

1: The Discovery of the Asylum : Ray Rist :

*The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic (New Lines in Criminology Series) [David J. Rothman] on www.enganchecubano.com *FREE* shipping on qualifying offers. This is a masterful effort to recognize and place the prison and asylums in their social contexts.*

Blomberg and Karol Lucken American Penology: Violence Beyond the Law David J. Rothman Conscience and Convenience: Rothman m e Discovery of the Asylum: Rothman With a Foreword by Thomas G. He has written and edited, individually or as coauthor, a number of books exploring the history and impact of caretaker and custodial institutions, including hospitals, mental hospitals, prisons, and almshouses. Copyright 0 , by David J. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. The discovery of the asylum: Includes bibliographical references p. The Friends Asylum for the Insane. T h e Walnut Street jail, Philadelphia, Newgate, the first New York state prison. T h e New York state prison at Auburn. T h e Massachusetts state prison at Charlestown, T h e walls of the Eastern State Penitentiary, Philadelphia. T h e design of the Eastern State penitentiary, Philadelphia. T h e Worcester State Hospital for the Insane. T h e Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, exterior and floor plan. T h e Boston House of Industry, T h e New York almshouse, T h e Boston almshouse, T h e first New York House of Refuge. T h e Philadelphia House of Refuge emblem. T h e Bloomingdale, New York, orphan asylum, The Philadelphia jail, T h e penitentiary at Blackwells Island, New York, T h e Philadelphia House of Refuge, Why, for example, have Americans continued to rely so heavily on these crude and brutalizing mechanisms, especially when they are known to be ineffective and costly? Why have the physical characteristics and regimen of prisons remained intact and largely unchanged in almost two centuries? It is important to recall that prisons did not always play such a prominent role in our history. Why, then, did Americans in the s and s become the very first in the world to create these particular institutions for criminals and other asylums for the mentally ill, juvenile delinquents, orphans, and the poor? In seeking answers to these and other related questions, criminologists, sociologists, and historians have sought to describe and interpret the historical origins and early development of prisons and asylums. Two general approaches have been employed in these efforts. The first, which is favored by many historians, is to describe history for its own sake while not subordinating the past to the present. Using this approach, the so-called progressive prison reform has been linked to emergent enlightenment notions and associated humane and benevolent motives that led to the replacement of the horrendous punishments of the past. The second approach, and one favored by criminologists and sociologists, has used history to apply and test particular theories that may be relevant and helpful to understanding the present as well as informing the future. The prevailing theory that has been employed is that of political economy. Those adopting such a perspective have argued that prisons emerged as coercive devices that were aimed at disciplining and xii Foreword controlling the labor force as mandated by the growing demands of capitalism. Ultimately, both of these approaches have b. A signal departure in understanding the historical origins and early development of the American prison and asylums was provided in David J. Social Order and Disorder in the N m Republic, originally published in In this study, Rothman offers a comprehensive and compelling interpretation that extends historical explanation of the prison and asylums beyond the overly narrow and simple notions of progress or economically motivated coercion. Rather, he skillfully describes the period from which prisons and asylums emerged as a time in which Americans were taken with a sense of danger and opportunity as well as an unrelenting and optimistic resolve to promote stability at a point when many traditional ideas and practices were believed to be outmoded and ineffectual. Rothman contends that these sentiments were byproducts of rapidly changing social, political, economic, demographic, and religious influences that contributed to a unique ideological consensus, which led Americans of the Jacksonian era directly to the creation of protected environments called prisons and asylums, in order to rescue the deviant and dependent and to achieve societal cohesion and order. In fact, the prison was so enthusiastically embraced by Jacksonian Americans that it became envisioned as a model society, one that

could be emulated in the chaotic and disorganized cities that were subject to growing social disillusionment. It is important to recognize how, in placing the prison and asylums in their appropriate social contexts, Rothman is able to illustrate that the complexity of their history can be unraveled and usefully interpreted. By identifying the salient influences that converged in the tumultuous s and s, and led to a particular ideology that ushered in the development of prisons and asylums, Foreord XI11 Rothman provides a compelling argument that is historically informed. In so doing, he weaves a comprehensive and understandable story that sets forth and portrays a series of interrelated historical events, influences, and circumstances that are shown to be connected to the development of prisons and asylums. Finally, Rothman demonstrates that meaningful historical interpretation must be based upon not one but a series of historical events and circumstances, their connections and ultimate consequences. Thus, the history of prisons and asylums in the youthful United States is revealed to be indeed complex but not so complex that it cannot be disentangled, described, understood, and applied. In the end, important works of history do more than recount a series of events and circumstances; they put forth a system of ideas about the past that make it comprehensible and useful in the present, and that along with other historical works form a continuous discourse from the first accounts of an event through our own time and into the indefinite future. Yet, with the notable exceptions of Foucault and Garland, far too few meaningful studies of the history of punishment are available. Blomberg This page intentionally left blank d c k n owledgments I welcome the opportunity to note the generous assistance that I received in the course of completing this book. Early drafts of the book were read in whole or in part by my good friends Daniel Calhoun, Blanche Coll, Charles and Susan Halpern, Beatrice arid Richard Hofstadter, and Stanley Katz; their willingness to interrupt their own crowded schedules to review the manuscript greatly improved its intellectual quality and lucidity. A first statement of some of the themes treated here was presented to a meeting of the American Historical Association, and Sigmund Diamond and Bernard Bailyn raised issues that I have tried to resolve. As in my earlier work, it is especially pleasant to acknowledge the assistance of Oscar Handlin. The germ of the idea for this book emerged from discussions with him, and I have profited in countless ways from his continuing and painstaking review of the manuscript. The dedication to him points to my intellectual xoi Acknowledgments debt. And once again, my wife, Sheila Miller Rothman, shared the pleasures and burdens of research; her training in psychiatric social work was particularly important for the sections on poverty and insanity. Rather, its appearance testifies to her sustained interest and participation. I was also fortunate enough to carry out this assignment while enjoying the remarkable hospitality of the Rockefeller Foundation at its Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy. Since the book has earned a life of its own, I have refrained from making any changes in the text. Instead, I have confined my thoughts, and second thoughts, to the new introduction. New York City, Introduction to the Edition Over the past two decades, a fascination with the origins and development of the asylum has grown from an idiosyncratic interest shared by a handful of researchers to a core concern for social historians. The question that this book poses-why did Americans in the Jacksonian era so energetically and confidently construct and maintain institutions to confine the deviant and dependent members of the community? Before , only a handful of studies explored these changes. Twenty years later, a rich and imaginative literature traces the history of American and European prisons, mental hospitals, reformatories, orphanages, and almshouses, with books and articles numbering well into the hundreds. To understand why these institutions became central to the care and correction of the criminal, the insane, and the poor, historians and their readers have entered unusual places. They have gone on board sixteenth- and seventeenth-century convict ship galleys to learn who composed the hapless crew, how long was their servitude, and how many of them survived the ordeal. They have mingled with the crowds that gathered around the scaffold on execution days to gauge their receptivity to the lessons of deterrence and the extent of their horror at the torture and bodily dismemberment that often accompanied capital punishment. They have also in more traditional fashion analyzed the motives of judges, lawmakers, and philanthropists who urged the construction of asylums and have then, less traditionally, gone behind the walls of the prisons and mental hospitals to xviii Introduction examine the conditions of confinement, the exercise of discipline, and the characteristics of the inmates. The design of the wall itself, the graffiti that prisoners scrawled in their cells, and the tattoos that they etched on their bodies all become evidence for interpreting why a system of

incarceration was created and why, despite frequent scandals, it has persisted to this day. This turn of attention to the asylum reflects, first, the new preeminence of the field of social history, its emergence as a subdiscipline of its own, distinct from the history of social thought and social movements and as vital as political and diplomatic history. The underlying concerns of social history, its preoccupation with the relationships between social classes and the institutions that promoted or subverted social order, including the family, the church, and the workplace, helped bring attention to formal institutions of control, particularly the prison and the mental hospital. At the same time, its assumption that the political and economic organization of a society could not be understood by analyzing only the ambitions and activities of the elite, that an interpretive framework had to include a full appreciation of the independent role of ordinary people including workers, women, and racial and ethnic minorities, spurred an interest in the fate of another segment of the lower classes, namely those confined to prisons, reformatories, almshouses, and mental hospitals. Even this brief statement of research aims points to an essential affinity with sociology. After all, it was a pioneer in sociology, Emile Durkheim, who first demonstrated that to uncover the fundamental norms of a society, so fundamental as to remain hidden and without explication, one should investigate the fate of those who frankly violated them. The second major stimulus to the growth of the field was the work of Michel Foucault, testifying to his extraordinary influence, first through his book on the confinement of the insane *Madness and Civilization* and then his far more accessible book on the prison *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault was a moral philosopher whose own construction of the historical process became the text on which he grounded a series of discourses on the nature and exercise of power and authority in western civilization. He was not by temperament, by training, or by practice a historian - that is, he not only eschewed archival research but had little respect for the nuances of time chronology gave him little pause, and to substantiate a point he would treat as one observations made decades apart or for nuances of place it was as if all the world were France. Perhaps his most glaring deficiency, however, was an unwillingness to distinguish rhetoric from reality. For Foucault, motive mattered more than practice. Let public authorities formulate a program or announce a goal, and he presumed its realization. Let officials dream of a system of surveillance over the deviant classes, and he mistook fantasy for actuality. But however impatient historians may be with his methods and findings and however flawed his reconstructions, there is no minimizing the fact that he imparted a special meaning to the history of incarceration. More consistently and daringly than any other writer, he made asylums into the model of the industrial society. The confinement of the mad represented nothing less than the victory of reason over unreason in western culture, and the confinement of the criminal, the ultimate triumph of the bourgeois state. Foucault helped move the asylum from the wings to center stage - and researchers in a variety of disciplines, including not only history and sociology but also literature and architecture, were inspired to follow his lead. Not that historians were in any simple sense serving or self-consciously encouraging reform movements that sought to reduce reliance on incarceration. More, these movements drew on the work of a number of radical mental health professionals, particularly Thomas Szasz and Wolf Wolfensberger, who treated mental illness and mental retardation first and foremost as socially ascribed labels rather than inherent conditions that required assistance and confinement. Historians, it is worth repeating, did not become disciples of Szasz or the hired guns for litigators. Rather, the writings and exposes bred a healthy agnosticism. They liberated the historians from conventional wisdom and prompted them to ask why asylums had been built in the first place, and why they had persisted for so long. Perhaps the most obvious example of this process at work is the impact of the civil rights movement on the study of slavery and the black experience in America. The dynamic is apparent: I emphasize this point because it helps account for the contentiousness that has marked the historical literature about incarceration. The bitterness that infused the public policy debates - especially in the confrontation between psychiatrists and civil libertarian lawyers - spilled over into history because, however unintended, there were significant policy implications to an inquiry that took as its point of departure the declining legitimacy of incarcerative institutions.

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