

## VITAL TOPICS FORUM

## “My Favorite Book!”: Voicing Mary Douglas for Twenty-First-Century Conversations

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These reflections originate in an encounter I had with Mary Douglas in the mid-1980s, when she had a regular visiting appointment at my university. Arriving at my office for the first time one day before we headed to lunch together, she paused at the threshold to take in the wall of volumes before her and exclaimed “My favorite book!” before making a baseline for the one item in my Douglas collection that you are probably not picturing.

The book she singled out was *Rules and Meanings* (hereafter *R&M*), a compilation claiming “philosophical forebears for a course of anthropology that I like to teach” (9). Published in 1973, *R&M* is subtitled *The Anthropology of Everyday Knowledge, Selected Readings*. This anthology’s 319 pages comprise forty-five selections by thirty-four different authors from anthropology, linguistics, philosophy, sociology, and more, including a few surprises: for example, writings by someone identified only as “Mrs Humphry” (author of *Manners for Women*, a 1897 etiquette guide), by the avant-garde composer John Cage, and by the Nobel Prize-winning novelist Hermann Hesse, whose works (e.g., *Siddhartha*, *The Glass Bead Game*) were 1960s countercultural best sellers.

#### HER FAVORITE BOOK? ON GOING WITHOUT SAYING

At the time, I found her choice curious. With only a five-page general introduction and brief paragraph-long prefaces for each of the book’s eight sections, Douglas appears mostly absent in this text. On second glance, however, that appearance dissolves. While many volumes in the Penguin Education series to which *R&M* belongs appear to background their editors and contain abbreviated selections, Douglas’s volume is an extreme case. Because many of its excerpts are so extraordinarily brief and therefore so removed from their original contexts, Douglas’s orchestrating presence is palpable.

As a step toward discovering how others have perceived *R&M*’s orchestration, I looked for reviews. Richard Fardon’s

(1999) excellent “intellectual biography” provides a comprehensive listing of reviews of Douglas’s work, but none for *R&M*. In the end, I found only two reviews.<sup>1</sup> Writing in *The British Journal of Social Work*, Ralph Radstock’s (1974) attention was drawn, as mine had been, toward divining the editor’s purposes. He noted that the text’s selections show how even the apparently arbitrary conventions of etiquette and the abstractions of musical composition have sociological rationales. Drawing a lesson for social workers who, he suggested, are inclined to focus on personal meanings, he asserted that since the “accepted ways of ‘making sense’ of the world” vary across social systems, Douglas’s critical point must be that if we ourselves were relocated, “our ‘common sense’ would have been different from what it is” (377–78). While Radstock lamented the absence in *R&M* of excerpts from Douglas’s well-known published work, Williams McCormack’s (1976) review in *American Anthropologist* takes the opposite tack. He simply summarized her introduction and the preface to *R&M*’s first section (see below), as if acknowledging that the whole book (as Douglas herself put it) “expounds . . . what this editor believes ought to be accepted in anthropology” (Douglas 1973, 9).

In the present context, the relative obscurity of *R&M* is doubly ironic. After all, the collection’s motivating idea is similar in spirit to that of the “Voicing the Ancestors” series to which this paper contributes. In his introduction to the first “Voicing” collection, Richard Handler (2016, 368) recalled what he and Ira Bashkow learned from their teacher, historian of anthropology George Stocking, that “anthropology as a discipline . . . looped back on itself throughout its historical trajectory; texts that were theoretically salient at one point might fall into insignificance only to be revived a generation or two later, not solely as history but as currently useful theory. And of course, texts that had remained in obscurity hold the potential, we believed, to become theoretically salient again.” In *R&M*, Douglas deepens this idea of recurrent forgetting and rediscovery in disciplinary histories by locating that scholarly dynamic within an encompassing “anthropology of everyday knowledge.” Douglas emphasizes the need to recover one particularly elusive insight. Her single most powerful articulation of this warning prefaces the anthology’s first section, as follows:

# First Century Conversations

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