

No. 22-693

In the Supreme Court of the United States

MICHAEL JOHNSON, PETITIONER,

v.

SUSAN PRENTICE, ET AL.

*ON PETITION FOR A WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE
UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE
SEVENTH CIRCUIT*

**BRIEF OF PROFESSOR JOHN F. STINNEFORD
AS AMICUS CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONER**

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QUESTIONS PRESENTED

Whether punitively depriving a prisoner in solitary confinement of virtually all exercise for three years notwithstanding the absence of a security justification violates the Eighth Amendment, as ten circuits hold, or whether such a denial only violates the Eighth Amendment if it is imposed in response to an “utterly trivial infraction,” as the court below, but no other circuit, holds.

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INTEREST OF *AMICUS CURIAE*¹

Amicus curiae John F. Stinneford is a law professor at the University of Florida Levin College of Law who has written extensively on the history and original meaning of the Eighth Amendment. His published works include: *Is Solitary Confinement a Punishment?*, 115 Nw. U. L. Rev. 9 (2020); *Experimental Punishments*, 95 Notre Dame L. Rev. 39 (2019); *The Original Meaning of ‘Cruel’*, 105 Geo. L.J. 441 (2017); and *The Original Meaning of ‘Unusual’: The Eighth Amendment as a Bar to Cruel Innovation*, 102 Nw. U. L. Rev. 1739 (2008). Parts of this brief have been drawn and adapted from the above-referenced articles. Professor Stinneford submits this brief to provide the Court with historical context regarding both the original public meaning of the Cruel and Unusual Punishments Clause of the Eighth Amendment and the practice of long-term total solitary confinement in the United States.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

This case presents constitutional questions of exceptional importance regarding the permissible limits of long-term total solitary confinement: a kind of solitary confinement “plus” that limits a prisoner’s physical activity both inside and outside of his cell, in clear violation of the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments. This brief is intended to offer historical context for the Court as it considers this appeal.

¹ No counsel for a party authored this brief in whole or in part, and no party or counsel for a party made a monetary contribution intended to fund the preparation of or submission of this brief. No one other than the *amicus curiae* or his counsel made a monetary contribution to the preparation or submission of this brief. The parties were given timely notice of this filing.

As a matter of original public meaning, the Eighth Amendment’s Cruel and Unusual Punishments Clause was understood to prohibit cruel innovation in punishment. The word “cruel” was originally understood to mean “unjustly harsh” and the word “unusual” was understood to mean “contrary to long usage.” Taken as a whole, the Clause was originally understood to prohibit punishments that are unjustly harsh in light of longstanding prior practice, either because they involve an inherently cruel method of punishment (such as torture) or because they are significantly disproportionate to the offender’s culpability as measured against longstanding prior practice.

Judged against this original meaning, Petitioner Michael Johnson’s subjection to total solitary confinement for more than three years, during which he was denied virtually all access to exercise either outside or inside of his cell, flagrantly violated the Eighth Amendment. History has shown long-term solitary confinement to be a failed experiment that is both “cruel” and “unusual.” This practice has not enjoyed anything close to “long usage.” Forms of solitary confinement were tried for a few decades in the nineteenth century. But long-term total solitary confinement where prisoners were totally isolated and kept in cells that were too small for exercise, was adopted for less than ten years before it was then largely abandoned because it caused a high prevalence of severe harm to prisoners—including insanity, self-mutilation, and suicide. *See* Ashley T. Rubin & Keramet Reiter, *Continuity in the Face of Penal Innovation: Revisiting the History of American Solitary Confinement*, 43 L. & Soc. Inquiry 1604, 1614-15 (2018) [hereinafter Rubin & Reiter, *Continuity*].

Long-term solitary confinement also never achieved universal reception. It was never used in all American ju-

risdictions, and for much of its life in the nineteenth century it was confined to Pennsylvania and a small number of other states. Accordingly, the controversial reintroduction of the practice of long-term solitary confinement in the 1980s and 1990s represents the very sort of cruel innovation in punishment that the Cruel and Unusual Punishments Clause was originally understood to prohibit.

ARGUMENT

- I. History Shows That Long-Term Total Solitary Confinement Clearly Violates the Eighth Amendment**
- A. Under its Original Public Meaning, the Cruel and Unusual Punishments Clause Prohibits Punishments That are Unjustly Harsh in Light of Longstanding Prior Practice**

The text of the Eighth Amendment—“[e]xcessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted”—was drawn from the Virginia Declaration of Rights of 1776² and the English Bill of Rights of 1689.³ Under its original meaning, the Cruel and Unusual Punishments Clause prohibits cruel innovations—punishments that are unjustly harsh in light of longstanding prior practice. The Clause is premised on the idea that the longer a punishment is used, and the more universally it is received, the more likely it is to be just, reasonable, and to enjoy the acceptance of the people. Conversely, new punishment practices that are significantly harsher than the baseline established by longstanding prior practice are cruel and unusual because they are unjust in light of the traditional practices they

² Va. Decl. of Rts. § 9 (1776).

³ An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crowne (1689), *reprinted in* 6 *The Statutes of the Realm* 142, 143 (1819).

replace or supplement. See John F. Stinneford, *The Original Meaning of “Unusual”: The Eighth Amendment as a Bar to Cruel Innovation*, 102 Nw. U. L. Rev. 1739, 1746 (2008) [hereinafter Stinneford, *Unusual*].

In the context of the Eighth Amendment, the word “unusual” was a term of art derived from the common law. Although most lawyers today think of the common law as judge-made law, it was traditionally described as the law of “custom” and “long usage.” See John F. Stinneford, *The Original Meaning of “Cruel”*, 105 Geo. L.J. 441, 468-71 (2017) [hereinafter Stinneford, *Cruel*]; Stinneford, *Unusual* at 1814. The core idea was that a practice or custom could attain the status of law if it was universally received (“used”) throughout the jurisdiction for a very long time—for long usage showed that it was just, reasonable, and enjoyed the stable, multi-generational consent of the people.

Conversely, Americans in the late 18th and early 19th centuries described as “unusual” governmental actions that had two qualities: (1) They were new (or revived once traditional practices that had “fall[en] completely out of usage for a long period of time[.]” *Bucklew v. Precythe*, 139 S. Ct. 1112, 1123 (2019) (citing and quoting Stinneford, *Unusual*, at 1770-71, 1814); and (2) they undermined common law rights established through long usage. In 1769, for example, the Virginia House of Burgesses described Parliament’s attempt to revive a long-defunct statute that would permit the trial of American protesters in England—in derogation of cherished rights to venue and vicinage—as “new, unusual, ... unconstitutional and illegal.” *Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1766-1769*, at 215 (John Pendleton Kennedy ed., 1906) (emphasis added). Likewise, in the constitutional ratification debates, Patrick Henry complained that the entire federal government would be “unusual” because Congress would not be required to respect common law rights. 3 *The Debates in*

the Several State Conventions, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, as Recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787, at 172 (Jonathan Elliot ed., Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co. 2d ed. 1881) (“Were your health in danger, would you take new medicine? I need not make use of these exclamations: for every member in this committee must be alarmed at making new and unusual experiments in government.”). The oft-repeated Anti-Federalist complaint that the Constitution did not require the government to protect common law rights led directly to the adoption of the Bill of Rights, which enshrined some of those rights—including the right against cruel and unusual punishments—in the constitutional text.

The Eighth Amendment does not prohibit all new punishments, nor does it permit all old ones. Under the original public meaning of the Cruel and Unusual Punishments Clause, a new punishment practice that is not significantly harsher than the traditional practices it replaces is not cruel and unusual. John F. Stinneford, *Experimental Punishments*, 95 *Notre Dame L. Rev.* 39, 42 (2019) [hereinafter Stinneford, *Experimental Punishments*]. Similarly, a once traditional punishment practice that falls out of usage for multiple generations is no longer “usual” because it has not withstood the test of time. See *Bucklew*, 139 S. Ct. at 1123-24 (quoting Stinneford, *Unusual* at 1770-71, 1814) (discussing original meaning of “cruel and unusual” and noting that “unusual” government actions included those that have “fall[en] completely out of usage for a long period of time”); see also John F. Stinneford, *Death, Desuetude, and Original Meaning*, 56 *Wm. & Mary L. Rev.* 531, 538 (2014) (“If a once traditional punishment falls out of usage long enough to show a stable, multigenerational consensus against it, this punishment may appropriately be called cruel and unusual.”). If such a punishment is later revived, it is a new punishment

and is to be judged against the tradition as it has survived to today.

With respect to new punishment practices, usage over time reveals two types of information that may not be apparent at the time the punishment is adopted. First, it shows how society responds to the punishment over time. Some punishments achieve universal reception and maintain this status over a period of numerous generations; others do not. Second, usage over time reveals characteristics of the punishment that may not be obvious at the time of adoption—particularly, the harshness of the suffering the punishment inflicts relative to the harshness of the traditional punishments it replaced. Stinneford, *Experimental Punishments* at 45.

B. The Aborted Experiment of Long-Term Total Solitary Confinement Demonstrates That the Practice is Both “Unusual” and “Cruel” Within the Original Meaning of the Eighth Amendment

Solitary confinement has never become a “usual” punishment. Rather, it is a failed experiment that took various forms and enjoyed a vogue for several decades in the nineteenth century before being largely abandoned due to its cruel effects. Keeping inmates in total isolation was used for an even shorter time period. *See* Stinneford, *Experimental Punishments* at 61-62 (explaining that the Auburn State Prison experiment, which began in 1821, kept prisoners in total isolation for less than two years). One of its first iterations, total solitary confinement—where prisoners were completely isolated in cells that were too small for exercise—was quickly abandoned due to its drastic mental and physical toll on prisoners. *See* Rubin & Reiter, *Continuity* at 1614 (explaining that the Auburn State Prison experiment placed prisoners in cells that were too small to accommodate exercise, resulting in

muscle atrophy, and led to severe mental health consequences). Less restrictive forms of solitary confinement survived at the very margins of American penal practice before being revived with the rise of “supermax” prisons in the late twentieth century. After a short period of renewed experimentation, we have learned once again of its extraordinarily cruel effects on prisoners’ mental and physical health.

The first prisons were built in the 1790s. *See* Rubin & Reiter, *Continuity* at 1612. Initially, solitary confinement was not a dominant feature of incarceration. Over time, however, prison reformers started turning toward the idea of solitary confinement for large numbers of prisoners on the theory that the practice might foster rehabilitation and help ensure order in prison.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the prison achieved universal reception as previously dominant corporal and shaming punishments fell away. Solitary confinement, on the other hand, enjoyed a brief vogue and was then rejected because of its cruel effects.

In 1821, New York engaged in a major experiment in systematic long-term total solitary confinement at its Auburn State Prison. The state legislature passed an act authorizing prison inspectors to “select a class of convicts to be composed of the oldest and most heinous offenders, and to confine them constantly in solitary cells” in the hope that these offenders would be reformed. Gershom Powers, *A Brief Account of the Construction, Management, and Discipline &c. &c. of the New-York State Prison at Auburn* 32 (1826) [Powers, *Account*]. The Auburn State Prison experiment kept prisoners in total isolation, Stinneford, *Experimental Punishments* at 61-62, in cells that were too small to accommodate exercise, resulting in muscle atrophy, Rubin & Reiter, *Continuity* at 1614.

The result of this experiment was devastating. In their famous study of the American penitentiary system, Beaumont and Tocqueville described the Auburn experiment as follows:

This trial, from which so happy a result had been anticipated, was fatal to the greater part of the convicts: in order to reform them, they had been submitted to complete isolation; but this absolute solitude, if nothing interrupt[s] it, is beyond the strength of man; it destroys the criminal without intermission and without pity; it does not reform, it kills.

The unfortunates, on whom this experiment was made, fell into a state of depression, so manifest, that their keepers were struck with it; their lives seemed in danger, if they remained longer in this situation; five of them, had already succumbed during a single year; their moral state was not less alarming; one of them had become insane; another, in a fit of despair, had embraced the opportunity when the keeper brought him something, to precipitate himself from his cell, running the almost certain chance of a mortal fall.

G. de Beaumont & A. de Toqueville, *On the Penitentiary System in the United States, and Its Application in France* 5 (1833) (citations omitted); *see also* Powers, *Account* at 36 (“[O]ne [prisoner was] so desperate, that he sprang from his cell, when his door was opened, and threw himself from the fourth gallery, upon the pavement Another beat and mangled his head against the walls of his cell, until he destroyed one of his eyes.”). The results of this initial experiment were so dire that New York dropped it after less than two years and gave most of the

prisoners pardons.⁴ Powers, *Account* at 36. A similar experiment at Maine State Prison a few years later also ended disastrously. Rubin & Reiter, *Continuity* at 1614.

Problems similar to those at Auburn arose several years later in the Pennsylvania prison system when it made its own attempt to implement long term solitary confinement. Rubin & Reiter, *Continuity* at 1614-17. When Pennsylvania opened the Eastern State Penitentiary at Cherry Hill in 1829, it sought to correct the past mistakes made in in the Auburn State Prison type of solitary confinement (total solitary confinement). *Id.* The new prison’s approach to solitary confinement still gave prisoners the opportunity for physical activity. *Id.* at 1615. The new solitary confinement cells were larger, better ventilated, and could accommodate in-cell labor. *Id.* Those prisoners who broke prison rules were removed to “dark cells,” which “were regular cells whose window and skylight were covered with a cloth” to block the light; however, prisoners were only kept in dark cells for a short period of time—usually between a day or two or up to two weeks. *Id.* at 1616.

Nonetheless, prisoners at Cherry Hill quickly fell into poor health and had to be released from their cells. Rubin & Reiter, *Continuity* at 1614-17. By the late 1830s, reports started surfacing that the system was causing “hallucinating prisoners, ‘dementia,’ and ‘monomania.’” Peter Scharff Smith, *The Effects of Solitary Confinement on Prison Inmates: A Brief History and Review of the Literature*, 34 *Crime & Just.* 441, 457 (2006) [hereinafter Smith, *Effects*]. In 1847, Francis C. Gray compared a

⁴ A new plan was implemented where prisoners still slept alone in their cells, but were required to work in “common workshops” with other prisoners during the day, with this “change apparently alleviat[ing] the drastic consequences of total isolation.” Stinneford, *Experimental Punishments* at 62.

prison in Charlestown that did not use solitary confinement to the Eastern State Penitentiary at Cherry Hill, and noted that both death and insanity rates at Cherry Hill far outstripped those seen at Charlestown. See Francis C. Gray, *Prison Discipline in America* 106, 109-10 (London, John Murray 1847). He concluded that “it appears that the system of constant separation [according to the Pennsylvania plan] ... even when administered with the utmost humanity, produces so many cases of insanity and of death as to indicate most clearly, that its general tendency is to enfeeble the body and the mind[.]” *Id.* at 181.

Other states that instituted long-term solitary confinement experienced problems similar to those described above. For example, the physician for the New Jersey Penitentiary, which initially followed the Pennsylvania model, reported that total isolation led to “many cases of insanity.” Smith, *Effects* at 459 (quoting *Eighteenth Report, in 2 Reports of the Prison Discipline Society, Boston* 300 (Boston, T. R. Marvin 1855)).

By the 1860s, the tide had turned against long-term solitary confinement. Penologists rejected the idea that either isolation or silence could assist in the reform of prisoners. See David J. Rothman, *Perfecting the Prison: United States, 1789-1865*, in *The Oxford History of the Prison* 100, 112-113 (Norval Morris & David J. Rothman eds., 1998); Smith, *Effects* at 465. Rather, such practices were seen as pointless exercises that significantly harmed the well-being of prisoners for no good reason. Thus, “[t]he founding nation of the modern prison systems—the United States—was among the first to abandon large-scale solitary confinement.” Smith, *Effects* at 465; see also Craig Haney & Mona Lynch, *Regulating Prisons of the Future: A Psychological Analysis of Supermax and Solitary Confinement*, 23 N.Y.U. Rev. L. & Soc. Change 477,

487 (1997) [hereinafter Haney & Lynch, *Regulating*] (noting that by the early twentieth century, the use of long-term solitary confinement “in actual practice ... had largely ended”). “[B]y the turn of the nineteenth century, the experiment with widespread use of solitary appeared to be over.” Alexander A. Reinert, *Solitary Troubles*, 93 *Notre Dame L. Rev.* 927, 939 (2018).

The history of the practice of long-term total solitary confinement in the United States demonstrates that it is not a “usual” method of punishment within the original meaning of the Eighth Amendment but instead is cruel and unusual. See Stinneford, *Experimental Punishments* at 44-46; John F. Stinneford, *Is Solitary Confinement a Punishment?*, 115 *Nw. U. L. Rev.* 9 (2020); see also, e.g., Merin Cherian, Note, *Cruel, Unusual, and Unconstitutional: An Originalist Argument for Ending Long-Term Solitary Confinement*, 56 *Am. Crim. L. Rev.* 1759, 1774-78 (2019).

To begin, solitary confinement is unequivocally *punishment*. In 1890, the Court held in *In re Medley*, 134 U.S. 160, that the transfer of a condemned offender from a county jail to solitary confinement in a penitentiary prior to execution was a new punishment for constitutional purposes, for two reasons: solitary confinement was historically used as a heightened form of punishment, and it inflicts substantial suffering beyond what is normally imposed by a prison sentence. 134 U.S. at 167-70. The fact that the government’s purpose in imposing solitary confinement on Medley was regulatory rather than penal was irrelevant to the Court’s analysis. Other examples of punishment that qualify as within the spectrum of solitary confinement plus have included the use of dark cells as punishment for “prisoners who refused to work, attempted to speak with other prisoners, attacked their guards, tried to escape, or broke other prison rules.” Rubin & Reiter, *Continuity* at 1616.

Solitary confinement is also an *unusual* punishment. As discussed above, a punishment can only be considered “usual”—that is, firmly part of the constitutional tradition—if it enjoys universal, public reception over a very long period of time. Although the period of time necessary to establish a punishment as “usual” cannot be defined with precision, a few decades of scattered acceptance cannot satisfy the historical standard. Today, long-term total solitary confinement has not enjoyed anything close to “long usage.” It was tried for several decades in the nineteenth century but was then largely abandoned because its effects were too harsh. *See id.* at 168 (noting that by 1860, solitary confinement had been found “too severe” for the American penal system); David M. Shapiro, *Solitary Confinement in the Young Republic*, 133 Harv. L. Rev. 542, 576 (2019). It was never used in all American jurisdictions, and for much of its life in the nineteenth century it was confined to Pennsylvania and a small number of other states. Accordingly, it never achieved universal reception, and the reception it did receive lasted well under one hundred years.

In fact, the type of “total” solitary confinement to which Mr. Johnson was subjected—resulting in the deprivation of virtually all exercise—was only used for a handful of years between the Auburn State Prison and the Maine State Prison before this practice was considered too harsh on the spectrum of solitary confinement. *See* Rubin & Reiter, *Continuity* at 1614. Nor did this species of solitary confinement enjoy universal, public reception over a long period of time. Indeed, the historical record shows such harsh total solitary confinement was used for less than two years at the Auburn Prison as part of a failed experiment in solitary confinement that has not been repeated.

Finally, total long-term solitary confinement is a cruel and unusual punishment because its effects are extremely harsh in comparison to traditional punishment practices. This is clear not only from the nineteenth century historical record, but also from current studies of its effects. Numerous studies performed over the past forty years show that the harmful effects of solitary confinement are extreme, not just as an absolute matter, but also in comparison to the effects of imprisonment generally. See Stinneford, *Experimental Punishments* at 79-84. These effects include extreme forms of psychopathology, suicidal thoughts, hallucinations, perceptual distortions, violent fantasies, talking to oneself, overall deterioration, mood swings, emotional flatness, chronic depression, social withdrawal, confused thought processes, oversensitivity to stimuli, irrational anger, and ruminations. *Id.* at 78-79 & nn.306-11.

Having essentially fallen out of use prior to its controversial reintroduction in the late twentieth century, the current practice of long-term solitary confinement represents an unjustly severe departure from traditional punishment practices. The long-term total solitary confinement to which Mr. Johnson has been subjected clearly violates the original public meaning of the Cruel and Unusual Punishments Clause.

CONCLUSION

The Court should grant the petition for a writ of certiorari.

Respectfully submitted.

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