

BODYTEXT

Volume 5, Issue 1, 2016–2017

John B. Hurford '60 Center for
the Arts and Humanities
Haverford College

featuring

Emily Chazen '18

Michaela Novakovic '17

Emma Cohen '17

Ethan Adelman-Sil '17

Mike Brier '17



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Body Text is published annually by the Body Text Editorial Board at Haverford College, 370 Lancaster Avenue, Haverford, PA 19041. Formerly the Haverford Journal, it was founded in the spring of 2004 by Robert Schiff in an effort to showcase some of Haverford's best student work in the humanities and social sciences. The publication was renamed in 2012 but still holds true to this original mission.

Student work appearing in Body Text is selected by the Editorial Board. Entries are judged on the basis of academic merit, clarity of writing, persuasiveness, and other factors that contribute to the quality of a given work.

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body text

/ˈbɒdɪ/ /tekst/

noun

- 1 The main part of a printed text, excluding items such as headings and footnotes.¹
- 2 Haverford College's student-run, student-written academic journal, which explores the limits of academic writing by publishing the sharpest, most provocative undergraduate scholarship in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

1 "body text," *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 2016. Web.

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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Body Text reader,

We are thrilled to present the 2016–2017 issue of Body Text. The essays comprising this issue particularly demonstrate Body Text's continued dedication to challenging the limits of academic scholarship.

Each essay was chosen through a rigorous selection process for its clarity and persuasiveness, but also for its individuality of perspective and diversity of expression. After a collaborative and equally rigorous editing process, we present these essays as evidence of the amazingly diverse undergraduate scholarship of our peers.

The Body Text Editorial Board is going through an exciting time of growth this year. We have more than double the number of members on the board from last year. One of our new members

designed the cover for this issue and new logo for our visual re-branding initiative. We also received triple the number of essay submissions from last year, allowing for a more competitive selection process. We look forward to continuing to explore what Body Text can be in the future.

We look back with gratitude to the legacy of graduated seniors Leila Braun and Editor-in-Chief Emma Lumeij, and look forward with anticipation to the addition of six new board members. Returning to the board for their second year are seniors Carolyn Woodruff and Hannah Cregan Zigler, and junior Madison Arnold-Scerbo. New to the board are juniors Grace Berry, Kevin Gibbs, and Ariana Wertheimer, sophomores Isabella Siegel and Matthew Jablonski, and first-year Joanne Mikula.

Though the essays in this issue were chosen independently from one another, certain recurring

themes became evident in the process of editing: defamiliarizing everyday objects and settings, performance in private and public spaces, and the formation of personal and community identity through ritual.

Though the Judeo-Christian biblical creation story of Adam and Eve often seems static, theologians' interpretations have developed tremendously in recent years. Emily Chazen, arguing against Jerome Gellman (2006), looks in her essay "Eve as Equal: Pushing Back Against an Exclusively Androcentric Reading of Genesis 2-3" to problematize narratives that construct Eve as a male-dominated, fallen figure. In reanalyzing biblical texts through a critical feminist lens, one can find that common assumptions about Eve as the problematic Other begin to unfold.

What do gardens have to do with social norms? In 18th century England, quite a lot. Michaela Novakovic's "En(light)ened Peoples: Vauxhall Gardens as Mediator of Moralists and Pleasure Seekers in

the Age of Citizen-Crafting" explores the way that Vauxhall Gardens, a popular London attraction in the eighteenth century, contributed to and responded to the rise in public leisure and changes in polite culture. As tensions arose over these changes in sociability fostered by Vauxhall and its unique use of lighting, the proprietors of Vauxhall Gardens sought to quell those concerns and to encourage London citizens to visit the gardens in order to engage in public leisure and foster polite culture.

In Emma Cohen's imaginative work, "The Passeurs (Death, Ritual, and Dance)," she stretches the boundaries of representations of death, both historically and artistically. She uses the platform of performance and dance as sites of annotation to explore how art and ritual can connect us in deeper ways to our understanding of death. Here we are only able to present an excerpt of Emma's piece, which functions fully as its own work, but you can access her complete essay at www.haverford.edu/hcah.

In his essay “Trust the Community: Fighting Gentrification with Community Land Trusts,” Ethan Adelman-Sil seeks to broaden the ways we discuss gentrification to include more than just physical displacement by examining one strategy communities are using to fight back: community land trusts. By focusing on one successful model, Adelman-Sil is able to illustrate the components necessary for a community land trust to successfully fight non-physical gentrification without ignoring the model’s potential pitfalls. The essay reminds its readers that gentrification is a state of mind as much as it is an economic process, and to ignore its emotional ramifications on a neighborhood’s original residents is to miss a huge part of the problem.

While many people do their best thinking on the toilet, not many consider the very object they are seated upon. Mike Brier, in his critical historical essay “Training a Self with Toilets: A History of the Abject Object,” explores the toilet’s historical development,

socializing function, and role in an early twentieth century moment of racism, eugenics, and segregation. Through a process of defamiliarizing the toilet as an archetype of modernity, one can begin to understand its sordid history.

We hope you enjoy these essays as much as we have.

Sincerely,

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Carolyn Woodruff ’17

Hannah Cregan Zigler ’17

Madison Arnold-Scerbo ’18

Grace Berry ’18

Kevin Gibbs ’18

Ariana Wertheimer ’18

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EVE AS EQUAL: PUSHING BACK AGAINST AN EXCLUSIVELY ANDROCENTRIC READING OF GENESIS 2–3

Emily Chazen '18

In his 2006 article “Gender and Sexuality in the Garden of Eden,” Jerome Gellman refutes the multifaceted attempts that feminist theologians have made at interpreting Genesis 2–3 in a positive light for women. Basing his argument off the theories presented by Phyllis Trible, Mieke Bal, Phyllis Bird, and Carol Meyers, he insists that the text must exclusively be read in a way that presents women as not only submissive, but also inferior to men.

While he does concede the tragedy of this reading, he still implores readers to recognize that the Bible necessitates male dominance in order to obstruct female seduction, malevolence, and impurity since “Women are like that!” (Gellman 327). Based on this understanding, he focuses on four main points: that of the true sexual nature of *ha’adam*; G—d’s “curse of Eve” and her “sin”; the meaning of Eve’s status as helper; and Adam’s naming of the woman (321–322).

In this paper, I examine Gellman's four arguments, intertwining an understanding of the theologies presented by feminist thinkers, to illustrate that we need not read the Genesis text as androcentric; instead, women can in fact find autonomy, agency, and equality embedded within the figure of Eve.

The Earthling (*Ha'adam*) and His Name

To fully understand the argument that Gellman makes in the opening section of his work, we must first know some of the Hebrew translations in our New Revised Standard Version of the Pentateuch. The basis of the discussions about Adam presented by many theologians relies on an interpretation of the word *ha'adam*, which directly translates to "human" and, though Hebrew itself is a gendered language, is not an inherently gendered term. Instead, the words *ish* meaning "man" and *ishah* meaning "woman" indicate gender (Mowczko). Throughout the text, we learn that the term *ha'adam* is used to describe man until the creation of Eve, at which point he is referred to as *ish* and she as *ishah* (Mechon-Mamre).

As Gellman then demonstrates in his paper, the distinction between human, man, and woman winds up playing an important role in feminist theologians' interpretations of the text, particularly for Tribble, Bal, and Meyers. According to Phyllis

Trible, who focuses her argument on Adam and Eve's initial sexual ambiguity, the masculinity and femininity crafted by G—d in his creation of the two beings might not have been fully realized or developed as they “were both naked, and were not ashamed” (Gen 2:25). Instead, she states that “until the differentiation of female and male (2:21–23), ‘*adham* is basically androgynous: one creature incorporating two sexes” (Trible 251). In fact, she goes so far as to say that, based on their connection, G—d speaks directly to both man and woman in the moment where He commands *ha’adam*, ““You may freely eat of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die”” (Gen 2:16–17). However, because Eve’s later rendition of the commandment represents a skewed knowledge, one which is objectively different from the original commandment insofar as she states that she may not

eat of, ““the tree that is in the middle of the garden, nor shall you touch it, or you shall die,”” I struggle to fully accept that she was present when G—d transmitted the information (Gen 3:3). While she was embedded within Adam’s rib, she was not necessarily fashioned—being at that juncture and therefore was unlikely to have been truly present. Nonetheless, Eve’s absence at the time of disclosure of G—d’s commandment does not undermine the argument Trible makes in stating that *ha’adam* might have been a sexually ambiguous figure. Corroborating Trible’s stance, Mieke Bal reiterates this sentiment when she states that, “first, a sexless creature is formed. The first body, *the* body, unique and undivided, is the body of the earth creature, the work of Yahweh the potter. From 2:7 to 2:20 this creature has no name, no sex, no activity” (Bal 112–113). Resonances of androgyny emerge in Carol Meyers’ work as well, in which she argues that “in most cases the gender specific value of

the word ‘man’ is thereby erroneously attached to a collective singular Hebrew word designating ‘human’ life as a category to be distinguished from G—d on the one hand and animals on the other” (Meyers 81).

While I agree with these notions of androgyny, Gellman resists the sexual ambiguity of *ha’adam* in a twofold counterargument, the first part of which focuses on the distinction between the crafting of man and woman. Gellman discusses Eve emerging from Adam’s rib, stating:

Androgyny does not fit the description of the woman being made from a side of the earthling. This implies that the woman’s body was shaped from there and not somehow separated out from the intermixed body. G—d ‘fashioned’ (*va’yiven*) literally, ‘built’ the woman out of the earthling. The implication is clear that G—d shaped the woman out of a piece of the earthling, rather than separating the two from one another. Similar considerations count against the original earthling having been sexually undifferentiated.

While G—d ‘fashions’ the woman, we can deduce from Scriptures that G—d does not have to ‘fashion’ the earthling in any way. (Gellman 323)

In a sense, then, his argument relies on the notion that, since man did not require later “fashioning” or “building,” he must have already been sexually differentiated at the time of his origin. He further strengthens this argument by stating that, upon gaining awareness, man’s “post-operative consciousness is... *the same* as that of the earthling who precedes the creation of woman. This shows that the earthling was exclusively sexually a male all along” (324). Since she was derived from the rib of man, woman thereby had to be remodeled from man’s mold to reflect their physical sexual differences, suggesting that man must have been physically crafted all along. In a sense, the text corroborates this reading through the naming process, in which man decides that “this one shall be called Woman, for

out of Man this one was taken” (Gen 2:23). However, while I can concede that the differentiation existed and that they might not have necessarily emerged as ambiguous beings physically, the text still indicates that “the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed” (Gen 2:25). Therefore, while the embodied androgyny which Gellman discusses might have existed at this moment, the other components of differentiated sexuality might not have fully arisen until later in the text. As I argue in “Eve as Creator: Woman’s Connection to Humanity and Sexuality,” it is not until the moment where Adam and Eve eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge—where “the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked” (Gen 3:7)—that they come to gain *cognizance* of the mental, emotional, and physical implications of their human sexuality (Chazen 5). I therefore acknowledge Gellman’s point that an androgynous figure might not have been physically crafted, but in terms of human interaction and awareness, sexual ambiguity must

have existed. The possession of said physical sexual differentiation would have been irrelevant, as man could not have suppressed the will of woman were he not aware of his own physical masculinity.

Distancing himself from a description of the physical, Gellman drives his argument for male authority over the oppressed female forward by centering on the different names of the two figures. Gellman contests feminist theologians’ push for androgyny by stating that “the name adam, however, remains the name of the male earthling who survives the emergence of the female. It is this male alone who is referred to as *haadam* after the formation of the woman in 3.23, 9, 12, and 20” (Gellman 323). He further explicates that “were ‘*ha’adam*’ the name of an androgynous or undifferentiated earthling, we should expect that there would now be new names for each of the *new* male and female beings that emerged. But there aren’t” (323). He uses the naming to explain the sexual differentiation which he believes must have

been inherently understood for both male and female, allowing this to aid in his argument that the text relies upon the notion that man oppresses a subservient woman. Since man does not require a name-change and was the original being formed, he must possess the power in the situation (323). However, the actual names themselves do not seem to instill any sense of power in the male figure but instead reflect the objectives and duties of each individual as G—d commands them after they have eaten from the fruit of the tree. According to Gellman, “the earthling had been called *ha’adam*, ‘the *adam*,’ as a play on the word *adamah*, earth, from which it had been formed” (323). As the story develops, however, we learn that the duty which G—d commands of Adam is “in toil you shall eat of [the earth] all the days of your life; thorns and thistles it shall bring forth for you; and you shall eat the plants of the field. By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread until you return to the ground” (Gen 17–19). Therefore, the connection

between Adam’s name and Earth might not inherently reflect any presupposed masculine power, as Gellman suggests, but instead might be reflective of his obligation to work the land. The naming process of Eve corroborates the ways in which names directly coincide with the duties of the individual, for her name means “mother of all living” things (Gen 3:20). We know, based on her ties to human sexuality, that Eve does in fact fulfill this role. As I describe in “Eve as Creator,” woman derives a significant level of agency from her role as the creator and her connection to her reproductive powers (Chazen 6). Her name therefore calls our attention to her empowered duties in the same way that Adam’s name draws us to understand his responsibility to the Earth. We therefore can acknowledge that the renaming of the female figure does not inherently leave her subjected to the will of man, as Gellman articulates, but instead grants her a more fitting and empowering title as it relates to her objective obligations to humankind.

G—d's Address to Eve

Although we can see *ha'adam* as presenting us with a sense of equality, by the end of Genesis 3, Eve's will appears subdued by the commandment which G—d makes that “your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you” (Gen 3:16). Phyllis Trible suggests that the process of subordinating woman does not serve as “a license for male supremacy, but rather it is a condemnation of that very pattern. Subjugation and supremacy are perversions of creation. Through disobedience, the woman has become slave... The man is corrupted also, for he has become her master, ruling over the one who is his G—d-given equal” (Trible 257). She bases her argument on the notion that man and woman—due to their sexual androgyny—were created equal, and by eating of the tree, the two are corrupted. Embedded within her argument is the suggestion then that Eve is not being penalized for her own actions; instead, since the punishment language used by G—d only

refers to Adam (““Because you have listened to the voice of your wife”), only he receives punishment (Gen 3:17).¹ Eve is simply punished as a byproduct of Adam's offense, leaving her subjugated in a way that should hypothetically torture man, for he is now being required to treat his equal as lesser. Phyllis Bird adopts a similar standpoint, arguing that “Patriarchy is inaugurated as the sign of life alienated from G—d. The rule of man over woman, announced in Genesis 3:16, is the Bible's first statement of hierarchy within the species, and it is presented as the consequence of sin” (Bird 527). In reading the two in conjunction,

1 A similar expression is used to describe the punishment of the serpent, who is told that he is punished “because you have done this” (Gen 3:14). Such terminology or explanation is not used in reference to Eve, however, leading Trible to conclude that Eve is not actually being punished but is caught in the cross-fire of man's misdemeanor against G—d.

then, we find that the feminist theologians move to suggest that patriarchal hierarchies are the illegitimate products of malevolence on the part of man. We must therefore reconcile the power and agency of man over woman with the notion that the text implies that the power itself is corrupt. To an extent, I agree with Tribble and Bird but worry that conceding the tainted nature of male power does not negate that power, allowing man “to rule over [woman]” regardless of the nature of said authority (Gen 3:16).

Gellman recognizes this leeway for male dominance in the aforementioned arguments and suggests that, despite what Tribble and Bird wish to convey, there was “an originally intended patriarchal relationship between the man and the woman” (Gellman 325). Basing his argument off a similar claim to Tribble’s—that Eve was not being punished whereas Adam and the serpent certainly were—he argues that “the language of curse does not appear

in G—d’s address to the woman in 3:16” and “there is no reference to her sinful act” when describing Eve’s future (325). Such an acknowledgement allows him to suggest that, because Eve is not being punished, it was the full intent of G—d that she be subjected to the will of man. This is not the product of what he deems her sin, but instead the much-anticipated result of her existence as woman, an oppressed situation which she could not have avoided regardless of her actions or inactions.

However, I wish to push back against these theorists—both the feminist, who treads on thin ice by suggesting that male power does exist but is corrupt, and Gellman, who actually legitimizes the authority of man over woman—by arguing that man and woman were not necessarily created equally in terms of agency. According to Gellman, the feminist theologians’ argument rests on the laurels that “we assume equality from the start [and thereby] can make good sense of male domination being invoked

subsequently upon the woman” (324). He therefore suggests that “there was no equality to begin with,” and that man was always more powerful than womankind (324). However, assuming inherent male authority over women is not necessarily a result of the text as it directly stands but of assumptions that modern readers bring to the text now based on its historical context and patriarchal intimations. Instead, the text itself appears to initially position woman not as equal to man but as his superior, undermining the stances brought forth by Gellman and the feminist theologians. In my paper “Eve as Creator,” I argue that, through her ability to make an informed decision (unlike Adam, who appears to blindly submit to the will of others) and her connection to human sexuality (leading to a status as “creator”), Eve possesses the most agency and power in the text (Chazen 1–6). Therefore, man and woman are not necessarily created equally, as woman has connections to her free will and is therefore more

powerful. By stating that “your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you,” (Gen 3:16) the text amplifies the power of Eve by allowing us to recognize that, while Adam will follow the lead of others without a second thought, Eve will not succumb to choices without carefully considering their ramifications (Chazen 6). The text does not need to explicitly state Adam’s need to abide by Eve’s will, since he has already done so. Instead, to place them in a relationship whereby “they become one flesh,” G—d must outwardly tell Eve that she must follow the rule of her husband as he has already abided by her rule (Gen 3:24). Through the commandment, then, Adam and Eve become equals, as now each rules over the other in a sort of symbiosis that allows G—d to remain at the top of the hierarchy. Thus, Eve is subjugated to Adam’s will only as a reflection of her ability to think, not blindly submit, and to make her own choices, which elucidates her clear agency and crafts reciprocal power for both figures rather than

leaving Eve as the most powerful within the text. By suppressing Eve's will, the text instills equality for man and woman, allowing us to recognize how Eve's status as equal strips woman of some power but still likens her power to that of man.

Eve's Sin

Based on this understanding of the agency and will which Eve possesses, then, we can move forward to understand the argument which Gellman presents about Eve's sin, one which he articulates without discussing the feminist theologians. Eve, insofar as she "saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of its tree and ate," does in fact commit a sin (Gen 3:6). However, this is a reflection not entirely of her failures as a human, but also of her agency and power in distinguishing what she would like to do. This directly contrasts her husband's actions, to whom "she gave some [of the fruit] and he ate" (Gen 3:6). He acts not out of his own will but instead out of abidance to the will of another, and thereby does not necessarily have the capacity to sin. In a sense, then, the text and Gellman both assert Eve's power over man and illustrates the ways in which she maintains her agency based on their choice

of the word “sin.”

As we move forward, recognizing that Eve’s actions being defined as sin do not inherently relegate her to a lesser status, Gellman provides us with a well-constructed argument interpreting the ways in which Eve’s autonomy and agency appear to become weakened throughout the text. He begins by acknowledging that “Eve did not know of the forbidden tree... Adam was the one to declare the prohibition to Eve (perhaps adding the prohibition himself on touching the tree, which G—d nowhere decreed)” (Gellman 326).² He then moves to state that

2 Gellman suggests that Adam telling Eve of the commandment is the result of his masculine authority, but relaying the commandment only to Adam might be a function of Adam’s status as the first created being. Based on the lack of language of punishment, we can deduce that Adam told Eve the commandment but not necessarily because G—d commands that Adam do so. Instead, it might have been fully intended that Eve

“Eve seems to have internalized her derivative status when to the snake she quotes G—d as saying, ‘You’ in the plural, meaning her and Adam, must not eat from the tree (Gen 3:3)” (326). However, to make such a jump—that the use of the second-person plural indicates an internalization of subjugation—appears to be a drastic step. When Eve states, “‘G—d said, ‘You shall not eat...,’” it is just as likely that she is simply reiterating what she believes G—d to have said (Gen 3:3). We cannot innately glean that, because she “does not say ‘I’ may not eat from the tree” that she “does not perceive the prohibition to apply to her directly and individually” (Gen 3:3). It is

eat from the tree and utilize her agency, explaining the aforementioned lack of punishment language in terms of G—d’s response to the sin. This might help explain why, as Gellman acknowledges, “nowhere does [G—d] reprimand the woman for eating from the tree” (Gellman 328).

not that she recognizes that it does not apply to her individually, for she knows of the commandment and understands that it applies to her; instead she recognizes that it simply does not apply to her alone. Both she and Adam are obligated under the commandment, and by utilizing language in this way, the text presents them as united and connected to one another under G—d’s reign.³

The bulk of his argument moving forward rests upon a single notion, one which the text seems

3 We must also recognize that the use of the generic “you” does not imply a separation of the self by any means. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, “we can use you when we are making generalizations and not referring to any one person in particular. When used like this, you can include the speaker or writer” (Cambridge Dictionary). Therefore, Eve could just as easily be incorporating herself in this interpretation and not separating herself from the commandment as Gellman suggests.

to somewhat refute: that Adam was not present when Eve was discussing the nature of the fruit with the serpent. According to Gellman, “Where is Adam when Eve meets the snake? We may assume that he is not present, since no mention is made of his presence” (Gellman 326). However, the text paints a clear picture of Eve’s interaction with the serpent. First, we learn of the conversation they have, in which the serpent informs Eve that, ““You will not die; for G—d knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like G—d, knowing good and evil”” (Gen 3:4–5). Within the next sentence, “the woman saw that the tree was good... she took of its fruit and ate” (Gen 3:6). She thereby immediately decides that, based on what the serpent has told her, the fruit of the tree was acceptable. In the subsequent sentence, we find that, in the exact moment when she ate of the tree, “she also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate” (Gen 3:6). Therefore, the text indicates that her husband, throughout this interaction “was with her,”

was at least plausibly in the vicinity to have overheard the conversation at the very least yet still eats of the tree (Gen 3:6). However, Gellman firmly establishes Adam's absence as necessary for substantiating the subsequent layers of his argument, which undermines much of what follows this point, since he may very well have been present.

Should we grant Gellman the benefit of the doubt and assume Adam was not present, though, we still find that the next layer of his interpretation—that Adam did not ask about the fruit for he was not concerned—cannot fully stand? According to Gellman, Adam “was unaware that this fruit was forbidden. Neither did he inquire as to the fruit's origin; he thought he didn't even have to ask from where she picked the fruit. He was extremely impressed with his own authority and by the boundaries he had placed on the woman” (Gellman 327). However, as I illustrate in my paper “Eve as Creator,” Adam's decision not to question further the

nature of the fruit is not necessarily a function of his vast ability to instill fear in his subjugated woman but instead a function of his own character. In every action he takes within the text—from abiding to G—d to listening to Eve—Adam finds himself to be a blind follower, submitting to the will of others without a second thought (Chazen 4). This does not stem from his purely masculine superiority and his ability to suppress Eve's will, as Gellman suggests, but out of his own failures as an individual to rationalize and conceptualize concepts that directly impact his life.

Gellman links his assumptions that man is superior to woman and thereby her oppressor on the Earth with the notion that G—d makes man “rule over [woman]” because of His creation of Eve being faulty, for she was not obedient enough to Adam (Genesis 3:16). Connecting us back to his original claim that woman was physically fashioned out of man, which is in fact substantiated by the fact that G—d “took one of his ribs and closed up its place with flesh” (Gen 2:21) to

form Eve, Gellman suggests that “G—d had not taken sufficient care to make her in such a way that she would be obedient to her man” (Gellman 328). He further argues that the man’s dominance over her is so that “the weakness of woman will be corrected for... G—d now sees to it that Adam will rule over her, especially in sexual domination, not only *de jure* but also *de facto*. This is not a punishment for her sinful act, but a corrective to her character for the sake of man” (329). In a sense, then, he suggests that because Eve thought critically and decidedly, womankind is the defunct product of misaligned autonomy on G—d’s part, and her will must immediately be quelled to salvage her faulty, insubordinate character. In recognizing this, I would first like to caution against such a reading, as it segues perfectly into ongoing male oppression of the female by implying she innately possesses “faulty character.” I would also like to push back by reiterating the fact that the text leaves room, based on Eve’s leveling of agency, for both man and woman

to have reached equal footing by the time Genesis concludes (Chazen 5). She need not be the unholy, impure, moral miscreant which Gellman presents her to be, but might simply be the individual whose actions were necessary to grant humankind their humanity.

The Woman as “Helper”

Looking to further claim the subordination of womankind, however, Gellman enters a conversation with Tribble and Meyers on the nature of Eve’s creation, as she arises at a time when “for the man there was not found a helper as his partner” (Gen 2:20). Tribble focuses her argument on how the Hebrew word “*neged*, which joins ‘ezer [helper], connotes equality: a helper who is a counterpart” (Tribble 252). She further separates the status of woman from that of animal, the species from which Adam originally sought a helper, by contending that they “fail to fit ‘*adham*. There is physical, perhaps psychic rapport between ‘*adham* and the animals... Yet their similarity is not equality... My translation is this: G—d is the helper superior to man; the animals are helpers inferior to man; woman is the helper equal to man” (252). Meyers reiterates these notions of the equality of helper and helped by stating that “the helper stands neither higher nor lower than the one being helped.

[There is] a nonhierarchical relationship between the two; it means ‘opposite’ or ‘corresponding to,’ or ‘parallel with,’ or ‘on par with’” (Meyers 85). Yet Gellman contests notions of equality which may be embedded within the status of helper by narrowing his focus to a discussion of Adam as worker. He confers the nature of male work in terms of farming, explaining different physically grueling tasks which supposedly necessitated that “man have a person who will assist him by undertaking tasks from which man was to be relieved” (Gellman 330). He therefore defines the relationship between man and woman “as one between a simply ‘created’ person (the man) and a ‘created-for’ person (the woman),” implying the innate subservience of woman by virtue of her status as helper (330).

However, the nature of Gellman’s articulation does not fully encompass the actual role which the text insinuates Eve will hold in terms of her status as helper. Rather than stating her function as a

helper in the field, helper in toil, or helper in labor, the text positions her as “a helper *as his partner*” (Gen 3:20). We therefore do not see the text focusing on the physical tasks which Adam engages in but on the need for fulfillment in terms of the role of companionship. Even if, as Gellman suggests, the Hebrew itself does not directly indicate the equality of womankind, we can deduce that, based on the need for her partnership, Adam relies upon Eve just as she will ultimately rely upon him. He essentially needs her to fill a void in his life, one which cannot be filled by anything else, and must have her. Therefore, while she may serve as a helper, we cannot ignore his role as the helped, an individual who is, at the very least, dependent on the presence of Eve. In this sense, we can deduct that man and woman emerge as equals.

Adam's Naming of the Woman

The final argument which Gellman presents centers around a discussion of the naming process of Eve, in which G—d grants power to man to “see what he would call [every animal]” and then later names Eve (Gen 2:19). While this appears to suggest that man possesses a significant sense of power and authority over woman (and subsequently seems to equate her to a status equivalent to that of animals), feminist theologians fight against this status by suggesting that the naming process does not inherently strip Eve of her connection to autonomy and agency. According to Tribble, who focuses her discussion on the distinction between the use of the word “called” (Gen 2:19) and later “named” (Gen 3:20), initially, “In calling the animals by name, ‘*adham*’ establishes supremacy over them and fails to find a fit helper. In calling woman, ‘*adham*’ does not name her [at first] and does find in her a counterpart” (Tribble 264). Later, though, Tribble argues that “the man calls

his wife's name Eve' (3:20), thereby asserting his rule over her. The naming itself faults the man for corrupting a relationship of mutuality and equality" (268). This draws us back to her argument that the relationship between man and woman—and, by that measure, the power asserted by man over woman—is illegitimate and unethical.

Refuting some of what Tribble states, Gellman enters the conversation to primarily contradict Tribble's argument on the distinction between naming and calling which suggests that a hierarchy has emerged (Gellman 334). Citing other moments in the text where "we find... instances of 'calling' alone, without a word for 'name' or 'naming,' in which domination or power-over is clearly implied," Gellman argues that we cannot assume that there is a distinction between calling and naming (332). He also recognizes that "the explicit giving of a name is not always the sign of mastery," which further complicates Tribble's argument, and says that the actual process

of naming is not what grants authority to man over animal or woman (333). Instead, he argues that the ways in which "Adam's name for the woman sticks," allows us to recognize man's power over her (333). The conferral of the original name *ishah*, which we may recall stems from *ish* and calls our attention to how woman emerged from the ribs of man, suggests the derivative nature of woman as the subservient of man. He also suggests that the subjugation of woman is reiterated when "Adam named her... in recognition of her bearing children. It is her sexual desire for her husband and for bearing children that will insure her obedience and thus the stability of the patriarchal arrangement" (333–334).

While Gellman presents strong points illustrating how woman may be read as submissive based on the status of her naming, I favor instead the argument put forth by Bal on the topic of naming, one which Gellman admits to be an "intriguing explanation of the second naming of the woman"

(334). Rather than focus on the ways in which one figure accepts power over another, Bal presents a more complex discussion of the naming processes in Genesis 2–3, in which she states that, “the fact that [woman] is appointed as the future creator/provider of ‘all living’ may very well be signified in the resemblance between her name and Yahweh’s, HW being the phonetic actant that opposes the creators to creatures, signified by DM... Adam relates Eve to Yahweh; Yahweh relates Adam to earth. The characters are now completed” (Bal 129). In this statement, then, Bal indicates that the process of naming is one which allows for the interconnection and interdependence of all living things. This does not suggest that man is more powerful than woman, nor that woman is more powerful than man. Instead, it suggests that they all rely upon one another to maintain their status as equals in the world. To this, I would agree wholeheartedly and further point us back to the ways in which the names of both man

and woman not only connect them to one another, but also connect them to the roles they maintain to support the world around them.

Conclusion

What we walk away with, then, is an understanding that it is not necessary that we maintain an androcentric reading nor that women must be subjugated by the text. While Gellman presents interesting points, some of his argument is flawed and still other parts of it need not be the only way in which we read the text. I recognize that the Pentateuch emerges out of a patriarchal society, yet I still maintain that Genesis 2–3 grants women the agency they deserve. By the end of Genesis, the text positions man and woman as equals to link them together, and Eve, through her ability to be a free-thinking being, holds a great deal of power. In her status as an autonomous agent with the ability to rationalize, as an equal counterpart to man, and as a person marked by integrity and character, Eve emerges as a representative of womankind as a whole, for as we all know, “‘Women are like that!’” (Gellman 327).

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EN(LIGHT)ENED PEOPLES: VAUXHALL GARDENS AS MEDIATOR OF MORALISTS AND PLEASURE SEEKERS IN THE AGE OF CITIZEN- CRAFTING

Michaela Novakovic '17

In one of the volumes of her iconic diaries, 18th century London socialite Anne Larpent wrote, “There is an emptiness, and lightness in all public places which I dislike, & which too, I dread liking since methinks it must warp the soul take it from nobler pursuits, from the contemplation of my God...How horrid is the life of people of fashion, one might

imagine they forget they had souls.”¹ The tension between her personal enjoyment of public pleasure and the moral repercussions of polite culture was merely a microcosm of tensions across London culture. With the rise of public leisure and polite culture, fostered by the technology of lighting,

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John Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 70.

tensions between those embracing polite culture and its subsequent socio-economic intermixing and those critiquing the culture on the basis of maintaining morality and traditional social order dominated London cultural conversation.

One public place that provided a site for Larpent's laments was Vauxhall Gardens.² Located on the south bank of the river Thames, the "entertainment" district of London, the garden had existed as far back as the mid 17th century. However, it was not until 1729 when twenty seven year old Jonathan Tyers obtained the lease to "Vauxhall New Spring Gardens" that the gardens emerged as a space of fashionable public leisure—a far cry from its previous reputation as a place for disreputable visitors,

illicit activity, and unkempt landscape.³ Under Tyers' watchful eye, Vauxhall Gardens blossomed into one of London's greatest 18th century tourist and leisure attractions, eventually spawning imitations across the country and the world.

Tyers' revitalization of Vauxhall Gardens as a place of leisure for socio-economically diverse visitors to immerse themselves in the culture of politeness was not a creation of Tyers' own genius. Instead, it must be situated as a product of and response to both the rise of polite culture in 18th century London and concerns about modernization via new technologies, specifically public lighting. The technology of public lighting crafted a space where the rise of polite culture could be tested, challenged, and promoted in relation to one another. It was a place in which the Anna Larpents of London could watch their internal tensions play out in a theatrical way. Moralists, those

2 Larpent frequented the gardens on a number of occasions.

3 David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens: A History*, 33.

who were concerned that luxury and leisure would weaken both individual and national morality, could be appeased by the use of light to prevent salacious activities. Fans of polite culture could indulge themselves and colonize this new realm as entirely their own creation.

But to understand lighting at Vauxhall, the gardens must be placed within the larger cultural context of 18th century London. During this period, there were three interlinked social movements in London: polite culture, public leisure, and public lighting (also referred to as nocturnalization). The rise of polite culture was both a product of a decreasing interest in the arts in court culture, and exponential population growth in London. The former forced artists into the public sphere to look for work,⁴ and the latter necessitated a new form of social control to tame the masses into one coherent body, adhering

4 Brewer, 97–98.

to the same polite norms,⁵ thereby creating a certain type of citizen. The transmission of polite culture necessitated that the people see and be seen.⁶ So in order to cultivate these polite norms, there needed to be public leisure spaces where people could view and practice polite culture. For elite men, this initially took the form of private clubs and societies designed to promote education and discussion about the arts, politics, and general sociability. For the common man, spaces like coffeehouses and taverns served a similar purpose. While polite culture may have originated with the elite, it became accessible and replicated via spaces of public leisure in a less formal manner,

5 “The notion of polite culture tamed the diverse issues of religious and politics, to create coherence and unity in a society characterized by change and variety... [politeness] placed a special emphasis on works of the imagination and fine arts.” Brewer, 99.

6 Brewer, 102–103.

allowing people of most socio-economic classes to participate in the lessons. In this way, the rise of polite culture and the shift of leisure into the public sphere went hand in hand, as one enabled the other.

In addition to providing public leisure spaces, another part of public leisure movement was the installation of lights in public spaces, or “nocturnalization.” Lights were used for both social regulation and as a tool for expanding socializing hours. Lighting, like other parts of public leisure and polite culture, was a product of court culture that moved into the public sphere. The lighting used for practical and entertainment purposes in court culture illustrated a royal regime of nighttime, colonizing an entire period of day.⁷ Between 1684 and 1694, public street lighting came into London. Their installation was meant to provide law and order, but

also “beautified a city and provided convenience and social amenity by encouraging respectable traffic on city streets after dark.”⁸ Public lighting also caused a reordering of daily life and time, as mornings started later as people stayed up later at night. Public nocturnal colonization was met with resistance across the socio-economic and ideological spectrum, as city officials disliked the cost of lighting, young people (who were generally the ones out at night) disliked their space being regulated, and moralists feared the effects of reordering daily life and time on spiritual and intellectual pursuits, as well as personal moral corruption by activities of the night.

While most met the new wave of polite culture with enthusiasm and delight, some of London’s elite thinkers felt that this new realm of leisure sociability and the rise of polite culture were corrupting London’s populations. The movement of public leisure and

7 Craig Koslofsky, *Evening’s Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe*, 93.

8 Koslofsky, 133.

polite culture opened up the luxury of leisure time and consumption of food, drink, and entertainment to a group of people who were previously denied such materialistic pleasures. In a 1761 sermon, Thomas Cole expressed such concerns, stating:

An emulous endeavor to outvie each other in the elegant accommodations of life, seems to be, not only the ruling ambition of a few, but the main ambition of a vast majority; the characteristic, and almost universal passion of the age. There is scarce any one, but seems to be ashamed, as it were of living within the compass of his own proper sphere, be it either great or small.⁹

The qualms of these moralists expanded beyond anxieties about social corruptibility of elites. They were also concerned about leisure distracting the working classes from working. Primarily, the

types of intellectual activity cultivated by the nighttime posed a threat to moralists' sensibilities. A main concern was unscrupulous philosophy, as "in London midnight was precisely the time when the society of gallants, free-thinkers and atheists thrived... worldly banter replaced sacred introspection as a key nocturnal activity..."¹⁰ These concerns about nighttime sociability replacing isolated reflection were direct products of the culture of politeness, which was tested at Vauxhall. However, Vauxhall developed ways of balancing these moralist concerns about the decline of learning and morality through the citizen-crafting. With this context, we can move forward in examining how Vauxhall fostered and challenged norms of polite culture and colonization within this leisure space. I will move through this paper as if I were a visitor to Vauxhall, providing detailed description and analysis of the ways in which

9 Brewer, 72.

10 Koslofsky, 260.

polite culture, public leisure, and colonization were made possible through and were challenged by the lighting and lit entertainments at Vauxhall during the evening hours.

First, we must ask what drew people to Vauxhall. Why would people cross the Thames to visit a sparsely populated area just for the sake of entertainment (which could easily be found in central London via theaters and taverns)? It is likely that most Londoners read guidebooks, as they were generally the most popular and widely circulated written documents about Vauxhall. Many of them emphasized the lights, as in the 1768 *The London and Westminster Guide*. With the same language in many guidebooks to follow, lighting of Vauxhall is described: “as soon as night comes in, the Garden near the orchestra is illuminated instantly, as it were, with an amazing Number of Glass Lamps, whose glittering among the trees, gave a Lightness and Brilliancy to so

animated a Scene.”¹¹ The proprietors of Vauxhall also announced the additions made to the gardens for the upcoming season. In the 17 May 1736 *Daily Adviser*, Jonathan Tyers announced improvements made to the Orchestra, including a 3,000 person seating capacity, the addition of 300 glass lights above the grove, and:

In order that this innocent and agreeable entertainment may be conducted with such a decency, as may induce the politest persons, and those of the most serious character to honour it with their presence, a proper guard will attend to keep out all lewd and disorderly persons.¹²

The last of these improvements was yet another way in which Vauxhall improved upon the

11 *The London and Westminster Guide*, 33.

12 Coke and Borg, 59.

public leisure market. By promising a controlled environment, which the coffeehouses and taverns of London could not offer, Tyers guaranteed visitors the opportunity to steep themselves in polite culture among like-minded individuals. Since Tyers (and other Vauxhall promoters) often advertised the gardens in magazines and newspapers like the *Daily Adviser*, which were no doubt read in coffeehouses and taverns, we can assume that the patrons of those places read about the luxurious entertainments and atmosphere of Vauxhall, and were intrigued by its promise of controlled polite culture in a space open to all those who could pay a shilling entrance fee. Therefore, those people visiting Vauxhall were already interested in participating in polite culture. Vauxhall offered a chance to rub elbows with the elite and wealthy in an elegant setting—an experience that the coffeehouses and taverns could not provide.

However, Vauxhall was not in a centrally located area. While this complicated travel, the

distance of Vauxhall from the city was alluring to many patrons. It was on the outskirts of London, in green space away from the pollution and crowds of the city, Vauxhall provided a space for urbanites to indulge their romances of travelling to a simpler time. Ironically, they carried with them the distinctly urban polite culture, which they intended to refine and perfect within the space. This journey to Arcadian England, accompanied by urban culture, began for most Vauxhall patrons by boarding a boat. A visitor travelling at dusk would likely see the sunset on the west side of the river, allowing for a beautiful visual display, foreshadowing the entertainment of light they would enjoy at the gardens in the evening. This “perilous” waterway journey from the urban world of London to the “unconquered” lands of the countryside mimicked the crossing of the Atlantic to colonize the New World. The baggage of polite culture the patrons brought with them to the gardens, in addition to the modern technologies implemented

there, replicated the colonization process in the New World. In this way, we can see these patrons as colonizers in their own right—“civilizing” their own rural spaces while also fine-tuning their own civilizing process of polite culture in a controlled yet rural space.

Once visitors finally arrived at Vauxhall, they disembarked the boats at Lack’s Dock, climbed the “Vauxhall Stairs” from the dock to the streets, and then walked a little over 100 meters through manicured green space to the Water-Gate, the one of the entrances to the Garden (see figure 3 for layout of Vauxhall). At this point, guests would be inspected by the guards and paid one shilling per person for entrance. Upon entering the green space of the park, visitors would likely hear music from the evening’s orchestra performance resonating throughout the park. If they entered before 9 p.m., they would see unlit lamps hanging above them. Most patrons arriving at the dinner hour would take a seat in one of the many supper boxes located around the central

area of the park, and feast upon a ham sandwich, Vauxhall’s most popular dish. Once darkness came, like the rest of the park, these supper boxes would be lit.

It is in these supper boxes that we see the first attempt to appease moralists. Their concerns, “at times of national crisis—during wars, rebellions and revolutions—the rumble of worry rose to a roar.”¹³ The military and patriotic themed paintings featured on the wall of each supper box can be read as direct responses to these concerns, demonstrating that in places of leisure citizens were reminded of their patriotic duty to the nation. The relevancy of these paintings to the viewer cannot be underplayed, as patrons of the gardens would have vividly remembered the events depicted. Such reminders could have forced visitors to talk over dinner about patriotic duty and British nationalism—two attitudes that moralists felt were threatened by polite culture,

13

Brewer, 82.

public leisure, and its luxuries.

After dinner, visitors would stroll one of the parks many walkways. Four walkways harbored most foot traffic. The Grand Walk (see figures 2 and 3) included attractions like the Handel Piazza, the Gothic Piazza, and the Temple of Comus. These architectural masterpieces featured green lawns and lit supper-boxes. Those strolling the walk during both day and night would be able to observe the eating and sociability norms displayed by those eating and socializing near these pavilions. Also accessible on the Grand Walk were the Rotunda and the Pillared Saloon, which featured astounding works of art and musical performances, and looked out onto the rest of the gardens. On a pathway off the Grand Walk was the Cascade, perhaps the most celebrated of Vauxhall's attractions. The Grand South Walk featured attractions such as Roubiliac's statue of the composer Handel, Handel's piazza (including supper boxes), and the Triumphal arches. In the green space located

between the Grand Walk and the Grand South Walk were the celebrated Orchestra (where orchestras would perform original compositions in the evenings), the organ building, and the Turkish tent, a covered dining area for those seeking a more social dining experience. The Centre Cross Walk, which transversed both the Grand South Walk and Grand Walk, generally featured transparencies on both the southern and northern ends.¹⁴ And finally, Lovers Walk, which was the only unlit walk in the gardens, featured only a statue of Apollo. In this section of the park, the entertainment came through the form of sexual encounters rather than visual architectural and artistic wonders.

The differences between these walks became especially clear at 9 p.m., when in one fell swoop

14

Coke and Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens*, Appendix 4, Map B, 1751. This is the last available map of the gardens during the 18th century.

Vauxhall was lit with thousands of lights, inspiring awe among its visitors. The widely read guidebooks of London purposefully documented the number of lights and the swift process through which they were lit. Baron von Barfield explained the wondrous instant lighting of the lamps in an April 1741 letter to a friend in his native Prussia, writing, “by each lamp hangs a match that has been dipd in spirits of wine... [upon a whistle] each operator repairs to his post; at a second whistle they begin their operations, and which they perform with so astonishing a rapidity, that in less than two minutes the whole garden appears as light as at noon at day.”¹⁵ By 1770, over 2,000 lamps were lit over the course of two minutes by Vauxhall’s lamplighters—an impressive sight for visitors. In this way, the lights themselves emerged as a form of entertainment, as they turned night into day within seconds.

15 Coke and Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens*, 203.

Turning night into day¹⁶ had several possible repercussions in the psyche of moralists. Perhaps most obviously, perpetual daytime disrupted traditional temporal rhythms of life. Work times, rest times, and meal times—all of which were determined by the hours of daylight and moonlight—become

16 Though London lit some public spaces, the lighting was incredibly sparse. London was behind nearly every other major European city in terms of lighting technology. Even Benjamin Franklin remarked on the superiority of Vauxhall lighting technology: “I have sometimes wondered that the Londoners did not, from the effect holes in the bottom of the globe lamps used at Vauxhall have in keeping them clean, learn to have such holes in their street lamps. But these holes being made for another purpose, viz., to communicate flame more suddenly to the wick by a little flax hanging down thro’ them, the other use, of letting in air, seems not to have been thought of; and therefore, after the lamps have been lit a few hours, the streets of London are very poorly illuminated.” Doderer-Winkler, 113.

irrelevant in the face of perpetual daytime. People could sleep, eat, and work whenever they pleased. The practice of allowing people to choose for themselves could threaten traditional orders of social and family life, such as idleness, overeating, absentee parenting, extra-marital affairs, and ignorance of societal duties. Because people would not be forced to keep a schedule dictated by light and dark hours, everyone would not be on the same daily schedule. Such societal disjunction could lead to economic, political, and societal unrest.

Lights were installed as a safety feature to prevent illicit activity, as a form of surveillance and crime control. Darkness and crime were thought to go hand in hand, and thus moralists saw them both as a threat to national morality. Without lights, Tyers would have been unable to extend park hours safely, as a dark, unmonitored space could become a breeding ground for the illicit activity he was working so hard to weed out. These lights allowed for

social events like masquerades, fireworks, musical performances, and other nighttime activities to be celebrated in a controlled setting. Such nocturnal activities, of course, were at odds with moralist concerns about the loss of introspection during the nighttime hours, but an argument could be made that controlled spaces at night were the lesser of two evils, as the alternative was unlit, uncontrolled nighttime spaces, which always fostered and promoted criminal activity.

Tyers' attempts to control nighttime spaces were sometimes met with hostility from Vauxhall's patrons, but for reasons far different from those of the moralists. Druid's Walk, also known as Lovers Walk, was an unlit walk on the east side of Vauxhall Gardens, and was a popular spot for the youths, who would often engage in sexual activities. When "Tyers cordoned off the notorious Lovers Walk at Vauxhall and erected lighting, 150 young men among his customers duly tore down the fencing and smashed

the lamps.”¹⁷ After this riot, Tyers never attempted to barricade or light the area again, and allowed for this section of the gardens to remain unlit. His decision to leave the walk as is demonstrated the garden’s role as a place where social norms could be challenged and practiced. This resistance to nocturnalization (which prevented certain acts of the night from being carried out in relative secrecy) served as a microcosm of the larger trends in London. Lantern smashing occurred both in Vauxhall and the streets of London.¹⁸ On the last night of the “season” (the season ran from mid-May to late August) patrons would run around and smash every single one of the lanterns at Vauxhall. As one spectator noted, “There are commonly from three to four thousand spectators, and a kind of riot

generally ensues before morning, during which lamps are broken, and other irregularities are committed.”¹⁹

Although youths smashed the lamps, they hardly destroyed Tyers’ attempts at surveillance and crowd control. Though lights were no doubt an important safety feature, they were not the most important. Indeed, the admissions fee and guards served as a much more effective way of combatting crime and illicit activity in the park. The admissions fee prevented the very poor—and therefore more likely to commit crime and look “unkempt”—from entering the park, and the guards refused admittance to anyone who was not well dressed or even looked like they could harbor criminal intentions.²⁰ In this way, appearances were the most important way of making the park appear safe and crime. Tyers cared

17 Peter Borsay, “Pleasure Gardens and Urban Culture,” in *The Pleasure Garden: From Vauxhall to Coney Island*, 70.

18 Koslofky, 159.

40 **BODY TEXT**

19 Borsay, 76.

20 Borsay, 69.

who was entering the park and participating in the culture of politeness cultivated there. Even though today scholars laud the inclusivity of the park in part because of its small one-shilling entrance fee along with its admittance of women, unlike most coffeehouses and taverns. However, Vauxhall was not really inclusive—one had to look like a decent person to enter the park. Therefore, the urban poor were unlikely to gain admittance and take part in the polite culture and urban leisure space. In addition, Tyers employed guards to monitor the premises and intervene in any illicit activity, though they did not catch everything.²¹

I want to stop here for a moment and discuss the way that patrons of the garden moved between lit and unlit spaces. It would be foolish to divide the population of Vauxhall into a “Lovers Walk” group and a “Grand Walks” group. Patrons of the Gardens

moved freely in and out of these spaces. It would not be uncommon for a couple to meet on one of the Grand Walks, move to Lovers Walk to engage in sexual activity, and then return to the Grand Walks to socialize with their families, friends, each other, or with other prospective partners. Rather than being an isolated space in the gardens, Lovers Walk was an integral part of the garden’s operation. It allowed for illicit activity to take place in an unlit, yet controlled environment, just steps away from a lit, controlled environment. It demonstrated the possibility of darkness and light to operate simultaneously without one undermining the culture cultivated by the other. Even though “impolite” culture was being practiced in this part of the garden, it did not undermine the polite culture practiced in the lit spaces. If anything, it strengthened the practice of polite culture by allowing sexual urges to be acted upon in the privacy of darkness, out of sight from others. In this way, Vauxhall was proposing a culture in which vices and

21 Coke and Borg, 76.

values can, and must, exist in harmony with each other. This proposition may not quell moralists or people like Anna Larpent, but it proposes a way in which both lit and unlit spaces can exist in harmony, which may be the best compromise given the permanence of light technology.

In addition to the overhead lighting in the garden, art forms made possible only through lighting, such as transparencies, mechanical displays, and architectural enhancement were incorporated. Patrons strolling around the gardens in the evening reveled in these art forms, which were displayed only at night. Visitors strolling around Vauxhall's grounds at night would find transparencies, (paintings lit from behind, not unlike stained glass), in both interior and exterior locations at the gardens, generally at the ends of walkways. During the day, the transparencies were typically concealed behind black curtains until they were revealed in their full, lit grandeur

in the evenings.²² These transparencies often depicted military and civil leaders, similar to the aforementioned supper-box paintings.

By depicting these civil and military leaders, including George Prince of Wales, and men of war, Vauxhall addressed concerns about public leisure, made possible via lighting, by celebrating these moral tenants through a new form of art made possible via lighting. The transparency of the Prince of Wales "is leaning against his horse, which is held by Britannia; Minerva is holding his helmet, and Prudence is fixing his spurs; while Fame, with her trumpet and a wreath of laurel, is seen from above,"²³ therefore connecting the Prince's military grandeur with larger themes of British nationalism. In fact,

22 Coke and Borg, 218.

23 "A companion to all the principal places of curiosity," 1799, 197.

Vauxhall even held jubilees celebrating the return of soldiers, as the Jubilee of 1786 was designed to welcome home the deluge of soldiers returning from North America. These military fetes often featured “large transparencies framed by martial and naval motifs.”²⁴ In this way, fears about public leisure “weakening the moral fibre of the nation,” were quelled by the technology that made public leisure possible. This decision to celebrate military and civic leaders illustrates Tyers’ firm understanding of the anxieties stemming from new social norms, and his attempts to use Vauxhall as a place to allay such concerns. These transparencies promoted a sense of civic and patriotic duty, which was important to those moralists who were concerned about the way that lighting could corrupt people by encouraging them to stay out later at night and engage in the illicit activities long associated with nighttime. By making

these art forms available only in the nighttime, Tyers attempted to dupe moralists into liking lighting by presenting it in forms they would find appealing. In a less Machiavellian reading, these transparencies demonstrated to moralists the possibilities of light for the glorification of the British Empire and the call to civic duty via new art forms that dazzle the common, gullible man.

A little after 9 p.m. each evening, most visitors would take the Grand Walk down to the cascade, the most popular attraction at Vauxhall. The cascade was a lit mechanical reproduction of a bucolic country scene. As 18th century guidebook writer David Fenning describes,

...An extraordinary piece of machinery on the inside of one of the hedges, near an entrance into a vista; removing a curtain is shewn a fine landscape, illuminated by concealed lights in which the principal objects that strike the eye are a cascade and a miller’s house. The exact appearance of water

24 Coke and Borg, 245.

is seen flowing down a declivity, and turning the wheel of the mill; it rises up in foam at the bottom, then glides away.²⁵

Like the transparencies, the cascade was covered during the daytime, and was revealed at 9:15 p.m. for a fifteen-minute show. The lighting of the pastoral scene demonstrated a longing for the natural world, even though the cascade itself was mechanical. This nostalgia was both spatial and temporal, as the cascade turned back time to an imagined past in which the beauty of nature remained uncorrupted by urban sprawl, crowding, and pollution, yet benefited from current technology. In the same vein, the nighttime setting for the cascade suggested a deep desire to colonize rural areas with the technology of lighting, and therefore, turn it into civilized and

controllable space (as the cascade itself was operated by cranks turned by Vauxhall staffers). The nocturnal spectacle also allowed for the concealment of the mechanical operation, as the workers were shrouded by darkness in their pursuit to manufacture an idyllic experience. Cloaking labor in the darkness eliminated work from the pleasure and entertainment experience, making it appear effortless and organic. This suggests that pleasure and entertainment were an inherent and natural part of life, so to resist pleasure was to resist a fundamental part of a person's soul. In this way, entertainments did not corrupt the soul as Anna Larpent feared, but rather, nourished the soul. By making the mechanical cascade seem natural and laborless, Tyers demonstrated to moralists that technology and its capacity for pleasure were in line with the "natural order" that moralists feared lighting would corrupt. Resisting the cascade would be to resist nature itself.

Like the transparencies before it, the cascade

25 D. Fenning, "A new system of geography: or a general description of the world," 514.

can also be understood as an attempt to quell moralist concerns. Both the return to nature and temporal nostalgia evoked by the cascade rejected urban conditions and environments, and instead celebrated the natural state and previous era in which the culture of politeness has not corrupted the citizens' character. Of course, the irony in this was that the cascade was entirely manufactured, but very few visitors were aware of the cascade's mechanics. The cascade was also constantly changing to suit modern taste and reflect current anxieties—indeed, in 1787, the cascade introduced marching soldiers into its scenery.²⁶ While this can be seen as a ploy to prop up British military confidence after its embarrassing defeat in the colonies, it also reintroduced one of the tenets of the moral fiber of the nation into a scene that essentially reenacted the process of colonization. The presence of soldiers in what was perhaps the greatest attraction of

Vauxhall also embedded into the minds of its patrons the indelible connection between pleasure and the call to patriotic duty.

The cascade was part and parcel of a larger movement by Londoners to replicate the colonization process by selectively urbanizing a piece of Arcadian territory. The urban technology of lighting entering the “unconquered” rural area evoked at Vauxhall demonstrated a colonizing process similar to that of the British and the New World, by which savages became citizens in virgin land enriched with civilizing technologies. Although the violence and oppression of colonization substantiates some of history's darkest chapters, for Londoners, replicating colonization was a form of amusement. Why was imposing one's own values onto a land and its occupants so entertaining? This was not the product of some masochistic British society, but rather, came from the tension inherent between savagery and colonization—in order to control and civilize, it was necessary to use forms of

technology that urbanites were trying to escape. In this process, Londoners decided which parts of their society they liked and disliked, and as a result, ended up creating their own society. The result of their work was Vauxhall Gardens, a place of entertainment because it was essentially a fantasy world, in which urban technologies enhanced “ancient” architecture and politically relevant art; the population consisted only of the well-dressed and well-intentioned; British nationalism abounded; and the space was planned to maximize pleasure and sociability. In other words, it was a controlled space in which people crafted themselves into the individuals they aspired to be.

The main implication of citizen-crafting within a controlled, fantasy space was that such citizenship was not sustainable in environments other than Vauxhall, since the citizen was crafted for the purpose of existing only within the garden. “Real” urban culture could not allow a Vauxhall citizen to survive because the citizen could not adapt to urban

culture without losing the parts of their identity crafted by a fantasy world. This is not to suggest that polite culture was restrained within the walls of the garden, but rather, the type of citizen that this particular form of polite culture crafted was not maintainable in uncontrolled environments. But since no one actually lived at Vauxhall, visitors therefore adapted two citizenships within themselves: an “urban” citizenship shaped by London life, and “ideal” citizenship, shaped by the fantasy world of Vauxhall.

Perhaps the tension Anna Larpent felt was not only the tension between her like of pleasure and leisure and her moral opposition to the people it created, but also a tension between the two citizenships within herself. The moralists’ fears about pleasure and public leisure creating corrupt citizens may have been realized, but not because people were fully immersed in public pleasure. Rather, it would seem that citizens corrupted their whole person by

harboring two opposing identities in themselves, preventing the person from being wholly committed to one or the other. Indeed, split citizenship posed the most dangerous threat to British nationhood, especially when half of that citizenship existed in a fantasy world, as it compromised a citizen's patriotic and moral allegiance to the ruling state. While the lights of Vauxhall dazzled visitors and demonstrated the untapped potential of the technology of lighting, its attempted mediation between moralists and pleasure seekers may have had the unintended consequence of creating two personas and citizens within one person.

Appendix



Figure 1:
*Vauxhall Gardens
showing the Grand
Walk at the entrance
of the Garden and the
Orchestra with the
Musick Playing,*
print published in
London, 1751

Figure 2:
Canaletto (1697–1768)
*View of the Grand
Walk, Vauxhall
Gardens, With the
Orchestra Pavilion,
The Organ House,
The Turkish Dining
Tent and the Statue
of Aurora*, oil on
canvas





Figure 3:
 John S. Muller
 (ca. 1715–1792)
 after Samuel Wale
 (1721–1786)
*A General Prospect
 of Vaux Hall
 Gardens after 1751,*
 hand-colored
 engraving

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EXCERPT FROM: THE PASSEURS (DEATH, RITUAL, AND DANCE)

Emma Cohen '17

Stephen Petronio, a contemporary choreographer and director of the Petronio Company in New York, watched quietly as the movements of his new piece began to coalesce.¹ Perhaps the dancer's motions signaled to Petronio a concept that would hold together the dance as a whole, or perhaps he created the dance around an idea that had been floating around in his head for some time. But regardless of how it began, the piece ultimately came to be about death.

For most people in the industrialized West it seems natural that the word “death” would evoke an overwhelming sense of nothingness, of absence. Dying is seen as a process of biological failure, to be avoided at all costs, and the idea that physical death is not truly final is often brushed off as naive. Yet, our modern attitude towards death is far from the only conception of mortality. Analyzing historical understandings of death reveals the instability of our current conceptions, removing from them the status of universal truth. It allows us more clearly to see the

imperfect nature of our attitudes towards death, and illuminates possible areas for change.

While I do not engage in a complete analysis of historical conceptions of death in this excerpt, the longer version of this essay shows the way in which death in the modernized West holds particularly limited visibility and is surrounded by particularly strong taboos in comparison to death in earlier periods. Perhaps more importantly, emotions in response to death as well as preparations for death are no longer channeled through the highly structured organization of rituals. While some families may still choose to bring a religious leader to the deathbed of their loved ones, the cultural assumption that religious rites must be performed before someone's death is less prevalent today, and no secular rituals have emerged to replace the religious ones. As Norbert Elias writes, "it is only the institutionalized routines of hospitals that give a social framework to the situation of dying. These, however, are mostly devoid of feeling and contribute much to the isolation of dying."ⁱⁱ Of course, it is important not to overly romanticize historical practices surrounding death. That being said, when the lack of visibility and publicly displayed emotion surrounding death leads individuals to die in an increasingly alienated manner it seems clear that the way we approach death today leaves something to be desired. If rituals have been lost, what seems pressing is not how we might restore them but how we might craft new rituals that could make death a more meaningful, and more positive, experience.

Dance has the ability to make death visible and unapologetically felt. Its nature as a ritualized practice provides a framework through which audience members can deal with mortality.

When a woman with a video camera came into his studio, Petronio began to speak about loss, absence, and resurrection. He looked into the camera and said earnestly, "Who doesn't wanna live again just like Lazarus did?" But even as Petronio spoke broadly of life and death, he seemed to be drawn to a more particular concern: how loss is played out in the medium of dance. Petronio continued to the camerawoman, "The thing about dance that is so beautiful is that it disappears the minute that you see it. And the frustrating thing about dance is that it disappears the minute that you see it."

He grew quiet while the camera recorded the tossing, twisting bodies behind him, his dancers continually falling and snapping their limbs. By the time he voiced his final question it was unclear if he was talking about the challenge of choreography or the challenge of living in the face of death.

"How can you build on something that's disappearing?"

*When opening night finally arrives, these musings on mortality will have slipped into the background, the audience initially focused on the bustling reality of the Joyce theater.*ⁱⁱⁱ

- iii. In searching for new rituals surrounding death, and in exploring dance as a practice that could fill this void, it is useful first to clarify the term “ritual,” a word that is often used without examination. Although many theorists have attempted to describe and categorize rituals, it is Catherine Bell’s concept of “ritualization” that proves most effective in this context. Bell investigates how certain actions are distinguished from the mundane activities of every day life, this process being a “matter of variously culturally specific strategies for setting some activities off from others, for creating and privileging a qualitative distinction between the ‘sacred’ and the ‘profane.’” She also points out that rituals should be understood as practices—activities that (among other characteristics) strategically reinforce or restructure social relationships.

Ultimately, Bell’s understanding of rituals can be divided into what she terms their internal and external strategies of ritualization. The external strategies of ritualization

are the broader ways in which a ritualized activity is set apart from others. They explain how watching a dance performance in a theater becomes understood as a different, and more elevated activity than, for instance, watching a movie at home. The internal strategies of ritualization, on the other hand, are the ways in which “the body produces an environment structured according to a series of privileged oppositions, which in turn is seen to mold and produce a ritualized agent.”

In other words, internal strategies are the ways in which the actions themselves create meanings and change the participants in order to achieve the ritual’s strategic ends.

In the case of Petronio’s performance, the external strategies of ritualization are relatively straightforward. Simply having the performance take place in a theater signals that it is a special activity, one that belongs to the realm of high art. Once they have crossed the boundary between street and theater, audience members have passed from everyday life into a ritual space.

Streaming in from 8th Avenue in downtown Manhattan are hundreds of dance enthusiasts and art critics, reluctant children and eager young dancers. People have gotten dressed up for the occasion, donning chic evening wear and experimenting with unusual combinations of fabrics, crafting their image for the realm of art which they will be entering.^{iv} In the lobby there is a whirl of families searching for the archways indicated on their tickets, the mingling of friends and colleagues, and a few hurried drink orders at the carefully arrayed bar. There is a hum of anticipation arching over the room that holds the crowd of people reveling in their special evening out.^v

- iv. The choice of special clothing sets the experience of a dance performance apart from others. Audience members have changed their physical appearances to mark their participation in this activity, as if donning ritual costumes.
- v. As an activity that only happens on certain occasions (during the company's season, for instance) and that participants would only be able to attend now and then, the dance performance is further demarcated. By taking place irregularly, the temporal as well as the physical space of the performance is made special.

Through these spatial, physical, and temporal features, the dance performance is differentiated from daily activities and set aside as a ritual practice.

Soon the lights blink on and off and ushers begin to politely direct people into the auditorium. Once through the threshold separating the lobby from the theater itself the buzz begins to subside as people neatly place themselves into their assigned seats, crossing their legs and folding their hands in their laps to keep from encroaching on the space of those next to them.^{vi} Some might page through the program to put names to the faces of the dancers that will soon fill the stage, or to read a brief summary of the thought processes behind the evening's performance.

vi.

The internal strategies of ritualization are a good deal more complex than the external strategies. To a certain extent, "internal strategies" refers to the ways in which the actions of a ritualized activity create meaning. Bell explains that this production of meaning involves,

"First, the physical construction of schemes of binary oppositions; second, the orchestrated hierarchization of these schemes whereby some schemes come to dominate or nuance others; and third, the generation of a loosely integrated whole in which each element 'defers' to another in an endlessly circular chain of reference."^{viii} Essentially, because the actions create a series of contrasts that play off of one another, participants can come away with a general sense of the ritual. For instance, Bell uses the example of the Eucharist in which raised eyes (among other actions) privileges high over low, while the ingestion of food creates a contrast between inner and outer that, taken together with the

high/low dichotomy, can be understood to mean that the internalization of a higher reality should be valued. This meaning, however, is not unified or fixed. It is constantly developing and folding back on itself so that there will be no singular or ultimate meaning that can be taken away from a ritual, even if its participants think they have established its meaning for themselves.

As a part of this creation of meaning, the internal strategies of ritualization also include the ways in which physical bodies both produce and are changed by the ritual environment. The clearest example Bell gives of this phenomenon is the image of a subject kneeling before a king. She writes that, “the molding of the body within a highly structured environment does not simply express inner states. Rather, it primarily acts to restructure bodies in the very doing of acts themselves.”^{ix}

The subject’s kneeling, then, should not be seen as an expression of his respect for the king. Instead, the act of kneeling creates a spatial hierarchy between high and low that corresponds with the hierarchy between the

powerful and the powerless. These contrasts inscribe themselves on the body of the subject, who will then bring the sense of difference between high/low// powerful/powerless into other situations. Bell does not explain in detail how this “inscription” or molding of the body actually takes place. Rather, it is important to recognize here that the impact of a ritual activity is not confined to the duration of its performance. Ritualized activities create “ritualized bodies” that have a “sense” of ritual. This means that they will have an instinct for the production of the privileged contrasts involved in such rituals.^x

In the performance, the careful arrangement of the bodies of the audience, confined within a chair and facing the stage, signals that they are ready to receive whatever the evening may present to them. More broadly however, their placement in seats rather than on the elevated stage creates an opposition between low and high; their orientation towards the dancers creates an opposition between viewer and the viewed; their stillness contrasts with the dancers’ eventual movement to make an opposition between stillness and movement.

A younger child, perhaps a bit restless, tugs on her parent's shoulder and points upwards. Peppered around the theater a handful of other eyes have begun to join her in breaking away from the perusing of programs and the silencing of cellphones to gaze transfixed at an object hanging suspended above their heads. A helicopter stretcher sways ever so slightly back and forth, a series of smooth white objects glowing against the dark space above it. Upon closer inspection the objects reveal themselves to be casts of various body parts—a skeletal foot is suspended next to a forearm, the back of a head, hair pulled into a bun, is partially hidden by a thigh, which in turn is cradled by a pelvic bone.^{vii} The objects move almost imperceptibly, like wind chimes on a calm day, creating a ghostlike presence among the catwalks. Looking a moment longer, a few of the audience members perceive a foot emerging from one corner of the stretcher. When the contraption sways slightly to the right, a nose is revealed. At first it is unclear whether these are limbs or more of the sculpted objects, but soon they see thick black hair pooling at the top of the stretcher.

vii.

These plaster casts on one level contrast with the actual limbs occupying the theater space to create an opposition between inanimate/animate.

Adding to this, choreographer Tadeusz Kantor has said that mannequins are models “through which pass a strong sense of DEATH and the conditions of THE DEAD.”^{xi} The inanimate/animate opposition can then be made more explicitly into a dead/living opposition.

The visual artist Janine Antoni is hanging above them, maintaining almost perfect stillness.^{viii}

Startled by this intrusion of performance into the space of the audience, into the preparatory time before the music has begun, the audience members begin to look around them with more discernment. They realize that the stage, too, has been somewhat disrupted. The curtain that usually rests in heavy folds on the stage has been pulled upwards just enough to reveal a body lying prone on the floor. Dressed in a suit with bare feet, hands crossed, only the occasional expansion of the body's chest indicates that this is Petronio himself, alive and well, lying with such stillness on the stage.^{ix}

- viii. Antoni's presence heightens and complicates the oppositions that were made earlier between audience and performer. Once again performer/audience is connected to high/low, now to an even more extreme level. Yet the connection between performer/audience and moving/still has been attenuated, if not reversed altogether (since some audience members at this point are still milling about). Performer/audience, or viewed/viewer, has been complicated as well, Antoni becoming an almost panoptic presence that opens up the possibility of the audience being watched.
- ix. Petronio, like Antoni and the mannequins, reverses the expected relationship between performer and movement. We might map the series of oppositions that have been generated as:

Performer	Audience
High	Low
Viewed	Viewer
Still	Moving
Dead	Living

If the left hand column is privileged over the right (as high is usually privileged over low), we might see this time before the dance begins as one that gives value to the performances of the dying, elevating the dead to the status of something worthy of being viewed.

(Keeping these oppositions from remaining fixed, Petronio also troubles the connection between stillness/death and movement/life)

As we have already seen, Antoni's presence also complicates these relationships by her position high above, perhaps even observing, the audience. The oppositions might then be written:

Performer	Audience
High	Low
Viewer	Viewed
Still	Moving
Dead	Living

In this turning of tables there is an implication that

the audience too can be viewed in death—that one day others will be watching their final performances. Although “moving” and “living” remain in the realm of the audience for the moment, it will soon shift to that of the performer when dancers take the stage.

The sound of people moving to their seats and holding soft conversations peters out as the doors to the theater are closed, and when the lights dim slightly a deep hush spreads through the audience. People turn from their friends to face straight ahead, straighten their spines and lean backwards into their seats. When the lights are extinguished completely (save for a soft light surrounding Antoni's stretcher and another behind Petronio) it feels as if a collective breath is being held for just a moment longer than is natural.

"I want to die..."

a voice cuts the breath and allows it to fall

"...Like Lazarus did."

When the curtain rises Petronio is gone, replaced on the stage by three groups of three dancers, each contained by a pool of light. Loosely woven fabric hangs from their shoulders, falling unevenly and appearing to be on the verge of disintegration.^{xi}

xi. unstable/stable
disintegrated/intact

One by one a dancer in each group will step up into relevé, their palms forward and arms rising softly out towards the side.^{xii}

xii. up/down
forward/back

Their movements build until they are jumping into turns that dip into grand plies, their muscles wrapping around their bones to keep their legs solid even as their upper bodies are moving with more and more abandon.^{xiii}

xiii. constraint/abandon
controlled/wild

The stage fills and empties, the formations of dancers constantly shifting. It becomes impossible to take in everything at once, only brief moments emerging coherently from the mass of movement.

Bathed in deep blue light Petronio has returned, still in his suit, to help lay three dancers onto the floor. These floor bound dancers arch their backs and push themselves in a circle with their feet, slowly writhing up from the ground while their hands hover by their chests in loose fists, like those of a baby.^{xiv}

xiv. down/up
lying/standing
dead/alive
(and yet here death is neither final nor static, as we tend to expect)

A dancer walks onto the suddenly empty stage with confidence and settles himself into a curve. His arms circle and legs extend, only to stop again with his head bent down and arms extending behind him.^{xv}

xv. stillness/motion

Pairs of dancers face the back of the stage, one in front of the other. Leaning side to side, cutting their arms through the air and wrapping them around themselves, lowering one another to the ground, each dancer moves in and out of the audience's line of vision.^{xvi}

xvi. visible/invisible
present/absent
life/death

(yet dancers who are alive and present can be obscured, and even those who appear absent are always alive and moving)

*As the music fades slightly a woman's fall is cut short
by another dancer holding onto one of her arms. When
she arches her back off the floor he wraps his arms
through the space beneath her and they hang in a sort
of embrace.^{xvii}*

xvii. release/support
 fall/rise

*One dancer opens her arms to the side and falls
backwards, caught by another dancer at the last
minute. She is on her feet only to fall backwards again,
this time supported on his back as he lunges forward.
An arm is pulled up by a third dancer who lifts her now
rigid body, parallel to the floor, and carries her over a
dancer who is lying on his back, almost as her shadow.^{xviii}*

xviii. (Some meaning is generated outside of these
 oppositions, from references to past rituals and other
 performances. The motif of dancers with their arms out
 to the sides recalls the cross, the rigid bodies and limp
 hands and feet reference dead bodies, the recurrence of
 trios brings up the mystical number three, which in turn
 implies a cyclical pattern of life, death, and rebirth.)

One dancer moving at a faster pace around a stage of writhing bodies is seamlessly joined by another. They trace a path around the stage for a few measures, only to fall out of unison again.^{xix}

xix. solo/ensemble
individual/community
alone/together

A quartet has run onstage, moving to a low and ever-accelerating rhythm. They jump and fling their limbs, yet always stay connected to one another. They move as a mass expanding and contracting, briefly breaking apart only to reform, holding back the dancers who stretch away and throwing others into the air only to engulf them again.^{xx} Their pace picks up even more and the movement vacillates between being violent and tender.^{xxi}

xx. expand/contract
extend/recoil

part/whole
unique/uniform

xxi. violent/tender
harsh/soft
frightening/comforting

Soon the mass has splintered and the stage is again full of dancers. They weave in and out of each other's space, in and out of one another's tempo. Now four dancers have slumped to the floor, one piled on top of another; now two dancers walk forward in unison, the sudden bowing of their heads seeming to make a dancer behind them fall. Now there seem to be nine dancers onstage, now four; groups of dancers move in front of one another to continually conceal and reveal bodies from view.^{xxii}

xxii.

These oppositions create a rich sense of death amidst vitality, a constant coexistence of fragility and decomposition alongside support and growth. They come together and nuance one another to produce moments of meaning, (moments that may be somewhat different for each participant) even as they never fully pause or cohere: "one is never confronted with 'the meaning' to confront or reject; one is always led into a redundant, circular, and rhetorical universe of values and terms whose significance keeps flowing into other values and terms." I like to think that support/togetherness// presence/expansion are privileged in these oppositions. They could cause audience members to come away from the performance with a sense that there is value in supporting the dead and dying, in community, in touch, in feeling. But they are never far from their releasing/collapsing/alone/absent counterparts.

Amidst all of this incessant motion, one dancer stands still, facing the audience. His breathing is visibly heavy and many audience members begin to feel a tension between their shoulder blades, a sense of stress creeping in as they feel as if they must breathe for him.^{xxiii}

xxiii.

The transfer of affect that occurs between performer and audience member can be deeply physical. Even if those watching are not conscious of the complex layers of opposition and deferral taking place in the performance, they are still likely to come away feeling affected by the piece and with a vague sense of its meaning, even if this meaning isn't unified. Examining this transfer of affect can help to solidify Bell's ideas about ritualized bodies by explaining how the molding or inscribing of the internal strategies onto these bodies takes place.

Ivar Hagendoorn has begun to study the neuroscience underlying the experience of watching an abstract dance. He notes that any time we watch moving objects our brains will try to predict their trajectory.^{xiii} When our expectations are subverted and the object doesn't move as anticipated there is activity in our orbitofrontal cortices. These areas of the brain assist in decision-

*Dancers continue to move behind and in front of him,
but his stillness remains constant, anchoring the space
around him.*^{xxiv}

making by associating emotion with prediction errors. His findings may show that when we make an incorrect prediction about how and where a dancer will move next, we grow more focused because of the emotions associated with this error.^{xiv}

Dances full of complex choreography like Petronio's often begin to fulfill the audience's expectations only to undermine them moments later by drawing the audience into the piece and shaping their emotional responses as a result.

xxiv. What's more, "if within a movement sequence part of the body is temporarily occluded, the brain will either extrapolate the movement from the last visible position or interpolate between the positions before and after the occlusion, by covertly performing the movement itself."^{xv} Drawing upon the now popular concept of mirror neurons, neurons that fire both when an action is seen and when it is executed, Hagendoorn suggests that audience members are experiencing a similar sensation to actually performing the dance's movements themselves.

Eventually the heavy drumbeat fades and the stage gradually empties, until only two dancers remain. The sound of a bow being slowly drawn across the strings of a violin seeps into the theater, and the audience members allow their shoulders to relax.^{xxv}

In addition to focusing their attention on complex choreography and feeling satisfied or frustrated by what they have seen, audiences engage with the performance by internally enacting dancer's missing movements.

xxv. Besides this physical response to visual stimuli, audiences respond to their auditory experiences as well. On a very basic level, the vibrations of the music can be felt in their bodies, for instance, the deep bass vibrating through their ribs. In addition, Tia DeNora writes that “the human body is (or can itself be thought of as) a musical instrument... and as an instrument, the body ‘tunes in,’ ‘clashes,’ and ‘resonates with’ the sound environment.”^{xvi} Fast-paced music might incite a higher heart rate among audience members, or a slow tempo might contrast with their resting heart rate and emphasize the lethargy of the music. Even beyond the music, the sounds made by the dancers onstage correspond with sounds that could be made by members of the audience; the audience members can imagine the constriction in their chests that would correspond with the heavy breathing of the dancers.

*Taking advantage of the relative stillness on stage,
some audience members even close their eyes, or lean
forward in their seats as if rubbing themselves
against the music.*^{xxvi}

xxvi. Susan Leigh Foster does warn against assuming a natural and direct connection between performers and audience. She reminds her readers that “the dancer’s performance draws upon and engages with prevailing senses of the body and of subjectivity in a given historical moment” and that our current sense of empathy has only arisen in relatively recent history.^{xvii} When we watch a dancer onstage, our perception and response is mediated by our understanding of what bodies are, what constitutes an individual, and how individual bodies can connect with one another.

DeNora, too, points out that a response to music is not automatic or passive, but rather carefully cultivated by the listener: “listeners are by no means simply ‘affected’ by music but are, rather, active in constructing their ‘passivity’ to music—their ability to be ‘moved.’”^{xviii} Listeners may, for example, place themselves in a rocking chair to aid the soothing effect of a sad song that they had chosen. Claudio Benzecry describes how opera fans will hold themselves in

The two remaining dancers move into and against one another with fluidity, even when they seem on the verge of collapsing.^{xxvii} The woman stands on relevé with her legs apart, arching back while slowly letting her body twist to one side. As the spiral of her spine becomes more extreme gravity takes over and she begins to fall, but her partner's arm under her shoulder keeps her from reaching the limits of her peaks and valleys.^{xxviii}

She steps into a fourth position, one arm in the air supported by his, and for a moment is still.

particular ways—closing their eyes or placing their hands on their chests—to prepare themselves to engage with the music. The same is true of those who attend dance performances; they sit calmly in their seats, preparing themselves to experience an emotional response to the performance, occasionally stretching or swaying slightly to heighten these sensations.

- xxvii. Because of audience member's carefully cultivated receptive states, as well as notions of kinesthesia in our current cultural context, audience members are physically and emotionally moved by the performance (even if this is not a instinctual and universal occurrence).
- xxviii. They brace themselves as a dancer hurtles towards the ground, are relieved and let out a breath when she is caught.

But with the pluck of a string her knees buckle and he pulls her back to standing only for her to fall again.^{xxix} Their momentum grows until just as quickly it is dissipated as she adjusts her limbs into the position she started in.

As the dancers twine together and apart the audience settles into the undulating motions that are calm even as they are unexpected. The rhythm of the movement begins to fade along with the lights, and slowly the curtain descends over the stage, only Antoni's stretcher remaining illuminated.

A hush holds the audience for a beat, like a collective exhale, before it's shattered by applause.^{xxx}

xxix.

They may begin to feel a thrill as the music rises and her movements become wilder, or harbor a sense of desperation as she continually falls while reaching into the empty space next to her.

xxx.

And when the dance draws to a close, the ghost of the dancers' movements settles over them in the resonating silence.

Take a breath.

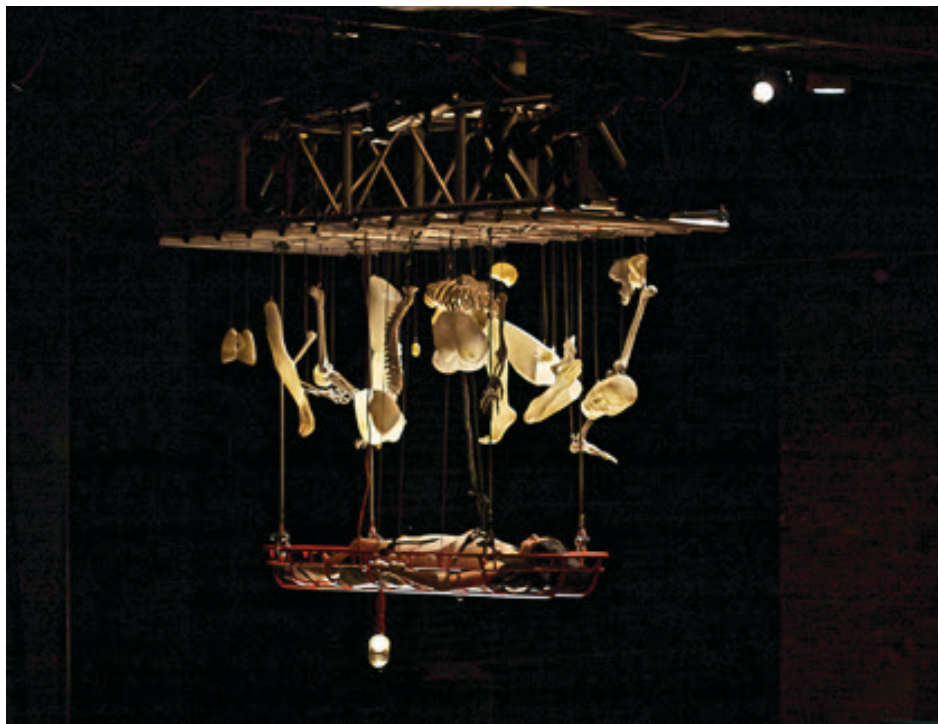
In the catalogue for the exhibit “Rites of Passage: Art for the End of the Century,” Stuart Morgan suggests we might think of contemporary artists as *passeurs*, figures like priests or psychiatrists who assist in rites of passage. Julia Kristeva expands on this notion, suggesting that just as rituals can help people confront excess and contain abjection, so too can contemporary art. Although she does not see modern religion or ideology acknowledging abjection—the crisis of autonomy one experiences when faced with the equally fascinating and disgusting other, with boundary-crossing substances like tears, or objects like corpses—contemporary art is willing to take up these uncomfortable subjects. Echoing what we have seen in the ritual analysis of Petronio’s work, Kristeva says that contemporary art denies synthesis and maintains fragmentation. Yet she also asserts that the presentation of abjection that art provides can be cathartic.

Morgan and Kristeva were primarily concerned with visual art, but their understanding of contemporary art as connected to ritual, and their hope that art could allow people to engage with abjection in a cathartic manner, carries over to dance as well. What’s more, the physicality of the experience of a dance performance, both for performers and viewers, heightens the embodied components of art and ritual. In art (as in ritual transubstantiation) “what is symbolic becomes corporeal and what is corporeal becomes symbolic.” And in dance, it is not just the physical work of art, but also the bodies of the viewers that generate and are imbued with the symbolic. Just as dancers will carry away physical traces of the performance, by preparing their body to be affected and by internally performing themselves, audience members too will come away with altered bodies. Christopher Braddock, in examining the concept of contiguity in contemporary art, asserts that there is “a continued telepathic reach across time and space between bodies in ritual exchange.” The hope is that

the ritualized bodies of the audience members and performers will continue to be affected long after the performance is finished, will take the sense of mortality provided by the dance into new contexts.

It is true that Petronio's performances did not deal with abject material as directly as some visual artists—while the artists discussed by Morgan and Kristeva (and even Antoni in her own work) could make sculptures of meat, could paint with blood, Petronio's choreography was carried out by dancers with strong, beautiful bodies that were trained until they held no excess material. But in an age when the topic of death in everyday conversation has become taboo, when the idea of a corpse (let alone actually seeing someone die) has become threatening, his work still challenges boundaries, in all senses of the word.

At the very least, this dance put death on the stage, surrounded it with people, and allowed everyone to feel moved.



- i. Please note: I have focused my writing on the work of contemporary choreographer Stephen Petronio. While my understanding of two of his pieces, 'Like Lazarus Did' and 'Architecture of Loss,' is constructed from assorted interviews, articles, and complete recordings of real performances, the resulting dance that I describe is a conflation of the two performances and never took place. But it certainly could have, and elements of both of the performances it is based off of remain.
- ii Elias, *Loneliness of the Dying*, 28.
- iii. Blake Martin, "Stephen Petronio Company, LIKE LAZARUS DID (LLD 4/30), World Premiere," Vimeo video, 5:01, April 2012.
- iv. Blake Martin, "Stephen Petronio Company: The Architecture of Loss," Youtube video, 7:23, 1 March 2012.
- v. Martin, "The Architecture of Loss."
- vi. Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 74.
- vii. Ibid. 105.
- viii. Ibid. 101.
- ix. Ibid. 100.
- x. Ibid. 98.
- xi. Gilpin, 120.
- xii. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 106.
- xiii. Ivar Hagendoorn, "Some Speculative Hypotheses about the Nature and Perception of Dance and Choreography," *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 11, no. 2-4 (2004): 80.
- xiv. Ibid. 97.
- xv. Ibid. 88.

- xvi. Tia DeNora, "How does music 'channel' emotion?" in *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.
- xvii. Susan Leigh Foster, *Choreographing Empathy: Kinesthesia in Performance* (London: Routledge, 2011), 2.
- xviii. DeNora, "How does music 'channel' emotion," 92.
- xix. Claudio Benzecry, "Moral Listening: Symbolic Boundaries, Work on the Self, and Passionate Engagement" in *The Opera Fanatic: Ethnography of an Obsession* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 89.
- xx. Stuart Morgan, "Introduction" in *Rites of Passage: Art for the End of the Century* (London: Tate Publishing, 1996), 12.
- xxi. Julia Kristeva, "Of Word and Flesh: Charles Penwarden's Interview with Julia Kristeva," in *Rites of Passage: Art for the End of the Century*, London: Tate Publishing, 1996, 24.
- xxii. Ibid. 22.
- xxiii. Ibid. 25.
- xxiv. Ibid. 26.
- xxv. Christopher Braddock, *Performing Contagious Bodies: Ritual Participation in Contemporary Art*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 5.
- Final Image: Paul Ramirez Jonasin for "The Emotive Musculature of Resurrection," *Hyperallergic*, 3 May 2013.

TRUST THE COMMUNITY: FIGHTING GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT WITH COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

Ethan Adelman-Sil '17

Acronyms

BRA—Boston Redevelopment Authority

CLT—Community Land Trust

CLCC—Community Land Cooperative of Cincinnati

DNI—Dudley Neighbors Inc.

DSNI—Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative

Introduction

A close friend of mine will be moving to Seattle this fall. Discussing his future, he made the comment that he was about to become a gentrifier and wasn't sure how to cope with the fact that his very existence was about to become someone else's problem. At the same time, he had a well-paying job he loved and the process, in his eyes, was nearly inevitable; the only way he could imagine stopping gentrification was to get rid of poverty entirely.

Though I sympathize with a lot of these sentiments, I think rejecting gentrification's inevitability is vital; failing to do so will simply leave us paralyzed and unable to act. Furthermore, describing gentrification as a singular process that is universally damaging constrains our capacity to recognize what is going on. This attitude leads to a particular myopia in which scholars ignore long term residents who support neighborhood improvements attached to gentrification and overlook how many gentrifiers themselves are, like my friend, concerned about their place in the community (Billingham 2015). This essay approaches gentrification as a process that is likely to come with economic benefits for a neighborhood, but whose side effects can be extremely harmful. The most harmful and commonly recognized side effect of gentrification is that long-term residents of a neighborhood lose their homes; they are displaced. My primary concern in writing this paper is to find a way that gentrifying areas can

be improved without causing long-term—poorer and vulnerable—residents to be displaced.¹

To this end, I have chosen to focus on community land trusts (CLTs) as a potential bulwark against displacement. According to Swann et al. (2010), “A community land trust is an organization created to hold land [in perpetuity] for the benefit of a community and of individuals within the community [today and tomorrow].” In so doing, CLTs restructure property relations to enable greater community autonomy and self-determination, one of the reasons the Right to City Alliance, a national anti-gentrification group, has been advocating CLTs as one way to combat displacement and

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I will provide a detailed definition of displacement later in the paper. For now it can be understood as when people move out of their neighborhood against their will or when the neighborhood is no longer hospitable to their continued presence.

gentrification (Romano 2016).

This paper is divided into three broad sections. First, I will provide background on gentrification, and its most discussed negative effect: displacement. By expanding the discussion of displacement to include the emotional and economic spheres, I will present a framework to understand how CLTs relate to gentrification.² In the second part, I will focus on CLTs in a largely theoretical fashion and explore their history and relationship with displacement. Finally, I will use Dudley Neighborhood Inc., one of the most successful CLTs in the country, as an example of the possible. My objective is not to represent all, or even most, CLTs. Rather, by telling the story of Dudley and evaluating

it through the lens of displacement, I hope to illustrate the achievable potential of urban CLTs by analyzing how one of the most successful CLTs operates and its effects on the local community.

2 Though activists have turned to CLTs to combat gentrification, the majority of scholarship on CLTs and gentrification approaches the topic from a purely economic perspective and without significant depth.

Gentrification

The term gentrification wears its political allegiances on its sleeve. Coined by the British sociologist Ruth Glass (1964), it was first used to describe the process by which “many of the working class quarters of London [had] been invaded by the middle classes” (Glass 1964:7). For Glass, gentrification did not end until “all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed” (ibid). Glass identifies something fundamental to life in capitalist economies, namely the conflict between the middle class and the working class in urban areas of which gentrification is symptomatic.

Glass’s definition of gentrification—which is closer to a narrative than an entry in a dictionary—has not necessarily stood the test of time. There is contentious debate among urban scholars, primarily on the left, about what the term must include: Is the displacement of previous residents necessary? Can

it be a group other than the middle class? Must it take place within cities? That said, all widely used definitions of gentrification share common ground: gentrification is always a process, it always involves class differences, and it always involves significant neighborhood changes. Recognizing this, I will broadly define the term in line with Byrne (2003) as “the process by which people of higher incomes move into lower income urban areas and seek to change its physical and social fabric to better meet their needs and preferences.”

This definition is the most relevant to the discussion in this paper for three reasons. First, it distinguishes between the process of gentrification and its effects—such as displacement. Second, when gentrification is criticized, it is almost always criticized for its displacing effects—Ruth Glass’s original definition is a textbook example. One of the most important—and debated—parts of this definition is that it does *not* necessitate displacement.

By including (almost always physical) displacement in the definition, many scholars and activists inadvertently curtail their analytic capabilities by focusing their research on a single negative impact of the process. With those definitions, it is easy to forget that “gentrification represents a class-based transformation of the urban landscape... that has important social, economic, cultural, and psychological effects” (Billingham 2015:93). Third, *displacement* is not a monolithic event but a broad term that captures several effects of gentrification, both economic and emotional.³ While economic displacement results in the actual removal of people from a neighborhood (physical displacement), the other forms of *displacement* revolve around unmaking a place as home to longtime residents.

Although gentrification often begins due to the rent gap—the difference between land’s maximum potential economic return and its lower current return—which attracts developers, once this process begins, it is important to recognize that gentrifiers are not a monolith (Smith 1975). This is important to keep in mind when discussing the consequences of gentrification, as the motives and methods of gentrifiers may vary from place to place.

3 This typology relies heavily upon the work of Twigg-Molecey (2014) and Davidson (2008).

Displacement

The word *displace* comes from the *desplacer* in middle French, the fusion of *des* and *placer*; *des* refers to a “lack of” or “not” while *placer* means “to place” (Harper 2016a; Harper 2016b). The etymology of this word exemplifies the problems with displacement—displacement captures a variety of events, which, in different forms, make people lose their both their sense of place and physical place. This can be through physical displacement when someone can no longer afford to live in the neighborhood they grew up in, or it can be subtler, such as when someone wakes up and realize the streets outside her house are filled with people she does not know and shops that clearly are not for her. The truth is that “gentrification represents a class-based transformation of the urban landscape... that has important social, economic, cultural, and psychological effects” (Billingham 2008:93). When discussing displacement, recognizing these effects and how they alter and damage people’s sense of place

as well as the more discussed physical displacement, is vital.

To further explain these distinctions, I provide a typology of the types of emotional displacement (non-physical displacement), which will serve as a framework for interpreting and understanding gentrification-caused displacement. The majority of gentrification literature considers displacement to be “a relatively simple process involving the replacement of household occupation [with those of a higher socio-economic class]—i.e. direct displacement” (Davidson 2008).⁴ This

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I categorize this form of displacement as physical displacement—as opposed to more immaterial forms of displacement discussed below. For my typology direct displacement demands that residents be actively evicted from their homes (which results in physical displacement), but market displacement can also price people out of their homes, resulting again in physical displacement.

approach is appealing and underpins most people's understandings of gentrification; however, there are several problems with this definition. While it is well established that many residents of a neighborhood who would otherwise want to stay put are pushed out by the increased cost of living caused by gentrification, it is less clear how pervasive the problem actually is (Billingham 2015). Rowland Atkinson (2000) accurately described measuring displacement as "measuring the invisible" (see Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2010:318–319 for elaboration), and even when social scientists are somewhat successful in this task, findings from different studies often conflict one another. Some find measurable displacement, and others find significant increases in the number of people 'staying put.' The most robust study to date, and a slight plurality of the qualitative literature that I am aware of, found that movement among residents in gentrifying neighborhoods often seemed to *decrease* as gentrification took hold

(Freeman et al. 2015). They concluded that this trend most likely came from a combination of noisy data—the poor move a lot—and countervailing tendencies between those who actively attempt to stay in gentrifying neighborhoods and those who are physically displaced through market and other means.

This discussion serves two purposes. First, it helps to better explain the process of physical displacement and reveal how difficult it is to accurately understand and quantify. Second, it points to a need for a more nuanced definition of displacement. Understanding how long term residents can lose their sense of place in their neighborhoods allows for more detailed and accurate studies of displacement and better identifies potential critiques of gentrification.

With this in mind, I turn to work done by Amy Twigge-Molecey, who approaches displacement from both the direct (physical) and indirect (emotional) dimensions. She defines *direct displacement* as

“instances of eviction of residents due to wider neighbourhood changes, such as gentrification or expropriations for megaprojects” (Twigge-Molecey 2014). She then divides indirect displacement into four categories. *Social displacement* refers to the dissolution of social connections between residents as people move and communal spaces change. *Cultural displacement* describes the rise of the culture of gentrifiers through changes in service provision or neighborhood use and appropriation, often at the cost of the neighborhood’s cultural heritage and history (ibid). *Political displacement* is focused on “shifting power dynamics in neighbourhood political apparatuses, and re-imaginings of place put forth through political appropriation (i.e. active mobilization) by incoming gentrifiers” (ibid). Finally, *market displacement*⁵ “occurs when areas become

inaccessible to low and modest income households as competition from higher income groups pushes prices beyond their reach” (ibid).

These five forms of displacement—direct, social, cultural, political, and market—provide a useful typology for considering how gentrification impacts the lives of long-term residents in a neighborhood. For simplification, I define all forms of displacement that cause a resident to literally move (direct and market displacement) as physical displacement. The other forms of displacement (social, cultural, and political), which revolve around a resident’s social life in the neighborhood, I label emotional displacement. Different neighborhoods may experience different levels of each type of displacement, and it is important to remember that each of these five lenses can tell only part of the story.

5 I have expanded “housing-market displacement” to simply “market displacement” as I want it to

encapsulate rising rent, property taxes, and general cost of living.

For the purposes of this paper, I will be focusing on indirect, particularly emotional, displacement due to the complexities of analyzing direct displacement on a non-local scale.

Community Land Trusts

Gentrification is also about taking advantage of the absence of community control and further removing community control allowing corporations, private equity firms, hedge funds and other speculators seeking to maximize profit to come in and guide the process.

—Tony Romano, 2016

Ralph Borsodi, one of the originators of the concept of community land trusts (CLTs), makes an important distinction between *property* and *trustery*. For Borsodi, “property is created by man through his labor. Trustery includes land, the atmosphere, rivers, lakes, seas, natural forests, and mineral resources of the earth. Since these do not come into existence as a result of human labor, they cannot be morally owned; they can only be held in trust” (International Independence Institute 2010:221). This distinction is the heart of the philosophy of CLTs; they exist in order to preserve that which can only be held in trust.

Therefore a CLT is an organization that “[holds] land for the benefit of a community and of individuals within the community. It is a democratically structured nonprofit corporation, with an open membership and a board of trustees elected by the membership” (Swann et al. 2010:241). In essence, CLTs exist to preserve trustery in perpetuity and shape its use to benefit current and future members of the community. Often CLTs do this by purchasing a plot of land, and then leasing the use of the land, usually in 99 year leases, to people who then own property on the CLT land while the CLT remains in control of the land itself.

The first CLT, New Communities Farm, was established in 1966 with 5,000 acres near Albany, Georgia. It came into being “at a time when black families faced great obstacles in securing land and financing...a group of community activists... established a community land trust to purchase a series of white-owned farms and provide a commonly

owned, secure land base for black farmers who became members” (Harper 2007). Though New Communities was not successful, the experiment inspired other rural communities to experiment with CLTs. Robert Swann, one of the leading organizers for New Communities Farm, was involved in spreading the CLT model to other parts of the country, and in 1981, the Community Land Cooperative of Cincinnati or CLCC—the first urban CLT—was established. Despite the geographic difference, CLCC had some striking similarities to the rural CLTs of the time: “it served a population that had been excluded from the economic and political mainstream. It was a product of grassroots organizing and vehicle for community empowerment” (Davis 2010:22). There are important differences between urban and rural CLTs, however. Most notably, because the members of urban CLTs face different challenges, urban and rural CLTs are served better by different types of intervention, which lead urban CLTs to focus primarily upon affordable

housing policies.⁶

A key part of CLTs is that the CLT is always a legal custodian of the land; however leaseholders own whatever improvements (such as houses) they make upon the land. Generally, leases from a CLT are run for 99 years and are inheritable, meaning the lease can stay within a family even if the original leaseholder dies before the 99 years have passed. If the leaseholder wishes to move and sell their property, they must do so within a strict set of contractual controls outlined in their lease that often gives the CLT first right of purchase and that determine the resale value. This model for controlling land value came largely from CLCC, whose founders, concerned about physical displacement of the neighborhood's residents, "believed that simply removing land from the speculative market would not be enough

to preserve the affordability of CLCC's homes or to prevent the displacement of the neighborhood's lower-income residents" (ibid).

A final, crucial, component of CLTs is that they are democratically controlled by the community. As CLTs aim to protect land in perpetuity, it is vital that the community itself manages them. Federal law dictates that CLTs must have "corporate membership that is open to any adult resident of a particular geographic area specified in the bylaws of the organization; and... [a board of directors which] includes a majority of members who are elected by the corporate membership" (Section 213a). Furthermore, any management structure that is not 'small-d' democratic will fail to respond to community wishes as it is in the minds of individuals in the community that the neighborhood is imagined as a place that responds to resident's wishes and truly feels like home.

6 As this essay is focused on urban gentrification, I will only be addressing urban CLTs from here on out.

Handling market displacement

Market displacement is the process by which rising prices force long-time residents out of a neighborhood. Of all forms of displacement in the typology of displacement, the potential interaction between CLTs and market displacement is the most obvious: CLTs actively combat market displacement. As described earlier, CLTs were designed to remove land from speculative capitalist markets and put it in the hands of communities. This mechanism of community land control actively resists the rent-gap process that Smith theorized caused gentrification. Landlords have no capacity to purchase CLT land because it is not for sale or to construct anything on that land against the wishes of the community. This is why the CLT model was selected both by CLCC and Dudley Street; it is specifically designed to counter market displacement and gentrification.

The capacity of CLTs to counter market and direct displacement is one of the reasons that they

are gaining popularity more broadly. Studies on displacement and affordable housing often discuss CLTs—sometimes in the same breath as forms of rent control, new zoning laws, and direct government programs (for example see Lawrence 2002). Beyond academia, CLTs appear in the goals of national anti-gentrification campaigns. For example, Homes for All, a national campaign that aims to make truly affordable and dignified housing available to low-income communities, advocates CLTs as an effective strategy to increase community control of a neighborhood, one of their primary methods of combatting gentrification (About n.d). In the words of Tony Romano, the organizing director of Right to the City, a national anti-gentrification group which helped start the Homes for All campaign , (2016), “if we do not have control over the land and housing, whatever we won, whatever progress we made would immediately be attacked and undermined.” Market displacement and previous fights against

gentrification show us that if someone else owns your land, you will never stop fearing displacement. CLTs are an obvious solution.

CLTs are not a catchall, however. First, if they are mismanaged or poorly set up, then they will have minimal impact on displacement. Just because something is a CLT does not mean it is successfully combatting displacement nor actually responsive to the community's wishes. Second, there is a limit to how much a CLT can do to prevent the cost of living from rising in its neighborhood. Obviously, if the CLT is providing land for affordable housing and some social services then it will have an impact—especially for those living within its housing units. However, most CLTs control only a small part of the neighborhood and do not have the capacity to provide economic livelihoods to the entire community. This leads to a third problem: CLTs could raise the property value of their neighborhood thus exacerbating the problems they hope to solve. This

can happen through the structures the CLT supports such as community centers or farms or because the concept of a self-directing community in a neighborhood, which a CLT will generate if it is truly democratic, is attractive to some gentrifiers seeking greater community than what the suburbs offer. If this happens, then houses and apartments that are not earmarked as affordable could be sold to wealthier individuals who inadvertently start the gentrification process. It is thus worth considering that while a CLT will almost certainly provide some permanent affordable housing, and were it large enough to own an entire neighborhood it would be able to prevent gentrification in general, a successful CLT could potentially have negative repercussions for the rest of the neighborhood.

Handling political displacement

The term political displacement was originally described by Leslie Martin as occurring “when [old residents] become outvoted or outnumbered by new residents within their organizations or through the creation of organizations dominated by new residents” (Martin 2007). The organizations in question here are primarily neighborhood organizations. While this discussion could be extended to electoral politics, doing so would overlook the fact that those most at risk of all forms of gentrification are those least well represented and protected on broad scale electoral politics: the poor, the working class, the poorly educated, and people of color. These people often have the most say within their local communities, and it is through their neighborhoods that some are encouraged to become more involved in broader politics by interacting with CLTs. Alternatively, it can be through their neighborhood that they are taught that politics will not respond to their needs, and that they will

always be politically marginalized.

CLTs provide an interesting case for the discussion of political displacement. First, *The Community Land Trust*, the first book on CLTs, states:

It is important never to lose sight of the primary purpose of the community land trust: to acquire land and hold it in trusteeship. Thus, the trust should not be deeply involved in the development of the community, population selection, site planning, or institutional development...The development functions should be performed primarily...through separate community-based organizations. (Swann et al. 2010)

Though Swann’s direction for CLT action is not as widely held as residential control (for example), if the purpose of CLTs is to preserve land, then they should minimize all activities that do not do so, including trying to directly change the racial or economic composition of the neighborhood. This position

implies that CLTs should not be used as vehicles for general community political empowerment. This brings the second key part of the quotation: the importance of separate community-based organizations and a division of labor within the community. The CLT will focus on the longevity of the trustery, while other groups will focus on the rest of the community's political and social needs.

Assuming CLTs are not removed from the politics of the community complicates matters. Because CLTs have open membership, and gentrifiers who move into a neighborhood are free to join (no matter anyone's opinion of their craft ciders), new residents could potentially take over a CLT through the democratic process by sheer numbers. At the same time, it would be difficult for new residents to establish anything that would *compete* with a neighborhood CLT. Even were a CLT taken over, it is unclear what would happen. Overcoming institutional memory is difficult, there would still be pressure to maintain

affordable housing, and the leases on CLTs are usually for 99 years. The worst-case scenario would be if the newly taken CLT either sold land—returning it to speculative real estate markets—or entered leases for the development of buildings or projects that socially or culturally isolated the community. This scenario is an extreme one and would likely require a significant change to the neighborhood.

CLTs have institutional and contractual pressures that push them to represent long-term residents, though they could be taken over through hostile democratic means relatively easily.⁷ Given that they are slow moving organizations (acquiring and developing land takes time), they have less risk of causing political displacement than other neighborhood groups.

7 This could be minimized through an alternative method of governance such as the one employed in Dudley, discussed later in the paper.

Handling social displacement

Social displacement is the dissolution of interpersonal ties, meaning a formerly comfortable space no longer feels like home. The question then becomes whether or not CLTs offer resources to reinforce and create social ties and social networks. Inherently, there is nothing about an organization that holds land in trust for the community that makes increased social ties more probable. The capacity of CLTs to engage with social displacement is determined by what is built upon the land they hold.

Much of the interest in CLTs revolves around affordable housing projects, but this is not the only use of CLT land. In fact, land held by a CLT could be developed in any fashion imaginable. The only question is who owns it and the nature of the lease. Were a CLT to support the construction of a community center, an urban farm, or even just a garden, it could push back against social displacement, thereby increasing social ties. There

is no guarantee that this sanguine picture will be reality, however. CLTs and their developments have the potential to encourage market displacement by raising the value of property near the development. For example, one estimate finds that in poor communities a community garden “raises neighboring property values by as much as 9.4 percentage points within five years of the garden’s opening” (Voicu and Been 2008). Community centers and larger urban agriculture spaces likely raise property values by even more. By providing services and structures that reinforce neighborhood cohesion, CLTs may inadvertently attract gentrifiers. Ley argues that gentrifiers are attracted to the city “to enhance the quality of life in pursuits that are not simply economic,” such as increased social connections (quoted in Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2010:130). This is the catch-22 of gentrification. When a community attempts to benefit itself, it opens itself up to class conflict in the form of gentrification, risking

displacement. CLTs must be careful about how they choose to create and engage with social connections in the neighborhood lest they unintentionally encourage gentrification in hopes of preventing displacement.

Handling cultural displacement

In some regards, a CLT's ability to prevent cultural displacement is similar to its ability to prevent social displacement. The major difference is that in social displacement what is happening is the dissolution of social cohesion as interpersonal ties in the neighborhood are broken, while cultural displacement is about "competing cultures between gentrifiers...and incumbent residents. The neighborhood...becomes a site of competing senses of place" (Twigge-Molecey 2014).

By leasing land for a variety of purposes, CLTs are crucial in establishing the culture of a neighborhood before gentrification begins. CLTs are in the business of place-making just as much as they are engaged in land preservation. Once gentrification begins, the role of the CLT, in its most active form countering cultural displacement, is bifurcated.

On the one hand, much of the work has already been done. By providing land on which to

build for below market prices, and because CLT resale provisions often lower property taxes for the leaser, CLTs could theoretically produce affordable commercial development as well as affordable housing. In this way, CLTs are the equivalent of benevolent landlords, allowing their clients to maintain their businesses because the primary directive is not the maximization of profit.⁸ CLTs can also actively combat developments associated with gentrifiers. In Saint-Henri, Montréal, a large number of chain stores moved in by buying and developing vacant lots. These stores were aimed at wealthier residents—the gentrifiers in the neighborhood—and over time began to push out the local businesses (Twigge-Molecey 2014). Were a CLT to purchase many

of the vacant lots in the area, it could increase barriers to entry for chain stores catering to the affluent. Furthermore, as the community is gentrifying and its cultural touchstones are displaced, CLTs could use the land they have yet to develop to build whatever is needed to counter this cultural displacement. This is, of course, the most actively combative scenario. That said, CLTs appear to have a lot of potential in the battle for cultural dominance of the gentrifying neighborhood.

8 The 'benevolent landlord' is actually an important part of the ability of some social services in gentrifying neighborhoods to stay put. For more details, see DeVerteuil 2011.

An Inspiring Success: Dudley Street

People's only crime here is that they were poor, powerless and had no advocate. That was changing now. —Reverend Paul Bothwell, Dudley Resident, appearing in Mahan and Lipman 199

Dudley Neighbors, Inc., easily one of the most famous urban CLTs in the US, has become a model for poor communities seeking economic development without gentrification. In discussing Dudley, I do not intend to give a scientific or unbiased explanation of how CLTs interact with displacement. Rather, I will demonstrate how Dudley represents a best-case scenario for CLTs, showing what is possible and achievable despite the difficulties faced by all CLTs.

A bit of history

In 1984, Dudley, one of the poorest and least served communities in Boston, was in trouble: “By the early 1980s, nearly one-third of Dudley land lay vacant. The empty lots became illegal dumping grounds for garbage, construction debris, and toxic waste from around the state” (Sklar 2009:346). This situation was decades in the making. Redlining, in which loans, insurance, and other services were denied to people of color, forced these communities into neighborhoods like Dudley, while white flight pushed wealthier and whiter residents away. By 1980, what had once been a working class Italian and Irish neighborhood turned into a community nearly entirely composed of poor people of color. As segregation took its toll and Dudley’s land value dropped, landlords began torching their buildings because their insurance was worth more than the buildings themselves, leading to almost nightly fires. Each time a fire burnt a building and its hull was scrapped, a new vacant lot appeared

in its place, further devaluing the community and encouraging other landlords to commit arson (Mahan and Lipman 1996).

To combat the degradation of the neighborhood, the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) decided to step in. They spent several months designing a plan for Dudley but residents were hostile. They feared that ‘urban renewal’ was a euphemism for gentrification; all they saw was a panel of outsiders talking about Dudley’s future. The residents pushed back against BRA and founded the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI), which aimed to work alongside residents to revitalize Dudley without displacement (ibid).

The first task DSNI undertook was cleaning the abandoned lots, but it wasn’t long until DSNI moved to more permanent actions. In 1987 they worked with the city, developers, and consultants to formulate “a comprehensive master plan that addressed land use, housing, economic development,

and human services in the neighborhood. One of its first projects was the creation of a CLT [Dudley Neighbors Inc. or DNI]” (Lawrence 2002). The next year, DSNI made history by becoming “the only community group in the nation to win the power of eminent domain to acquire vacant land for resident-led development” (Sklar 2009). They acquired 60 acres of abandoned land in the core of Dudley. DSNI and DNI had a broad plan for economic development but determined that affordable housing should be the priority. DNI determined that the best way to do this was to sell 99-year renewable and inheritable leases with a resale formula forcing all sales to be to low- or moderate-income earners. Though this price would include reimbursement for improvements made to the home, it provided negligible economic returns, guaranteeing that no one would purchase a house for anything other than a personal residence.

A bit of evaluation

A crucial part of DSNI and DNI's approaches is that they focus on the long-term. As John Barros observes, the success of DSNI revolves in large part around young people and generational change.⁹ The ideal for him, and a lot of other residents of Dudley, is that the neighborhood develops and grows and in the process doesn't lose any of its residents: "We created a land trust to hold land in perpetuity so the people in that neighborhood wouldn't have to stop development because of displacement. That they could continue to push for the neighborhood to improve knowing that they could have an opportunity to be there and enjoy the benefits" (*From Neighborhood Initiative to Citywide Policy* 2014). So far, it appears to have been successful. In 2000 at a conference put on by the

Fannie Mae Foundation, Dudley was named one of ten "just right" urban markets expanding homeownership to low and medium-income borrowers without causing gentrification or displacement (Elvin K. Wylie et al. 2000). Eight years later, the CLT and its homes weathered the financial crash better than Fannie Mae, never seeing a single foreclosure (Loh 2015). In other words, the CLT and the affordable housing on its land are designed to encourage economic growth and development without causing gentrification and providing a stalwart against any form of physical displacement. The available evidence shows Dudley Street has been successful in pursuing these goals.

While physical displacement, and its relationship with CLTs, is important, the objective of this essay is to broaden the scope of discussions of displacement. One problem is that for Dudley, responsibility for the achievements of DNI and DSNI is unclear. For example, DNI appears to offer greater political participation on the neighborhood level: six

9 John Barros joined DSNI at age seven and has since run the organization for over a decade. He is now the chief of economic development for the city of Boston.

of the nine voting members of its Board of Directors must be community members. However, they are appointed by the 34 members of the DSNI Board rather than democratically elected. Those 34 directors, meanwhile, are elected biennially at the DSNI Annual Meeting and do not have to have a relationship with the community (DNI n.d.). Those 34 directors are not the only politically engaged members of DSNI, rather a large percentage of the DSNI members are politically engaged with the community and were part of the fight that gave DNI eminent domain. Furthermore, there is a large youth voice, in the Board of Directors and outside of it, that generated quite a few rising stars in the Boston political scene—including Jon Barros, mentioned above (*From Neighborhood Initiative to Citywide Policy* 2014). In short, to the extent that DNI and DSNI (the CLT and its parent organization, respectively) can be separated from one another it appears that the parent organization, DNI, has had a large impact on the character of

the neighborhood. But, as the description above illustrates, even this is not entirely clear.

Overall, Dudley residents have gained a far greater voice in their future—and the city’s future—in the 32 years since the founding of DSNI. Though it appears DNI has done little to foster greater political engagement, it does not need to because DSNI exists to do just that. Furthermore, the fact that a large part of the board is appointed by the DSNI board of directors means that DSNI, with its grassroots focus, should be in control of DNI. Were there an influx of gentrifiers drawn by Dudley’s community and resources, this would make it difficult for the gentrifiers to gain control of the CLT. DNI can be seen as unsuccessful at encouraging political participation but very resistant to political displacement were gentrification to begin.

Social displacement (or more accurately rising social cohesion) is also a difficult phenomenon to attach to a single organization in Dudley. DSNI

organizes a variety of events that reinforce existing social ties and help build new social networks. Everything from their annual meetings and campaigns to street parties and multicultural fairs has served to unify Dudley (Mahan and Lipman 1996). Given these other activities, it is difficult to tell what progress has come from the CLT itself. Anecdotally, people living in the properties appear to understand that as CLT leaseholders, they are tied to the community (Mahan and Lipman 1996; Loh 2015; *From Neighborhood Initiative to Citywide Policy* 2014). One resident of thirteen years, Tony Hernandez, told Yes! Magazine that he sees living in Dudley as ‘investing in the neighborhood’:

[DSNI and its CLT are the] bridge between the homeowner and the neighborhood. We just had a great block party a month ago, with people coming out of their homes and hanging out. It fosters a culture of neighbors actually knowing each other. Now if you see my kid doing something they

shouldn’t, then you can watch out for them. (Loh 2015)

It is difficult to say how much of this is inherent to the structure of the CLT or if it is the way housing projects have been organized or if it is the close relationship between DNI, its projects, and DSNI. That said, within this structure there are a variety of opportunities for people to reinforce their neighborhood social connections, no matter which organization has most influenced this process.

When it comes to cultural displacement, the question is easier to answer. Because gentrification has not struck Dudley, a success in and of itself, DNI is not fighting against kombucha drinking yuppies displacing local businesses. However, DNI does not need to only use its land for affordable housing: it presently has a “request for proposals” to develop a “mission-focused, attractive, energy efficient commercial building and maximize the use

of local, neighborhood resources and...businesses in its construction” (Dudley Miller Park Request for Proposal 2016). This development is an active project of DNI, and at the time of publication the CLT was still in the process of reviewing project proposals. Imaginably, if there are restrictions on which commercial tenants are allowed, this project and others DNI is considering will be the commercial equivalent of DNI’s affordable housing projects in that they allow local businesses which may not have a huge amount of capital or the capacity to pay high property taxes to get started in a space where they will know the rent will be steady and cheap.

Conclusion

CLTs combined with other neighborhood initiatives can prevent gentrification. When the poorest neighborhood in Boston was slotted for urban renewal in the early 1980s, its residents rose up and founded Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative to build a better neighborhood for themselves. To guarantee the longevity of the neighborhood for its current residents, DNSI established Dudley Neighbors Inc. as a CLT. Now, 32 years after DSNI was founded, Dudley is gaining ground. Through eminent domain, the vacant lots that plagued Dudley are slowly being turned into housing, gardens, parks, and commercial buildings—while the land on which these structures is being built is still owned by the CLT, and thus the community. They have produced community leaders who helped direct the neighborhood as young adults and then later reached for the levers of power in greater Boston. Throughout the Great Recession, it preserved its affordable housing program. It has

become a model for CLTs around the country and world. The Dudley neighborhood is slowly but surely developing without risking displacement.

The story does not end here; there are more nuanced lessons that can be taken from Dudley's successes. For a CLT to be as successful as DNI, it must have a complementary active community organization. DNI's success has been inextricably linked to its originator. But DSNI didn't just create DNI—it was the group that provided DNI with the eminent domain authority that allowed it to own enough continuous parcels that it could begin developing. DSNI has consistently intervened to pave the way for DNI's success. Community organizing such as that done by DSNI appears crucial for to the success of a CLT, and theoretically its resilience to at least political displacement. This division of labor was invaluable for Dudley, and I suspect other CLTs.

While property values in a neighborhood are cheap and gentrification does not appear imminent,

it appears the establishing of a CLT is vital. When it comes to preventing market, social, and cultural displacement, CLTs are most effective when they have existed long enough to have developments that are integrated into the community. I doubt DNI would have been capable of acquiring as much land as it has if it were it competing with gentrifiers, large businesses looking to move in, and the financiers driving the process. In the same vein, it is important to remember that many of the developments that a CLT can make that counter social and cultural displacement potentially exacerbate market displacement and encourage gentrification. One must therefore walk a fine line to ensure their CLT benefits the community and does not turn into a tragedy of good intentions.

Despite these potential pitfalls and caveats, CLTs are a radical alternative to the present capitalist approach to land and ownership. By rejecting land speculation, they allow a community to determine

the purpose of land, putting it to the best use for the residents of the community rather than the market. Like other SE approaches, CLTs place humans and the naturally existing world, and relations within and between these two groups, at the center of their work and values. Profit and acquisition are of little, if any, intrinsic value for CLTs; in fact, the discussion of development that has been embedded in this entire paper is imposed upon the CLT model. CLTs were not created for the purposes of economic development originally, but rather for the subsistence and success of a community. The structure of the CLT focuses on providing access to land for all and preserving it for generations to come. Because it operates outside of a capitalist framework, CLTs exist as a true alternative to displacement caused by the class conflicts of gentrification.

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TRAINING A SELF WITH TOILETS: A HISTORY OF THE ABJECT OBJECT

Mike Brier '17

1. Teach what the toilet and potty are for (“the pee or poop goes in this special place.”) Demonstrate by dumping poop from diapers into the toilet.
2. Help your child to teach a doll or stuffed animal to use the potty chair.
3. If by 30 months your child is not successfully potty-trained, use the bare-bottom technique. The bare-bottom technique means that your child does not wear



diapers, underwear, or any clothing beneath the waist. This causes most children to become acutely aware of their body's plumbing. They dislike poop or pee running down their legs. (American Academy of Pediatrics)

In potty-training we are trained to discipline our own bodies from the inside-out for the first time. We learn how to clench, flex, and withhold the smooth flow of our bowels and bladders, such that we can begin a “clean and proper”¹ relationship with the toilet. Potty-training methods throughout modern American history range from the kindly gentle to the coercive soap-stick method.² Throughout this

spectrum of different methods, however, there exists one foundational and unacknowledged assumption: if a child is not properly disciplined to use the toilet, she will become an outcast in civilized modern society, ostracized for dirtiness and difference. Of course parents will do anything to avoid these painful fates for their child. But what other ideologies are produced and internalized in the body while a young child learns to shape her body and its internal waste around her proximity to a toilet? Since most modern Americans depend upon toilets every day, the technology's power within our lives may remain nearly invisible to many

1 Kristeva, Julia, and Leon S. Roudiez. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. p. 101.

2 The “soap-stick method” was a coercive method practiced often in the early 20th century, and the process was suggested in “Infant Care,” a 1935

government-funded text by Martha Eliot. By placing a toddler on the toilet and then using a ‘soap-stick’ enema to force a bowel movement, the parent repeatedly established an associative relationship between defecation and the toilet. Thus, ideally, the child would learn that whenever she felt the urge to defecate, she should go sit on the toilet.

of us. Even this line of inquiry might strike readers as absurd, abhorrent, and even uncivilized to speak about. On account of the deep absorption of pseudoscientific associations between the qualities of the toilet and necessities for modern health, it is easy to assume that the toilet's current form today is simply the most advanced model, a commodity that conquered the market on account of hygienic and ergonomic efficiency. I contend that these assumptions overlook the specific histories of how the characteristics of today's throne toilets came to be 'the standard'. The 3rd tip from the AAP above, "the bare-bottom method," represents a microcosm of my argument. By "making the child acutely aware of their body's plumbing," the bare-bottom method creates a shame at both the body's own nudity and its natural bowel and bladder flows. Through this method the child experiences a raw, dirty bareness that can only be covered and absolved with the help of the tall gleaming toilet. The child thus learns to depend upon the toilet as a way of dressing

the 'shameful' body and hiding its internal impurities as they leak out. During toilet-training each person learns to control, hide, and erase some thing, some foulness within the body which is separate from the person's body itself; for this, we need the toilet to help us hide and flush away 'the other' within us as soon as we expel it.

The throne toilet's complicated symbolic life reinscribes 'orderly' dualistic boundaries, not only between human subjects and the objects around them, but also in relationships between humans. This paper illustrates that each of the throne toilet's qualities and its position within the bathroom—height of seat, flush-knob, whiteness, smooth non-porousness, privacy, and high pressure flush of water—both represent and reproduce the entangled projects of American health, privatization of the body, and a civilizing empire of whiteness. The standard throne toilet³ has shaped

modern Western sensibilities not only about the “clean and proper” body, but also about ‘the civilized’ at large. This paper will demonstrate how the various characteristics of the “white, smooth, and impervious”⁴ throne toilet are both the product and the reinscription of the civilizing, racialized projects of early modernist 1900s America within today’s toilet users.

Today’s standard throne toilet’s rise followed some early models of water closets from the late 1800s. Since massive installations of toilets in major U.S. cities occurred at the turn of the 20th century, the years of 1890–1930 New York City serve as the

found in most public restrooms in America today. What distinguishes it from a “squat toilet” is that its height and toilet seat enable you to sit upon it during use, as opposed to squatting.

4 Ogle, Maureen. *All the Modern Conveniences: American Household Plumbing, 1840–1890*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. p. 100.

stage for this paper’s analysis. The toilet’s rise took place firmly within the United States’ Jim Crow era of ‘Plessy v. Ferguson.’ So just as the upper echelon in the United States was hoping to modernize, it was also constructing legally distinct racial and social groups.

In Section I, I will examine the throne toilet’s haphazard design; examinations by recent engineers and hygienists have demonstrated that the design is not the most hygienic, the most ecological, or even the most ergonomic option for the human body’s use. Instead, the toilet was a symbolic reflection—and production—of certain dominant ideologies about privacy and the civilized body. An analysis of the toilet’s seat demonstrates how in the first instance the throne toilet can mold the malleable muscles and intestinal processes of the body, and how this instills and depends upon a set of psychological dependencies as well.

In Section II, I will analyze the ways in which the throne toilet erects dualistic borders between the

body, its own waste, and the private/public spheres of the civilized. This second section will narrow upon the hard non-porousness of the throne toilet, and the watery basin receptacle; this will analyze how and when these textured relationships create a subject/object relationship between the fleshy human body and its own waste. In these tenuous and false borders that are constructed between subjects' bodies and things, however, there arises space for what philosopher Julia Kristeva coins as the disruptive 'abject experience' within her *Powers of Horror: an Essay on Abjection*. With regard to these viscerally repulsive abjecting moments, she says, "It is not a lack of cleanliness that causes abjection, but what does not respect borders, rules and identities."⁵

Thus after having exposed the ruse of the toilet, I will argue in Section III that the ultimate significance of the toilet rests in the simultaneous coalescence of

all of these constitutive parts around the whiteness of the 'standard' throne toilet. Again illustrating the abjections that a toilet-training can produce and reproduce deep governing shames, I will examine the whiteness-as-cleanliness trope of modernist architecture, and demonstrate how *the whiteness* of the toilet enforces this trope into the modern Western body. In a secular era, white Westerners needed to reinvent new, 'scientific' justifications for the damnation and fear of black bodies; this came not only through explicit associations between blackness and dirtiness, but also through implicit tropes of modernist architecture which aligned white structures with clean and futuristic spaces of health.

In Section IV, I will present the legal codification of these interwoven ideological fears and abjections, clearly demonstrated in the Jim Crow laws. Given the charged space and object that the toilet represents, this section dwells on the 'rationalized' inculcation and reproduction of certain racist tropes.

I. Civilizing Hygiene

The throne toilet is not the only means of clean and effective waste disposal. After just a few decades of its mass installation in New York City in 1890, however, this model had already rooted itself within the modern American subject as an unquestioned necessity for daily life and for state health. Emerging as a great white image of modernity itself, the toilet was a necessary fixture for those within the upper class of New York and was spreading rapidly throughout even the poor communities' tenements.⁶ Despite the emergent toilet's association with public health, the final model of the standard public toilet was not ergonomically fitted to even 'the

average' human form.⁷ The "average human form" was gathered from anatomical measurements and statistical averages of male soldiers that had been compiled by the military. Thus, 'the average human form' was a better approximation of the average body type of a young, able-bodied, and male body. However, the throne toilet was not even optimized for this average body type.

In his 1966 ergonomic study of the throne toilet, Alexander Kira performed a case study to examine how a wide range of people excrete and urinate; he found that the height of the sitting throne toilet obstructs the natural flow of excrement from the human body.⁸ Indeed, he found the squat form, necessary for squat toilets more common in Europe, allows for a substantially more comfortable flow of

6 Ogle, Maureen. *All the Modern Conveniences: American Household Plumbing, 1840–1890*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996. Print. p. 104.

7 Penner, Barbara. *Bathroom*. London: Reaktion, 2013. p. 210.

8 Ibid, 221.

waste, and prevents maladies such as hemorrhoids and constipation common to the throne toilet-users.⁹ Through this study, Kira argued that the ineffective design of the throne toilet was an engineering moment which “fit the man to the activity, or the equipment, rather than vice versa.”¹⁰ This would seem to be an easy design flaw to change. After the mass use of the throne toilet since its rise in 1890, however, the lionshare of Americans in New York City physically *could not use* other options such as squat toilets, because a lifetime of sitting and throne toilets had significantly weakened the muscles which they would have required for such a squat.¹¹ Reliant upon its seat-form, these subjects had also formed an anxious dependence upon the technology, despite its

9 Ibid, 221.

10 Ibid, 210.

11 Ibid, 222.

poor design.

In addition to this muscular reliance after being toilet-trained, many health industries at the turn of the 20th century also characterized the toilet as a prophylactic for the fatal epidemic diseases of the time such as Tuberculosis and Typhoid. In Nancy Tomes’ 1988 *The Gospel of Germs* she details the various challenges that public health officials faced during the TB and Typhoid epidemics in early 1900s NYC. In order to educate the public about disease and ‘the germ theory’, these officials needed to overcome the misinformed, yet deeply-seated convictions about the causes of disease. Even by 1910, decades after Louis Pasteur’s foundation of bacteriology, many white bourgeois Americans still clung to the Old World’s spiritual explanations of sickness. With these Old World assumptions, they presumed that the rampant disease among the tenement-dwellers was neither a product of the tenements’ horrendous conditions, nor a result of the total poverty of the

laboring classes; rather, they presumed that it was the result of the poor and immigrant classes' laziness, drunkenness, and moral/sexual degeneracy.¹² Upper class peoples attempted to purge the diseases by dusting and cleaning dirt off of surfaces, illustrating an association with dirt and disease that had been resoundingly disproved by bacteriologists of the time. Yet, as TB and typhoid fever continued to kill large numbers of white wealthy peoples in New York City, the upper classes slowly accepted that TB and Typhoid demanded more scientifically-supported tactics of defense. At this time in the early 20th century, public health officials at organizations like National TB Association were employing publicity campaigns to raise awareness about bacteriological advancements to dispel the supernatural causes

of disease. The causes of these fatal diseases were nothing spectacular or potently stinky; TB and Typhoid were often the result of either contaminated water, close contact with other humans who were ill, or consumption of old meat without refrigeration.¹³

Meanwhile, the upper class of New York in 1910 had been purchasing water-flushing toilets for the past two decades or so.¹⁴ Despite the utter lack of bacteriological support to prove that toilets were the cause of the epidemic diseases, many proclaimed health officials with a vague understanding of germs quickly condemned the toilet as the source of germs and disease. Advertisements from the booming 'hygiene' industries of the time preyed upon this misinformation, by advertising a direct link between cleaner toilets and defense from disease; these

12 Tomes, Nancy. *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998. p. 86.

13 Lupton, 25.

14 Tomes, 80.

sanitary product companies capitalized upon the intuitive sense that disease could be smelled and seen. Exploiting the public's fear of the virulent stink of the "sewer gases" which often emanated back from toilets, companies such as Sy-Clo sold *deodorizing toilets*.¹⁵ Unlike filters to help clean drinking water, these toilet products depended upon misinformation and repulsions which still associated 'stinky' things with TB or Typhoid. Yet, rather than abandoning the toilet, the New Yorkers bought products to enhance their toilets' particular hospital-like, 'modern' qualities—scentless, spotless, white, and smooth.

How wonderful to sell health all wrapped up in one product! One 1906 advertisement for the Sy-Clo toilet equated the toilet's role in the home with, "what disinfection means to the surgeon—

what vaccination means to the public health."¹⁶ It promised a chemically-altered water solution which would provide an impermeable wall of defense against the Typhoid microbe; as the advertisement asserted, "these [Typhoid] microbes get into houses through the pipes of imperfect closet bowls."¹⁷ In reality, the watery solution within the Sy-Clo toilet did nothing more than mask the stink of "sewer gases and cesspools."¹⁸ Another widely consumed, albeit misinformed, defense against disease was the 'Standard Ware' toilet. As one of their 1915 advertisements claims, "The 'Standard Ware' toilet is sanitary because it's snowy surface is non-porous without crack or crevice for dirt to lodge."¹⁹ Here

15 Ibid, 89.

16 Ibid, 163.

17 Ibid. 163.

18 Ibid. 71.

19 Ibid, 164.

we see the powerful symbolic resonance between white, smooth aesthetic of modernist architecture and discourses around health, which depended upon hygienic sensibilities and a distaste with residue, with dirt, with dark matter. I will explore this illusory relationship between white facades and health as part of the civilizing progress later.

I do not mean to condemn the ignorant purchase of products which promised hygiene, but only to emphasize the way that the toilet had already rooted itself deeply within the body: not only on account of the body's muscular dependency, but also as a technology which created anxieties about health and privacy in modernity. This unquestioned dependency, and the association between toilets, health, modernity, and nationalism clearly shouts from Reginald Reynolds's 1943 history of the toilet, entitled *Cleanliness and Godliness*; in this text he argues eagerly that the strength of 1940s American society depended upon developments of more

effective disposal of human waste. He contended that more effective waste-disposal systems depended upon more efficiently designed toilets, and a sewage treatment system which utilized the minerals within human waste for agriculture.²⁰ No toilets or sewage systems in New York City effectively utilized these systems at this moment in history. Not only did Reynolds find the current 1940 system of waste treatment inefficient and grotesque at times, but he also posited that the weak status of the toilet threatened the health of both American citizens and American empire. For Reynolds, the health and proper civilization of individual citizens signified the level of progress within the nation.

20 Reynolds, Reginald, Leon Banov, and Lee K. Frankel. *Cleanliness and Godliness, Or, The Further Metamorphosis: A Discussion of the Problems of Sanitation Raised by Sir John Harington*, New York: Doubleday, 1946. Print. p. 297.

The ease of overlooking the complicated and inefficient sewage system begins with the ease of the throne toilet's flush. What does it take to activate the hugely complex water and sewage system of a modern city? A slight pressure of the littlest finger. Just as the toilet's handle allows for an easy, forgetful elimination of our waste, so too does Reynolds claim that the whole underground sewage system has allowed for a dangerous ignorance about the means and ends of waste disposal. A proper and efficient system would harvest and process these excrementory nutrients and use them as manure; his axiom encourages "Sterility in the [water]-closet, and fertility in the fields."²¹ While Reynolds recognizes the dangers of the compulsive "civilized" distance from our own waste, he simultaneously re-creates the toilet as the symbol of modernity, and remains within the dialectic of 'civilized' or 'barbaric' treatment of

waste. His contradictory argument, which at once illustrates the terrible inefficiencies and ecological waste of the toilet, while also reiterating the throne toilet as the symbol of modernity, illustrates exactly how the modern American body had already fused itself to the toilet with an unspoken, unseen, but very powerful muscular and affective dependence. This brings me to the next section wherein I analyze the shames and abjecting relationships that the toilet cultivates, along with the relationship of these shames to larger biopolitical and civilizing projects: those of disciplining and racializing bodies through shame.

II. The Abjection of Hybrid Substances

The toilet shapes the body's relationship to itself, not only from a simple angular discrepancy between the ideal 'ergonomic' squatting form of defecation and the actual unnatural angle of a throne toilet, or an uninformed hope that it can cure disease; the throne toilet also creates a subject/object border between humans and their own reified waste. The standard throne toilet is hard and nonporous, with a seat high above the water that sits in the smooth basin. In *Bathroom*, Barbara Penner demonstrates the strange blunders throughout the history of design and function of the throne toilet; she mostly focuses upon the architectural design of the bathroom space, and narrows on the toilet's ergonomic inefficiencies and ecologically devastating design. She points out the absurdity that each flush can demand anywhere from 2–7 gallons of water; the already-massive amount of water that each toilet used in the early 20th century increased as the toilet became a more regular fixture

of the home.²² Why all this water, if the flushes of old with only 2 gallon of water had functioned well? I claim that this superfluous amount of water is yet another way that the throne toilet enables the defecator to effectively avoid interacting or engaging in almost any way with their own fecal matter. The throne toilet, with its distance from the basin, its seat which mostly blocks any ability to see the actual moments defecation, and the high pressure flush which aims to erase any trace of excrement, almost creates a space which enables the delusion of the subject merely sitting in another space.

Of course, I am not implying that some other methods of defecating demand a person to touch or directly interact with their own fecal matter after it has exited the body; there is, however, a distinct difference in how excrement appears when it sits in water, as opposed to when it lands on either the

ground or some dry surface. So long as the subject defecates into a large pool of water, the viscous, splatting nature of waste is mostly hidden; the water holds the fecal matter in some solid form with distinct contours. It is only when one defecates outside or into a dry toilet that one realizes that human waste looks basically the same as animal waste once it plops against the ground. Both this abjecting realization, along with an abjection at the streaks of fecal matter that remain after a flush, threatens the sense of modern selfhood that the toilet constructs.

In Sartre's philosophical reflection within *Being and Nothingness*, he reflects upon the revolting nature of viscous matter; he says, "The viscous is a state halfway between liquid and solid...it is unstable, but it does not flow; it is soft, yielding, and compressible...It attacks the boundary between myself and it."²³ Thus, the fecal matter which falls gracefully

into the sitting water basin is not recognized as this viscous material. Its contours, preserved by the water, suggest that a solid object has left the body, and immediately has entered the realm of objects. The toilet-trained self, constructed in distinct opposition to those objects, especially foul objects like waste, can avoid confronting the strange liminality of human excrement. Yet, when forced to confront waste outside of the water, as it plops and splats on the ground or a dry basin in an outhouse, this fragile self is threatened, and the subject experiences abjection. Upon closer examination, human excrement is both human and not, thing and yet animate. Its viscosity disrupts the dualism, which divides a subject from objects in the world. This disruption represents a certain type of abjection.

Similarly, the height of a throne toilet stratifies the human both above and apart from its waste when it is in a throne toilet. The throne toilet creates a clear, though tenuous, border; the tenuous

nature, however, produces an abjecting and anxious relationship between the toilet-trained person and the many other methods of excretion. For the toilet-trained person, this training others the act of squatting down to defecate as an almost animalistic, shameful event. Apart from the fact that it actually may be muscularly impossible for the body to support the squat form, I contend that for those who have been accustomed to the obfuscating qualities of the throne toilet, a squat toilet makes the act of defecating clear as an act of defecation as such, by forcing the body into closer proximity with its own waste. This represents a very disgusting and fearsome act for many. In their *Ladies and Gents: Public Toilets and Gender*, authors Gershenson and Penner illustrate that these fears are verbalized within the Frequently Asked Question in a set of travel books for trips to ‘underdeveloped’ Asian nations;²⁴ in these FAQ

sections, the book addresses anxieties and fears about using a squat toilet in a foreign nation. Here is one supplied by a travel book for Americans planning to travel to Southwest China:

‘Have any of you lost your balance while squatting, and gotten a little messy? I have read that diarrhea is very common in Southwest China. Does it ever spray on your shoes or legs?’²⁵

Apart from the possible slapstick hilarity that this scenario poses, I take seriously the fears and anxieties that it presents: the shame of coming into contact with the body’s own waste without the aid of the high ‘throne’ that puts him above his fecal matter. With little to no understanding of how the

Toilets and Gender. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2009. Print. p. 65.

24 Gershenson, Olga and Penner. *Ladies and Gents: Public*

25 Ibid, 116.

body is positioned within a squat, the questioner imagines that this closeness will result in a foul mess. This same concern about non-throne toilets inspires another question about foreign restrooms and outhouses:

An [American] guide book about Southwest China tells us: 'Be careful in public toilets. Quite a few Americans...have squatted down to business, and then straightened up again to discover that someone had absconded with the lot [of valuables].'²⁶

Thus, stemming from this same fear of a 'less private' and differently-designed toilet, the anxious, bare Western body presumes criminality. In this moment of contact with a foreign space, the unfamiliar becomes the filthy, the criminal, the rude, and the uncivilized. The tourist presumes that a society without the

comforts of a stall and a standard toilet may also be a society with people who are comfy enough in filth, that they might actually dwell in the muck of sewers, just so they can possibly steal a couple dollars here and there. Here I want to emphasize just how absurd, yet also markedly 'civilized,' this anxious affective jump is: a leap from unfamiliarity and estrangement, to a moral condemnation of that difference as dirtiness and moral degeneracy. The following section analyzes how these abjecting forces, along with the conflation in modernist architecture between whiteness and cleanliness, created and sustained racialized systems of semiotic whiteness within Jim Crow Era America.

III. A Streak in the Toilet Bowl

*It was the shift to white that became the truest and most reliable index of modernity... White fixtures and plain plumbing acted as guarantees that architecture was purging itself.*²⁷

As famous modernist architect Le Corbusier says above, the mark of modernity and progressive architecture was whiteness. Apart from the architecture, even a brief examination of daily household cleaning items like Clorox Bleach turns up weird overlaps for the whitening definitions of cleanliness: to bleach is both “to clean” and “to whiten or remove color from.” This blindly ideological overlap between hygiene and whiteness illustrates the completely normalized associations between whiteness and hygiene. Nancy Tomes notes that as

the toilet became a mainstream commodity, so too did there emerge a “growing identification of the white toilet bowl with state of the art germ protection.”²⁸ Yet, these ‘normal’ associations do not merely fall into place, but rather must invent and re-invent themselves through semiotic systems of color and racialized signifiers. In her *Foul Bodies*, historian Kathleen Brown argues, “Western cultures drew upon medical science, religion, and manners to revise the individual’s responsibilities to self and society.”²⁹ She notes that many bourgeoisie in England even as late as 1650 used to spread white powders composed of mercury, alum, and other toxic metals, so that they could appear ‘whiter,’ and therefore cleaner and more refined.³⁰ Thus these standards of whiteness

27 Le Corbusier, Charles. *The Decorative Art of Today*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987. p. 103.

28 Tomes, *Gospel of the Germ*, 65.

29 Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 6.

30 Ibid, 41.

deeply harmed even those who were born white; they killed themselves to refine themselves. Died to be white. This was all to appear clean, because clean whiteness was also a sign of class, privilege, and racial superiority.

After one of the first moments of contact along the coast of West Africa during the Elizabethan period, an English sailor returned with a brief poem which Brown claims, “presented dark skin as that which could not be washed white.”³¹ This collapse of brown skin into a signifier of disease also depended upon the semiotic relationship between brownness and dirt itself. As a result of this skin color, the English then marked the black bodies as sinful, morally depraved. At this time the English condemnations and differentiations often sprung from religious and biblical verses:

31 Ibid, 42.

evocations of the curse of Ham³² and other Old Testament narratives. These condemnations of the black bodies’ poor health and spiritual depravity on account of their color were absolutely essential to the justifications for objectifying the bodies of these ocularly different human beings. Ironically enough, the British themselves were known among other European nations for their disgustingly poor

32 Genesis 9:20 states that after Ham had “seen the nakedness of his father,” his father Noah cursed him: “Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.” While there was no mention of skin color within the tale, 17th century English Biblical scholars claimed that the name ‘Ham’ bore some relation to the Hebrew term for ‘black’ or ‘burnt.’ In his *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, David Goldenberg disproves this etymological relationship between ‘Ham’ and blackness. This etymological argument was .used nonetheless to justify enslaving black bodies.

hygienic standards.³³ As Kathleen Brown argues, “The condition of the [English] houses, their bodies, and their capital city had earned them the reputation of being the dirtiest people in Europe.”³⁴ Despite this fact, the English invented the shirt itself as a marker of cleanliness. The Africans’ comfort with their own bodies’ nudity offended the civilizing shames of the British, who had already been civilized into wearing white shirts as a sign of cleanliness and civilization.

I reiterate here that the whiteness of the throne toilet is the secular continuation of the modern damning of black bodies, and advances its project of assigning moral, futuristic, and hygienic significance to arbitrary white material objects; Brown shows that, just as ‘the civilized’ was once a white shirt which covered the foul ‘private parts’ of the body, so too did

it become the white toilet which could eliminate the body’s shameful internal waste without any abjecting trace of its ever having existed. Through the racialized and damning semiotics of modernist tropes, the black people within America were constructed by the white imaginary as the dirty foil once more, as if people of color were the streaks upon the otherwise clean, white, civilized basin of the American society. Many black Americans radically opposed this system of order in various ways, but I first illustrate how these systems forced Booker T. Washington to internalize a self-effacing compulsion.

Booker T. Washington lived and wrote his *Up from Slavery* during the turn of the 20th century, just during the rise of the throne toilet. As one of the very prominent black figures within America at a time of still staunch racial segregation and oppression, he became a figure of hope for many. He believed that, if the blacks in America resigned themselves to the white economies of labor, then they could rise

33 Ibid, 41.

34 Ibid, 41.

slowly by dutifully performing low-wage labor jobs until they rose up into higher ranks. Washington's assimilationist encouragements were met by harsh criticism from other African-American scholars of the time such as W.E.B. DuBois. In addition to his encouragement to assimilate to a white economic order, Washington constantly impressed the importance of hygiene as the clearest path out of squalor and into civilization. In his own experience, he only was able to pay for his schooling through working long hours at sanitation and janitorial jobs within his school building. He writes about his eternal debt to the education that he received from his overseer and the head teacher, Mrs. Ruffner. Speaking of her sage pedagogy and her relentless commitment to cleanliness and the purge of dirt, he says:

I swept the recitation-room three times. Then I got a dusting-cloth and I dusted it four times. All the woodwork around the walls, every bench, table, and

desk, I went over four times with my dusting-cloth... She was a 'Yankee' woman who knew just where to look for dirt.³⁵

Thus he internalized the importance of white and clean surfaces as a means to 'upward mobility' which is itself a civilizing concept laden with assimilation. He expresses that later in his life he could not even walk past an "unpainted or un-whitewashed house that I do not want to paint or whitewash it."³⁶ This 'whitewashing' of 'un-whitewashed' things extended to his students and himself; he carried these lessons through his whole life and into his position as an educator. As a teacher at a vocational school for Native American men, Washington asserted the huge importance of

35 Washington, Booker T. *Up from Slavery an Autobiography*. Raleigh, N.C.: Alex Catalogue, 199. pg. 29.

36 Ibid, 24.

the toothbrush for upwardly striving people of color. He argues, “there are few single agencies more far-reaching...than the influence of the tooth brush.”³⁷ I claim that this obsession with removing stains from white spaces and white things illustrates the level to which a person can absorb the modernist age’s whitening tropes of which I speak. On account of Mrs. Ruffner’s constant reiterations that he could only receive the school’s education if he both cleaned the school spotless of any dirt, and also washed his own body aggressively, Washington deeply embodied a tragic reality; that his means to receiving a classical—i.e. white civilizing—education required that he enhance the whiteness in all the spaces around both his space and his body. To remove himself as a dirty streak from this civilized space, he needed to constantly strive towards and maintain whiteness, in both physical appearance and cultural performance.

In a space where both racial and cultural whiteness along with spotless white surfaces signified cleanliness and civilization, Booker T. Washington recognized the importance of emphasizing those qualities within himself. By polishing his teeth until they sparkled bright white, he could emphasize his clean inside. He ascribed to the paths of assimilation as much as one could by shaping himself to white ways of speaking, dressing, behaving, and cleaning. These racializing powers of hygienics, the toilet, and the fact that it represents such a powerful space of ideological construction lead me to my final analysis, a close examination of the Jim Crow segregation of bathrooms.

37 Ibid, 40.

IV. Scared of Shadows

Since the toilet and all its constitutive parts create dependencies, cultivate naked shames hungry for clothing, and engender the toilet space as a vulnerable position which can disrupt the boundaries that support frailty constructed modern self-hoods, it should not be surprising that one of the first public spaces to be segregated after the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson ‘separate-but-equal’ decision was the public restroom. Within her *Bathroom Doors and Drinking Fountains* cultural studies author Elizabeth Abel notes this distinction between ‘Whites only’ and ‘Colored’ bathrooms as a significant moment of racializing subject production. Having explained the ways in which even the streaks on the bottom of a toilet can pose abjecting discomforts for identities which like to overlook the material life of human excrement, I focus here on the ways that the separation of bathrooms legally re-codified the avoidance of fearsome contact with the black ‘other’,

and thereby re-created and solidified the modern identification of a black body as a dirty body, as a streak upon the white modernity of America.

As Abel works to describe the fundamental ways in which these new bathroom segregations informed black subjecthood within Jim Crow Era, she cites a scene from within Clifton Taulbert’s memoir which reflects on his childhood within segregated 1940–50s Mississippi:

As the five-year-old child Cliff scampers to the bathroom, he is stopped by a white attendant who points censoriously to the White Only sign on the bathroom door. The child can’t read, so Poppa takes upon himself the burden of teaching Cliff to decode the racial formation of the bathrooms... writing the first letters of the words white (W) and colored (C) on two halves of a piece of paper folded down the center, Poppa teaches Cliff how to position himself vis-a-vis

the Jim Crow signs on the bathroom doors.³⁸

At five years old, the child has probably just become old enough to feel wholly confident using the toilet, and a new discipline of shame is thrown at him. Since the child does not know how to recognize the ‘colored’ sign, I assert that this may have been the first time the child was identified and explicitly marked as other through the divisive language of race and color along with spatialized segregation. As the reflection on this scene understands, there is a strange pedagogy necessary to sustain the illogical division of bodies by race; this pedagogy must emphasize not only the racial division itself, but also “how to position” one’s own body in relationship to these color lines. Thus, after already having embodied a dependency to

the toilet with all its civilizing and shame-inducing properties, the young boy now must also re-position his toilet-training around a new shame: skin color.

The segregation of restrooms illustrates the white imagination’s paranoiac fear of contact with the residual black other. Within this paranoid fear, the toilet seat, as a place of public touch and overlap, could potentially bear the hidden trace of some black body; just as the semiotic system of whiteness and fears of the viscosity of waste perceive streaks of excrement as abjecting experiences, so too does the possibility of touching a surface ‘tainted’ by black skin awaken these same abjecting forces. For the paranoid white imaginary of that time, the touch across racial bounds threatens to expose the humanity of the other, but also in that same moment to provoke disgust. The Jim Crow segregation of bathrooms represents the crystallization of every construction and shaming effect of the toilet’s qualities; its whiteness as cleanliness and brownness as filth, the hard

38 Abel, Elizabeth. *Bathroom Doors and Drinking Fountains: Jim Crow’s Racial Symbolic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999. p. 435.

nonporous division between subjects and objects, the privacy which instantiates a fear of bodies and creates vulnerable ‘private parts’, and its cultivation of fear around those parts of bodies which are neither liquid nor solid, neither inside nor out, those traces and smears of touch.

But we cannot simply assume that the ‘colored’ and ‘white’ boundary was so sharply upheld as we see within Taulbert’s brief narrative; for proof of the violent policing of color boundaries focalized around toilets, there are historical examples. On January 3, 1966 Samuel Younge Jr., a 22-year-old Civil Rights Activist, used the ‘whites only’ restroom at a gas station in Macon County Alabama. He was a contributing member to two major nonviolent resistance organizations, both of which aimed to desegregate public spaces, and so his use of this restricted restroom was in keeping with his political

aspirations.³⁹ As he was pushing open the stall door after his use, the elderly white gas attendant shot him. The toilet’s high-pressure flush was still swirling down as the bullet hit Samuel Younge in the chest. He was killed for using a toilet. The murderer, an elderly white man named Martin Seagrest, was acquitted by a jury of all white people from the town, although the town was a majority black town.⁴⁰ Again, we see that the frail construction of white modern American self, which in the Jim Crow Era codified the white subject as different through law, actually leaves the white person destructively paranoid; in order to remain a self, they needed to police the color line harshly both around them and within their own bodies. Thus while people of color during this time were forced to feel

39 No author. Younge, Samuel (“Sammy”) Leamon, Jr. (1944–1966) | *The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed*. <Blackpast.org>

40 Ibid, 2.

some of the histories of blackness as associated with dirtiness, so too did white people surveil themselves for traces, for streaks, for the feared abjection of the toilet. The fragile identity of Jim Crow whiteness depended upon this policing, and in turn illustrated the weakness of their sense of identity.

In his famous 1905 psychoanalytic work *Three Essays on Sexuality* Freud claims that even in the first instance of toilet training, the child can subtly resist this new discipline that is being forced into his body. Through a subconscious recognition of the importance of this discipline, the child recognizes the power that he contains by refusing to use the toilet for his fecal production. As Freud argues, the particular act of civilizing the anal area and the bowel's defecation process enables for a playful disruption; he argues that in this key process of the socialization of a subject:

[The child] can obstinately refuse to empty his bowels when

he is put on the pot—that is, when his nurse wants him to—and hold back that function till he himself chooses to exercise it...The fecal matter are clearly treated as a part of the infant's own body and represent his first gift: by producing them he can express his active compliance with his environment and, by withholding them, his disobedience.⁴¹

So, even in the primary instance of toilet training, the human body can recognize and instrumentalize the power of excretion as a means for disruption, since the training renders that disruption as a disobedient act; this signifies the powerful refusal of the standardized and civilized training of the human body. I believe that this empowering realization of the disruptive power in using abjection against the civilized body, also inspires the more legitimate adulthood to

41 Freud, Sigmund, and James Strachey. *On Sexuality: Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality and Other Works*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977.

shatter the boundaries which toilet-training creates. As we see in the example with Samuel Younge, this disruption of deeply embodied binaristic borders is gravely powerful, and can enact substantial and violent backlash. The bathroom and the toilet, against the ways it is employed as a production of shameful and racialized subjecthood, thus continues to create liminal spaces for radical communion; on account of its public privacy, its private publicness; because of the ways that it creates abjection which can overturn some of civilizing history's violent subject constructions; because it is both a 'dirty' and clean space. All of these vulnerabilities open possibilities for new radical identities that can be formed in opposition to the throne toilet and its isolation of waste from the body.

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