (Harper and Row: New York, 1989), p.8.
13. Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619–1877* (Hill and Wang: New York, 1993), p.52.
14. James Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* (Routledge: London, 1996), p.58.
15. Cited in Edward Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1984), p.133.
16. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, p.58.
17. Cited in John Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1979), p.236.
18. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Modern Library: New York, 2000), p.35. All subsequent references are to this edition.
19. Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some*, p.54. In *The Peculiar Institution*, Kenneth Stampp argued that the plantation ‘strongly suggested a prison with cruel wardens’. In *Slavery*, Stanley Elkins drew a controversial equation between the plantation and the concentration camp. In a similar mould, David Brion Davis proposed that ‘throughout history enslavement has been used as a form of punishment, while some penal systems have acquired many of the characteristics of chattel slavery’. See, ‘The Crime of Reform’, *New York Review of Books*, No.27, June 26, 1980, p.14.
20. Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1987), p.52. All subsequent references are to this edition.
21. Octavia V. Rogers Albert, *The House of Bondage, or Charlotte Brooks and Other Slaves* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1988), p.1.
22. Mary Titus, ‘This Poisonous System: Social Ills, Bodily Ills and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl’, in Deborah M. Garfield and Rafia Zafar (eds), *Harriet Jacobs and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: New Critical Essays* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1996), p.202.
23. Deborah M. Garfield, ‘Earwitness: Female Abolitionism, Sexuality and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl’, in Garfield and Zafar (eds), *Harriet Jacobs and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: New Critical Essays*, p.87.
24. Sandra Gunning, ‘Reading and Redemption in Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl’, in Garfield and Zafar (eds), *Harriet Jacobs and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: New Critical Essays*, p.140.
25. Ibid.
26. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, p.63.
27. Frederick Douglass cited in Edward Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, p.135.
28. Lawrence Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (BasicBooks: New York, 1993), p.86.
29. Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (Miller, Orton and Mulligan: New York, 1855), p.273.

30. Cited in John Blassingame, *The Slave Community*, p.83.
31. *Ibid.*, p.85.
32. Cited in Edward Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, p.44.
33. *Ibid.*, p.102.
34. Cited in Deborah M. Garfield, 'Earwitness: Female Abolitionism, Sexuality and *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*', in Garfield and Zafar (eds), *Harriet Jacobs and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: New Critical Essays*, p.106.
35. Jenny Franchot, 'The Punishment of Esther: Frederick Douglass and the Construction of the Feminine', in Eric J. Sundquist (ed.), *Frederick Douglass: New Literary and Historical Essays* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990), p.141.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Norton: London, 1989), p.145.
38. *Ibid.*
39. John Blassingame, *The Slave Community*, p.261.
40. Octavia V. Rogers Albert, *The House of Bondage, or Charlotte Brooks and Other Slaves*, p.25.
41. Cited in H. Bruce Franklin (ed.), *Prison Writing in 20th-century America* (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1998), p.4. My italics.
42. *Ibid.*, pp.24–5.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, p.7.
45. Cited in Edward Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, p.178.
46. H. Bruce Franklin (ed.), *Prison Writing in 20th-century America*, p.5.
47. David M. Oshinsky, 'Worse than Slavery': *Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice* (Free Press: New York 1996), p.59
48. Cited in Edward Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, p.193.
49. *Ibid.*
50. See David M. Oshinsky, 'Worse than Slavery': *Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice* and Mark Colvin, *Penitentiaries, Reformatories and Chain Gangs: Social Theory and the History of Punishment in Nineteenth-Century America* (Macmillan: London, 1997), especially Chapter 9, 'From Slavery to Reconstruction: Penitentiaries and Chain Gangs', pp.201–26.
51. Mark Colvin, *Penitentiaries, Reformatories and Chain Gangs*, p.248.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*, pp.252–3.
54. Cited in Abdul JanMohamed, 'Rehistoricising Wright: The Psychopolitical Function of Death in *Uncle Tom's Children*', in Harold Bloom (ed.), *Richard Wright* (Chelsea House: New York, 1988), p.198.
55. Mark Colvin, *Penitentiaries, Reformatories and Chain Gangs*, p.251.
56. Ida B. Wells-Barnet, *On Lynchings: Southern Horrors, A Red Record, Mob Rule in New Orleans* (Arno Press: New York, 1969), p.26.
57. Cited in Eric J. Sundquist (ed.), *Frederick Douglass: New Literary and Historical Essays*, p.238.
58. Frederick Douglass, 'Why is the Negro Lynched?' (African Islamic Publications: New York, 1988), p.23.
59. Cited in Edward Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, p.240.

60. Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class*, pp.175, 183.
61. Cited in Peter Linebaugh, 'Qui Vive? The Farce of the Death Penalty', in S. E. Anderson and Tony Medina (eds), *In Defence of Mumia*, p.166.
62. Ibid.
63. Richard Wright, *Native Son* (Perennial: New York, 2001), p.331. All subsequent references are to this edition.
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65. Richard Wright, *Uncle Tom's Children* (Harper and Row: New York, 1965) p.31.
66. Ibid., p.49.
67. Ibid., pp.45–7.
68. Roger Rosenblatt, 'Bigger's Infernal Assumption', in Harold Bloom (ed.), *Richard Wright's Native Son* (Chelsea: New York, 1988), p.24.
69. Cited in John Blassingame, *The Slave Community*, pp.235–6.
70. Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (Vintage: London, 1992), p.253.
71. John Edgar Wideman, 'Introduction', in S. E. Anderson and Tony Medina (eds), *In Defence of Mumia*, p.127.
72. Etheridge Knight, 'The Warden Said to Me the Other Day', in H. Bruce Franklin (ed.), *Prison Writing in 20th-century America*, p.231.
73. Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice* (Jonathan Cape: London, 1969), p.59.
74. Ibid., p.4.
75. Ibid., pp.157–8.
76. Ibid., p.14.
77. Ibid., p.13.
78. George Jackson, *Soledad Brother*, p.27.
79. Ibid., p.43.
80. Cited in Edward Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, p.61.
81. George Jackson, *Soledad Brother*, p.130.
82. Ibid.
83. Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class*, p.38.
84. Ibid., p.148.
85. See Assata Shakur, *Assata: An Autobiography* (Lawrence Hill: New York, 1988).
86. Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class*, p.11.
87. Nancy Reagan, cited in Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, p.267.
88. Ibid., p.288.
89. Mumia Abu-Jamal, *Live From Death Row* (Avon: New York, 1995), p.8. All subsequent references are to this edition.
90. Robert Gooding-Williams, 'Introduction', in Robert Gooding-Williams (ed.), *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising* (Routledge: London, 1993), p.2.
91. Ibid., p.5.
92. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1992).
93. Cited in Robert Gooding-Williams (ed.), *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising*, p.112.

94. Judith Butler, 'Endangered/Endangering: Schematic Racism and White Paranoia', in Robert Gooding-Williams (ed.), *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising*, p.19.
95. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, p.59.
96. Robert Gooding-Williams, 'Look, a Negro!' in Robert Gooding-Williams (ed.), *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising*, p.168.
97. Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, p.224.
98. Ibid., p.254.
99. Staci Rodriguez, in S. E. Anderson and Tony Medina (eds), *In Defence of Mumia*, p.87.
100. Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, p.256.
101. Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice*, pp.129–30.
102. George Jackson, *Soledad Brother*, p.126.
103. James Walvin, *Questioning Slavery*, p.117.
104. Cited in ibid. p.121.
105. John Blassingame, *The Slave Community*, p.209.
106. Cited in Eugene Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (Vintage: New York, 1976), p.299.
107. Cited in John Blassingame, *The Slave Community*, p.123.
108. Ibid., p.139.
109. Delivering her inaugural lecture at UCLA, Davis focused on Frederick Douglass' significance as a figure who taught that 'the first condition of freedom is an open act of resistance – physical resistance, violent resistance'. See Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class*, p.197.
110. See Bruce Jackson (ed.), *Wake Up Dead Man: Hard Labor and Southern Blues* (University of Georgia Press: Atlanta, 1999).
111. Valerie Smith, 'The Loophole of Retreat', in Garfield and Zafar (eds), *Harriet Jacobs and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: New Critical Essays*, p.174.
112. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, pp.62–3.
113. Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (Penguin: London, 1968), pp.267, 275.
114. George Jackson, *Soledad Brother*, p.18.
115. Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class*, pp.33, 209.
116. Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice*, pp.162–3.

5. THE WHIP, THE NOOSE, THE CELL AND THEIR LOVER: MELVILLE AND MASOCHISM

1. Cited in Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some: 500 Years of Imprisonment in America* (Northeastern University Press: Boston, 1998), pp.107–8.
2. John Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1979), p.217.
3. Herman Melville, *Benito Cereno*, in *Shorter Novels of Herman Melville* (Liveright: New York, 1942), p.105. All subsequent references are to this edition.

4. Cited in Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy: The Politics and Art of Herman Melville* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1985), p.265.
5. Herman Melville, *White-Jacket, or the World in a Man-of-War* (Oxford World's Classics: Oxford, 1990), p.372. All subsequent references are to this edition.
6. Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy*, pp.90–1.
7. E. L. Doctorow, *The Book of Daniel* (Picador: London, 1972), p.233.
8. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter* (Bedford, St Martin's Press: New York, 1991), p.146.
9. Tony Tanner, 'Introduction' to *White-Jacket, or the World in a Man-of-War* (Oxford World's Classics: Oxford, 1990), p.xvi.
10. Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy*, p.85.
11. *Ibid.*, p.93.
12. *Ibid.*, p.189.
13. Antonin Artaud, 'Theatre and Cruelty', in *Collected Works*, Vol.4, Victor Corti, trans. (Calder and Boyars: London, 1968), p.64.
14. Herman Melville, *Benito Cereno*, in *Shorter Novels of Herman Melville* (Liveright: New York, 1942), p.112. All subsequent references are to this edition.
15. Cited in Lawrence Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (BasicBooks: New York, 1993), p.47.
16. Cited in Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy*, p.92.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, p.213.
19. Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, *On the Penitentiary System in the United States and Its Application in France. with an appendix on penal colonies and also statistical notes* Francis Lieber, trans. (Carey, Lea and Blanchard: Philadelphia, 1833), p.175.
20. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1985), p.45.
21. Herman Melville, 'Bartleby the Scrivener, A Story of Wall Street', in *Shorter Novels of Herman Melville* (Liveright: New York, 1942), p.111. All subsequent references are to this edition.
22. Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some*, p.96.
23. Cited in *ibid.*, p.132.
24. Herman Melville, *Pierre, or the Ambiguities* (Northwestern University Press: Evanston, 1971), p.381.
25. Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy*, p.66.
26. Coincidentally, this was also where Greenglass and Gold, the state's key witnesses in the Rosenberg trial, were held.
27. Michael Berthold, 'The Prison World of Melville's *Pierre* and "Bartleby"', *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance*, 1987, 33.4, p.246.
28. Douglas Tallack, *The Nineteenth-Century American Short Story: Language, Form and Ideology* (Routledge: London, 1993), p.166.
29. Cited in Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy*, p.241.
30. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (A. A. Knopf: New York, 1945), p.108.

31. Michael Clark, 'Witches and Wall Street: Possession is Nine-tenths of the Law', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 1983, Spring, 25.1, p.63.
32. Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy*, pp.187–8.
33. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage: New York, 1977), p.82.
34. Michael Clark, 'Witches and Wall Street: Possession is Nine-tenths of the Law', p.140.
35. *Ibid.*, p.141.
36. Cited in Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some*, p.116.
37. *Ibid.*, p.117.
38. David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1971), p.48.
39. See Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer, *Punishment and Social Structure* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1939); Dario Melossi and Massimo Pavarini, *The Prison and the Factory* (Barnes and Noble: Totowa, New Jersey, 1981); Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (Pantheon: New York, 1978); and Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some: 500 Years of Imprisonment in America* (Northeastern University Press: Boston, 1998).
40. Scott Christianson, *With Liberty for Some*, p.98.
41. *Ibid.*, p.115.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Theodore Reik, *Masochism in Sex and Society*, cited in Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (Routledge: New York, 1992), p.193.
44. Herman Melville, *Billy Budd, Sailor in Shorter Novels of Herman Melville* (Liveright: New York, 1942), p.302. All subsequent references are to this edition.
45. H. Bruce Franklin, 'Billy Budd and Capital Punishment: A Tale of Three Centuries', *American Literature: A Journal of Literary History, Criticism and Bibliography*, 1997, June, 69.2, p.337.
46. *Ibid.*, p.352.
47. Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy*, p.309.
48. Barbara Johnson, 'Melville's Fist: The Execution of Billy Budd', in Myra Jehlen (ed.), *Herman Melville: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Prentice Hall: New Jersey, 1994), p.242.
49. The doctor on the *Bellipotent* introduces a third possibility, one that repeats the conjunction of punishment and madness introduced in 'Bartleby': 'Was Captain Vere suddenly affected in his mind? He recalled the unwonted agitation of Captain Vere and his excited exclamations, so at variance with his normal manner. Was he unhinged?' (p.343).
50. Barbara Johnson, 'Melville's Fist: The Execution of Billy Budd', p.247.
51. Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy*, p.92.

6. INSIDE THE AMERICAN PRISON FILM

1. Cited in Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (Harcourt, Brace: New York, 1929), p.265.

2. Mark Edmundson, *Nightmare on Main Street: Angels, Sadomasochism and the Culture of the Gothic* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1997), p.132.
3. *Ibid.*, p.133.
4. Mumia Abu-Jamal, *Live From Death Row* (Avon: New York, 1995), p.53.
5. Jacques Derrida, 'The Law of Genre', *Glyph*, 7 (1980), p.203.
6. Exceptions to this trend include the *Penitentiary* trilogy, *Stranger Inside* and the prison sequences involving Denzel Washington in *Malcolm X* and *The Hurricane*. Other racial minorities are even less well represented. Edward James Olmos' *American Me* and Taylor Hackford's *Blood In, Blood Out*, with their focus on the Chicano prison experience, are notable anomalies in this respect.
7. A vibrant tradition of documentaries by independent film-makers offers one highly effective way out of mainstream representations of prison. Notable examples include the following: *Lockdown USA*, produced by the Deep Dish Network; *Framing the Panthers in Black and White*, by Chris Bratton and Annie Goldson, a work which explores the infamous FBI COINTELPRO group; Lisa Rudman's work includes *Geronimo Pratt, Resistance Conspiracy* and *Have You Seen La Nueva Mujer Revolucionaria Puertoriquena?* The 'Women in the Director's Chair' group produced *Mistreating Prisoners: Health Care Behind Bars*. Kari Mokko's *The New Gulag* offers an inside look at the SuperMax facilities that have been repeatedly denounced by Amnesty and other international organisations. Felicia Sullivan's *Life Beside Bars* looks at the building of a prison near a housing estate in Boston. *Prison Labor, Prison Blues*, by the California Working Group, concentrates on the increasing prevalence of private capital and exploitation of inmate labour in US corrections.
8. Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (Routledge: New York, 1992), p.210. The classical Freudian imagination might itself be read in relation to carceral tropes: the unruly id is monitored by the super-ego and yet continually manages to slip past the psychic guards. According to the reading offered here, the return of the repressed is a figurative jailbreak that rules the prison genre.
9. Following a prison shower assault in *American History X*, for example, Derek Vinyard requires over 30 stitches around his anus.
10. Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on Sexuality*, in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. VII* (Hogarth: London), p.162.
11. David Margolies, 'Mills and Boon: Guilt without Sex', *Red Letters: A Journal of Cultural Politics* 1982-3 Winter, 14, pp.5-13.
12. Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, p.196.
13. *Ibid.*, p.199.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the 'Frenzy of the Visible'* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1989), p.212.
16. Gilles Deleuze, *Masochism: Coldness and Cruelty* (Zone Books: New York, 1991), p.58.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, p.62.

19. Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', in Bill Nichols (ed.), *Movies and Methods, Volume II* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1985), p.311.
20. Gaylyn Studlar, 'Masochism and the Perverse Pleasures of the Cinema', in Bill Nichols (ed.), *Movies and Methods, Volume II*, pp.602–21.
21. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1985), pp.213–14.
22. Sigmund Freud, 'The Economic Problem of Masochism', in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. XIX* (Hogarth: London), p.170.
23. Ibid.
24. Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, p.194.
25. Sigmund Freud, *The Ego and the Id*, in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. XX* (Hogarth: London), p.274.
26. Ibid., p.281.
27. Sigmund Freud, 'The Economic Problem of Masochism', p.175.
28. Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, p.213.
29. Theodore Reik, *Masochism in Sex and Society*, cited in Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, p.197.
30. Sigmund Freud, 'The Economic Problem of Masochism', p.180.
31. Cited in Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, p.187.
32. Ibid., pp.210, 213.
33. Michael Ryan and Douglas Kellner, *Camera Politica: The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary American Film* (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1988), p.4.
34. Ibid., p.18.
35. Thomas Pynchon, *Vineland* (Secker and Warburg: London, 1990), p.237.
36. D. W. Winnicott, *Deprivation and Delinquency* (Tavistock: London, 1984), p.114.
37. *Brubaker* was inspired by the career of Thomas Mott Osborne, an industrialist who was invited to chair a commission on prison reform during the Progressive Era. Osborne took the unusual move, as background research, of posing as an inmate to spend a week at Auburn penitentiary. His experiences after this short stay resulted in a report that recommended the immediate closure of Auburn and Sing Sing, alongside sweeping reforms throughout the penal system. Osborne was subsequently appointed as warden at Sing Sing, where he abolished the notorious regulations on silence and introduced prisoner self-government schemes.
38. Michael Ryan and Douglas Kellner, *Camera Politica*, p.108.
39. Cited in Lawrence Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (BasicBooks: New York, 1993), p.298.
40. A line from Robert Frost's, 'Mending Wall', in *Collected Poems of Robert Frost* (Garden City: New York, 1936), p.87.
41. The literary sub-genre includes historical surveys (Marilyn Tower's *Alcatraz Prison in American History*); biographies of famous inmates (Jolene Babyak's *Birdman: The Many Faces of Robert Stroud*); prisoner autobiographies (Alvin Karpis' *On the Rock: Twenty-Five Years in Alcatraz*, Jim Quillen's *Alcatraz From Inside: The Hard Years, 1942–1952*, and Leon 'Whitey' Thompson's *Rock Hard: The Autobiography of a Former Alcatraz*

- Inmate*); biographies and autobiographies by prison staff (George Gregory's *Alcatraz Screw: My Years As a Guard in America's Most Notorious Prison* and Milton Daniel's *Alcatraz Island: Memoirs of a Rock Doc*); collections of photographs and paintings (John Mercer's *Island of the Pelicans*, Ron Levine's *Prisoners of Age: the Alcatraz Exhibition*); poetry (Henry Floyd Brown's *Real Prison*); novels (Tara Ison's *A Child out of Alcatraz*); and novelisations based on escape attempts (Don Denevi's *Riddle of the Rock: The Only Successful Escape from Alcatraz*).
42. The first 20 years of screening the Rock saw *King of Alcatraz* (1938), *Those High Grey Walls* (1939), *The House Across the Bay* (1940), *Passport to Alcatraz* (1940), *Seven Miles from Alcatraz* (1942), *Road to Alcatraz* (1945), *Train to Alcatraz* (1948) and *Experiment Alcatraz* (1950).
 43. As is often the case in the genre, it is difficult to shake the suspicion of parody, given Siegel's remorseless regurgitation of prison film cliché, from the lightning strike that coincides with the guard's 'welcome to Alcatraz', to the closing image of a wild flower symbolising freedom. Characterisation is similarly hackneyed. The supporting cast are cardboard cut-outs, and even Eastwood's character, Frank Morris, struggles to be more lively than his model papier-mâché head. *Escape from Alcatraz* pretends to charge prison with an assault on individuality, but its uninspired reproduction of generic platitudes simply repeats the offence.
 44. Ironically, the warden is played by Patrick McGoohan who is most famous for his role in cult TV series *The Prisoner*.
 45. *Escape from Alcatraz* is unable, unsurprisingly, to articulate these oppositions in relation to capitalist class relations. Siegel relies instead on banal generalisations concerning the 'individual' and the 'system'. An amorphous version of the 'system' permits the valorisation of the individual, who displays the capitalist virtues of a positive work ethic and entrepreneurial ingenuity whilst ignoring the structural integration of capitalism and the prison system.
 46. Lord Byron letter quoted in Leonard Michaels, *I Would Have Saved Them if I Could* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux: New York, 1982), p.133.
 47. Emily Dickinson, 'I heard a Fly buzz – when I died', in *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson* (Little Brown & Co: 1976), p.412.
 48. See Wendy Lesser, *Pictures at an Execution* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1993).
 49. Cited in *ibid.*, p.32.
 50. Cited in *ibid.*, p.249.
 51. Norman Mailer, *The Presidential Papers* (Berkeley Pub.: Berkeley, 1964), p.11.
 52. The 'war on drugs', so central to the needs of the Justice Juggernaut and a conservative social agenda, has been the motive force behind these changes. Between 1991 and 1997 the number of women incarcerated for drug-related offences doubled. African-American and Latina women, like their male counterparts, have been the main targets here, and are around seven times more likely to go to prison than white women. There are now more women on death row than at any time in US history, and one-third of them are African-American. *The Last Dance*

works to confirm right-wing phobias concerning increases in female criminality, but obscures vital statistics. Women account for around 10 per cent of homicides in the US, but offenders are far less likely than men to have criminal records, are far more likely to have acted alone, and their victim is far more likely to be a spouse or intimate relation. *Last Dance* inverts each of these trends.

53. Anne Morey, "'The Judge Called Me an Accessory': Women's Prison Films, 1950–1962', *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 1995, 23.2, p.80.
54. Norman Mailer, *The Executioner's Song* (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1979), p.658.
55. Walter Benjamin, 'The Storyteller', in *Illuminations*, Harry Zohn trans. (Harcourt, Brace and World: New York, 1968), p.154.
56. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage: New York, 1995), p.150.
57. *Ibid.*, p.58.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, p.60.
60. Elizabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic* (Routledge: New York, 1992), pp.19–20.
61. The closest cinematic approximation to the act of seeing death requires a POV shot as used by the Coen brothers in the closing scene of *Blood Simple*. As a character lies dying on a bathroom floor, looking up at the plumbing under a sink, the screen unexpectedly cuts to black. A similar effect is used in *The Monster's Ball*, where an execution scene concludes with a black-out synchronised with the placement of the hood on the head of a condemned man.
62. Emily Dickinson, 'I heard a funeral in my brain', in *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson* (Little Brown and Company: Boston, 1976), p.380.
63. Kenneth Burke, 'Thanatopsis for Critics: A Brief Thesaurus of Deaths and Dying', *Essays in Criticism* 2.4 (1952), p.369.
64. Elizabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body*, p.13.
65. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, p.31.
66. Albert Camus, 'Reflections on the Guillotine', in *Resistance, Rebellion and Death*, Justin O'Brien trans. (Vintage: London, 1995), p.181.
67. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, p.31.
68. *Ibid.*, p.56. In the idiom of state slaughter, the executioner represents the law, the execution represents justice, the audience represents the public and the condemned figure comes to represent the power of the system he opposed.
69. *Ibid.*, p.27.
70. Cited in Wendy Lesser, *Pictures at an Execution*, p.54.
71. One notable exception here is the appearance of the gas chamber in the parodic denouement to Altman's *The Player*. Surely, if this genre wished to deliver its most effective statement against the death penalty, it would evoke the Final Solution more frequently?
72. The focus on romance behind bars also denies the historical realities of abuse. Most US women prisoners are guarded by men. Around 50 per

- cent of them claim to have been the victims of physical and/or sexual abuse, and 27 per cent state that they have been raped.
73. In the past 20 years, there have been almost 20 separate instances of 'technical difficulties' in executions by lethal injection. Many of these cases involve problems with the insertion of IVs in prisoners who are drug users and in poor physical condition. Delays of up to 50 minutes have been documented, during which the condemned has often had to offer assistance. IVs have also been dislodged whilst the chemicals were being injected. In Texas, in 1998, Joseph Cannon had to inform the execution team of this error during his execution. The curtains were drawn for 15 minutes whilst the problem was rectified. In the execution of Emmitt Foster, in Missouri in 1995, the injections appeared not to be working. The coroner noted that the condemned man had been strapped so tightly to the gurney that it was prohibiting the flow of the chemicals. Death by lethal injection, depicted as an orderly and rapid affair in the films under consideration, is often accompanied by seizures, spasms, severe facial contortions, and choking fits, and can last up to 80 minutes from the point that the drugs are first administered.
 74. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, p.52.
 75. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p.44.
 76. Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, John Osborne trans. (Verso: London, 1977), p.166.
 77. Walter Benjamin, 'The Storyteller', in *Illuminations*, p.152.
 78. Walter Benjamin, 'N (Re. The Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress)', cited in Gary Smith (ed.), *Benjamin: Philosophy, Aesthetics, History* (Chicago UP: Chicago, 1989), p.48.
 79. Walter Benjamin, 'A Small History of Photography', in *One-Way Street, and Other Writings*, Edmund Jephcott and Kingley Shorter trans. (New Left: London, 1979), p.256.
 80. E. L. Doctorow, *The Book of Daniel* (Picador: London, 1972), p.264.
 81. Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', in *Illuminations*, p.222.
 82. Ina Leong, Mike Sell and Kelly Thomas, 'Mad Love, Mobile Homes and Dysfunctional Dicks: On the Road with Bonnie and Clyde', in Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark (eds), *The Road Movie Book* (Routledge: London, 1997), p.83.
 83. Ibid.
 84. David T. Courtwright, 'Way Cooler Than Manson', in Robert Brent Toplin (ed.), *Oliver Stone's USA: Film, History and Controversy* (University Press of Kansas: Lawrence, 2000), p.200.
 85. Ibid.
 86. Oliver Stone, cited in David T. Courtwright, 'Way Cooler Than Manson', p.191.
 87. Oz has offered more deaths at one institution than normally occur in the entire US penal system each year. Official statistics state that there are between 70 and 100 murders per annum inside American prisons.
 88. Coincidentally, the same year also saw the first in a trilogy of *Prison Planet* films.

89. The PIE initiative enables companies to acquire prison labour with minimal incidents of absenteeism and turnover, and to pay the minimum wage without health benefits. Meanwhile, inmates are expected to pay tax and contribute towards their keep. This opportunity has been grasped by industrial and postindustrial concerns: convict labour is being used to build and maintain prisons, to manufacture furniture and office supplies and computer components for IBM and US Technologies. Since the mid 1990s Microsoft has been using prison labour from Washington's Twin Rivers Corrections Center, near its Seattle headquarters, to package its products. In 1995 the Corrections Corporation of America controlled about 50 per cent of the market on prison labour. Its stock rose by 360.5 per cent in that year, making it the fourth-best performer on the New York Stock Exchange.
90. William Stone, 'Rehabilitation Revisited', in Jocelyn M. Pollock (ed.), *Prisons: Today and Tomorrow* (Aspen: Gaithersburg, 1997), p.126.
91. Nancy Neveloff Dubler and Victor W. Side, 'Aids and the Prison System', in Dorothy Nelkin, David P. Willis and Scott V. Parris (eds), *A Disease of Society: Cultural and Institutional Responses to Aids* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1991), p.82.
92. An identical formula is used in the low budget *Alien*³ clone, *New Alcatraz*, where a 100-foot boa constrictor pursues its victims through a high-tech prison complex built beneath the Antarctic tundra.
93. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, p.54.
94. Antonin Artaud, *The Theatre and its Double*, Mary Caroline Richards trans. (Grove Press: New York, 1958), p.12.
95. Susie J. Tharu, *The Sense of Performance: Post-Artaud Theatre* (Prometheus Books: New York, 1983), p.57.
96. The metastasis of fantasy environments also extends into informational landscapes. The internet is a hyperspace of themed sites beneath which users' movements and communications can be secretly monitored and manipulated.
97. E. L. Doctorow, *The Book of Daniel*, p.296.
98. *Ibid.*, p.292.

7. IMAGE BURN: A MINORITY REPORT ON THE FUTURE OF US PUNISHMENT

1. Jorge Luís Borges, *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings* (New Directions: New York, 1964), p.30.
2. Cited in Lawrence Sutin, *Divine Invasions: A Life of Philip K. Dick* (Citadel Press: New York, 1991), p.192.
3. Coincidentally, 'Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring' is being performed by the sentry at the containment facility where pre-criminals are held indefinitely. This chain of musical connections can be taken further. Whilst the detainees at the concentration camp in *Schindler's List* are forced to run naked as Billie Holliday sings 'God Bless the Child' on a gramophone, Lady is piped over the sound system in the futuristic Gap store in *Minority Report* as Anderton chooses an outfit for Agatha. His

- selection of striped trousers for the emaciated and shorn figure of the Pre-Cog seems to complete her visual replication as a camp survivor.
4. A less sanguine conclusion, involving the discovery that the entire film consisted of the visions of Anderton confined in the 'hell', was apparently dropped by Spielberg during production.
 5. Tom Cruise's production company recruited the 3 Ring Circus agency to design a series of commercials for use in *Minority Report* which, given the innovative media involved, also function as adverts for capitalism's official art-form itself. Lexus purportedly donated \$5 million to the film and a \$62,000 convertible to its director to include one of their concept cars. Nokia handed over \$2 million to ensure the use of their handsets. Coincidentally, Nokia was a major sponsor of *The Matrix*, another fashionably dystopian and profoundly inconsistent science-fiction fantasy which utilised state of the art technology to advance a neo-Luddite philosophy.
 6. Herman Melville, 'Hawthorne and his Mosses', in Paul Lauter et al. (eds), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol. 1, second edition (D. C. Heath: Lexington, MA, 1994), p.2617.
 7. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter* (Bedford, St.Martin's Press: New York, 1991), p.214.