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Hi listeners and welcome back to another episode of Media at Risk, a podcast from the Center for Media at Risk at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. I'm Anjali DasSarma, a doctoral student at Annenberg, and I'm also a member of the Center's steering committee. Today we're going to be talking about Eastern State Penitentiary, which is now a museum and tourist attraction but was once one of the most expensive and famous prisons in the world. The penitentiary at first focused on solitary confinement as a way toward reform or penitence based in Quaker beliefs of isolation. The first design of the prison, which you'll see when you step inside the castle-like structure is radial, with cells set out like spider legs from the central rotunda. The penitentiary was opened in 1829 in Philadelphia and was closed and generally abandoned in 1970. After conversations over several decades about what to do with the building, the first tours of the penitentiary began in 1994, and the museum now hosts around 300,000 visitors a year. I sat down with Damon McCool, the senior specialist of research and public programming on October 5, 2023, to talk about the penal press and its relationship with race, precarity and labor at risk at Eastern State Penitentiary. OK, well, hi Damon. Can you first tell me your name and a little bit about your background and kind of what drew you to. Eastern State and tell me a little bit about yourself. Sure, so my name is Damon McCool. I'm the senior specialist of research and public programming here at Eastern State Penitentiary. So I'm the historian. My job is to research the building, the people that lived here and worked here, as well as criminal justice reform today and mass incarceration and use all that research to help build museum programs and exhibits. Um, I became connected with this issue mainly as a college student, although I do have people in my family who were formerly incarcerated. I suppose I just wasn't thinking critically enough about it until I was, um, a student, so I went to college in New York City in Harlem and I was studying. History, African history, African American history. Um, and that's really when I got put on to the crisis of mass incarceration. I was doing some volunteer work with an organization called the Fortune Society, and I was asking them what do I need to read to learn more about this topic? and they said. Have you heard about this new book called The New Jim Crow by Michelle Alexander, and I said, no, I hadn't heard of it and I read it and the things that I read in that book were So alarming that it was, it was impossible to turn away from it at that time. So. When I came to Philadelphia after completing a master's degree in history, finding Eastern State was a huge blessing because it was a convergence of my academic past and and this kind of unshakable crisis of mass incarceration that I just couldn't look away from anymore. Can you tell me a little bit about journalism at Eastern State specifically, um, and, and talk a little bit about. The two papers that we're gonna be talking about today, uh, Eastern Echo and the umpire and, uh, and get us started there and then we can get into some more of the specifics. Yeah, so the great thing about this topic is that journalism in prisons is not unique to Eastern State. Eastern State is just a part of this much larger movement of what's known as the penal press, so. Beginning in the early 19th century but really kind of taking off in the middle of the 20th century, incarcerated people started writing and publishing their own magazines and newspapers, uh, and that was happening here at Eastern State too. So in the early 20th century, 19, uh, Eastern State's first publication came out and it was called The Umpire and as you can imagine by the name that was dedicated to baseball. Um, primarily, uh, but it also had musings and jokes about people at Eastern State and life at Eastern State. So it was a little more casual of a newspaper when it first came out. And then towards the end of the 19 teens it became more about prison related issues, prison policy legislation, and the newspaper started to push for things like prisoners leaving Eastern state to go fight in World War One so it became much more serious, it became much more mission driven. And then there was a huge break in prison journalism until the 1950s when the Eastern Echo emerges. And that magazine is really focused on The penology of the day if I can use that word so what experts and people in prison were starting to think about what are the goals of prison? What are we supposed to be doing here? What kinds of people end up in a place like this? Are we, are we ever going to escape this life of being convicted of crimes and coming back? So really delving deep into those issues. It still included things like sports from the umpire, um, but it was, it was a more political newspaper. And it also did a deeper dive into life at Eastern State. So some of my favorite columns from the Eastern Echo include. You know, themes and variations which was about music life at Eastern State. There's a profile section in every issue which is an interview with a prisoner, and it almost never includes their crime, which is great because then you get to really learn about somebody without learning about their crime, uh, from a historian's perspective, so much of what I know about the people that lived at Eastern State is what prison officials tell me so I know about their conviction, the crime that they did. I know what prison administrators thought about them. And that's a very one-sided view of somebody. So the Echo and other prison publications of the time allow us to see incarcerated people as humans and not prisoners. And those are kind of the broad strokes about what the newspapers did. There were other smaller newspapers that operated at Eastern State, but our records of them are very thin. Um, we really know a whole lot more about the umpire in the early 19 and the Eastern echo of the 1950s and 1960s, and I'm happy to talk more about what's in newspapers. Yeah, I'm interested in you're talking about this being an opportunity for us to sort of know more about incarcerated people besides, you know, that, that official. narrative from these like obviously problematic officials. I'm curious if you can talk a little bit more about the journalists who who wrote the papers and like figures who might stand out um and then a little more broadly about and I guess these newspapers might not have been functioning exactly the same way given that they were functioning over like different time periods but. Um, an editorial staff or ethics or standards that we know of, um, that these newspapers sort of abided by. Yeah, for sure. So to answer your first question about who's kind of behind the scenes of this paper. I think we can assume safely that a lot of the people that were working at the paper were trusted prisoners. They had achieved some sort of degree of um responsibility, uh, or privilege at Eastern State in the umpire, most of, although not all of the authors were white, um, and we see that change over time it becomes, uh, more diverse when the echo comes into print. Um, but a lot of the people that were writing and publishing for the umpire were also doing things behind the scenes like developing prisoner welfare organizations, doing other advocacy work, so it feels like their work for the newspaper was just one part of a larger project that all of these people were working on to try and build something bigger for themselves and the people that were in here. Um, In the Eastern Echo, we learn a little bit more about the editorial staff because those profiles, uh, tell us who's writing the, who's writing these articles, the people that are being featured, they do. Features about the print shop, so you're not just learning about the editor of the newspaper or a particular author, you're also learning about the person that's physically printing the paper. The echo shows you the equipment that was used. So there's also an unspoken element of prison labor. Yeah, talk a little bit more about that, about like the The labor practices, the mechanics of these types of um printing presses when you came to Penn, you, you brought this clear typewriter. um, I, I'd like to hear a little bit more about those mechanics. So the print shop where the Eastern Echo was published was cranking out materials other than this prisoner issued magazine because labor in prison is profitable for the state and there were all sorts of industries operating inside of eastern state aside from print. But print was one of the more lucrative ones and one of the more desirable jobs to work if you were incarcerated so labor at Eastern State has always been segregated by race, uh, except for this. So here we see people who are black and white working in both the print shop and the editorial offices. So journalism broke racial barriers at Eastern State, uh, that other elements of the prison were unable to. So for example. The paper had black and white writers when the cell blocks were still segregated by race. So those black and white writers may have been working side by side in an editorial office and then had to go to racially segregated cell blocks after that. Uh, but inside the print shop there's all kinds of machinery that would have, you know, lino presses and, and, you know, things that are way over my machinery that's way over my head, um, but that's making materials not just for Eastern state but for schools throughout Pennsylvania, hospitals, other government agencies and every document that the Department of Corrections produced came out of the print shop. So these were machines and spaces that were designed for industrial use. And these magazines like the Echo were just one very small thing that was printed out as part of that. I'm curious how many people read these newspapers both internally. And outside of the prison. I don't know what the readership was like. Um, I think it's safe to say that a large number of incarcerated people were reading them. I think it's also safe to say that a lot of staff were reading them too. Uh, the Eastern Echo always includes a feature from the warden's desk. Yeah, I, yeah, so the warden's not only reading this, he's contributing to it. And that goes for other prison workers too. There are features on people that work in the hospital or, you know, people that work in the barbershop or run these other kinds of programs who are not incarcerated. So incarcerated people were reading them at Eastern State and in other prisons, which is something we should talk about, but also people were reading them on the outside as well. But I don't know what those circulation numbers were like. I really, really wish I did. Uh, one of the great things about the penal press is that it was an exchange of publications. So incarcerated people at Eastern State were reading prison magazines from all over the United States and vice versa. So if you look carefully at these issues, you'll notice that every now and then in the Eastern Echo there'll be an article from another prison newspaper from somewhere else that they're just filling in the pages with. So that kind of like sort of precisely and that shows how. thorough, uh, this network was of the penal press. Yeah, um, what kind of topics were covered most commonly? Um, in the umpire. Some of the big issues that come through other than baseball, which is the primary issue. Are issues of temperance and sobriety. So this is also the years leading up to prohibition. Pennsylvania outlawed the sale of alcohol before national prohibition. Uh, it was a point of interest for the warden of Eastern State and so as I've mentioned it in other places, the warden sometimes, uh, his name was Robert McKinty. The warden sometimes used the umpire as a way to communicate issues that were really important to him. So pushing for the prohibition of alcohol is something that comes through in the empire. Convincing state and federal officials to allow incarcerated people to leave to go fight in Europe during World War One is an issue that we see coming up more and more. Uh, then when we get into the Eastern echo in the 1950s and 1960s, it becomes more about the rising field of psychology and its role in prisons and social work and its role in prisons. So the echo really focuses more on. These new fields that are reimagining what prison is supposed to be like, really trying to define what rehabilitation means. It's a word that we throw around a lot today, but in the 1950s, prisoners and prison officials were trying to grapple with what that meant. Does it mean teaching somebody another language? Does it mean group therapy? Does it mean starting an Alcoholics Anonymous chapter in your prison? It's all of those things. So it's really a very serious I find it to be a more serious, uh, publication, but it still has lighthearted things like um the upcoming features section which will tell you what movies are playing at Eastern State um there was a big. Um, a big element of performance here at Eastern State, so musical performances, vaudeville, kind of talent shows, radio broadcasts, both newspapers would give you a minute to minute of those performances as well. It wasn't uncommon for outside organizations to come into Eastern State choirs, bands, orchestras, and whenever something like that happened, it would be thoroughly documented in the paper as well. So we have a really good idea of what daily life look like thanks to these publications. Yeah. I mean that's really fascinating and I guess I read the one of the from the desk of the warden and I was really struck by the fact that that his his words were in this newspaper um I'm curious what you kind of see that representing for. The big question for this is like censorship and editorial oversight from the obvious power dynamics at play within a prison. That's a big question that starts from sort of the warden's column, but yeah, let's let's dig into that warden's column. So when the echo comes out, the warden of Eastern State is a man named William Miller. He's important because his father, Aloysiusan Miller was a prisoner at Eastern State. He's incarcerated for a financial crime, so he's a banker. And during his time at Eastern State, Aloysiusan Miller during his incarceration, developed an accounting system. When his sentence was up, Eastern State employed him to be the kind of controller controller, the financial lead of the penitentiary because he was an expert and had developed this new accounting system that the prison had been using for years during his incarceration. I say that because. It helps us better understand William Band Miller in the 1950s and his sanctioning of the Eastern echo when we understand that his father is formally incarcerated. So William Band Miller may have seen potential and humanity and dignity in these incarcerated people because of his father's lived experience that allowed the echo to become what it was. There was definitely censorship and we'll talk about how the echo ended in a second, which is um. Really scandalous. But I think that William Band Miller's experience having a formally incarcerated father at this prison really helped inform his approach to his job. And I think that the echo is a very tangible example of that. The umpire excuse me, the Eastern Echo ends because prisoners want to write an entire issue about sex in the prison. So at this point, Eastern State is only men. So when we're talking about sex in the prison, we're talking about same-sex relationships in the prison. And that idea was so unacceptable to the administration that they wanted to censor and edit, redact that issue, and that was so unacceptable to the writers of the of the uh echo that they quit. And as far as we know it was never published again. That's after Ben Miller's time, so I can't assign that to William Miller, um, but we, we can see that as a pretty clear example of censorship. These people are trying to talk about sex, this very complicated issue, um, which is made even more complicated by incarceration, and you know they're simply not allowed to and so that's not that I know of, but if anybody knows where it is or you know. Enterprising gumshoes out there want to find it. And so how do we know that that happened? It was written about in Philadelphia newspapers. So there are a few articles from May of 1967 that tell us exactly what happened and it's the articles are kind of cheeky that you know their their headlines or their opening lines or, you know, does anybody need a writing job? If so, report to the Eastern State Pen because everybody just quit. It's not really a job offer. It's just letting the reader know that everybody quit at the echo, um, because the topic of the paper was to be about sex in the prison. Have you been able to talk to anyone who was a part of this in any like were were were there people um alive that maybe had like archived oral histories who wrote for these papers like do we have any of that information? Wonderful. I don't know anybody who is still living who was involved with the paper. At Eastern State Penitentiary Historic Site, our oral history project began in the middle of the 1990s. And since then, unfortunately, but as to be expected, so many people connected to the building have died. So there are so few people left that, um, and I hate to make it sound like that, but there are so few living people who are connected to the Eastern State. But it is important to mention that there are still people living who used to be incarcerated at Eastern State. There are still people in prison who used to be in prison at Eastern State. So those voices are still out there. They're still there. Can you talk about Eastern State Penitentiary as compared to like. Talk a little bit about like mass incarceration and contemporary challenges as compared to historic challenges that you know of at Eastern. Black prisoners were always disproportionately represented in the building, which is something that we see all the way up to the present. So there's always been a racial disparity uh in prisons and we can use Eastern state as an example to support that claim. The prison was segregated by race. Labor was determined by race, um, although I haven't performed this research, I would hypothesize that punishment looked different for white prisoners and black prisoners. There's a lot written in the 19th century about the sexuality of black men and how it translates into criminality. None of this is, of course, supported by anything legitimate, but it's important to understand that these were the thought processes of the founders of Eastern State. Today, of course, um, the likelihood of whether or not somebody goes to prison is determined almost entirely by their race and their class. People of color in general, black people in particular are still disproportionately represented in our prison population. So it seems to me like race is an evergreen crisis of prison. Yeah, and did, did you see any, have you seen any articles of prisoners during the time of Eastern State Penitentiary discussing racial. You know, I mean, obviously they took it upon themselves to desegregate during that time, which I think is a really significant point. Um, was there were there conversations among those that were like more serious talking about race? There are and I'm thinking about a very specific in mind. His name is first name escapes me. Um, but he was often associated by prison administrators as being part of the rise of the Nation of Islam at Eastern State, so having a political, um, and these are the administration's, uh, phrasing, not mine, but, but more militant approach to the politics of life at Eastern State, and he wrote about race in the newspaper in ways that I think encapsulate what you're talking about. Um, but I don't think that the newspaper really got into, um, conversations about race and society in the way that we might have those conversations today. OK, so presumably those conversations were at least happening in some circles and I think that you're right. I get that from reading the echo. When they address a topic like therapy, they're addressing it for everyone. They're not saying making a distinction between if somebody was incarcerated for a white collar financial crime or something much more serious or whether somebody was black or an immigrant or a woman even I see it more of like how are these new approaches to people in prison affecting everybody in prison. I don't really see a lot about, well, what does recidivism look like for for black people or women. It's more what is recidivism look like for people leaving prison in general. They speak more in generalities in my understanding of the text. Um, Can you talk about payment and and payment for labor and and how that contributed to. Precarity or precarity. Sure, so just to be clear, I'm not sure if people writing for the Echo, I know that the printing it were. So working in the print shop, um, as an industry is something that would have came with a more privileged wage as opposed to doing maintenance on the building which would have been at the other end of that spectrum, so less desirable. Uh, didn't pay as well. Um, and then there are a number of jobs in between. Food work would be kind of like middle of the road as well. Wages change over time and there are laws that are passed throughout Pennsylvania's history that determine how prisoners can labor, what they can make and how much they can make and that changes over time. We do know that um. Well, let me back up for a second. When people were making crafts, they were also selling them to people on the street or people inside of the prison and incarcerated people kept that money. And We know that people working in these industries like the print shop were paid a wage and that they also were able to keep that money. We know that today in Pennsylvania, somebody doing similar work, working in an industry, for example, making eyewear, footwear, dentures, whatever the institution makes. That person earns less money today than they did a century ago here at Eastern State, even adjusting for inflation. That doesn't mean that prisoners at Eastern State were paid fairly and it certainly doesn't mean that people in prison today are paid fairly, but it shows that wages are not linear, that views of labor and prison labor shift pretty dramatically over time. And that it doesn't always move in the direction that we would like it to move. I think that. We would like to see people in prison um who work be paid a fair wage at like baseline, right, um, but that's definitely, but that's not happening. And for people who might be listening who don't know about the difference between like a federal minimum wage or a state minimum wage and the minimum wages in in prison, can you talk about that? Yeah, so in Pennsylvania we have the minimum wage which is $7 and some change per hour, uh, which is historically low and low compared to every other most other states in the US. Uh, especially states that border Pennsylvania. But in prison somebody can make no money or they can make very little money. There are some jobs in some prisons that pay well by these standards, so prisons that have media programs, for example, um, if they're working on like tech related stuff, coding, um, even journalism like San Quentin has a media lab where they. Do their podcast ear hustle from and things like that. Those jobs will pay a little bit more. Prisoners in states like Texas don't make any money for their work. No, I'm not saying that nobody in Texas has paid for their labor, but I, my understanding is that most incarcerated people working in Texas are not paid at the state level and that's not unique to Texas. There are other states that don't pay prisoners to work. And then there are states like this one that pay, you know, very little and it it it depends, but it's senses per hour it's sense. I read about um classes for journalists at uh the insight of Clara Barton State Prison um did this sort of thing occur at Eastern State or other kind of formal I mean when you actually read the articles they're incredibly well written and edited and look like very professionals including the formatting I mean it's kind of amazing to see. Um, such a structured paper in such a precarious setting, um, was there any formal teaching in any, in any way related to this? Yes, so there were outside workers coming in to work at Eastern State in every field. It wasn't limited to journalism, so medical professionals and even in the print shop, experts in printing were coming in every day and, you know, being paid to do it to run the print shop at a supervisor level. And the same applies to editorial, so there would have been outside people coming in teaching these journalists this is how many words you need per page. This is how you format this thing um and this other thing so they definitely had uh assistance from the outside and we know that because other Philadelphia journalists tell us. They tell us that, you know, so many authors from the Inquirer went in to meet with writers for the Echo, and we can assume that they're having conversations about journalism. Yeah, I wonder about like journalistic standards and how they presented themselves. Yeah, that's a really good question. I think that the scenes and the pages or at least I haven't seen them. But they are today. So for example, like the Prison Journalism Project, which is an organization that exists today to train people inside how to become journalists so that they can write about what's happening in prisons themselves and we don't have to rely on um. These kind of major media outlets, a lot of whom receive their information from the police and the state, uh, we can rely on incarcerated writers to tell us their stories. They are taking an approach that's more transparent and what I mean by that is that we can see what the prison journalism project is doing and how they're training people because they wanna show us, you know, they take every opportunity to say this is our writer, this is where they live, this is who they are, and this is how they got curious about journalism and here's how we linked up with them. I wanted to talk about the exhibit and like the idea of Eastern State maybe having an exhibit about about these newspapers um so if you can talk about that and also like how Eastern State is sort of uniquely positioned to tell this story within the the history of mass incarceration and Philly in Fairmount, um, yeah, um, so to answer your first question about what Eastern State wants to do, what I want to do um with journalism here. I think that journalism is perfect for an exhibit at a prison museum because through journalism, you can connect with so many other issues that and topics that your visitors might be interested in. So for example, We can talk about medicine by looking at these newspapers we can talk about sports, music therapy, sobriety. There's so many things that we can talk about, um, by using the lens of prison journalism and that's why I think it's great is because at Eastern State we are always looking for the connective tissue with our visitors. How do we get our visitors to connect with these ideas? And we do that through things like food and religion and music, things that everybody can connect to. For me, these two publications at Eastern State are the vehicle to make that connection with our visitors. And so that's why I think that it would be great for us to build something like that and also prison journalism is having a renaissance and it's definitely having a moment right now and so are prison museums. Eastern State's not the only prison museum. There are other really great ones out there. Um, I've had the pleasure of going to some of them and they all have prison newspapers and magazines too. So I wanna see a revitalization of this across prison museums and. In my sight, certainly, and I think that the prison Journalism Project and other folks like Lawrence Bartley at the Marshall Project who's doing great work in the same field, all of this can help bring people into our circle, people who don't normally think about people in prison. Or prisons. Take a look at this newspaper and maybe that'll help you connect with our topics. Yeah, and I guess it's a question of balancing that with sort of a trust in the archive here of that sort of acknowledgement of the Of those power dynamics of writing when you're being like surveilled in this really intense way um that kind of needs that context of an exhibit to really understand and you're you're bringing in so many good points about surveillance and scrutiny and censorship and it's frustrating as a historian because. I don't see that tension because the documents that I look at are either coming to me from the prison administration or they're in their final published product of the umpire or the echo so I don't have a lot of secondary sources that can tell me how challenging it was to write and I wish that I knew more people who something I wish I had those diaries. I wish that I knew more people who were living when these publications were written so that I could talk to them about. About these issues and how the paper fell apart and all of these things but hopefully some voices will emerge, yeah. Kind of pivoting, I'm, I'm curious, um, from a legal perspective sort of what constitutional rights like I'm thinking freedom of the press that incarcerated people had at the time but also again in the contemporary like what like what rights are stripped. Oh, that's a great question. Um, I'm not a constitutional historian, so bear with me. My sense is that part of the reason why the penal press was so prolific is because it's secured by the freedom of press, um, but I don't know that for sure and I don't know what other forms of expression are sanctioned or not by prisons. So for example, if somebody in prison writes a book, the book can be published, but I don't think that the author can profit from it. Got it. Uh, so I think that there is freedom of expression, although there's definitely censorship happening behind the door behind the walls that we can't see, but also whether that person can benefit from their work, I think is seriously challenged. If somebody in prison. Drops an album or makes or writes a book or something like that. I'm not entirely sure that they are compensated at all for that and I think there might be legal challenges to seeing any sort of money. Yeah, yeah, and I'm thinking too about like the amount of just emotional toll of what it means to do journalism with. Telling other people's stories that resonate with yourself as an incarcerated journalist. So you bring up a really good question about the ethics. So many times when I read these newspapers, I'm thinking to myself. I can't imagine that all of these people gave their permission to have their names used in this way, um, because so much of it is joking, I'm thinking about the umpire in particular. It's got such a a humor bend to it. And I'm wondering like do these people, are they OK with being written about in this way? Um, but I think that they are because the publication was well received and I think if there was real strong pushback about not saying people's names or nicknames, then they wouldn't have done it. But they did. I think that people like having their name in the paper and they like having their picture taken and maybe that's something that transcends the experience of incarceration. It's a really interesting question. I wish that I could be here to see. A journalist ask somebody, hey, can I write an article about your performance at the talent show the other night and how that conversation would have went. Again, I just can't this power dynamic issue did incarcerated people often air grievances and and do you think there was any fear of correctional officers sort of coming down against what they were writing? Uh, I can't say specifically for journalism, but certainly airing a grievance and expecting retaliation is a timeless theme of incarceration. It existed here. It exists in prisons today. I want to, well, let me. I think it's safe to say that there was a tension and a back and forth between the authors of these publications and the prison administration, but I can't say for sure whether somebody was punished for what they wrote or didn't write or something like that. And I'm sure I hope I have enough trust in the writers of these publications that if there was something like that happening that they would have told us. OK. I guess I wanna ask if there's anything, if there's a sort of takeaway that you want people to. Glean from what you do here and what these newspapers represent um or if there's anything that I didn't ask that you think should be fleshed out. You asked all the right questions. I think that my main takeaway from looking closely at these publications and being more connected with prison journalism today is that we should be seeking out news about prisons and conditions in prison and people in prison from the people who are in them. And I'm not saying that we should reject these legacy outlets and their reporting, but we should really lean into listening to people in prison when it comes to these topics. And now that we have. The Marshall Project, the Prison Journalism Project, and other prison publications like The Angleli, Greater Friends, etc. There's no excuse for us not to go directly to incarcerated people for this news first. And then see if other outlets support these claims or how they line up with the reporting, but I, I think the lesson here is that we should be in prison. I was curious what your PPX, which is the physical copy of the journalism, um, projects. Uh, and I'm always looking at the Marshall Project and other writers who make their way into legacy media that are incarcerated and writing for The Times or The New Yorker or whatever that is. Um, yeah, so that's where I go to receive my news, um, when, when I'm looking for news about what's happening in prison. I almost forgot to ask about the covers the mid-century modern covers that are just so striking. I mean, Can you, can you tell me about like the visuals? It's perfect mid-century at its best. It's geometric. It's the color the color palette is really pleasing, um. There's very few photographs. It's mainly illustrations, uh, and I, I think that you should check out anybody who's listening that wants to learn more. JSto has a repository of historic prison newspapers, and you can sift through every page of those papers, including the covers and if you want to get a sense of what that artworks. Looks like that's a great place to go find it. And that artwork was done by incarcerated people. I just, I'm so they're just they're so striking. They're amazing and I'm curious about medium, but I think we need to get an opinion about the covers. Cool. Alright, thank you so much. Thank you. You can find more information on these newspapers and Eastern State Penitentiary more generally at easternstate.org/research. You can also check out our other podcasts at ASC Mediaisk.org. This has been Anjali DasSarma for the Center for Media at Risk at the University of Pennsylvania, and thank you so much for joining me.