

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.
MAY BE RECALLED with earlier due date if requested.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
OCT 26 2006		
OCT 15 06		
01 APR 2010		
OCT 28 2006		
101110		

CONFESSIOAL DISCOURSE AS AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

VOLUME I

By

Brian Edward Burns

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

2003

ABSTRACT

CONFESSIONAL DISCOURSE AS AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

By

Brian Edward Burns

Beginning chronologically with the radical self-exposure of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Les Confessions (1782 & 1789) and ending with the post-colonial alienation of Edward Said's Out of Place (1999), confessional discourse will be considered here as participating in the same way of seeing as anthropology. Works by Thomas De Quincey, Mary Shelley, Margaret Mead, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Jan Myrdal will illustrate the shared histories, interests, poetics, and epistemologies of these related discursive practices. Postmodern ethnography's attempts at varieties of autoethnography appear to be a return to anthropology's "roots" in the Romantic period. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's claim in the preface to the Geneva Manuscript of Les Confessions that his text will serve as the "*première pièce de comparaison pour l'étude des hommes*" serves as a bridge between the projects of the ethnographer and confessional autobiographer since the end of the eighteenth century. The modern confessional's preoccupation with cultural criticism and "self-othering," or seeing the self as other, places the concerns of the confessional autobiographer within the critical framework of fieldworkers in the observational social sciences.

Copyright by
BRIAN EDWARD BURNS
2003

For Catherine and our sweet boys, Noah and Thomas.

[A]

[A]

[A]

[A]

[A]

[A]

[A]

[A]

[A]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my dissertation committee—A.C. Goodson, Scott Juengel, Laurence Porter, Sheila Teahan, and Stephen Rachman—for their guidance and support. My debt to them goes back nearly a decade. Much of this work has its beginnings in the seminars in Comparative Literature taught by Professors Goodson, Porter, and Teahan here in East Lansing during the 1990s.

I would also like to thank Stanford University Press for their permission to reproduce the cover of Bronislaw Malinowski, A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989 (© 1989 Athlone Press).

1

PRODUCT

POUSSE

POUSS
SELF-OT

AMERICAN
DEQUA

AMARG
MAYNO

AMARG
THE NA

AMANT
NORTH

ALBERTA
UNITED

ALCOHOL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
I. - ROUSSEAU AND AUTOETHNOGRAPHY	35
II. – ROUSSEAU'S AUTOETHNOGRAPHY: SELF-OTHERING, THE BODY, AND “(C)ROUSSEAU”	71
III. – WRITING THE “CRAZY BODY”: ROUSSEAU AS DE QUINCEY’S “HORIZON OF EXPECTATION”	119
“Walking the City as Fieldwork”: DeQuincey and the Chicago School of Sociology	161
IV. – MARGINAL MAN REDUX: MALINOWSKI'S CONFSSIONAL FIELDWORK	180
V. - MARGARET MEAD: AUTOETHNOGRAPHY AND THE “NATURAL WOMAN”	225
VI. – JAN MYRDAL: AUTOETHNOGRAPHY IN ASIA, NORTH AMERICA, AND THE EUROPEAN WELFARE STATE	264
VII. – EDWARD SAID: THE AUTOETHNOGRAPHY OF A “WILD ANTROPOLOGIST”	297
BIBLIOGRAPHY	336

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 (cover of Malinowski's "Diary" with photograph)

page 218

INTRODUCTION

This study of the convergent discourses of the confessional and ethnography is designed to expand conversations within the study of the literatures of the American and European eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Those engaged in the study of Romanticism may be interested in arguments below that reframe the discussion of confessional discourse along interdisciplinary and intertextual lines. Others focused on cultural anthropology, sociology and cultural studies should be receptive to efforts to connect the autobiographical concerns of Rousseau and De Quincey with the history and discourses of anthropology; stimulating conversations about the problematics of fieldwork in the postmodern social sciences.

Beginning chronologically with the radical self-exposure of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Les Confessions* (1782 & 1789)¹ and ending with the post-colonial alienation of Edward Said's *Out of Place* (1999), the confessional will be considered here as participating in the same way of seeing as anthropology. The works of Thomas De Quincey, Margaret Mead, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Jan Myrdal will illustrate the shared histories, interests, poetics, and epistemologies of these related discursive practices. In the wealth of literature that examines the standard ethnographic monograph, or charts attempts to resolve the sticky problems surrounding "writing culture," several different but often overlapping views of a postmodern ethnography emerge (cf. Hymes, 1972; Clifford 1988; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Geertz 1973, 1988; Rose, 1990; Marcus, 1994; Tierney and Lincoln, 1997). A number of these approaches can be easily characterized as forms of "autoethnography," which, broadly speaking, are field studies that foreground the anthropologist's place in approaching and describing otherness. True to the label "autoethnography," many of these approaches call for mixing subjective and objective approaches, as well as blending the techniques of autobiography and

مجلس شورای اسلامی

252

1992

7. *Results*

1992

—

•

14

10

11

.....

152

100

1944

1990

55

25.5

1992

100

10

10

1

•

10.

63

...

ethnography. Postmodern ethnography's attempts at varieties of autoethnography (e.g. Lévi-Strauss, [1955] 1997; Geertz, 1973; Rabinow, 1977; Okely and Callaway, 1992; Reed-Danahay, 1997) appear to be a return to anthropology's "roots." Jean-Jacques Rousseau's claim in the preface to the Geneva Manuscript of Les Confessions that his text will serve as "*première pièce de comparaison pour l'étude des hommes*"² will guide this dissertation's view of the autoethnographic continuity between the ethnographer and confessional autobiographer since the end of the eighteenth century.

Ethnography and confessional autobiography will be considered via the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau for two reasons. The first can be condensed to the connection between Rousseau's work and the still widely circulated image of the "noble savage." Les Confessions is an important part of Rousseau's broader philosophical effort to consider otherness alongside the self. It is not altogether true that Rousseau invents this connection. Interest in this self/other dichotomy increased dramatically in Europe in the wake of Prince Henry the navigator and, later, Columbus and the other numerous contacts with the cultures of the New World. Montaigne's Essais, including "On Cannibals" (1578-1580) to offer one well-known example, connect questions surrounding otherness with issues of selfhood well before Rousseau's autobiography appears in print (1782 & 1789). Where Rousseau can be said to be unique is in the relationship that Les Confessions draws between the author and his own vision of "*l'homme sauvage*." The anthropological worldview that grows out of this approach becomes central to Rousseau's view of his own subjectivity, while simultaneously supporting his sustained form of cultural criticism.

In their 1986 work Anthropology as Cultural Criticism, Michael Fischer and George Marcus call for the "repatriation of anthropology as cultural critique" as an effective way to reclaim the "much more focused" cultural criticism present in the works of Malinowski, Mead, Sapir, Benedict, and Boas (130). The present postmodern

1. *Handwritten signature*

END

Page 2

7-11

274-281

1

•

10

•

100

100

100

10

224

1998

DATE: 10/10/1964
PAGE: 10

154

100

100

100

100

100

1

100

100

1

•

1

1

1

100

"experimental moment" in ethnography, which Fischer and Marcus have helped to spur,³ continues to make use of the confessional as cultural critique, a form that harkens back to Rousseau's own form of cultural criticism. Postmodern ethnography's efforts to reclaim the high ground of cultural criticism via confessional autoethnography force a further assessment of Rousseau's Les Confessions as a central text in the history of anthropology.

Les Confessions is part of a wider effort within Rousseau's works to critique European culture. On one side, Rousseau offers the "natural man," or so-called "noble savage," a vision of freedom that was itself liberated from the negative influences of European culture. On the other side, he offers himself in Les Confessions as evidence for the corrupting influence of that same culture. Reading Rousseau's autobiography within the context of his other works will foreground an ethnographic type (most often Amerindian), which hovers over his *oeuvre* as an exemplum of human possibilities. In her 1994 work Exotic Nations, which is concerned with the influence of Rousseau on cultural identity in the Americas, Renata R. Mautner Wasserman describes how the primitive in Rousseau's work is difficult to locate because it is subsumed within the European self:

Hottentots, Caribs, and Hurons figure in his arguments about the origin of humanity and society as ancestral figures, remnants of what Europeans must have been sometime in the past. They become the evidence in a protoevolutionary discourse not as objects of astonishment and fear, as in the writings of the explorers, settlers, and scientists, or of admiration, as in the utopias, but as providing something like the historical equivalent of introspection. Primitives are thus englobed in the European self, made into illustrations not of what is alien to Rousseau's civilized readers but of what they ought to recognize as existing vestigially in themselves (75)

Even when the events of Les Confessions are treated alone, they form a personal version

1940

1941

1942

1943

1944

1945

1946

Cal

1947

1948

1949

For

1950

1951

1952

1953

1954

of protoevolutionary discourse as Mautner Wasserman describes above. Within this context, it is not difficult to see Rousseau's autobiography as an autoethnography describing the problematic culture of the bourgeois Geneva of his youth, as well as negative aspects of the metropolitan culture of the Paris of his middle life, and finally his exile and ultimate disgust with his own culture. This personalized form of a protoevolutionary worldview parallels the evolutionary point of view still found in modern anthropology.

Claude Levi-Strauss has frequently contended that an elemental relation exists between Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *oeuvre* and fieldwork in the social sciences. In a speech given in 1962 at a gathering in Geneva commemorating Rousseau,⁴ which reiterates a position that he takes in *Le totémisme aujourd'hui* that same year, Levi-Strauss observes:

Rousseau did not just foresee anthropology, he actually founded it. Firstly, he did so in practice by writing the *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men* which posed the question of the relationship between nature and culture, and is perhaps the first treatise produced on general anthropology. Secondly, he founded the science in theory by setting down with remarkable clarity and precision the aims of the anthropologist as distinguished from those of the moralist and the historian... ("Rousseau," 11)

For Levi-Strauss, "confessions" define both a method and a text, and, as a method, a confessional strategy is instrumental and foundational for anthropology. In the same 1962 speech quoted above, Levi-Strauss begins to expose the confessional as an autoethnographic methodology, while going much further in implicating Rousseau in the methodology of anthropology than he does in *Le totémisme aujourd'hui*:

As for the anthropologist, are his writings anything else but confessions?
Confessions first about himself, for...the discovery of himself is the

driving force of the anthropologist's calling as well as of his work. And then in his work, confessions about his own society which, through the medium of the anthropologist, has chosen other civilizations and societies deliberately among those that appear to be the weakest and the most humble of all, so as to ascertain to what extent it is "unworthy." By unworthy, I mean that of countless "others" that have succeeded each other in the course of millennia, and which because of their diversity and brief moment of duration offer added proof that as a collective entity too man must first come to know himself as "another" before he can hope to think in terms of himself. ("Rousseau" 13)

Rousseau's ability to "self-other," or see himself as another, will be taken up in chapter two. In Levi-Strauss's view, this confessional posture is the central methodological move in anthropology.

Secondly, the work of Rousseau is widely recognized as an influential voice in defining textual constructions of modern selfhood (see Diamond, [1972] 1999; Berman, 1970, [1982] 1988; Taylor, 1989; Orwin & Tarcov, 1997a). Charles Taylor's picture of Rousseau's place in modernity in *Sources of the Self* (1989) is instructive here. Describing Rousseau as the "origin point of a great deal of contemporary culture, of the philosophies of self-exploration" (362), Taylor notes that "the affirmation of everyday life" (360) is central in Rousseau's work and represents a major step toward the aesthetics and politics of modernity. This interest in everyday life is an essential bridge between the confessional and ethnography. The confessional focuses on the everyday just as ethnography has since Malinowski espoused close contact with villagers to permit a "scientific" evaluation of "the imponderabilia of actual life and typical behavior" (*Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 20). This considerable focus on "everydayness" is vital to the revelation of experience, equally important to both the ethnographer and the

General

By: b

Reported

Year of

Refused

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

Dismissed

confessional autobiographer.

By beginning this analysis with the work of Rousseau, this project is not searching for a particular "origin" for the connection between ethnography and the confessional. The work of Rousseau merely represents a place where this connection is foregrounded. But Rousseau's work is doubly useful because agreement regarding his influence appears to have survived postmodern attacks on the canon. Although Rousseau's view of the modern subject is frequently under attack, his place in expanding the notions surrounding modern subjectivity appears secure. Whether we choose to critique or praise his work (or both), Rousseau continues to attract vast critical interest.

It will be important to define a number of terms vital to the vocabulary of this project, beginning with "ethnography" and "anthropology." The terms "anthropology" and "ethnography" will often be used interchangeably, despite ethnography's more precise position as a form or subdiscipline of anthropology. By "anthropology," I will most often mean the high-minded study of human culture that is the focus of so much postmodern criticism of this discipline. By "ethnography," I will mean the expansive descriptions of other cultures that most often take Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) as their twentieth century "Ur-text." The slippage between the terms anthropology and ethnography is not peculiar to this project and appears, as Clifford Geertz and others have pointed out, to grow out of ethnography's status as a privileged or exemplary form of anthropology. Every effort has been made in this survey to ensure that the slippage does not become problematic.

There is some division within critical circles regarding the definition of "auto-ethnography." The term can be traced to David Hayano's "auto-ethnography" of the California poker palace subculture (1979, 1982), which called for the immersion of the participant/observer in the culture under observation. Since Hayano, the term has drifted between this original definition of immersion and one other. The second definition is

and for

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

found, for example, in the works of John Van Mannen (1988, 1995) and Mary Louise Pratt (1992), who define autoethnography around the idea of doing ethnographic work among one's own people. Recently, critics have begun to notice this duality in our understanding of the term. For example, Norman Denzin, an important figure in defining practices within the observational social sciences, initially remained close to Hayano's original idea (1989), but, of late, he too has considered the emergence of an autoethnographer among his or her own people (1997). Deborah Reed-Danahay feels that these competing definitions reflect "the difficulties encountered when trying to distinguish between an ethnographic and autobiographic perspective" (9). This difficulty is exacerbated by the conscious and unconscious connections between autobiography and ethnography since Rousseau. These discourses are difficult to separate because they often compete for the same "confessional turf."

A "turf war" between confessional and ethnographic discourses is exhibited dramatically in the work of John Van Mannen and Carolyn Ellis. Van Maanen (1988, 1995) contends that within an array of different varieties of ethnographic observation there are both "confessional ethnographies," centered on the ethnographer, and "autoethnographies" centered on a description of the ethnographer's culture. Carolyn Ellis (1997), echoing Rousseau's efforts to elevate emotion relative to reason, proposes an "evocative autoethnography" that allows for a perspective of both the self and society via an investigation of "the inner workings of the self" as it is "in [a] reciprocal relationship with the other" (133). These observations point to the provocative proximity between anthropological fieldwork and confessional discourse.

Deborah Reed-Danahay's definition of the term autoethnography is exemplary because it accepts both sides of the aforementioned debate and is itself focused on the relationship between the ethnographer/autobiographer and his or her social context:

...autoethnography is defined as a form of self-narrative that places the self

1225

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

1

10-27-20

25:11

1

100

1

10

•

10

100

1

14

100

200

جنیل

153

within a social context. It is both a method and a text, as in the case of ethnography. Autoethnography can be done by either an anthropologist who is doing "home" or "native" ethnography or by a non-anthropologist or ethnographer. It can also be done by an autobiographer who places the story of his or her life within a story of the social context in which it occurs. (9)

It is autoethnography's production of a life "within a story of the social context" that combines the literary and social scientific aspects of confessional discourse. Uncovering these moments will often demand the use of more than one text by a single author in order to expose the autoethnographic context. For example, Malinowski's ethnographic works will be read alongside his controversial A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term (1967) in order to allow for the "auto-" in the author's "autoethnography." When this method is considered against Reed-Danahay's definition of autoethnography, what emerges is an attempt to read an ethnographer's work as both autobiographer and ethnographer living in a "non-native" setting. Thus, in this case, reading these texts "autoethnographically" becomes an effort to consider how the ethnographer's biography affects his or her ethnographic work and vice versa. Strictly speaking, this effort still places the ethnographer within a social context, but it foregrounds the potential of the ethnographer's own culture to color his or her interpretations of another culture. Quite simply, this approach will "rebuild" the full social context underlying the ethnographer's point of view. The confessional autobiographies that will be involved in this project, and that are not the work of ethnographers, will be autoethnographies in the strictest sense of Reed-Denehay's definition because they will each be autobiographies that supply readers with a social context from which to approach the material. These issues of defining fields

1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
-100
-200
-300
-400
-500
-600
-700
-800
-900
-1000

will take on their greatest importance in the later chapters, which work to contextualize aspects of autoethnography first in the more anthropological work of Bronislaw Malinowski and Margaret Mead, and later in the more literary work of Jan Myrdal and Edward Said.

The term "confessional discourse" is used to describe the confessional as a particular set of textual strategies (discussed further below). This term is also part of an effort to distance this project from the improbable task of defining the confessional as a genre while simultaneously foregrounding the dialogical and intergeneric nature of the confessional itself. In "The Law of Genre" (1981) Derrida describes a paradox that is useful in this particular case. Although a text cannot exist without participating in one or more genres, "such participation never amounts to belonging" (61). David Haney's condensation of Derrida's argument is effective in delivering the sense of paradox in the limits of genre: "The very boundary that engenders the genre also destroys it, because the act of engendering is also the act of limiting and because that boundary is exactly what cannot be included within the bounded area, though it is also what makes the bounded area exist" (242). Rather than work to circumscribe the limits of the confessional, this dissertation will work within the more flexible and useful boundaries of "confessional discourse." "Discourse," in this vision of "confessional discourse," is meant to mark something that is far less encompassing of an entire text than are the taxonomies of genre. Thus, a portion or portions of a particular text may be identified as confessional discourse by identifying a number of attributes recognizable as forming the confessional.

More than a postmodern distaste for genre is at work here. Despite the effort to define a genre within the last half-century of studies of autobiography, little has been

done to differentiate the confessional from the autobiographical.⁵ Between the 1950's and the 1980's, while important francophone scholars such as Georges Gusdorf, Jean Starobinski, and Philippe Lejeune started with Rousseau's *Les Confessions* in presenting general theories of autobiography,⁶ American critics of the same generation, such as Roy Pascal and Stephen Spender, wove the confessional seamlessly into their own approaches to the autobiographical text. More recently, feminist critics, accepting Susan Stanford Freidman's terminology, have posited a "relational" and frequently female or feminine self rather than the individual and masculine self that had been the predisposition of male critics reading mainly male autobiographies. Leigh Gilmore illustrates the feminist motivation for turning away from Rousseau as an exemplum for autobiography when she notes that,

[e]fforts to establish a genre of autobiography based on the works of Augustine, Rousseau, Henry Adams, and so on, must be seen as participating in the cultural production of a politics of identity, a politics that maintains identity hierarchies through its reproduction of class, sexuality, race, and gender as terms of "difference" in a social field of power. (5)

Despite attempts to turn away from Rousseau in studies of autobiography, Rousseau's place continues to be evaluated and reevaluated because his works simultaneously support and break down the logic of Gilmore's statement. Rousseau's efforts to use the confessional as a method for battling existing power relations and as a place to criticize the life that he was forced to live outside of the preferred bonds of social relationships locates the debate regarding a relational self within *Les Confessions*.

W

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

1/1/10

Within the past five years, Nancy Miller, Eugene Stelzig, and Paul John Eakin⁷ have looked to expand the notion of the relational self to include works like Rousseau's, while James Olney's discomfort with a generic definition for autobiography has led him in Memory and Narrative (1998) to return to a familiar trend "in the nature of life-writing or autobiography over the past sixteen centuries, moving from a focus on "bios," or the course of a lifetime, to focus on "autos," the self writing and being written...which one sees occurring unaware in Rousseau to become finally established and pervasive in the twentieth century" (xv). Olney's willingness to move seamlessly within a number of different categories and terms for writing one's life, including "confessions, autobiography, memoirs, periautography...autography... and...life-writing" (xv) exemplifies autobiography studies' capitulation to a relativistic morass. While the term "life-writing" is itself a self-conscious effort to steer clear of generic distinctions, it is also clear that autobiographical studies, as exemplified in the quotation from James Olney above, cannot shake the influence of Rousseau on "life-writing" even when the confessional or autobiographical prove difficult to define and Rousseau's Les Confessions hovers between the worlds of both the independent and the relational self.

For the confessional, with its religious, literary, medical and legal forms each vying for position, any elaborate definition would be unsustainable. "Confessional discourse" points to Foucault's view of the confessional in his History of Sexuality, vol. 1, as "a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement...[and] a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship" (61) which takes the revelation of sexual pleasure as one of its master tropes (53-73). Its status as "discourse"

五五

27

1950

20

32

25

100

L

10

11.

100

122

10

rather than "genre" can be said to be dictated, at least in part, by its being so pervasive. A small portion of Foucault's argument suffices to illustrate the broad reach of the confessional:

The confession has spread its effects far and wide. It plays a part in justice, medicine, education, family relationships, and love relations, in the most ordinary affairs of everyday life, and in the most solemn rites; one confesses one's crimes, one's sins, one's thoughts and desires, one's illnesses and troubles; one goes about telling, with the greatest precision, whatever is most difficult to tell. One confesses in public and private, to one's parents, one's educators, one's doctor, to those one loves; one admits to oneself, in pleasure and in pain, things that would be impossible to tell anyone else, the things people write books about. One confesses -- or is forced to confess... Western man has become a confessing animal. (59)

Beyond illustrating the ubiquity of confessional discourse, this passage points to an essential aspect of confessions that is central to this dissertation's arguments; namely, confessional discourse takes as its object those "things that would be impossible to tell anyone else, the things people write books about."

In his widely repeated definition published in *The Postmodern Condition*, Jean-Francois Lyotard characterizes postmodernity "as incredulity toward metanarratives" (xxiv). In the place of the previous legitimacy of metanarratives, Lyotard believes that postmodern knowledge "refines our sensitivity to difference" (xxv). Current changes from within anthropology to approaches to studying and describing other cultures can be seen as an effort to continue to participate in postmodern discussions of difference, which are

important in our historical moment. The choice of progressively more confessional forms of autoethnography as a potential remedy for the problems presented by the modern ethnographic text indicates the importance of confessional forms as a strategy for producing postmodern authority. Although postmodern criticism continues to attack the metanarrative of the Enlightenment, postmodernity itself relies on specific approaches that are central to its own form of cultural critique. The current attraction to confessional discourse in the academy,⁸ literature,⁹ and popular culture points to an important continuity of form passing from and through the work of Rousseau down to the postmodern. The postmodern narrative of the decentered, border-crossing outsider shares a number of attributes with Rousseau's position. Although I will not attempt to claim a place in postmodernity for all of Rousseau's thought, some forms of the Rousseauvian confessional can be said to have established a prominent place in postmodern struggles for authority. While taking a similar line in his treatment of Rousseau, Robert Wokler has recently noted that "[n]o postmodernist critic of the Enlightenment Project ever plumbed the depths of his deconstruction of *Homo sapiens* into *Homo deceptus* more deeply."¹⁰

The ideas surrounding the circulation of postmodern forms of the confessional are significant predictors of the potential implications of this project. The confessional chronology that the following chapters sketch, beginning with the age of Romanticism in Rousseau and ending with the postmodern subject in Said, forms a limited view of a larger phenomenon that I shall refer to as the "(Post)Romantic Condition." This term is meant to contextualize, in miniature, the simultaneous increase in the use of secular confessional and ethnographic forms since the Romantic period which continues into the present under the guise of postmodern autoethnographic descriptions of otherness. This

1

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100

chronology is not the only possible way to consider this phenomenon, but before going forward, I should like to point to three critics -- Mary Louise Pratt, Michel Foucault, and Edward Said -- who historicize aspects of autoethnography, the confessional, and anthropology within the same time period.

In her 1992 study of the role of European travel literature and the literature of discovery in shaping both European and New World consciousness, Mary Louise Pratt views a number of autoethnographic texts "in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms."¹¹ The nineteenth and twentieth century autoethnographies that she locates are part of a transfer of ethnographic and other scientific discourses from colonizer to colonized that begins with the La Condamine expedition to South America in the 1730's and 1740's and intensifies with Alexander von Humboldt's expedition beginning in 1799. The writings from these expeditions are part of this transfer, but the essential texts in the development of what Pratt labels as "planetary consciousness" are Carl Linneaus's Systema Naturae (1735), Philosophia Botanica (1751), and the Species Plantarum (1755). The Linnean taxonomy is the model for a series of scientific discourses, including the ethnographic, that are used to measure everything within what Pratt refers to as the colonial "contact zone." Clearly, Rousseau's work is both infected by and helps to shape this same "planetary consciousness." Not only is Linnean botany important to Rousseau's work and construction of selfhood,¹² but the ethnographic way of seeing that develops in his work beginning with the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality (also published, by the way, in 1755) takes shape alongside Linneaus's own system. In many ways, the "(Post)Romantic Condition" is a dialogical subset of Pratt's "planetary consciousness;" both share a

1. State of
 2. La
 3. County of
 4. Jefferson
 5. County of
 6. Jefferson
 7. County of
 8. Jefferson
 9. County of
 10. Jefferson
 11. County of
 12. Jefferson
 13. County of
 14. Jefferson
 15. County of
 16. Jefferson
 17. County of
 18. Jefferson
 19. County of
 20. Jefferson
 21. County of
 22. Jefferson
 23. County of
 24. Jefferson
 25. County of
 26. Jefferson
 27. County of
 28. Jefferson
 29. County of
 30. Jefferson
 31. County of
 32. Jefferson
 33. County of
 34. Jefferson
 35. County of
 36. Jefferson
 37. County of
 38. Jefferson
 39. County of
 40. Jefferson
 41. County of
 42. Jefferson
 43. County of
 44. Jefferson
 45. County of
 46. Jefferson
 47. County of
 48. Jefferson
 49. County of
 50. Jefferson
 51. County of
 52. Jefferson
 53. County of
 54. Jefferson
 55. County of
 56. Jefferson
 57. County of
 58. Jefferson
 59. County of
 60. Jefferson
 61. County of
 62. Jefferson
 63. County of
 64. Jefferson
 65. County of
 66. Jefferson
 67. County of
 68. Jefferson
 69. County of
 70. Jefferson
 71. County of
 72. Jefferson
 73. County of
 74. Jefferson
 75. County of
 76. Jefferson
 77. County of
 78. Jefferson
 79. County of
 80. Jefferson
 81. County of
 82. Jefferson
 83. County of
 84. Jefferson
 85. County of
 86. Jefferson
 87. County of
 88. Jefferson
 89. County of
 90. Jefferson
 91. County of
 92. Jefferson
 93. County of
 94. Jefferson
 95. County of
 96. Jefferson
 97. County of
 98. Jefferson
 99. County of
 100. Jefferson

number of attributes, including a similar chronological trajectory.

In The History of Sexuality, vol. 1, Michel Foucault describes a change in which "a steady proliferation of discourses concerning sex...[became] a discursive ferment that gathered momentum from the eighteenth century onward" (18). While discussions of sexuality nearly vanished in social relationships, parallel discussions expanded in power relations, until "a political, economic, and technical incitement to talk about sex" (23) emerged. Foucault argues persuasively that the eighteenth century witnesses a major change from the confessional necessity of the sacrament of penance to the increase in secular confessions in medicine, education, criminal justice, and elsewhere. It would be difficult not to include Rousseau's sexual confessions in the emergence of the "polymorphous excitement to discourse" about sexuality that surrounds Foucault's view of confessional discourse since the eighteenth century. Often rather infamously, the life and work of Rousseau participate in the acceleration of what Foucault describes as the *scientia sexualis*. Beginning with Augustine, confessional discourse has been a medical discourse, traditionally focused on the pathologies and complaints of the author. In Rousseau's secularization of the confessional, the "medical status" of the author's body is an obsession, and with his help, modern confessional discourse has become diagnostic; an approach to framing the self that continually returns to issues of physical development as well as decay. Medical problems, from the serious to the mere complaint, will be a consideration in the analysis of Malinowski's and Said's autoethnographic self-images, and will be considered as central to De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium Eater (1821), which is probably the exemplary case of the confessional as medical discourse. Not only does De Quincey's confession of opium abuse place his self-proclaimed "crazy

not or

min:

Page 10

34

422

1933

100

—

• • •

10

1

1



ما تروا من اهل البيت

10

10

10

4

24

11

22

10



body” on display, but his confessions are themselves an opportunity to attack the existing medical literature regarding opium use and addiction and redefine the public and medical views of English opium eating.

Whereas DeQuincey works to define himself as English by frequently denigrating the popular view of the opium addicts in Asia, Edward Said works in his autobiography to incorporate American, European, Palestinian, and Pan-Arab aspects of himself into a complicated but stable subjectivity. Not only will Said’s recent confessional autoethnography *Out of Place* (1999) be important to the arguments that follow, but his 1978 work *Orientalism* has a central place in recent criticism’s focus on the West’s relationship with cultural difference. Heavily influenced by Foucault’s ideas regarding discourses of power, *Orientalism* considers how Europe describes “one of its deepest and recurring images of the Other” (1). What emerges in *Orientalism* is an Orient that “was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action” and a “European culture [that] gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient” (3). For Said, this divided self emerges out of the work of Linneaus, Rousseau, and others in the form of a politically-driven taxonomizing of Oriental culture. Beginning in the 18th Century, a flowering of interest in Oriental art, philology, and literature evolves into the “confusing amalgam of imperial vagueness and precise detail” (50) that characterizes how the West views the East. Said’s view of the colonial backdrop to European views of its “Others” informs this project’s view of the history of the ethnographic gaze,¹³ and helps to frame an argument in which Romantic Orientalism is important to both Rousseau’s and De Quincey’s forms of confessional discourse and the emergence of confessional autoethnography.



100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200

Rousseau's status as an exile or cultural outsider is itself paradigmatic of a confessional and autoethnographic way of seeing. Within De Quincey's confessional writings, the "pariah" or what the Chicago School of Sociology referred to as "the marginal man" becomes a central tenant of the author's Oriental representations of self. This dissertation will consider De Quincey's marginal status and interest in the observation of urban types in light of the work of the Chicago School of Sociology; while illustrating the ability of the Romantic Confessional to predict the methods and areas of interest of modern forms of fieldwork in the social sciences. Also, as the later chapters will explain, Malinowski's, Said's and Myrdal's own positions as both insiders and outsiders vis a vis Western culture are a dramatic continuation of the traditional point of view of the confessional author and autoethnographer.

The eighteenth century's "outsiders" become a staple of nineteenth-century cultural production. The seemingly unlikely figure of Victor Frankenstein's monster, perhaps English romanticism's best-known fictional outsider, is useful for amplifying both the intergeneric nature of confessional discourse and the relationship between the confessional and cultural criticism. Not only is Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* a novel built on a series of confessions (Walton confesses to his sister, Victor confesses to Walton, and the monster confesses to Victor), but also Victor's monster employs an anthropologist's voyeuristic gaze to construct his own self-image, which enterprise reflects the expansion of autoethnography during the Romantic period. In a novel that locates itself rather anonymously within the turbulent changes of the 18th Century (Walton's letters to his sister are labeled with the year "17--") and begins with a view of the madness of Walton's desire for discovery, which are appropriate corollaries to Pratt's "planetary

[illegible]

consciousness," the monster lingers as a potential model of the autoethnographer cast in the role of frustrated "participant-observer." What the monster describes for Victor when he narrates his own biography is constructed as a form of autoethnography infected with the legacy of Rousseau. Additionally, the allegorical nature of Mary Shelley's monster is a powerful illustration and predictor of the kinds of allegories (sometimes monstrous) that persist in ethnography and the confessional.

At the center of Mary Shelley's novel, Victor Frankenstein walks on an ice field near Chamonix, distraught over the role that he has played in the monster's murders within his own family. At the moment when Mt. Blanc dominates his field of vision, Victor is confronted by his monster. Here, in one of its most representative examples, the excesses of the Gothic sublime produce a hideous form of the Other which, surprisingly, wants to do little more than seek a mate and confess.¹⁴ Using an approach that takes any number of its cues from confessional discourse, the monster begins his story at the very beginnings of his life and focuses on the formation of his own troubled subjectivity. This form of "writing" the life echoes Victor's own approach in telling his story to Walton. It bears repeating that the novel is in fact a series of conversations that are more or less confessional in their dynamics-- the monster's "confessions" to Victor are themselves part of the "confessions" that Victor is making to Walton, which are then being relayed to Walton's sister in the form of a letter. Victor's life echoes aspects of Walton's own story of the young man who "preferred glory to every enticement placed in...[his] path."¹⁵ It is within this repetitive *mise en abyme* of confessional performances that a monstrous view of otherness collects. The monster is the center of the *mise en abyme* and is the most alien or "othered" of the three.¹⁶

[illegible]

The monster begins his story by noting that it is with "considerable difficulty" that he attempts to remember his first days, because "all of the events of that period appear confused and indistinct" (95). Soon, the monster begins to make some simple sense of the world, when, amplifying the novel's full title of "Frankenstein or The Modern Prometheus," he describes finding a fire left by beggars. He quickly learns to use it for warmth and cooking, but only after thrusting his hand into the fire and learning "that the same cause should produce such opposite effects" (97). The monster's painful, allegorical education has begun.

Having established a form of the most primitive "savage" in Frankenstein's monster, Mary Shelley makes the intertextual relationship with Rousseau much more explicit in her description of the monster's acquisition of language. Christian Bök observes five "linguistic encounters" that define the monster's education into language: 1.) hearing and imitating the song of birds, 2.) hearing the emotional cries of human fear and melancholy, 3.) hearing the "artificial music" played on a musical instrument, 4.) hearing human speech, and 5.) seeing "signs for speech" on paper. Bök notes that this structure parallels the *Essay on the Origin of Languages*, moving as it does "from the inarticulate speech of nature to the articulate writing of culture" (418). Peter Brooks also sees the marks of Rousseau's *Essai* in the monster's linguistic education. While observing how the de Laceys communicate emotions, the monster internalizes a Rousseauvian sense of language based on passion rather than need. Brooks notes that "[i]t is hence no accident that what language first reveals to the Monster is human love, and that his rhetorical plea to his creator ends with the demand for a creature whom he might love" (1979, 209).

1000 999 998 997 996 995 994 993 992 991 990 989 988 987 986 985 984 983 982 981 980 979 978 977 976 975 974 973 972 971 970 969 968 967 966 965 964 963 962 961 960 959 958 957 956 955 954 953 952 951 950 949 948 947 946 945 944 943 942 941 940 939 938 937 936 935 934 933 932 931 930 929 928 927 926 925 924 923 922 921 920 919 918 917 916 915 914 913 912 911 910 909 908 907 906 905 904 903 902 901 900 899 898 897 896 895 894 893 892 891 890 889 888 887 886 885 884 883 882 881 880 879 878 877 876 875 874 873 872 871 870 869 868 867 866 865 864 863 862 861 860 859 858 857 856 855 854 853 852 851 850 849 848 847 846 845 844 843 842 841 840 839 838 837 836 835 834 833 832 831 830 829 828 827 826 825 824 823 822 821 820 819 818 817 816 815 814 813 812 811 810 809 808 807 806 805 804 803 802 801 800 799 798 797 796 795 794 793 792 791 790 789 788 787 786 785 784 783 782 781 780 779 778 777 776 775 774 773 772 771 770 769 768 767 766 765 764 763 762 761 760 759 758 757 756 755 754 753 752 751 750 749 748 747 746 745 744 743 742 741 740 739 738 737 736 735 734 733 732 731 730 729 728 727 726 725 724 723 722 721 720 719 718 717 716 715 714 713 712 711 710 709 708 707 706 705 704 703 702 701 700 699 698 697 696 695 694 693 692 691 690 689 688 687 686 685 684 683 682 681 680 679 678 677 676 675 674 673 672 671 670 669 668 667 666 665 664 663 662 661 660 659 658 657 656 655 654 653 652 651 650 649 648 647 646 645 644 643 642 641 640 639 638 637 636 635 634 633 632 631 630 629 628 627 626 625 624 623 622 621 620 619 618 617 616 615 614 613 612 611 610 609 608 607 606 605 604 603 602 601 600 599 598 597 596 595 594 593 592 591 590 589 588 587 586 585 584 583 582 581 580 579 578 577 576 575 574 573 572 571 570 569 568 567 566 565 564 563 562 561 560 559 558 557 556 555 554 553 552 551 550 549 548 547 546 545 544 543 542 541 540 539 538 537 536 535 534 533 532 531 530 529 528 527 526 525 524 523 522 521 520 519 518 517 516 515 514 513 512 511 510 509 508 507 506 505 504 503 502 501 500 499 498 497 496 495 494 493 492 491 490 489 488 487 486 485 484 483 482 481 480 479 478 477 476 475 474 473 472 471 470 469 468 467 466 465 464 463 462 461 460 459 458 457 456 455 454 453 452 451 450 449 448 447 446 445 444 443 442 441 440 439 438 437 436 435 434 433 432 431 430 429 428 427 426 425 424 423 422 421 420 419 418 417 416 415 414 413 412 411 410 409 408 407 406 405 404 403 402 401 400 399 398 397 396 395 394 393 392 391 390 389 388 387 386 385 384 383 382 381 380 379 378 377 376 375 374 373 372 371 370 369 368 367 366 365 364 363 362 361 360 359 358 357 356 355 354 353 352 351 350 349 348 347 346 345 344 343 342 341 340 339 338 337 336 335 334 333 332 331 330 329 328 327 326 325 324 323 322 321 320 319 318 317 316 315 314 313 312 311 310 309 308 307 306 305 304 303 302 301 300 299 298 297 296 295 294 293 292 291 290 289 288 287 286 285 284 283 282 281 280 279 278 277 276 275 274 273 272 271 270 269 268 267 266 265 264 263 262 261 260 259 258 257 256 255 254 253 252 251 250 249 248 247 246 245 244 243 242 241 240 239 238 237 236 235 234 233 232 231 230 229 228 227 226 225 224 223 222 221 220 219 218 217 216 215 214 213 212 211 210 209 208 207 206 205 204 203 202 201 200 199 198 197 196 195 194 193 192 191 190 189 188 187 186 185 184 183 182 181 180 179 178 177 176 175 174 173 172 171 170 169 168 167 166 165 164 163 162 161 160 159 158 157 156 155 154 153 152 151 150 149 148 147 146 145 144 143 142 141 140 139 138 137 136 135 134 133 132 131 130 129 128 127 126 125 124 123 122 121 120 119 118 117 116 115 114 113 112 111 110 109 108 107 106 105 104 103 102 101 100 99 98 97 96 95 94 93 92 91 90 89 88 87 86 85 84 83 82 81 80 79 78 77 76 75 74 73 72 71 70 69 68 67 66 65 64 63 62 61 60 59 58 57 56 55 54 53 52 51 50 49 48 47 46 45 44 43 42 41 40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

[

The question of love, in its sexual and more abstract forms, is central to both the confessional and ethnography, which is reflected in the manner in which the monster "collects" his data regarding the de Lacey's and their relationships with family and lovers. After finding shelter in a small, dry, hidden place between the De Lacey's cottage and a pig-sty, Frankenstein's monster notices "a small and almost imperceptible chink, through which the eye could just penetrate" (Shelley, 100). This chink allows the monster an uninterrupted view of the lives of the cottage's inhabitants, and he takes full advantage of this opportunity to study human relationships, language, and culture. Brooks makes the connection to anthropology more explicit in *Body Work* (1993) remarking that, "[a]s the Monster encounters it, language is tied to human love and patterns of kinship and relation, as if in confirmation of the views of an anthropologist such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, for whom the structures of kinship are the first "writing" of a society" (204). This analogy can be stretched even further. Very much again like Mary Shelley's "participant observer," it can be argued that the anthropologist hovers monstrosly over the scene of his or her observation, intentionally or unintentionally participating in the destruction of the cultures that are being recorded.¹⁷ The writing of the ethnographic monograph plays a part in this destruction.

Lévi-Strauss's own anger at watching and unconsciously participating in the destruction of the cultures that he desires to record is part of the background to *Tristes Tropiques*. Like the monster's, Lévi-Strauss's anger reflects the frustrations of observing and attempting to make sense of the infinite number of details that make up a culture, when he states that "[a]ll that I see offends me, and I constantly reproach myself for not seeing as much as I should" (36). The voyeuristic urge of the anthropologist is driven

17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 1045 1046 1047 1048

toward the monstrous in its inability to see and therefore understand enough. All that is left, seemingly for both the monster and Levi-Strauss, is to tell the voyeur's own story.

The monster's observation of the De Lacey family is made all the more anthropological by the inclusion of the story of "the Arabian" Safie and her evil Turkish father. Safie's place as "Other" within a family that "she was neither understood by, nor herself understood" (Shelley, 107) is meant to echo the plight of the monster, and operate as a guide to understanding issues of race, class, and physical beauty that bar him from acceptance within a wider community. Safie's presence also works to speed up the monster's acquisition of language. Like Franz Boas demanding that his students learn the language of the culture that was to be the object of their study, the monster had wanted to be known to the "cottagers," but felt that he "ought not to make the attempt before... [he] had become master of their language" (104), so, as the young Felix De Lacey taught Safie both to speak and read his native tongue, the monster's "days were spent in close attention" (108). Peter Brooks observes that this stacking on of languages and cultures takes on the dimensions of a "well-ordered Babel" in which "we have lessons in French offered to an Arab, in the context of what we know to be a German-speaking region, the whole rendered for us in English" (*Body Work*, 205). The entire scene is in effect a compressed array of cultural difference. In order to study human kind in its many forms, the monster need only use a cottage in Switzerland as the focus of his fieldwork.

A provocative aspect of the taxonomy of difference in the monster's confession is found in the national and religious affiliations of Safie's family. Safie is the Christian daughter of a Arab-Christian mother and a Turkish-Islamic father. This rather complex Orientalist taxonomy is made available to the monster so that he might locate himself

within it. Although he identifies with Safie's virtue and otherness, the monster understands that he is physically or "racially" unsuited for having direct and spontaneous contact with the DeLacys and Safie. Joseph Lew locates a critique of Orientalism in Shelley's novel which gives its monster an Oriental racial profile of "yellow skin," "lustrous black and flowing" hair, and "teeth of a pearly whiteness" (Shelley as qtd. in Lew, 273). Within a network of East and West that includes the monster, Safie and the DeLaceys, the DeLaceys become "the bourgeois family whose misery and ultimate happiness both depend upon their Oriental connections" (Lew, 279).

Analysis of the bourgeois family is central to the autoethnographic concerns of modern confessional discourse, and the bourgeois family is the ground from which both Frankenstein's monster and the ethnographer compare themselves to the Other. Joseph Lew's reading of Safie's family as Mary Shelley's own "bourgeois nuclear family in Oriental drag" (283) exemplifies a variety of "self-othering" that has parallels in confessional discourse and ethnography, especially as seen by Lévi-Strauss. Safie, much like Mary Shelley, mourns the loss of a mother who "taught her to aspire to higher powers of intellect" (Shelley, as cited by Lew, 281), and Safie's father is, in Joseph Lew's words, an othered or Oriental version of Mary Shelley's father:

Like William Godwin, the Turk accepts crucial [financial] aid from the suitor of his daughter, then forbids both daughter and suitor to imitate the actions of his own youth. In the figure of the Turkish merchant, Mary Shelley depicts the living father who, in a popular figure of the day, has "gone Turk" against the teachings and practice of his own youth. (282)

This project will consider an autoethnographic view of the world that participates

1

not only in forms of self-othering (Safie for Mary Shelley in the above example) but also in projecting images of the author's own family, especially the mother, into the concerns of the author's ethnography. The concerns of both anthropology and the confessional relative to "things matrilineal" are well documented.¹⁸ The confessional and anthropology's focus on the maternal will begin with the discussions of Rousseau and will take an intriguing turn (simultaneously autobiographical and anthropological) in the chapters that follow.

As Marc Rubinstein and others have pointed out, it is an attempt to "reanimate" or locate the mother that dominates the vision of Mary Shelley's entire novel.¹⁹ Rousseau's own confessional quest for a mother may have provided an important intertext for Mary Shelley. James O'Rourke notes, "Mary Shelley read the *Confessions* a year before she began writing *Frankenstein*, and that her journal shows that she reread at least some of the book during transcribing the novel" (546). O'Rourke even claims that Rousseau's unwillingness to care for his own children, as revealed in *Les Confessions*, may be the central organizing principle of Victor's relationship with his monster.²⁰ Although Mary Shelley had little respect for Rousseau's having sent his children to a foundling hospital, she clearly could identify with a man who, like herself, lost his mother at birth and was left to find his place in the world without a direct maternal influence.

Although unmentioned by the critics of Mary Shelley, there is a place in Rousseau's *oeuvre* where he creates both a double of himself and discusses both himself and his own textual creations as "monsters." In his *Dialogues* (1780 & 1782), also entitled "Rousseau juge de Jean-Jacques," Rousseau invents a character other than himself, but named "Rousseau," who defends the work of "Jean-Jacques," the actual

M.A.B. — **m**, **p**, **e** . . . = **f** — **f**, **a**, **n**, **c**, **e**, **s**, **s**, **i**, **m**, **i**, **t**

[illegible]

author, against a character named “The Frenchman.” “The Frenchman” embodies the popular clamor against Rousseau’s work following the publication of *Emile* (1762) and during Rousseau’s subsequent exile. Briefly, what is striking about these allegorical figures in light of this discussion regarding *Frankenstein* is how the creation of a double not only in some way predicts the work of Victor Frankenstein, but also how the connection made by “the Frenchman” between “Jean-Jacques” and a “monster” begins to solidify that connection.

This is first seen early in the *First Dialogue* when the character “Rousseau” works to explain why “Jean-Jacques” the author is misunderstood because of his attempts to live outside of the reach of *amour-propre* in the style of a natural man. “The Frenchman” replies to the character Rousseau’s description of Jean-Jacques’ theory of natural man and, by extension, the misunderstood “inhabitants of [an] enchanted world” by exclaiming: “I’m wracking my brains to see what these fantastical beings you describe have in common with the monster (*le monstre*) we were just talking about” (*Dialogues*, 12).²¹ Intriguingly, from this example it is possible to surmise that Rousseau was being called “a monster” in European circles following the publication of *Emile* and the revelations of the libelous and anonymous pamphlet entitled “The Citizen’s Sentiment,” today attributed to Voltaire, which painted Rousseau as an oversexed, diseased debaucher who abandoned his bastard children. What emerges in Shelley’s view of Rousseau is a life that shares a number of parallels with Victor Frankenstein’s, not only in terms of the location of the action (Geneva) and the similar temperaments of Frankenstein and Rousseau, but also in the production of a double and in the pariah status brought on by the production of a “monster” that Rousseau shares with Frankenstein.²² The

]

autoethnographic discourse and method displayed by Mary Shelley's monster further enhances his resemblance to the life and work of Rousseau. The sense of autoethnography is echoed in the *Dialogues* in the attempt of "Rousseau," the character, to explain the actual "Jean-Jacques" to the French public by envisioning himself within the proto-evolutionary world of his own version of "*l'homme sauvage*."

The richly intertextual figure of "natural man" or "*l'homme sauvage*," which appears in English in the works of Hobbes, Mandeville, Locke, and others, further connects Shelley's monster to Rousseau's vision of nature. The monster begins life in a manner that reflects his natural goodness and only later becomes violent, reflecting a Rousseauvian rather than Hobbesian view of natural man, when his culture rejects him and exiles him in a manner reminiscent of Rousseau. The monster's description of language acquisition expands *Frankenstein*'s intertextuality and demonstrates the centrality of books and literacy to the Romantics. Without question, the intertextual nature of the monster's education in language deepens the parallel with the ethnographer. The monster reads Plutarch's *Lives*, Goethe's *Werther*, and Milton's "Paradise Lost," an array of texts that Brooks sees as "a kind of minimal Romantic *cyclopedia universalis*" that covers "the public, the private, and the cosmic realms, and three modes of love" (1979, 205). Incidentally, but probably not accidentally, Plutarch's *Lives* is the book that Jean-Jacques Rousseau recalls in *Les Confessions* as having been his childhood favorite. Plutarch heads a long list of texts that Rousseau sees as formative of his own character and his way of seeing the world.

The ethnographer's life and texts are similarly intertextual. In *Living the Ethnographic Life* (1990), Dan Rose diagrams a process by which the young ethnographer

1

ultimately "grooms a persona" based largely on the horizon of expectations established by the established writers in the field (13-15). The intertextuality of *Frankenstein* and ethnographic texts points to the confessional's and the ethnographic monograph's underlying structures – at one level, they are simply books about books. The combination of the personal, professional, and the literary within both *Frankenstein* and ethnography is reminiscent of Bakhtin's observations regarding the heteroglot nature of embodied voices in Dostoevsky's novels. Frankenstein's monster is heteroglot by design. His development proceeds in such a way that he begins to "embody" a jumble of discourses. Likewise, the ethnographer battles to balance the personal, professional, and literary within each monograph. The "monstrousness" of these competing discourses is suppressed within the conventions of ethnographic writing, which historically has demanded that the personal and literary be sublimated, ignored, or otherwise contained.

James Clifford notes "a delicate balance of subjectivity and objectivity" in ethnographic texts since Malinowski. The author's "voice [is] always manifest," but it is "firmly restrained by the impersonal standards of observation and "objective" distance" ("Introduction," 13). Mary Louise Pratt has located a commonplace that ethnographies share with travel writing in which the author begins a study by referring self-consciously to his or herself arriving (sometimes triumphantly and in other cases more simply) in the exotic locale under study. This sub-genre of "opening narrative self-portraits," as Pratt labels them, contributes to making the ethnographer "always manifest" despite the fact that he or she will soon fade into the objective veneer of the description and analysis that follow ("Fieldwork," 42).

Travel literature is an important instance for confessional discourse (and

[illegible]

autobiography) as well as for ethnography. The romantic confessional, taking Rousseau and De Quincey as paradigmatic examples, often takes on qualities of a picaresque "road novel." This kind of travel is related to the allegorical travels of Augustine, the medieval saints' lives, and other prototypes for modern European autobiography. This variety of allegory also found its way into early popular tales of an evolving selfhood such as Robinson Crusoe and Pilgrim's Progress.²³ The allegorical connection between "the life" and "a journey" remains to the present, although it now borders on *cliché*. It was not by accident that Mary Shelley chose to frame her allegorical tale of Frankenstein's monster within an elaborate travel narrative in which Walton, Victor, and the monster all participate. Likewise, in the ethnographic monograph, the "opening narrative self-portrait" helps to trigger a number of potential allegorical readings, just as the ethnographer's position as a traveler to exotic locales can be said to establish an allegorical frame of mind.

The ultimate goal of this digression into issues surrounding the relationship between travel and allegory is to use the rather heavy-handed allegory of Frankenstein's monster, participating as the monster also does in a form of autoethnography vis-à-vis the De Laceys, as an exemplum for pointing out the underlying potential for allegorical subtexts within both ethnography and confessional discourse. In his 1986 article "On Ethnographic Allegory," James Clifford describes ethnographic texts as "inescapably allegorical" (99) in that "these stories simultaneously describe real cultural events and make additional, moral, ideological, and even cosmological statements" (98). In Clifford's view of ethnographic allegory, the very process of "translating" a culture is implicated in the production of meanings:

The specific account contained in ethnographies can never be limited to a project of scientific description so long as the guiding task of the work is to make the (often strange) behavior of a different way of life humanly comprehensible. To say that exotic behavior and symbols make sense either in "human" or "cultural" terms is to supply the same sorts of allegorical added meanings that appear in older narrative that saw actions as "spiritually" significant. Culturalist and humanist allegories stand behind the controlled fictions of difference and similitude that we call ethnographic accounts. What is maintained in these texts is a double attention to the descriptive surface and to more abstract, comparative, and explanatory levels of meaning. (101)

What is striking about the "culturalist and humanist allegories" that are important to ethnography is that many are central to the cultural work of Romanticism in general and to the works of Rousseau in particular. Not only does Rousseau's proto-evolutionary thought, in which the true European self is made "savage," participate in a dialogical and allegorical relationship between ethnography and confessional discourse, but, despite his secular intentions, Rousseau's anthropological theories and their manifest cultural critique have both participated in and helped to precipitate a modern vision of history as decay. James Clifford's discussion of ethnographic allegory mentions Walter Benjamin's frequently cited view of modern allegory as "based on the sense of the world as transient and fragmentary" in which "[h]istory" is grasped as a process, not of inventive life, but of "irresistible decay" (119). Both Rousseau's confessional worldview and the worldview of the standard ethnographic monograph fit within Benjamin's view of

1

allegory as recording a history of decay.

For Rousseau, both Robinson Crusoe and “proto-ethnographies” such as Buffon’s *L’Histoire naturelle de hommes* were extremely important in framing his autoethnographic way of seeing. Chapter 2 considers the specific effects of Robinson Crusoe on Rousseau while briefly analyzing the autoethnographic strategies apparent in De Foe’s novel. Chapter 3 establishes Rousseau’s work as the horizon of expectations in reading Thomas De Quincey, despite De Quincey’s own efforts to erase Rousseau from his work beginning on the first page of Confessions of an English Opium Eater. In Chapter 4, Malinowski will take up where Rousseau and De Quincey leave off, via a voracious form of reading that is a major preoccupation while he does fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands. What emerges is the identification of what might be referred to as a Romantic or proto-Modern type suggested by both Frankenstein’s monster and Rousseau: voraciously autodidactic, sexually preoccupied, frequently alone (exiled, marginalized, or in the field) and trapped in an intensely personal and intertextual variety of imagination and authorship.

Sexual desire frequently simmers at or below the surface within the allegorical structures of the Gothic. Frankenstein’s monster’s confession, motivated as it is by love, lust, and loneliness (he asks Victor to construct a mate for him), is emblematic of an important relationship between storytelling and desire. The idea that narrative itself can be driven by desire is a persistent feature of poststructural criticism, especially French poststructuralism, and demonstrates the potential for a connection between language and the libidinal urge. In the case of confessional discourse, love and the desire to be loved, in its sexual and more abstract forms, are central issues within the confessional’s literary,

[illegible]

ecclesiastical, and medical manifestations.²⁴ Here, narrative, desire, and power operate together to form one of modernity's most prolific and enduring cultural forms. In the following chapters, the complex intertextual relation between ethnography and confessional discourse will be emphasized. At the center of this connection between self and other are issues of sexuality connected both to the nature of storytelling and to the interest, so central to Foucault's thought, in policing the sexuality of both self and other. In this sense, both Les Confessions and Coming of Age in Samoa, to select just two examples from what follows, are themselves important texts in the history of sexuality.

One specific aspect of the confessional and ethnographic and their interest in sexuality that will be foregrounded here will be the proximity between the autoerotic and the autoethnographic -- frequently, onanism will appear as a focal point of both the confessional and ethnographic gaze. What emerges is a modern commonplace -- since the revelation of Rousseau's "dangerous supplement," the confession of masturbation has become an integral part of telling the "whole story." Eventually, questions surrounding "illicit" sexualities, such as onanism, become as relevant to the modern ethnographer as they are to the modern confessional autobiographer. When this confessional commonplace is refocused on the Other in Margaret Mead's Coming of Age in Samoa, which will be the focus of chapter 5, the confessions of masturbation by young Samoan girls "close the loop" between Rousseau and ethnography in a number of ways. This focus on sexuality and autoeroticism spills over into the final two chapters which consider the continuation of the autoethnographic form in the autobiographies of Jan Myrdal and Edward Said. This opens up the possibility that the autoethnographic way of seeing the marginalized self plays a role in postmodern identity politics, so heavily

]

invested in promoting the point of view of the marginalized outsider.

As a prelude to these discussions of the anthropological bent within the confessional, it bears noting that Rousseau does address the anthropological nature of Les Confessions in his idiosyncratic preface to what is now called the Geneva manuscript. In this prefatory note that Dennis Porter rightly describes as "almost equal parts...a demand for love, a symptom of paranoia, a plea for understanding, and an affirmation of defiance" (27), all qualities of some importance in the history of confessional discourse, Rousseau is able to foresee Les Confessions as part of a future form of comparative anthropology:

This is the only portrait of a man, painted exactly according to nature and in all its truth, that exists and will probably ever exist. Whoever you may be, whom destiny or my trust has made the arbiter of the fate of these notebooks, I entreat you, in the name of my misfortunes, of your compassion, and of all human kind, not to destroy a unique and useful work, which may serve as a first point of comparison in the study of man that certainly is yet to be begun, and not to take away from the honour of my memory the only sure monument to my character that has not been disfigured by my enemies.²⁵

Thus in appealing "*au nom de toute l'espèce humaine*" and asking the individual who is given the Les Confessions for safekeeping to consider the text as the "*première pièce de comparaison pour l'étude de hommes, qui certainement est encore à commencer*" (OC I 3), Rousseau is placing his own confessions within the context of what can be considered autoethnography. This autoethnographic way of seeing is the culmination of Rousseau's life and work.

[illegible]

¹The French title “Les Confessions” will be used throughout this work in reference to Rousseau’s text in order to prevent confusion later in the dissertation when *Les Confessions* will be compared with other texts with similar titles.

² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les Confessions. Autres textes autobiographiques* Vol. 1 of *Oeuvres complètes* ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard, 1959). From this point forward, citations of Rousseau’s work in French will be made in the text using “OC” as an abbreviation for *Oeuvres complètes* plus the volume number given as a roman numeral and the page number of the citation. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond edited Rousseau’s *Oeuvres complètes* in four volumes published between 1959 and 1969.

³ In the new preface and introduction to the 1999 reissue of *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, Fischer and Marcus argue that their text continues to be timely in the late 1990’s because of the continued struggle over representation in anthropology (vii-xxxiv).

⁴ 1962 was both the 200th anniversary of the publication of *Emile* and *On the Social Contract*, as well as the 250th anniversary of Rousseau’s birth.

⁵ See Laurence M. Porter, “Autobiography Versus Confessional Novel” *Symposium* 30 (1976): 144-59.

⁶ See Georges Gusdorf, “Conditions and Limits of Autobiography” 1956 trans. James Olney. *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* ed. James Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980) 28-48; Jean Starobinski, “The Style of Autobiography” 1971 trans. Seymour Chatman *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* ed. James Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980) 73-83; and Phillippe Lejeune, “The Autobiographical Pact” trans. Katherine Leary. *On Autobiography* ed. Paul John Eakin (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989) 3-30. Gusdorf’s essay begins by consider autobiography within “a solidly established literary genre, [with] its history traceable in a series of masterpieces” including Rousseau’s *Les Confessions* (28). Starobinski’s essay uses Rousseau as the exemplum of autobiographical style. In Lejeune’s essay, Rousseau’s text with its full title of *Les Confessions de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* is given as the clearest example of the “Autobiographical Pact” because the author reveals himself as the narrator “in the title...preamble...and ...throughout the text” (18).

⁷ See page 125 of Nancy K. Miller’s most recent work *But Enough About Me* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); pages 20-23 of Eugene Stelzig, *The Romantic Subject in Autobiography*. (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia, 2000); and pages 43-52 of Paul John Eakin *How our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999). Miller’s book examines the interrelatedness of the private act of reading autobiography and the public act of autobiographical production. Late in the work, she considers the possibility of “models of relation that escape those of hierarchy or aggression between ego and others” by framing her discussion with Rousseau’s notion of “natural man...[being] wholly autonomous...[while] the self constituted through social bonds...is a relational being” (125). Stelzig empowers his search for the logic of a Romantic subject in the canonical (and masculine) autobiographies of Rousseau and Goethe by noting the relational nature of the texts. In the case of Rousseau, Stelzig points out the author frequently “seems to identify with the female or feminine role” and “by far the most important dimension of the relational self in *The Confessions* is Rousseau’s complex relationship with the woman who helped to shape his adult identity” (23). That woman is of course Madame de Warens. Eakin moves to ensure that all autobiography is considered relational, not just autobiography written by women, by moving to reconsider Gusdorf’s opinions of an “autonomous” Rousseau by questioning whether this “accurately describe[s] Rousseau’s self-representation in *The Confessions*?” (49).

⁸ Both the previously mentioned confessional autoethnographies and the recent confessional turn in literary studies (Freedman, 1993; Veeder, 1996) are important examples from within the academy.

⁹ For recent literary works that include examples of confessional discourse, see: Gregory Maguire, *Confessions of an Ugly Stepsister* (New York: Harper Collins, 1999); Tom Andrews, *Codeine Diary: True Confessions of a Reckless Hemophiliac* (New York: Harvest Books, 1998); and Arthur Golden, *Memoirs of a Geisha* (New York: Knopf, 1997). Incidentally, each of these texts is also autoethnographic: Maguire

describes the Dutch bourgeoisie of the of the seventeenth century through the eyes of a displaced English family, Andrew's describes the hemophiliac "medical subculture," and Golden tells the "exotic" story of the vanishing Geisha subculture through the fictionalized life story of a rural girl who was sold to a Geisha house during the 1930's.

¹⁰See Robert Wokler, "Ancient Postmodernism in the Philosophy of Rousseau" The Cambridge Companion to Rousseau Ed. Patrick Riley (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 200) 418-443. Wokler begins his article by noting that,

[a]lthough they are unfortunately seldom noticed, there are many features of Rousseau's philosophy that address the empty formalism and abstract foundationalism of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century metaphysics in terms later to be embraced by Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard, and their followers. In denouncing the cosmological framework and universalist pretensions of Rameau's acoustical theory of harmony allegedly based on the resonance of a *corps sonore*, Rousseau put forward a theory of musical expression that allowed for aesthetic diversity, difference, and uniqueness in embracing ancient Greek, Persian, and Chinese melodies as well as the octave of the relatively modern Western scale. In combating Diderot's notion of the *volonté générale* based on a premise of common humanity, Rousseau, above all in his *Manuscrit de Genève*, deconstructed the myth of the natural society of the human race on which that cosmopolitan notion depended, much in the manner adopted by Hegel in his critique of the abstract formalism of Kant and later by the postmodernists in their objections to the so-called metanarratives of Enlightenment philosophy as a whole. (419-420)

¹¹Pratt (1992) 7. The italics are in Pratt's original.

¹²Christopher Kelly's and Alexandra Cook's introduction to volume 8 of the Collected Writings of Rousseau (2000) provides an overview of botany in Rousseau's thought (xxi-xxvi). This same volume includes Rousseau's Reveries of the Solitary Walker, in which Rousseau discusses the importance of botany late in his life, and a number of his botanical writings including the so-called "Elementary Letters on Botany" which enjoyed a wide audience even after Rousseau's death. Reveries of the Solitary Walker foregrounds a combination of the peripatetic habit, botany, and constructions of the self that will later become a hallmark of the Romantic movement, especially in the Wordsworth Circle.

¹³In Anthropology as Cultural Critique (1986), Marcus and Fischer framed the "current predicament" in anthropology in terms of Said's attacks on anthropology in Orientalism (1978) and Derek Freeman's critique of Margaret Mead's ethnography in Margaret Mead and Samoa (1983). Marcus and Fischer use these texts to exemplify a crisis in which both the discourse of anthropology and the legitimacy and authority of the individual anthropologist are called into question.

¹⁴A process that at second glance could be considered as a natural continuation of the more "judicial" confession of the murder of William Frankenstein which dominated Victor's previous confrontation with his monster.

¹⁵Mary Shelley, Frankenstein ed. Johanna M. Smith (Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000. p. 29. This edition is taken from the third edition of 1831, which was Mary Shelley's final edition. Future citations will be made to page numbers in this edition.

¹⁶The novel creates a provocative connection between the power relationship that makes up the confessional and the status of an individual as monstrous. When Victor and Elizabeth go to visit Justine, who has been condemned wrongfully for the murder of Victor's brother William, Justine describes her own false confession of the crime:

I did confess; but I confessed a lie. I confessed, that I might obtain absolution; but now that falsehood lies heavier at my heart than all my other sins. The God of heaven forgive me! Ever since I was condemned, my confessor has besieged me; he threatened and menaced, until I almost began to think that I was the monster that he said I was. He threatened excommunication and hell fire in my last moments, if I continued obdurate. (83)

This passage highlights the position of weakness from which an individual confesses. Yet, there is also a desired object behind the act of confessing. Justine desires heaven, the monster a wife, and Rousseau the ability to control his own story.

It is also worth noting that Peter Brooks' most recent book, Troubling Confessions: Speaking Guilt in

Law and Literature (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), traces a long judicial history of the desire of the innocent to confess.

¹⁷The definitive announcement of this effect may be Malinowski's at the beginning of his preface to Argonauts of the Western Pacific:

Ethnology is in the sadly ludicrous, not to say tragic, position, that at the very moment when it begins to put its workshop in order, to forge its proper tools, to start ready for work on its appointed task, the material of its study melts away with hopeless rapidity. Just now, when the methods and aims of scientific field ethnology have taken shape, when men fully trained for the work have begun to travel into savage countries and study their inhabitants—these die away before our very eyes. (xv)

¹⁸In considering the central role played by Monica in Augustine's Confessions, Jeremy Tambling states that "[c]onfessional practice, as also for Rousseau with Mme Warens, seems strongly linked to the mother" (25). Although it may be self-evident, it is worth noting that anthropology continues to focus in the present on different forms of matrilineal relationships as an important location of cultural difference.

¹⁹Kenneth Branagh's 1994 film *Mary Shelley's Frankenstein* takes this line, making the death of Victor's mother a major motivation for his research on reanimation. While this approach can be supported by Shelley's text, Branagh goes several steps further; rewriting Victor's mother's death by making what was a fatal case of scarlet fever in Shelley's novel, a bloody cinematic spectacle of death during childbirth. This move can be said to literally make this film version "Mary Shelley's" in that this change parallels her own biography (while it unintentionally echoes Rousseau's). The theme of the maternal runs throughout the film, culminating in the scenes in Victor's laboratory where a large womb-like copper kettle full of amniotic fluid is used to reanimate cadavers. Electricity for the process is provided, not by a thunderstorm as in James Whale's definitive 1931 film, but by a swarm of electric eels which swim into the copper "womb" when released from a baggy antechamber suspended from the ceiling and connected to the copper womb by a tube. The visual effect of this apparatus suggests an "industrial" womb connected to the equivalent of a placenta by what could be called a cord.

²⁰James O'Rourke closely follows Mary Shelley's heated attack on Rousseau's approach to parenting as it appears in a little known encyclopedia on French authors, entitled Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of France, for which Mary Shelley wrote the extensive entry on Rousseau in 1839.

²¹"*Le monster*" was added here to show that the translation does not change the nature of the word (see O.C. I, 672).

²²Something similar, at least in part, also happens in the second preface which Rousseau wrote for Julie or the New Heloise in the form of a dialogue. Early in the preface, "R.," who is later identified as "Rousseau," and "N.," who is thought to have been based on Diderot, quarrel over the representative or non-representative nature of the characters in the fictional world which the novel invents. When "R." argues for a very broad interpretation of potential human qualities, "N." replies: "With such fine reasoning, unheard-of Monsters, Giants, Pygmies, fantasies of all kinds, anything could be specifically included in Nature; everything would be disfigured..." (8). Again, Rousseau's life parallels Victor Frankenstein's in its ability to disfigure nature.

²³The connection between travel and allegory helped to "heat up" the allegorical contexts of Puritan tales of selfhood written in colonial North America. For example, travel to the "promised land" informs Cotton Mather's biography of John Winthrop entitled "Nehemias Americanus." This text is central to Sacvan Bercovitch's view of an emergent "American Self" (see Sacvan Bercovitch, The Puritan Origins of the American Self (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975).).

²⁴Book 3 of Augustine's Confessions begins with the following discussion of a teenager's confusion of love and desire:

I came to Carthage, where a caldron of shameful loves seethed and sounded about me on every side. I was not yet in love, but I was in love with love, and by a more hidden want I hated myself for wanting little. I sought for something to love, for I was in love with love; I hated security, and a path free from snares. (77)

²⁵This translation is taken from: Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Confessions, trans. Angela Scholar (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 3. Cohen chooses not to translate this note for the Penguin edition.

I. - ROUSSEAU AND AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

To know what properly appertains to one individual is to have before one the classification [of]—or the possibility of classifying—all others.

- Michel Foucault, The Order of Things (1970)

As Jean Starobinski observes in The Living Eye (1989), Rousseau was aware of being observed very early in his personal development. As an admitted “spoiled child” who was never “allowed to run out alone into the road with other children,” (Conf., 21) the young Jean-Jacques appears to have been very rarely without a parent, relative, or master. This familial habit of close observation is doubled as Rousseau comes of age and begins to feel the power of eyes from beyond the confines of his home to shape and complicate his development. Rousseau’s later preoccupation with both seeing and being seen derives from a specific civic and cultural geography (both topographical and socio-religious) within the small eighteenth century city-state of Geneva. As “a poor apprentice, a mere child of the Saint-Gervais quarter,” (Conf., 49) Rousseau understood that local power emanated from the families whose houses dotted the heights overlooking the popular quarter of the city. In The Living Eye, Jean Starobinski draws an extensive, penetrating portrait of a self-conscious youngster whose family and class appeared to make Rousseau himself the focus of the policing gaze of Geneva’s civic authorities:

For an orphan *du bas* (of the lower orders and of the downhill section of the city), whose father was a “man of pleasure” forced to flee Geneva after gravely offending a citizen *du haut*, there was no little indulgence in the Gaze. Were there not good reasons to fear that he would become, like his

older brother, a débauché and outright scoundrel who would eventually flee the city and never be heard of again? The authorities kept a weather eye [out] for incipient evil, hence wrongdoing was, for its part, also wary.

(19)

Eighteenth-century Geneva had changed little since Calvin. Although a form of “theological liberalism” deemphasized “dogmas about predestination and original sin and election,” Geneva’s citizens were still known for “their stern morals” and “their dislike of worldly enjoyment” (Cranston 27). In this climate, public morality was policed and the population of Geneva frequently responded by a sort of self-policing.

In Starobinski’s analysis, the troubled yet benevolent gaze of Rousseau’s father and relatives is soon replaced by “a sense of all-enveloping hostility” (8) emanating from the municipal authorities. This sense of hostility also grows, in part, out of the changes that occur in the ten-year-old Rousseau’s life following his father’s decision to leave Geneva rather than face trial for drawing his sword in a street fight. Left in the care of his mother’s relatives, who were from Geneva’s upper classes, and later apprenticed to two different masters, Rousseau slowly begins to understand the precariousness of both his personal and class positions. During this time, the “gaze of a witness,” or the mere fear of one, begins to penetrate many aspects of Rousseau’s life until

...it became impossible to desire publicly even the most innocent of pleasures without incurring criticism or ironic comment. Shamefaced desire was forced to beat a retreat, give up the idea of possession, and resort to the clandestine glance. Now we can understand why Rousseau exhibits such clear signs of voyeurism and exhibitionism. Fearful of guilty

contacts or initiatives, he contents himself, from a distance, with seeing and being seen.(Starobinski, 8)

This matrix of guilt/desire and voyeurism/exhibitionism informs much of Rousseau's work, but it is also central to his later autobiographical writings and important to the development of his form of autoethnography. Expanding on the possibilities offered by seeing and being seen from a distance goes a long way toward characterizing Rousseau's autoethnographic approach in a single phrase, just as it also goes a long way toward describing the cultural and scientific distances that anthropologists and sociologists attempt simultaneously, and often rather awkwardly, to bridge and sustain via the narrative techniques of ethnography.¹

The first chapter of Les Confessions not only describes the emerging sense of "the inquisitorial gaze" that Starobinski outlines, but it also problematizes eighteenth-century bourgeois culture. The "bourgeois problem" provides an effective entry into Rousseau's autoethnography and cultural criticism, because much of Rousseau's life and work reveals a conscious attempt to escape the problems of his own defective bourgeois upbringing and education. Rousseau's overarching cultural critique does not focus exclusively on the bourgeoisie, but the critique of the bourgeois is vital to his worldview, centered on his ambivalence toward city life. One of Rousseau's more cutting remarks regarding the bourgeoisie is found in Book I of Emile,

He who in the civil order wants to preserve the primacy of the sentiments of nature does not know what he wants. Always in contradiction with himself, always floating between his inclination and his duties, he will never be either man or citizen. He will be good neither for himself nor for

]

10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

others. He will be one of these men of our days: a Frenchman, an Englishman, a bourgeois. He will be nothing. (40)²

Pointing to this passage as vital to our understanding of Rousseau, Werner Dannhauser notes that Rousseau is troubled by the “inbetweenness” of the bourgeois both as a class and as a way of seeing the world: “...the bourgeois is both between and beneath man as fashioned by nature and man as molded by the city, as citizen” (5). The polarities represented by the ideal “man of nature” and the ideal “citizen” create a central tension in much of Rousseau’s work. Emile goes the furthest in positing what Tzvetan Todorov refers to as a “third way,” by which Todorov means that “rather than being directly opposed to either of the two” ideals, Rousseau offers an approach to the perfectability of a citizenry via a more natural form of education. What results, however, is not the “inbetweenness” of the bourgeois, but rather an “integration and articulation” of some of the better attributes of both man and citizen (Todorov, 18). If this so-called “third way” is itself an “inbetweenness,” then it certainly attempts to be more than “between and beneath” the ideal man and ideal citizen that Rousseau uses as a starting point for so many discussions.

This autoethnographic grounding of Rousseau’s thought begins with Emile, not only because this text participates in the critique of the bourgeoisie that is furthered in Les Confessions, but also because Emile is exemplary in how it extends the overlap between Rousseau’s political and autobiographical works. While outlining a form of natural education for Emile, Rousseau’s pedagogical text filters his own autobiography through the political and anthropological vision that receives its most sustained form in the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality. Emile is an intentional “anti-Rousseau,”

whose so-called “negative education” is designed to eliminate the specific problems that Rousseau finds in his own “*Bildung*” and which later became the basis of his cultural critique as presented in Les Confessions. Emile lies at the point where Rousseau’s works move from the clearly political to the more overtly personal. Of course, it is impossible to separate the personal from the political in Rousseau’s thought, but the process described here is one of moving from what is outwardly a purely political and philosophical way of seeing toward what is readily recognizable as an overtly autobiographical point of view. Within the emergence of Rousseau’s autoethnographic form, Emile is where Rousseau’s theories regarding men, his anthropology or “ethnography,” and his own story, or “auto,” finally coalesce.³

Emile foregrounds an important moment in the revelation of Rousseau’s own observational methodology. It is here that Rousseau’s desire for seeing and being seen shows its evolution from a form of childish voyeurism into a new variety of modern social science. Because Rousseau frequently scrutinizes childhood, he devotes significant time directing “the gaze” at children. In an extended example taken from Book I of Emile, Rousseau reveals his approach to observing people, very much in the style of the modern social sciences,

I have lived a great deal among peasants and never heard one—either man or woman, girl or boy—with a burr. How does that come to pass? Are the organs of peasants differently constructed from ours? No, but they are differently exercised. Facing my window is a hillock on which the local children gather to play. Although they are rather distant from me, I distinguish perfectly all they say, and I often draw from it good material

for this writing. Every day my ear misleads me as to their ages. I hear the voices of ten-year-olds; I look, I see the stature and features of three- or four-year-olds. I do not limit this experiment to myself alone. City folk who come to see me and whom I consult about it all fall into the same error.

What produces it is that, up to five or six, city children, raised indoors and under the wing of a governess, need only mutter to make themselves understood. As soon as they stir their lips, effort is made to hear them. Words are dictated to them which they repeat poorly; and since the same people are constantly with them, these people, by dint of paying attention to them, guess what they want to say rather than what they say.

In the country it is an entirely different thing. A peasant woman is not constantly with her child; he is forced to learn to say very clearly and loudly what he needs to make her understand. In the field the children, scattered, removed from the father, from the mother, and from the other children, get practice in making themselves understood at a distance and in measuring the strength of their voices according to the space which separates them from those by whom they want to be understood. That is how one truly learns to pronounce, and not by stuttering some vowels in the ear of an attentive governess. Thus when a peasant's child is questioned, shame can prevent him from answering, but what he says he says clearly; while the maid must serve as an interpreter for the city child,

without which one understands nothing of what he mutters between his teeth. (71-72)

A number of features of Rousseau's "experiment" are noteworthy. First, this passage dramatically shows how a number of Rousseau's lifelong areas of interest – in this case ideas regarding language acquisition, child development, class inequality, and man's relationship to both cities and nature – are seamlessly joined in his work. One reason for Rousseau's interest in confessional discourse is that the confessional allowed him to continue to work within a large number of these areas of interest simultaneously. Rousseau's "autoethnographic" way of seeing derives from this special set of concerns.

Second, the "cultural" distance necessary for Rousseau's observational methodology to resemble anthropology largely depends here on differences related to class standing. The phrasing of Rousseau's initial, intentionally ironic question (*"Are the organs of peasants differently constructed from ours?"*) itself indicates an investigation into a form of otherness. In this case, otherness is obviously close to nature and the peasant children are therefore seen as having a substantial qualitative advantage because of their more natural approach to learning to speak. Anthropological fieldwork still sees difference through the lens of comparative patterns of consumption and household production that are simultaneously essential to defining the boundaries between social classes. Such class-inflected voyeurism resembles any number of metropolitan approaches to class difference, including those still visible in both the aesthetic and point of view at work in the long European tradition of genre paintings that enjoyed great popularity during Rousseau's lifetime.⁴ Despite Rousseau's efforts to transcend class inequalities, his own work cannot but participate in a wider culture that views and

categorizes people according to class differences. Of course, what is striking in Rousseau's way of seeing class is that he sees the lower and rural classes as much closer to nature, and therefore much closer to the ideal, than are the urban and upper classes.

Historically, anthropology has adopted Rousseau's metropolitan point of view. Typically, the desired object of study in anthropological fieldwork is a rural or village setting participating in some form of subsistence economy. Metropolitan ideas regarding class, which are connected to notions of how one should observe those living outside of cities, have helped to shape these discourses. Even the Chicago School of Sociology in the United States, famous for using ethnographic fieldwork techniques and statistical methodologies to define social groups within major American urban centers, focused largely on groups (such as "Hobos") primarily defined by their social and economic marginality.⁵ Without question, the "us" and "them" lingering in the foreground of Rousseau's experiment persists.

Third, the methodology of Rousseau's experiment reflects his emerging design illuminated by Rousseau's acknowledgement that he "often draw[s]...good material for ...writing" (*Emile*, 71) from it. The potential connection between Rousseau's voyeuristic/observational habit and his habits of mind appear when he takes an approach that echoes scientific method: he designs his experiment around the fact that the "blind" auditory data collection, as well as the observations relating to the ages of the children, are reproduceable among the "city folk who come to see" (*Emile*, 71) him. One aspect of this experiment, characteristic of Rousseau's approach, is that a small, apparently fixed group of children are being observed. This relatively small group of peasant children quickly comes in Rousseau's exposition to represent an entire type or variety of people,

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

1931

1932

1933

1934

1935

1936

1937

1938

1939

1940

just as Rousseau himself, as he states in the Neuchâtel Preface to Les Confessions, becomes the simultaneously representative and unique example⁶ by which he will “cause [his] readers to make an additional step in the knowledge of men” (585). In Les Confessions, Rousseau’s strategy of appearing to be simultaneously unique and representative, despite the inherent contradiction, is a modern position that has today become a commonplace.⁷ Rousseau’s well-developed sense of what is powerfully representative is one of the great strengths of his work and a quality central to his autoethnography.

Despite Rousseau’s reputation (only partially deserved) for wanting to be alone, contact with other people was important to him. To view the talkative peasant children Rousseau probably used a window in his residence at Montlouis near Montmorency, where he lived from 1757 to 1762. Although Montmorency was chosen as a retreat from city life and from the intrigues that had hounded him at the Hermitage, it was also chosen as a place where Rousseau could have contact with people as well as nature. The tension between the country and city, evident in the quotation above as well as throughout Rousseau’s life, is important in forming Rousseau’s autoethnographic way of seeing. Rousseau’s simultaneous interest in the country and city, his empirical approach to the observation of people and the environment, and his concern with constructions of the self are plainly visible in the walks and reveries that came to play an important role toward the end of his life.

The shuttling from city to country and back that characterizes Rousseau’s walking form of reverie is made clear in The Reveries of the Solitary Walker (1781) through the descriptions of a number of individual walks that move from the city streets of Paris to

fields and woods

the Rousseau n

and The walks

and the remain

and cate g

over autoethn

mination of

zings toward

and citizen.

Of course

the small part

in of autoethn

annual mon

tion for the stu

ation rema

each hand!

Self... 7 (58)

other. Rous

47 The reader

self and "in

provide at le

Rousse

own person

the fields and woods outside the city, where Rousseau enjoyed botanizing.⁸ On these walks, Rousseau makes contact with both the people on the streets and the plants in the woods. The walks themselves show Rousseau late in life continuing to use what is arguably the remnants of the voyeuristic gaze as a partially spontaneous method to observe and categorize men and plants. Mary Louise Pratt's idea of an inside connection between autoethnography and botany, both of which she sees as part of a wider systemization of "planetary consciousness," is graphically displayed here in Rousseau's tendency toward being both of the city and the country, flâneur and botanist, as well as man and citizen.

Of course, merely walking while categorizing people, plants, and aspects of self is only a small part of what converts Rousseau's inward and outward-directed gazes into a form of autoethnography. The Neuchâtel Preface of Les Confessions is an important metatextual moment in Rousseau's work that foregrounds, in some detail, the author's vision for the study of people and culture via the self. Rousseau begins by noting that he has "often remarked that, even among those who pride themselves the most for knowing men, each hardly knows anyone but himself, if it is even true that anyone knows himself..." (585). Given this conundrum that works against knowing both the self and any other, Rousseau proposes a system by which his Les Confessions is merely the first step. The reader will need to begin the process of "knowing men" by learning to evaluate himself, and "in order for one to learn to evaluate oneself," Rousseau "want[s] to attempt to provide at least one item for comparison" (585).

Rousseau uses much of the Neuchâtel preface to argue for the unique qualities of his own personality and his own unique ability to observe and describe others. He claims

to embody a way of seeing others that is based on his own unusual personal experiences and what appears to be the simultaneous internalization and refocusing of the gazes that dominated his childhood and teenaged years:

Counting experience and observation for something, in that regard I am perhaps in the most advantageous position in which a mortal has ever found himself, since, without having any social station myself, I have known all stations; I have lived in every one from the lowest up to the highest, except the throne. The Great do not know anything except the Great, the small do not know anything except the small...[T]he being common to both of them, the man, escapes them equally. As for me, careful to set aside the mask, I have recognized him through everything. I have weighted, I have compared their respective tastes, their pleasures, their prejudices, their maxims. Admitted everywhere as a man without pretensions and without consequence, I examined them at my ease; when they stopped disguising themselves I could compare man to man, and status to status. (586-7)

Earlier, with regards to Rousseau's close observation of peasant children, I mentioned the role that class distance and metropolitan discourses played in Rousseau's methodology. In the Neuchâtel Preface, this characterization expands to a point where Rousseau's entire life, as he is about to describe it in Les Confessions, is itself both an opportunity for observing people and a potential methodology for future observations. As a "foreigner," outsider, exile, or itinerant "Jack of all trades," Rousseau lived his life in a manner that allowed him to operate in the capacity of an observer of men almost without

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

interruption.

For Rousseau, in a manner that both predicts and gives further weight to Foucault's view of confessional discourse, the confessional "ritual that unfolds within a power relationship" is the perfect battleground for an ambitious attempt to empower his own marginalized voice. Turning a life spent "on the road," moving from place to place and job to job, into an observational methodology and legitimate point of view rather than merely an oddity is part of Rousseau's enduring success. Chapter One of Les Confessions contains Rousseau's own story of his emerging approach to observing and considering men. Simultaneously, he reveals how he learned about power relations by experiencing powerlessness. His own sense of "class struggle" becomes a central tenet of his broader autoethnographic cultural critique; therefore, the defects of the bourgeoisie are best embodied in his own experiences as an apprentice in Geneva during his teenaged years (1725-28).

After Rousseau's father is forced out of Geneva, the young Jean-Jacques is moved to Bossey to further his education along with his cousin Abraham Bernard. Living in the village pastorage with his tutor and his tutor's sister, the Pastor and Gabrielle Lambercier, Rousseau characteristically finds happiness away from the gaze of Geneva's civic authorities. This pattern of perpetual retreat from urban centers would dominate his later life as described in Les Confessions: the beautiful pastoral retreats of Bossey, Annecy, and Isle de Pierre are the locations of Rousseau's happiest memories, while Geneva, Paris, Venice, and London are the backdrops to his bleakest recollections. Rousseau notes that if his stay at Bossey "had lasted longer it could not have failed to fix...[his] character for ever," and entirely for the better, thus completely changing his life (Conf. 24-25). But

while echoing

sharp contrast

days of apprehen

came near me

two years I w

delivered conc

From t

Discommuni

reversed itself

the simple lib

the expected c

reinstated the ex

commit petty c

The master's

priorities.

Rouss

regains himse

Rousseau can

while echoing the youthful Augustine's famous desire to be loved, Rousseau reveals a sharp contrast between the ideal life lived at Bossey and the violence that will haunt his days of apprenticeship in Geneva: "My strongest desire was to be loved by everyone who came near me. I was gentle, so was my cousin, and so were my guardians. For a whole two years I was neither the witness nor the victim of any violence" (Conf. 25). This sheltered condition was soon to change.

From the outset of his apprenticeship, Rousseau describes his master, M. Ducommun, as "an oafish, violent young man." (Conf. 39) His situation had suddenly reversed itself: whereas during life with his father and M. Lambecerier he had enjoyed the "simple liberty" of childhood, he now was forced to confront life as an apprentice -- the expected class role of the inhabitants of the Saint-Gervais. Predictably, Rousseau resisted the expectations that came with apprenticeship from the start and began to commit petty crimes as a form of resistance:

My master's tyranny finally made a trade which I should have liked quite unbearable to me, and drove me to vices I should otherwise have despised such as falsehood, idleness, and theft. Nothing has taught me better the difference between filial dependence and abject slavery than memory of the changes which this period worked in my character. (Conf. 40)

The master's gaze proves closer and more intense than the watchful eye of the municipal authorities.

Rousseau quickly reacts to the penetrating eye of his bourgeois masters. He resigns himself to being regularly caught out and punished by them. At one level, Rousseau can be said to embrace being caught as something that allows him to be seen

not acknowle

telastic, in re

for eventual

efficacy of wh

ventions hard

acquired"

ishment w

his class role.

his not diffic

pecially in

Rousseau app

temporal puni

Rousseau's at

entially be

the unnatural

and acknowledged. What develops is something akin to the Hegelian Master/Slave dialectic, in reverse, in which Rousseau acts out within the range of his masters' gaze so that eventually a confrontation is inevitable. As Starobinski points out in describing the efficacy of what he termed the "the inquisitorial gaze," "the first book of the Confessions mentions hardly any instance of mischief or larceny that went undiscovered or unpunished" (19). As the result of his crimes being revealed, Rousseau received corporal punishment with some frequency, but the young apprentice began to see these beatings as his class role:

Soon I had received so many beatings that I grew less sensitive to them; in the end they seemed to me a sort of retribution for my thefts, which authorized me to go on stealing. Instead of looking back and thinking of my punishment, I looked forward and contemplated vengeance. I reckoned that to be beaten like a rogue justified my being one. I found that thieving and being beaten belonged together, and were in a sense a single state, and that if I fulfilled my share in the bargain by doing my part I could leave the responsibility for the rest to my master. (43)

It is not difficult to agree with Starobinski that Rousseau does want to be beaten, especially in light of his famous confessions regarding masochism. If nothing else, Rousseau appears to be able to place himself above his situation and accept the pain of corporal punishment while determining why things occur as they do. In a sense, Rousseau's ability to observe himself and his fellow men would appear to transcend or potentially be fueled by physical pain, because Rousseau's later philosophical interest in the unnatural aspect of class inequalities is determined in part by the rather stark class

role that he d

central tenet o

par, the painf

makes a Rous

Origins of In

Up to

Rousseau's o

Rousseau's o

take him farth

current texts i

called "pre-et

histories, trav

world of Afri

contemporary

with Buffer

most importa

array of Rous

regarding the

anthropologi

approach.

Rous

Second Disc

understanding

role that he describes here. It is the “unnatural” state of his apprenticeship that becomes a central tenet of Rousseau’s emerging anthropological way of seeing, and it is in no small part the painful experience of apprenticeship that fuels the author’s critical voice and makes a Rousseauvian anthropology possible, beginning with the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality.

Up to this point, we have drawn a portrait of the beginnings of the emergence of Rousseau’s own form of autoethnography in terms of his own experiences. Although Rousseau’s own experiences as a “participant-observer” involved in “fieldwork” did not take him farther than England during his lifetime, he did make elaborate use of the then current texts in the emerging field of anthropology. These texts included some of the so-called “pre-ethnologies,” which were descriptions of other cultures as found in classical histories, travel literature, and the accounts “written...by the first observers of the savage world of Africa and America” (Duchet, 13). The pre-ethnologies include more contemporary and familiar varieties of the Enlightenment’s “general science of man,” of which Buffon’s extensive L’Histoire naturelle de hommes is probably the best known and most important to Rousseau. Citations from these early anthropologies appear in a wide array of Rousseau’s works. When placed alongside Rousseau’s interconnected ideas regarding the self and man in a state of nature, these passages disclose the anthropological worldview that became the backdrop to Rousseau’s autoethnographic approach.

Rousseau’s Discourse on the Origins of Inequality, frequently referred to as the Second Discourse, reveals the earliest, most sustained vision of Rousseau’s understanding of the then current state of anthropology. In the preface to the Second

Discourse. R

throughout h

In this passag

amous intere

connection be

turn to these

Confessions.

After

formulating a

Discourse. R

knowledge an

size becomes

that we have

the chapter, i

beginning con

Discourse, Rousseau quickly and eloquently proclaims what will become a central issue throughout his *oeuvre*:

The most useful and least advanced of all human knowledge seems to me to be that of man; and I dare say that the inscription of the Temple of Delphi alone contained a Precept more important and more difficult than all the thick Volumes of the Moralists. Thus I consider the subject of this Discourse one of the most interesting questions that Philosophy might propose, and unhappily for us, one of the thorniest that Philosophers might resolve: for how can the source of inequality among men be known unless one begins by knowing men themselves? (12)

In this passage, Rousseau not only reveals the importance that he attaches to his now famous interest in the trajectory of humankind's prehistory, but he insinuates a close connection between self-knowledge and an early form of anthropology. Rousseau will return to these same issues in the preface to the Neuchâtel manuscript of Les Confessions.

After the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality, Les Confessions persists in formulating a method for completing our knowledge of ourselves. In the Second Discourse, Rousseau presents an important conundrum: as humankind accumulates knowledge and moves further away from its primitive state, knowledge of this primitive state becomes more difficult to produce, "so that it is, in a sense, by dint of studying man that we have made ourselves incapable of knowing him" (12). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in the Neuchâtel Preface Rousseau points toward breaking out of this same lingering conundrum of human self-knowledge through an "attempt to provide at least

one item for comparison” (585). In this sense, Les Confessions partly answers the two questions that Rousseau poses early in the Second Discourse: “What experiments would be necessary to achieve knowledge of natural man? And what are the means for making these experiments in the midst of society?” (13) Confessional autoethnography allows Rousseau a method to promote this agenda, because the story of a life lived while confronting an overwhelmingly “unnatural culture” is the experiment which Rousseau offers for analysis.

At this place early in Rousseau’s career as a writer, a continuity between his theoretical works and his more autobiographical and confessional ones can be made evident, but Rousseau does not alone invent the importance of a connection between self-knowledge and a wider knowledge of humankind. In one of several endnotes appended to the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality, Rousseau continues his discussion of the issues surrounding the lack of knowledge of humankind through a quotation from Buffon’s Histoire naturelle which anticipates portions of Rousseau’s thought and observational methodology:

Whatever interest we may have to know ourselves I am not sure whether we do not know better everything that is not ourselves. Provided by Nature with organs destined uniquely for our preservation, we use them only to receive foreign expressions, we seek only to extend beyond ourselves, and exist outside ourselves. Too busy multiplying the functions of our senses and augmenting the external range of our being, we rarely make use of that internal sense which reduces us to our true dimensions, and which separates from us all that is not part of us. However, it is this

The proximal

perceive our

Under these

foregrounded

conversation

modern critical

confusion bro

connected an

from the que

considered to

be willingne

sciences and

approach to

To b

ation of se

activities

Confession

the current

alled pro

Th

tenacity

sense we must use if we wish to know ourselves...But how can this sense be made active and given its full range? (qtd. in Second Discourse, 68)

The proximity between early forms of anthropology and the question of how best to perceive ourselves is part of the eighteenth century's discourse of natural philosophy. Under these conditions, Rousseau and his readers perceive no disjunction in foregrounding the questions of self-knowledge and self-perception within a larger conversation focused on questions of anthropology and natural history. Part of the modern critics' problems with Rousseau's seemingly incongruent thought stems from the confusion brought on by not considering Rousseau's interdisciplinary inheritance. The connected anthropological and ontological insights of Les Confessions flow logically from the questions Buffon raised in the above quotation, and which were typically considered together during Rousseau's lifetime. Where Rousseau becomes unique is in his willingness to break with the Enlightenment mainstream, as in his assaults on the sciences and culture in his two discourses, as well as in his use of an autoethnographic approach to wrestling with these questions later in the crafting of Les Confessions.

To better display the connections between Rousseau's anthropology and his notion of self, several examples will demonstrate where Rousseau has used the accepted authorities of "proto-anthropology" in deciding on how to construct the narrative in Les Confessions. In the end, these examples will also demonstrate Rousseau's interest in the then current problems taken up by anthropology, or what might be more appropriately called proto-anthropology.

The first example brings together the issues of the comparative strength and dexterity of "natural man" along with the problem of petty theft. Here, in another of the

several notes

physical and

full of exam

scarcely less

numerous th

come to hand

from Peter K

Historical gene

several notes at the end of the Second Discourse, Rousseau expands his discussion of physical and class difference between men by noting that “[t]he reports of travelers are full of examples of the strength and vigor of barbarous and Savage Nations; they praise scarcely less their dexterity and nimbleness.” Rousseau claims that these examples are so numerous that he need merely “draw some examples at random from the first books that come to hand” (72). In the following quotation, Rousseau both paraphrases and quotes from Peter Kolben’s “*Description du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*” as it appears in the Histoire générale des voyages:

“The Hottentots,” says Kolben, “understand fishing better than the Europeans of the Cape. They are equally skilled with net, hook, and barb, in coves as well as in rivers. They catch fish by hand no less skillfully. They are incomparably dexterous at swimming...[They] have surprising dexterity at hunting, and the nimbleness of their running surpasses the imagination.” He is amazed that they do not more often put their agility to bad use, which sometimes happens, however, as can be judged from the example he gives. “A Dutch sailor, disembarking at the Cape,” he says, “engaged a Hottentot to follow him to the City with a roll of tobacco weighing about twenty pounds. When they were both at some distance from the Crew, the Hottentot asked the sailor if he knew how to run. Run? answered the Dutchman; yes, very well. Let us see, replied the African; and fleeing with the tobacco, he disappeared almost immediately. The Sailor, astounded by such marvelous speed, did not think of chasing him, and he never again saw either his tobacco or his porter.” (72)

Rousseau pr

man's body

ignites...[H

contrast goes

Civilized ma

Savage man

entirely with

man is clearl

alienated from

development

Rousse

transition to

introduction

and the disap

and misery v

own life thro

transition fr

of a Savage

man's turn

allegory in

the entire h

amount of

manipulatio

Rousseau proposes that these accounts of the strength, agility, and nimbleness of “savage man’s body” are readily contrasted with the body of Civilized man whose “industry deprives...[him] of the strength and agility that necessity obliges him to acquire.” This contrast goes to the heart of Rousseau’s cultural critique and criticism of city life.

Civilized man needs “time to assemble all his machines around him” to be strong, while Savage man’s personal strength is the equivalent of “always carrying oneself, so to speak, entirely with one” (21). As one might expect from Rousseau, the experience of Civilized man is clearly seen as comparatively inauthentic, in that the individual is almost always alienated from what naturally made him or her strong at an earlier stage in human development.⁹

Rousseau’s Second Discourse continues to retrace Savage or Natural man’s transition to the civilized state. Famously, Rousseau sees the arrival of agriculture and the introduction of the concept of property as the major events in the onset of Civilized man and the disappearance of equality. At this point, “labor became necessary” and “slavery and misery were soon seen to germinate and grow with the crops” (49). Rousseau sees his own life through this same lens. In Book I of Les Confessions, Rousseau retraces his own transition from an idyllic childhood and period close to nature at Bossey, the equivalent of a Savage childhood, to the miserable position of apprentice, the equivalent of Civilized man’s turn toward labor and slavery. In this sense, Les Confessions itself becomes an allegory in which the life of a single individual can be seen as retracing and reinventing the entire history of humankind. Read in this manner, Les Confessions becomes an account of Rousseau’s own “pre-history,” in which his decline is brought on by the manipulative powers of civilization. A form of human pre-history is so central to much of

Rousseau's

Les Confessions

is "Natural"

critique of c

because it e

confessiona

In co

comparisons

including po

developed th

allows him t

himself from

Forced to ea

and other tri

condition un

troubled the

this condition

slavery. At h

So long as he

Confessions

Emile doe

Carbs as an

beginning wi

Rousseau's work that Les Confessions itself becomes the key to the rest of it. Without Les Confessions, the much talked about theoretical formations in Rousseau's work, such as "Natural man" and "the state of nature" have no real context, leaving Rousseau's critique of culture incomplete. Of course, this intertextual reading is also attractive because it exposes the autoethnographic underpinnings of Rousseau's reformation of confessional discourse.¹⁰

In constructing a narrative regarding his apprenticeship, Rousseau returns to his comparisons of civilized and natural man first found in Emile and the Second Discourse, including portions of Kolben's account of the Hottentot. His description of how he developed the habit of stealing while apprenticed becomes doubly effective because it allows him both to tell his story of the curse of civilization and simultaneously distance himself from Augustine's view of stealing as a sin for which the individual is culpable.¹¹ Forced to eat a simple, inexpensive diet by his masters, Rousseau begins to desire food and other trifles. "Continuously confined to [his] work," Rousseau brooded about his condition until "[t]he thought of the liberty at which the master and journeyman lived doubled the weight of...[his] misery" (Conf., 40). Earlier, in Emile, Rousseau described this condition as slavery when he noted that, "[c]ivil man is born, lives, and dies in slavery. At his birth he is sewed in swaddling clothes; at his death he is nailed in a coffin. So long as he keeps his human shape, he is enchained by our institutions" (42-43). In Les Confessions, apprenticeship is an institution that enchains, but the import of this passage in Emile doesn't end here. Rousseau's anthropological impulse surfaces: he offers the Caribs as an example of primitive man's desire to confine children as little as possible, beginning with swaddling clothes that allow for greater motion than their European

equivalents

construct a

civilization

Rous

Kalben's fee

are part of th

mere compli

(Conf., 41).

who worked

deal some as

resists the pl

was not very

40) The Ro

here and els

proposed in

experiences

Rousseau's

allegory of t

Rousseau's

ture. Of c

times of ine

The

the second e

equivalents (43). Even before Rousseau mentions stealing, he has already begun to construct a context in which his status parallels that of a Natural man assailed by civilization.

Rousseau's descriptions of stealing as an apprentice in Les Confessions echo Kolben's focus on the physical prowess of the Hottentots engaged in petty thievery which are part of the argument in the Second Discourse. Rousseau's first theft grows "out of mere compliance," but it "opened the door to others which had no such laudable purpose" (Conf., 41). The first occurrence came with the prodding of a journeyman, named Verrat, who worked for Rousseau's master. Verrat asks Rousseau, over a number of days, to steal some asparagus from Verrat's mother's garden to sell in the market. Rousseau resists the plan but eventually is cajoled into acquiescing. Rousseau reports that, "[a]s he was not very nimble and did not want to take the risk himself, he picked on me" (Conf., 41). The Rousseau's combination of naivete and comparative physical prowess, noted here and elsewhere early in Les Confessions, associates his own development with ideas proposed in the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality. Younger, fresh from the "natural" experiences of Bossey, and less de-natured than the master and his journeymen, Rousseau's qualities run parallel to Kolben's Hottentots and Buffon's Caribs. This allegory of the eclipse of a natural man is deepened by the connection between Rousseau's young age and the "young age" of humanity when it enjoyed the state of nature. Of course, in his personal account, as Rousseau is further exposed to the blunt forces of inequality, the natural aspects continue to fade into the background.

The parallels between Rousseau and Kolben's Hottentots are reinforced further in the second episode involving petty theft as described in Les Confessions. Still in the

household c

rying to ste

Beginning w

nd determin

ruption

is important

Since the

per crime.

household of the engraving master Ducommon, Rousseau recalls his substantial effort in trying to steal an apple trapped at the bottom of a cupboard to which he had no access:

...I went to fetch the spit to see if it would reach; it was too short. So I lengthened it with one which was used for game – my master being very fond of hunting. I probed several times in vain, but at last I felt with delight that I was bringing up an apple. I raised it very gently...[but] it was too big to pass through the lattice. I resorted to the most ingenuous devices to get it through. I had to find supports to keep the spit in position, a knife long enough to cut the apple in two, and a lath to hold it up. With time and perseverance I managed to divide it...[when] both fell back into the cupboard...I did not lose courage, but I had lost a great deal of time, and was afraid of being caught. So I put off the attempt till next day...Next day...I climbed on my perch, fastened the two spits together, straightened them, and was just going to probe...But unfortunately the dragon was not asleep; the larder door suddenly opened; my master out, folded his arms, looked at me and said ‘Bravo!’ The pen falls from my hand. (Conf.,42)

Beginning with the amount of time that Rousseau uses to explain the “ingenuous devices” and determination that he uses to try to retrieve the apple as well as the drama of the interruption of the narrative that follows his master’s “Bravo,” it is clear that this episode is important to Rousseau’s view of his own development. The description attempts to balance the implications of both Rousseau’s determined skill and the commission of a petty crime. What emerges, again, is an image of an individual who is slipping further

into the pro

In t

highly-skill

gic to use

civilized ma

succeed in

engraver's l

he fishes or

prison, high

setting them

Rousseau l

hopelessne

spit is an a

Rousseau

himself h

Confessi

a pear tre

Augustin

Genesis

instead

fact all

some h

to other

into the process of denaturing.

In this episode, Rousseau can be seen as depicting himself in a space between the highly-skilled and adaptable Hottentot fisherman or hunter, which Kolben describes as able to use a marvelous variety of technologies for capturing food, and the less-skilled civilized man who would probably starve in the wild. The fact that he is almost able to succeed in “fishing-out” the apple exaggerates this in-between status. In this reading, the engraver’s larder becomes civilized man’s version of natural man’s lake or forest where he fishes or hunts for his food. The unassailable larder, which itself suggests a fence or a prison, highlights the role played by property in this drama. It is appropriate in this setting then that Rousseau uses the spit that his master uses for game, because this allows Rousseau both to foreground his status as a frustrated hunter and take into account the hopelessness of his class position – the only thing that he is free to hunt and place on a spit is an apple. Of course, the stealing of an apple itself has a number of implications. Rousseau not only potentially twists or ironizes the “death” of the Savage hunter within himself here, but he is also playing with the manner in which Augustine worked in his Confessions to place himself again and again in the position of Adam. Stealing fruit from a pear tree during his teenage years (II.4) was of course one of the ways in which Augustine considered the implications of his life, the nature of sin, and the text of Genesis simultaneously. Rousseau’s Adam is not driven to steal by original sin, but instead by his class role that demanded that he attempt to expand his diet in this way. In fact, all the “machines” that unnaturally stand between Rousseau and his “prey” make the scene laughable. In order for this modern variety of Adam to sin, he has to find some way to liberate the apple itself by destroying it. This allegory of an allegory’s allegory (Adam,

as seen by /

complexity

the confines

allegories in

both secular

The

approach to

Hotentot's

succeeds in

important: t

that while h

space neces

the gaze of t

because of t

again recall

the humiliat

Rousseau to

to work aga

Before

consider bri

When in the

Rousseau at

becomes the

as seen by Augustine and later reformulated by Rousseau) exposes some of the extreme complexity of the text. Studying it shows how allegory operates both within and beyond the confines of the connection between Rousseau and his theoretical “Natural man.” The allegories multiply and “pile on,” so to speak, as Rousseau’s vision of himself implicates both secular and nonsecular views of human prehistory.

The ironic ‘Bravo’ that greets Rousseau when the master observes his ingenious approach to stealing food is analogous to Kolben’s Dutch Sailor who stands watching the Hottentot’s flight “astounded by such marvelous speed.” The fact that the Hottentot succeeds in stealing the tobacco while Rousseau fails in his quest for the apple is important: the lack of success illustrates that Rousseau has become sufficiently denatured that while he still has some of the skills of primitive men, he no longer has the speed or space necessary to keep from being caught. While the Hottentot can skillfully dart from the gaze of the Dutch sailor, Rousseau cannot remove himself from his master’s gaze because of the mechanisms of bourgeois class inequalities. Later, using an approach that again recalls the Hottentot’s flight, Rousseau chooses to flee Geneva rather than continue the humiliations of his apprenticeship. Quite characteristically, this flight eventually takes Rousseau to Annecy and Madame de Warens where, for a brief period, nature is allowed to work again on Rousseau’s personality with positive effect.

Before leaving the apple-stealing scene in Les Confessions, I should like to consider briefly the implications of the metatextual moment at the end of the passage. When, in the text, Rousseau’s master bursts through the larder door and says “Bravo,” Rousseau allows the pen to drop from his hand. In this figurative economy, the pen becomes the apprentice’s “probe” or the de-natured hunter’s “weapon.” Writing itself

becomes an
moment the
and his text
on to which
Adam from
Rousseau's
of this com
imagination
figurative la
replacing or
was "envir
of Adam in
fundamenta
lated and
seen the pla
and Genesis
Rou
also play a
role stealin
put off retri
kind of be
emphases
described at

becomes analogous to working to free the apple from the master's larder, and for a moment the complexities of the figurative and linguistic connection between Rousseau and his text are stripped away and we see only the author standing next to the manuscript on to which he drops his pen. The rewriting and reconfiguration of the event that drove Adam from paradise, which in this case becomes part of the general process of Rousseau's own denaturing, itself interrupts the production of Rousseau's text. Of course, all this complexity can easily be dismissed as a product of Rousseau's overly developed imagination, but I feel that at the very least this metatextual moment exposes both the figurative layers of the text and the importance of this moment to Rousseau's project. In replacing original sin with the problems of culture and the effects of what we today refer to as "environment," Rousseau recognizes the necessity for a reformulation of the story of Adam in a manner that makes it clear that the problems of "the apple" are now fundamentally different than they were previously. In a moment that is both heavy-handed and provocative, the effort to liberate the apple by cutting it into pieces can be seen the place in Rousseau's text where the nonsecular narrative allegory of Augustine and Genesis is destroyed and the new allegory of "natural man" is erected in its place.

Rousseau's discussions of the bravery of natural man in the Second Discourse also play a role in the allegorical reconfiguration of stealing in Les Confessions. In the apple stealing episode, Rousseau remarks that he "did not lose courage" upon having to put off retrieving the apple until the next day, but he also goes on to say that he "was afraid of being caught." This condition of simultaneous bravery and fear also potentially exemplifies the transitional effect caused by the de-naturing qualities of civilization as described above – Rousseau pictures himself moving from a fearless, natural disposition

to a fear

Soon af

which ca

by a rea

something

fear of da

mind" he

word" Ro

qualities fr

passionate

cynicism a

enslavemen

that Rousse

character is

impassione

everybody im

Discourse.

Disc

Rousseau.

into a form

to a fearful and civilized one; thus he embodies both these qualities during this period. Soon after the apple episode, Rousseau describes the antithetical nature of his character, which causes “a single sheet of drawing paper” to tempt him “more than the money to buy a ream” (Conf., 43-44). When his desire for “simple pleasures” meets with something that it wants, Rousseau states that he is “cynical, bold, violent, and daring..no fear of danger alarm[s]” him, but “this lasts only a moment.” In his more typical “calm mood” he is “all indolence and timidity,” alarmed by everything and “too lazy to speak a word” Rousseau becomes “a slave to fears and shame” (Conf., 44). This matrix of qualities further complicates the picture of Rousseau’s condition. Although the brief, passionate, bold and brave state of mind can be associated with Rousseau’s primitives, cynicism and violence are qualities of civilization; while a state of timidity and enslavement to fear reflects qualities of civilized man, calmness and laziness are qualities that Rousseau associates with primitives. At this point in Rousseau’s narrative, his character is never entirely that of natural or civilized man, but his brief moments of impassioned desire for “simple pleasures” and the fearlessness that these moments bring embody important aspects of the primitive state which is the focus of Rousseau’s Second Discourse.

Discussing the skills and bravery of primitive men in his Second Discourse, Rousseau, with the help of François Corréal, reveals how the skills of the Caribs translate into a form of fearlessness:

But Savage man, living dispersed among the animals...and sensing that he surpasses them in skill more than they surpass him in strength, he learns not to fear them any more...These are, without doubt, the reasons why

Not only do
found and p
one of this
the servant
furthering o
qualities of
episode is r
kings of
via flash

Negroes and Savages trouble themselves so little about the wild beasts they may encounter in the woods. In this respect the Caribs of Venezuela, among others, live in the most profound security and without the slightest inconvenience. Although they go nearly naked, says François Corréal, they nevertheless expose themselves boldly in the woods armed only with bow and arrow, but no one has ever heard that any of them were devoured by beasts. (22)

Not only does this passage foreground the combination of skill and fearlessness that is found and problematized in the apple stealing scene in Les Confessions, it also points to one of this same text's most famous episodes in which Rousseau exposes himself before the servant women at a well in Turin. In this episode, Rousseau also exposes the furthering of the de-naturing process in his own development by comically turning the qualities of the Caribs described by Correal upside down. The civilized Rousseau in this episode is resourceful but hardly fearless, for his goal is to expose himself, not to the dangers of wild beasts, but rather to expose his body to the women at the well in the style of a "flasher,"

One day I took up my position in the corner of the courtyard...I offered the girls who came to the well a sight that was laughable rather than seductive. The more sensible pretended they had seen nothing...Others considered themselves insulted and made a fuss. I rushed into my retreat, and was followed. I heard the voice of a man, which I had not reckoned with and which alarmed me...I had counted on the darkness, I saw light. I shuddered and plunged on...In a moment I was caught and seized by a big

The

Rousseau

Roman Ca

some, ma

falsely acc

he had him

of the mor

nating p

for petty th

appeared s

man with a big moustache, a big hat, and a big sword, escorted by four or five women each armed with a broom handle...The man...asked me roughly what I was doing there...and, racking my brains at this critical moment, produced a romantic excuse which was accepted. I begged him in the humblest tones to take pity on my youth and condition, claiming to be a young stranger of noble birth suffering from a mental derangement...He gave me a brief scolding and let me go without asking more questions. From the way that the girl and the old women scowled at me, I concluded that...left to them alone, I should not have gotten off so cheaply. I heard them muttering something or other that I hardly paid attention to. For so long as the man and his sword did not interfere I was quite confident that, being both nimble and vigorous, I could escape from them and their sticks. (Conf. 91-92)

This scene is taken from the beginning of Book III of Les Confessions in which Rousseau is working in Turin following his flight from Geneva and his conversion to Roman Catholicism. The episode immediately previous to this scene at the well is the scene, made famous in part by Paul de Man, in which Rousseau confesses to having falsely accused his fellow servant Marion of being responsible for stealing a ribbon that he had himself stolen while they were both attached to a Turinese household. This is one of the more painful admissions in Les Confessions and it is clear that at this point the denaturing process is much further advanced than in the previous examples. The propensity for petty thievery, which grew out of Rousseau's experiences as an apprentice, now appeared to be merely a symptom of a significantly larger problem capable of coloring

much of his

Why

training of

de-naturalin

women at

and "expo

again expo

men still p

attributes

against w

mustachio

Correal's

itself to al

praised he

he has inte

Th

examples

Rousseau'

exposure o

beginning

says, "je p

parvenir à

turned in

much of his life.

When considered alongside the Second Discourse, this episode continues the tracing of an extensive parallel between Jean-Jacques's development and the process of de-naturing that has civilized natural man. Comparing Rousseau's hasty retreat from the women at the well after exposing himself with Correal's Caribs who "go nearly naked" and "expose themselves boldly in the woods" despite the danger of hunting wild animals, again exposes a comic or ironic reconsideration of the few remaining attributes of Natural men still present in the author early in Book III. Of course, only a vestige of these natural attributes remains here: Rousseau is willing to test his physical prowess and skills only against women who he is confident could never catch him. When faced with the fearsome mustachioed man, another and possibly truer equivalent of the wild beasts faced by Correal's Caribs, Rousseau tellingly invents a ruse that uses the nature of class inequality itself to allow him the power to go without punishment. Although Rousseau might be praised here for thinking quickly, the narrative intentionally exposes the extent to which he has internalized the denaturing class inequalities that he is working to critique.

The parallel being drawn here hinges on the confluence in both of the above examples of slightly different interpretations of "*exposer*." In Les Confessions as in Rousseau's paraphrase of Correal in the Second Discourse, exposure to danger and exposure of the body and genitalia are considered as happening simultaneously. At the beginning of Book III of Les Confessions Rousseau searches for locations where, as he says, "*je pusse m'exposer de loin aux personnes du sexe dans l'état où j'aurois voulu pouvoir être auprès d'elles*" (O.C. I, 89). In the passage from the Second Discourse quoted in English above, Rousseau echoes both the state of nakedness and the perceived

danger that comes with exposing oneself by noting in his discussion of the Caribs of Venezuela, that: "*Quoiqu'ils soient presque nus, dit François Corréal, ils ne laissent pas de s'exposer hardiment dans les bois, armés seulement de la fleche et de l'arc; mais on n'a jamais ouï dire qu'aucun d'eux ait été dévoré des bêtes*" (O.C. III, 137). The point that Rousseau makes here regarding the Caribs begs the question, why would being almost naked make any difference when confronting wild animals? Part of the answer indeed lies in how Rousseau sees himself in the primitive types that he considers throughout his works. At some level, Rousseau connects the Caribs exposing themselves to his own experiences with self-exposure. At the forefront of these connections are issues surrounding Rousseau's sexuality, an area that will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter.

Ultimately, Rousseau's exposure before the women at the well operates as a more general trope for all of his work: he is continually seeking a secure position from which he can expose himself to his audience. The dynamics of Rousseau's methodology concerned with seeing and being seen are also themselves on display here. The sad picture that Rousseau draws of this process of sinking into a morass of culture is built on the very foundations of his ongoing discussions within proto-Anthropology. Rousseau's autoethnographic approach to this material, in which he exposes himself alongside the known and recorded behaviors of Amerindians, predicts the dynamic of self and other that is central to modern anthropology.

Rousseau's connection to modern anthropology is not merely synthetic, in the sense that his methodology and materials predict the arrival of the concerns of anthropology in the nineteenth century. At the end of the Second Discourse, Rousseau's

frustration with the current state of knowledge about humankind spills over into a manifesto for a future form of fieldwork. In his desire to increase the quality of the observations made of other cultures, Rousseau foresees the professionalization of field anthropology:

Let us suppose a Montesquieu, Buffon, Diderot, d'Alembert, Condillac, or men of that stamp traveling in order to inform their compatriots, observing and describing, as they know how, Turkey, Egypt, Barbary, the empire of Morocco, Guinea, the land of the Bantus, the interior of Africa and its Eastern coasts, the Malabars, Mogul, the banks of the Ganges, the Kingdoms of Siam, Pegu, and Ava, China, Tartary, and especially Japan; then, in the other Hemisphere, Mexico, Peru, Chile, the Straits of Magellan, not forgetting the Patagonias true or false, Tucuman, Paraguay if possible, Brazil; finally the Caribbean islands, Florida, and all the Savage countries: the most important voyage of all and the one that must be undertaken with the greatest care. Let us suppose that these new Hercules, back from these memorable expeditions, then at leisure wrote the natural, Moral, and Political History of what they would have seen; we ourselves would see a new world come from their pens, and we would thus learn to know our own. (86)

The motivation behind Rousseau's desire to wipe away the less than reliable accounts of foreign lands in travel literature is reasonable, even if his rather vicious attack on these travelers is probably not as judicious. What he wishes to erect in place of loosely drawn travel narratives is simultaneously revolutionary and rather limiting. Ostensibly,

Rousseau

primitiv

well as th

himself.

a predicta

his "com

- many w

Discourse

anthropol

worldview

Re

outside of

accounts o

autoethnog

from a Pre

centered o

outlines of

Kant notes

Rousseau is looking to take the French Enlightenment's conversations with regards to "primitive" cultures "on the road". Rousseau's choices for his original field workers, as well as their being other "men of that stamp" who are qualified including Rousseau himself, again exposes the proximity between Rousseau and the practical methodology of a predictable, credible science of anthropology. The men whom Rousseau lists fall within his "comfort zone," meaning that he understands these individuals and their motivations – many were still his closest friends and fellow *philosophes* at the time the Second Discourse appeared. It can be said with some confidence that Rousseau envisions anthropological fieldwork being carried out by people who share his concerns and worldview and are part of the conversation regarding human prehistory.

Rousseau's autoethnographic vision can also be seen as an influence on others outside of the French-speaking world. Wordsworth's and De Quincey's first person accounts of contact with the Other on the streets of London are themselves autoethnographic and confessional, while in Königsburg, Immanuel Kant's Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View (1798) begins by outlining an autoethnographic science centered on "being conscious of one's self" and "self-observation." While describing the outlines of his domesticated form of what can only be called "arm chair anthropology," Kant notes that,

Travel is among the means of enlarging the scope of anthropology even if such knowledge is only acquired by reading books of travel. One must, however, have gained his knowledge of man through interaction with one's fellowmen at home if one wishes to know what to look for abroad in order to increase one's range of the knowledge of man. Without such a

program (which presupposes knowledge of man), the anthropology of the citizen of the world will remain very limited (4-5).¹²

An autoethnographic, confessional discourse emerges naturally out of “such a program.”

¹ For views of Rousseau’s “Seeing” that do not connect Rousseau to methodologies of the social sciences see Jean Starobinski’s *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), a psychoanalytic study of Rousseau’s metaphysical and personal desire for transparency and truth in a flawed world. Also, see John C. O’Neal, *Seeing and Observing: Rousseau’s Rhetoric of Perception* *Stanford French and Italian Studies* 41 (Saratoga, CA: ANMA Libri, 1985) which builds on Starobinski’s analysis to understand, among other things, the combination of insight and blindness in Rousseau’s autobiographical works. Each of these critics offers exemplary readings “across” genres in Rousseau’s entire *oeuvre*.

² With regard to this same quotation, Marc Plattner states in *Rousseau’s State of Nature* (1979) that “Rousseau was the first writer to give the term “bourgeois” the kind of pejorative connotation that it often conveys today” (3). Plattner goes on to explain the quotation from *Emile* regarding the emptiness of the bourgeois as follows:

As this passage makes clear, Rousseau used the term “bourgeois” not to distinguish a particular socioeconomic class but rather to denominate a certain kind of human being. The bourgeois is opposed to “man” on the one hand, and to the “citizen” on the other. He lacks the naturalness and independence of the genuine individual, who always follows his own desires; and he lacks the public-spiritedness and selflessness of the genuine citizen, who always fulfills his duties. He therefore is “good neither for himself nor for others.” (4)

³ It is also curious that the publication of *Emile* in 1762 is itself what begins Rousseau’s life in exile (he leaves France to avoid arrest) and therefore the text fuels the distrust of Diderot, Grimm, et al (in part by increasing the distance between Rousseau and his former friends) that is central to Rousseau’s confessional mode. Without the *Emile*, there really cannot be *Les Confessions*, *Dialogues*, or *Reveries* as we know them.

⁴ In a discussion of the effects that Romantic *sensibilité* (as exemplified by *La Nouvelle Héloïse*) had on public and political culture in France in the 1780’s, Simon Schama considers the power and popularity of Jean-Baptiste Greuze’s genre painting entitled *The Marriage Contract* in the following terms:

Though Greuze’s paintings, like Diderot’s plays and Rousseau’s novel, are sometimes classified as “bourgeois,” it is crucial to appreciate that their devotees began at the very top of French society. If the old regime was subverted by the cult of Sensibility, then much of the damage (as in so many other respects) was self-inflicted. *The Marriage Contract*, which actually represented a Protestant ceremony with a notary standing in for a priest, and which stood as the exact antithesis of grandiose dynastic marriages at Versailles, was bought by Louis XV’s Minister of the Arts, the Marquis de Marigny. His sister was the King’s mistress Madame de Pompadour and it was she who organized the first performance of Rousseau’s opera *The Village Soothsayer* at Fontainebleau in 1752. Its composer took great care to dress down for the occasion “with a rough-combed beard and ill-dressed wig.” In the simplicity of its rustic setting, story and music, the opera exemplified the victory of childlike Nature over the products of urban and court culture. (155)

For a discussion that implicates the conventional subject matter of genre painting within a wider tradition of persistent voyeurism in western art, see John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC and Penguin, 1972).

⁵ In discussing the influence of Robert Park on his students and colleagues at the University of Chicago, Paul Atkinson considers the collision of sociology and ethnography in America in the following terms:

The early ethnographies of the American school were based explicitly on the combination of ‘anthropological’ inspirations and the preoccupation with the first-hand exploration of urban types and settings. Park encourages his students and colleagues to adopt the same methods and approaches to their research in the ‘natural areas’ of Chicago as were being used by anthropologists in their studies of Native American cultures. (29)

This connection between anthropology and sociology will be taken up again in the third chapter of this project which considers De Quincey's urban, flaneur-like, and autoethnographic gaze.

⁶ In his 1994 article "Rousseau's Patrimony: Primitivism, Romance, and Becoming Other," Simon During feels "that it was as if Rousseau could simultaneously acquire universality...and be a unique individual" via his strategy of "self-othering" (63). This habit of Rousseau's of acquiring identities will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter.

For a discussion of the metaphysical implications of Rousseau's move to replace the classical and Christian versions of the exemplary life, see Christopher Kelly, Rousseau's Exemplary Life: The Confessions as Political Philosophy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987) 48-75.

Simon During states that Rousseau's self-othering "for purposes of self-individuation was, of course, a tactic often repeated by the modern, 'Bohemian' artist" (63).

⁸ A good example of this topography is found in the Second Walk in which Rousseau describes moving from his house on Rue Platrière toward the countryside:

After lunch on Thursday, the 24th of October, 1776, I followed the boulevards as far as the Rue de Chemin-Vert which I took up to the heights of Ménilmontant and from there, taking paths across the vineyards and meadows as far as Charonne, I crossed over the cheerful countryside which separates these two villages...." (13)

For discussions of Rousseau and botany see Kelly's Rousseau's Exemplary Life: The Confessions as Political Philosophy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987, pp. 227-233, and O'Neal, pp. 122-131, as well as the previously mentioned introduction to Rousseau's Reveries, Botanical Writings, and Letters to Franquières, also by Kelly, pp. xxi-xxvi

⁹ A.O. Lovejoy's essay "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's Discourse on Inequality" (1923) touched off a discussion of the so-called Noble Savage in Rousseau's work that continues down to the present. Lovejoy proposed that critics overstated the primitivism in Rousseau's thought because they overlooked Rousseau's view of the state of nature which featured four chronological stages. Rousseau preferred the third state of the four rather than the earliest stage which was "the 'state of nature' in his own sense" (Lovejoy, 16). Lovejoy's argument is weakened because he cannot be definitive about Rousseau's rejection of primitivism. Early in the essay, Lovejoy is forced to admit that Rousseau "was not yet wholly emancipated from the assumption of the excellence of the 'natural' as such" which leads the argument in the Second Discourse's preamble to "the point of contradiction" (22). In Rousseau's State of Nature (1979), Marc Plattner is willing to accept Rousseau's "praise of the savage" and frame the tension in the Second Discourse with "the extreme individualism" of human prehistory and the more recent "side of community and of citizenship" (12). Roger Masters and Christopher Kelly adhere to a similar line in their introduction to the Second Discourse in volume 3 of The Collected Writings of Rousseau (1990) (xi-xxvii). Rousseau's "primitive" is immersed within the modern citizen and either promoted or inhibited by culture and its institutions. Emile proposes a "natural education" as an effective method for balancing these frequently contradictory notions.

¹⁰ Asher Horowitz's Rousseau, Nature, and History (1987) sees Rousseau's "historical anthropology" as the key to reading portions of Rousseau's work. Although Horowitz rightly sees the role played by Rousseau's anthropology in La Nouvelle Héloïse, the Social Contract, and Emile, he chooses not to consider the impact of this historical anthropology on Les Confessions, and vice versa.

Eugene Stelzig notes in The Romantic Subject in Autobiography (2000) that,

Rousseau's confessional narrative is more philosophical than that of any previous autobiographer, Augustine not excepted. That his Confessions are not merely idiosyncratic and sensational memoirs of his unusual—and for many, aberrant—life, but have a genuinely philosophical character and agenda rooted in his earlier theoretical writings, particularly the Discourse on Inequality and Emile, has not until recently been sufficiently acknowledged. (41-42)

Stelzig singles out Christopher Kelly's Rousseau's Exemplary Life (1987) as the most complete effort to read Les Confessions as philosophy. As I do, Kelly sees Les Confessions as "the epistemological foundation of Rousseau's system" while noting that a "picture of the departure from and return to nature [in Les Confessions] corresponds to and adds to the pictures in Emile and the Second Discourse." (see, especially 243-248).

Stelzig momentarily connects Rousseau's thought to anthropology when he refers to Les Confessions as "anthropology and psychology in the first person" (47).

¹¹ For a brief discussion of this overlap between Augustine and Rousseau see Christopher Kelly, "Rousseau's Confessions" The Cambridge Companion to Rousseau ed. Patrick Riley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) pp. 305 & 314-15. For a more sustained discussion of Augustine's place in Rousseau's work, see Ann Hartle, The Modern Self in Rousseau's Confessions (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983).

¹² For the importance of Rousseau in Kant's Anthropology see Frederick P. Van de Pitte's "Introduction" to Immanuel Kant's Anthropology From a Pragmatic Point of View. Trans. Victor Lyle Dowdell. Ed. Hans H. Rudnick (1978), pp. xi-xv. For a more general survey of the tremendous importance of Rousseau in Kant's life and philosophy see Ernst Cassirer's Rousseau-Kant-Goethe. Trans. James Gutman, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945.

II. – ROUSSEAU'S AUTOETHNOGRAPHY: SELF-OTHERING, THE BODY, AND "(C)ROUSSEAU"

Building on the autoethnographic way of seeing that has been established here in broad strokes, we will now turn to some of the specific interests and qualities of Rousseau's autoethnographic form. Rousseau's frequent reflex to see himself as other, or what Simon During calls his "self-othering," will be considered within the context of autoethnography. Later, this chapter will take up the logic of sexuality and disease in Les Confessions, while giving Rousseau's infamous revelations of onanism particular attention for their autoethnographic import. Finally, the focus will shift to the role played by books and reading in framing both "that dangerous supplement" as well as the dangers of an active imagination in Rousseau's autobiography. Within the context of books and reading, Robinson Crusoe will be considered as an important intertext providing Jean-Jacques with a model of autoethnography. Along the way, Rousseau's desire to merge his theoretical "l'homme sauvage" with a view of himself in Les Confessions will continue to be foregrounded.

The problems of form that Rousseau confronted in attempting his own version of the confessional are significant. In the Neuchâtel Preface, Rousseau notes rather ambitiously that "it would be necessary to invent a language as new as my project; for what tone, what style does one adopt in order to unravel this immense chaos of feelings so diverse...often so low and sometimes so sublime?" (588). Rousseau proposes that both form and subject in his project will be governed by his own antithetical nature, in which his "uneven and natural style, sometimes sharp and sometimes diffuse, sometimes wise and sometimes foolish, sometimes serious and sometimes gay, will itself form a part of [the] story" (589). The play of the antithetical in Rousseau's personality and analysis often finds its way into isocolonic phrases as found in the above quotation,¹ and it helps to fuel Rousseau's emphasis on difference, which drives his interest in anthropology in

his work.

Rousseau's appetite for difference may be best illustrated through an examination of his approach to "self-othering." This idiosyncratic but useful term originates with Derrida, who proposes that "the Enlightenment attempt to establish a non-filiative basis for personal identity" led to a "large transformation of European discourses and life-ways" which manifested itself in the shifting of "relations between family members, men and women, the public and the private, the art work and its audience, and finally the western and non-western world." Similar views of social and intellectual changes during this period are by now very familiar; what is provocative in Derrida's consideration of this time is his argument that "this transformation pivoted around new values and functions given to... 'self-othering,'" which he describes as "constructing or finding a self as another or by identification with others" (47). Derrida finds Rousseau and Diderot exemplary in their uses of self-othering.

Before moving back into Rousseau's works, this discussion of self-othering will be prefaced by a consideration of an aspect of the language of the "I" narrative which itself plays a role in othering the self. A form of the metamorphosis of self that Derrida sees in Rousseau's form of self-othering arguably exists at a simpler, subconscious level. The act of substitution that takes place with the use of the pronoun "I" in modern discourses including autobiography is itself a variety of mask, whose fundamental signifying qualities are often significantly distanced from their original author or subject. Emile Benveniste describes the true signifying power of "I" as a unique "reality of discourse" rather than being assigned to the usual object that is the nature of nominal signs more generally (218). Benveniste is careful not to understate the uniqueness of this locutionary event, nor would he hesitate to consider Rousseau as exemplary in his ability to take advantage of the power that comes with controlling a powerful and largely internalized "reality of discourse." In his autobiography, Rousseau is "inventing a language" where this "reality of discourse" will support him in his efforts to regain

control over his own story.

The “reality of discourse” surrounding the “I” can be very slippery indeed, relying as it does on the existence of another interlocutor, who is labeled by Beneveniste as “you.” Beneviste describes the natural affinity between “I” and “you” in a manner that parallels or predicts aspects of confessional discourse and of “self-othering”:

Consciousness of self is only possible if it is experienced by contrast. I use *I* only when I am speaking to someone who will be a *you* in my address. It is this condition of dialogue that is constitutive of *person*, for it implies that reciprocally *I* becomes *you* in the address of the one who in his turn designates himself as *I*... This polarity of persons is the fundamental condition in language...[N]either of the terms can be conceived of without the other; they are complementary, although according to an “interior/exterior” opposition...they are reversible. (224-25)

In a number of provocative ways, this quotation parallels, in linguistic terms, aspects of the methodology for the study of men that Rousseau defined in the Neuchâtel Preface. As Rousseau proposes, in order to study an other, a prior study of the self is central. As Beneveniste might add, in order to make this study in the language of the confessional, both “I” and “you” must come into play. The sense of an ongoing dialogue is made doubly evident by Rousseau’s use of the confessional form, in that the reader is confronted with a discourse that has historically involved a confessor and confessant. The role of the reader, or the “you” to use Beneveniste’s terminology, is made more active by the confessant’s desire for an understanding confessor or judge. “Self-othering,” which plays with the “reversible” and “complementary” nature of the self, can be seen as bringing aspects of the wider world into this play of dialogue between “I” and “you.”

A number of varieties of self-othering are important to Rousseau’s work. The first variety that will be highlighted here plays with and problematizes the reciprocity of both “I” and “you” within the framework of “the dialogue which is constitutive of person.”

Within many of his works, Rousseau “others” himself, or more precisely “self-others” by presenting his readership with a slightly different version of his personhood with the name “Jean-Jacques” or “Rousseau.” The machinations and development of these versions of the author are important to understanding Rousseau’s construction of self. In the Emile, the “I” narrator is named “Jean-Jacques.” This character, who is part Rousseau and part “über-tutor,” designs an education for Emile that is meant to prevent the problems of an immature and overheated imagination that plagued the young Rousseau. While doing this, the tutor does not attempt to mask that his autobiography overlaps, often dramatically, with Rousseau’s.² Later, in Les Confessions, “Jean-Jacques” marks younger, often victimized or idealized version of the author.³

What is arguably the most memorable appearance of “Jean-Jacques” and “Rousseau” takes place in Rousseau’s idiosyncratic Dialogues, and it is here that “the dialogue that is constitutive of person” is most dramatically played out. As mentioned in the introduction, the conversation that is central to this work is between a character named “Rousseau,” a foreigner who is willing to question and analyze the harsh critical comments regarding Rousseau’s life and work, and an individual identified only as “Frenchman” who reflects the frequently harsh critical assessment of Rousseau’s work in France circa 1772-1776. “Jean-Jacques” is discussed by the characters as both the fictionalized “monster” invented by popular opinion as described by the “Frenchman” and the actual well-meaning author of Rousseau’s works, as described by the character “Rousseau.” At the end of the first discourse, “Rousseau” and the “Frenchman” promise to meet again to reconsider their disagreement after Rousseau goes to meet with and observe the real Jean-Jacques and after the Frenchman has actually read Jean-Jacques’s works. As Christopher Kelly and Roger Masters note, “the dizzying quality of divisions reaches its height” when while describing his visit to “Jean-Jacques,” “Rousseau” reports that “Jean-Jacques” is “composing a series of dialogues about his false public reputation.” Thus, “the character meets his author at the very moment the author is

writing about him” (137). Again, Rousseau chooses very deliberately to exhibit a dramatic, metatextual moment, which points both toward the importance of this moment for Rousseau and further illustrates the machinations necessary in order to represent himself in the present.

In working to define a rhetoric of Rousseau’s system of perception, John O’Neal has found that “[t]he nearer Rousseau draws to the present in *Les Confessions*, the more difficulty he experiences in ordering the account of his life” (89). A similar process appears to be at work here in Rousseau’s *Dialogues*. Self-Othering not only offers Rousseau a method for considering his own status as Other, but it also apparently can be considered as a symptom of an inability or unwillingness to simply reveal the true self in the present. Both the *Dialogues* and *Reveries of a Solitary Walker*, Rousseau’s last two major works following *Les Confessions*, continue tentatively to fill some of the gaps in Rousseau’s later autobiography. This problem can also be seen as part of the inheritance of autoethnography in that not unlike the near erasure of the anthropologist in the conventional anthropological monograph, Rousseau’s autoethnographic subject is still never entirely brought into the light despite the author’s best efforts. The ultimate cause of this perpetual delay in the revelation of the present self is difficult to pinpoint and there is probably not a single cause, but it is clear that Rousseau’s own overarching allegory of human prehistory pressures his autobiographies to perpetually reconsider and reside in the past, potentially at the expense of a view of life in the present.

By allowing himself the luxury of having different versions of himself within the *Dialogues*, Rousseau can represent how he turns his autoethnographic gaze on himself. “Rousseau,” speaking to the “Frenchman” about meeting “Jean-Jacques,” states that his “initial research had thrown [him] into the detail of his domestic life” (103). “Rousseau” describes why he chooses to continue to observe the domestic life of Jean-Jacques up close; aiming as he goes to consider his object’s actions and character in terms of a number of antithetical pairs, which guided his research:

I therefore looked to see whether disorder or regulation, constraint or freedom prevailed in his home; whether he was sober or dissolute, sensual or vulgar; whether his tastes were depraved or healthy...I followed him in his most constant manner of being and in those little uneven times, no less inevitable, no less useful perhaps in the calm of the loveliest days. I wanted to see how he gets angry and how he calms down, if he vents or holds back his anger, if he is spiteful or hot-headed, easy or difficult to appease; if he worsens or redeems his mistakes...(Dialogues 104)

The focus on the collection of data surrounding the everyday and domestic, as well as the attempt to generalize very broadly about himself based on these observations (which are made by himself) is representative of the method behind Rousseau's wider autoethnographic approach. Levi-Strauss locates "the birth of the new science" of anthropology in the general methodological observation which Rousseau made in Chapter VIII of the Essay on the Origin of Languages: "When one wishes to study men, one must look close at hand; but to study man, one must learn to look into the distance; one must first observe the differences in order to discern the properties" (as quoted by Levi-Strauss, 1963, 11). The Dialogues are participating in Rousseau's wider project, using difference and the self as the framework for a wider conversation regarding both the Self and the Other. The play of antithetical pairs in the above quotation from the Dialogues also exposes another place in Rousseau's work where there is considerable overlap between the "antithetical nature" of both his personality and the design of his observational method, which further exposes the depth at which Rousseau's personality can be also considered as part of his methodology.

Self-othering makes a wider discussion of self and other possible for Rousseau. It becomes a critical technique for framing the self as both subject and object, and, in Lévi-Strauss's mind, it is Rousseau's central contribution to anthropology:

In the work of anthropology therefore, the observer uses himself as his

own instrument of observation. As a result, he must learn to know himself, to look at himself objectively and at a distance as if he were another person. And so the anthropologist turns to this other person within him, which is different from his self, in order to arrive at an evaluation. And this then becomes an integral part of all the observations he carries out in the field on groups and individuals and the other within them. The principle of "confessions," written or unacknowledged, is thus basic to the work of every anthropologist. ("Rousseau" 11)⁴

This statement lays out the potential for an integral relationship between anthropology and confessional discourse generally as well as between anthropology and Rousseau's Les Confessions in particular. The proximity between this "principle of confessions" and the act of self-othering is vital to the emergence of Rousseau's autoethnographic project.⁵ The foreigner "Rousseau" of the Dialogues is the tool that Rousseau invents for characterizing the use of "himself as his own instrument of observation." Of course, Rousseau's own life, as he confesses it, is made up of aspects of both "Rousseau," the foreigner, and "Jean-Jacques," the misunderstood and easy-going author; therefore, it is extremely difficult to describe one or the other as the fictional or actual author of Rousseau's works.

The definitive moment of autoethnographic "self-othering" in Rousseau's work is one that is also central to Simon During's argument. In Book 12 of Les Confessions, which recounts Rousseau's activities immediately after leaving France to avoid arrest in the furor over the Emile, Rousseau describes an important change in his life upon his arrival in a small Swiss town,

A little while after I had settled in at Motiers-Travers, having received every possible assurance that I should be left in peace, I assumed Armenian costume. It was not a new idea, but had occurred to me several times in the course of my life. It recurred to me often at

Montmorency...So I had a little Armenian outfit made. But the storm it raised caused me to defer wearing it until calmer times...and it was not till some months later that...I felt I could safely wear my new clothing at Motiers...I put on the jacket, the caftan, the fur cap and the belt therefore...and I never wore any other dress. (554-555)

Appearing in Armenian dress after years of planning exposes a politics behind self-othering that directly connects the act of self construction with Rousseau's interest in early forms of anthropology. Said's Orientalism describes the manner in which, beginning in the late eighteenth century, "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" (3). Rousseau's Armenian dress can be said to be both participating in as well as potentially commenting on this tendency. Armenia topographically and culturally straddles the border between East and West, Europe and Asia, Christianity and Islam. Rousseau is using his time in exile as an opportunity to project an image of his own indeterminate or "border crossing" status; dressing as an Armenian works as an adjunct to Rousseau's place on the border between a number of important philosophical, cultural, political and topographical positions, such as the "borders" between: nature and culture, catholic and protestant, despotic subject and citizen, as well as the country and the city.

Of course, Rousseau's own variety of Orientalism is more complex than mere identification with Oriental forms of otherness and an appreciation for the political and personal value of indiscreet forms of cultural cross-dressing. Without much trouble, this rather provocative act of self-othering increases Rousseau's ability to see and be seen, which is central to his own autoethnographic methodology and sense of self. Rousseau is playing on the then current desire to see and enjoy the oddity of Oriental things, and as Said argues, the Oriental is constructed "to serve as an illustration of a particular form of eccentricity" whose "oddness can...be enjoyed for its own sake." Beneath the veneer of

eccentricity, the then current and simplistic view of the Oriental as living “a life of Oriental ease, in a state of Oriental despotism and sensuality, imbued with a feeling of Oriental fatalism” (Orientalism 102) is also an important underpinning to the significance of Rousseau’s attempt at “going native.”

Rousseau identifies himself with Orientals throughout his works. The two examples that follow characterize the rich mixture of ideas that connect Rousseau’s nature with the Orient. Rousseau’s descriptions of Oriental characteristics in himself frequently points to a proximity between the widely held characteristics of Orientals and those of earlier human types as they are figured in the Discourse on Inequality and elsewhere. This proximity is not lost on Said, who points to Rousseau’s texts as an important source of generalizations regarding the characteristics of specific racial types (“the Asiatic is ‘yellow, melancholy, rigid’”) that harden into a more pervasive discourse:

In Vico and Rousseau, for example, the force of moral generalization is enhanced by the precision with which dramatic, almost archetypal figures—primitive man, giants, heroes—are shown to be the genesis of current moral, philosophic, even linguistic issues. Thus when an Oriental was referred to, it was in terms of such generic universals as his “primitive” state, his primary characteristics, his particular spiritual background. (119-120)

These comments illumine Rousseau’s taste for Armenian clothing. Not only does this amplify the nature of Rousseau’s “primitive state” but it also becomes a platform from which Rousseau can explain the contradictory nature of his own personality. This is made very clear in the Dialogues when “Rousseau” describes for the “Frenchman” the relationship between Rousseau’s confessed laziness and Oriental aspects of his identity:

An active heart and a lazy nature must inspire the taste for reverie. This taste emerges and becomes a very lively passion if it is helped in the

slightest by the imagination. This is what very often happens to Orientals.

It is what happened to J.J., who resembles them in many respects. (121)

This is the same quality of laziness or idleness which Rousseau sees as a positive trait of his ideal natural man. In the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality, Rousseau contrasts the happiness of “Savage man” with the despair of “Civilized man,” noting that the former “breathes only repose and freedom” while wanting “only to live and remain idle” while the latter is “always active, sweats, agitates himself, torments himself incessantly” until “he works [himself] to death” (66).

In a number of his works, the self-conscious proximity between Rousseau’s identity and a constructed Oriental identity begins to broach the issue of Rousseau’s sexuality. A provocative example can be found in Book Five of Les Confessions in which Rousseau describes the happy period during the 1730’s when he lived with Madame de Warens in the Savoyard city of Chambéry. Rousseau was able to make a meager living teaching music to young women, but he enjoyed neither being obliged to go meet with his pupils, nor to arrive on time: “In all matters constraint and compulsion are unbearable to me...It is said that among the Mohammedans a man goes through the streets at dawn to command all to do their duty by their wives. At that hour I should be a bad Turk.” (Conf 183-84). Here again a quality of “l’homme sauvage,” in this case the unwillingness to be compelled to do something against one’s will, appears in conjunction with another occurrence of Oriental self-othering. Perhaps even more than previously, the “new” Oriental self is meant to be seen as puzzling, if not downright defective, and Rousseau’s sexuality is meant to be an important part of what marks his otherness.

Rousseau’s fascination with his own medical problems, as with his sexuality, is difficult to separate from his acts of self-othering. When Rousseau speaks about his decision to wear Armenian clothes exclusively, he explains that his urinary tract ailment which led to “frequent recourse to catheters” had made him “see the advantage of a long robe” (554). As the rest of this chapter will make clear, Rousseau’s Les Confessions is

littered with his medical problems; each crisis is associated with an inevitable major change in the author's personality or life. This is not new to Rousseau, because a connection between medical discourse and the confessional's attempt at exposing interiority operates even in Augustine. Augustine's conversion to Christianity is accompanied by an illness, just as Rousseau's "secular conversion" on the road to Vincennes brings on a crisis of identity which begins when Rousseau arrives to visit Diderot "in a state of agitation bordering on delirium" (Conf. 328).

It seems only fitting, in light of the connection proposed by Simon During between Rousseau, Diderot, and self-othering, that when Rousseau arrives at Vincennes to meet Diderot he reads the draft "Prosopopoeia of Fabricius" to him from what later will become the Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts. In his earlier agitation after reading the question asked by the Dijon Academy in the Mercure de France and "seeing another universe and...[becoming] another man," Rousseau sat down under an oak tree and "othered" himself in the form of Fabricius' supposed anger at seeing the cultural changes that had befallen Rome during the later period of the empire (Conf. 327-28). This combination of writing, cultural criticism, and *prosopopoeia*, which is related to "self-othering," is characteristic of the manner in which Rousseau approached both his life and his work. In his life, as told in Les Confessions, Rousseau describes several other moments of dramatic self-othering. Despite limited knowledge of music, he worked as a Parisian music master under the assumed name "Vaussore de Villeneuve." He assisted as a translator in the dubious fundraising activities of a Greek man of the cloth who claimed to be the Archimandrite of Jerusalem. He disguised himself as an English Jacobite named "Dudding" in order to win the love and approval of Mme de Larnage. In his written works too, Rousseau's identity is frequently recognizable in his characters, including not only the "Jean-Jacques" characters and the tutor in Emile but also both Julie and St. Preux in Le Nouvelle Heloïse. The story of his life in Les Confessions, Dialogues, and Reveries of a Solitary Walker is an extension of this same expansive intergeneric

conversation about his identity.

Paul De Man worked to expose the priority of trope over lived experience in autobiography by noting famously that “[a]utobiography...is not a genre or mode, but a figure of reading or of understanding that occurs to some degree, in all texts.” This “figure of reading” loosely parallels aspects of Beneveniste’s ideas regarding self-consciousness in that “[t]he autobiographical moment happens as an alignment between the two subjects involved in the process of reading in which they determine each other by mutual reflexive substitution” (921). At the level of rhetoric, De Man sees autobiography as a process of “de-facement” in which *prosopopeia* is the “master trope.” For Rousseau, identity is in part a kind of prosopopeic game in which the clothing of different selves are “tried on” as necessity presents itself. What is doubly important here is that this game also supports Rousseau’s research methodology. Rousseau is able to observe large numbers of different varieties of individuals up close because he is both without a definitive social class and because he is often able to create an identity (including a fictitious social class) whenever the need arises. The “Prosopopoeia of Fabricus,” which Rousseau authors in order to begin his public life, further illustrates the indissoluble nexus of his personality, his work, and his rhetoric. In a very substantial way, Rousseau personifies De Man’s “master trope” through his frequent desire to be self-othered.

The aspects of his own sexuality that Rousseau records in Les Confessions are part of the emerging sexually-obsessed medical sciences, in particular those interested in the sexuality of children, which are the part of Michel Foucault’s view of the history of sexuality since the eighteenth century. In the case of Rousseau’s Les Confessions, the author’s approach to what he sees as his own perversions are part of the narrative’s interest in the growing distance between the author’s activities and those of “*l’homme sauvage*.” While Foucault argues that an expanding discourse on sexuality becomes central to defining modern subjectivity during the Age of Reason, Rousseau considers his own sexuality within the context of the history of human sexuality – defining his

subjectivity in terms of the natural sexuality of earlier human types. Despite Rousseau's conspicuous absence from the three volumes of The History of Sexuality, the widely dispersed "incitement to discourse" on sexuality that is characterized by "*perpetual spirals of power and pleasure*"⁶ ("Sexuality vol. 1" 45) is something which Foucault locates as beginning during Rousseau's lifetime. The emergence of a *Scientia Sexualis* whose "clinical codification" can be described as "[c]ombining confession with examination" ("Sexuality vol. 1" 65) is discernable in the way Rousseau considers himself in Les Confessions. Of course, the same techniques of interrogation, confession, and clinical codification that form the modern scientific discourse of psychoanalysis, and are the focus of Foucault's first volume on sexuality, also form the backbone of a number of the modern social sciences, including anthropology.

Sexuality has always played a prominent role in both the earliest religious and more contemporary secular confessional forms. Since its appearance following the Council of Trent in the middle of the sixteenth century, the dark, partitioned confessional box – probably the most recognizable image of the confession for Catholics and non-Catholics alike – has been designed to inhibit "the return of the repressed on either side of the grille" while allowing "for the fullest speaking out on the nature of sexual character of the person" (Tambling 69). Jeremy Tambling expands on the Foucauldian argument regarding the emergence of a confessing bourgeoisie by noting not only the individuation signified by the confessional box but also a similar change exemplified in the emergence of the family pew and the family plot in the "social space" of a church that had been much more communal during the medieval period. The emphasis on privacy, surveillance and sexuality in the confessional emerges from the impact of these widely felt changes (70). Speaking at the end of the eighteenth century, Rousseau's Les Confessions participates in the confessional's tradition of telling the truth about one's sexuality.⁷ Like Augustine, Rousseau chooses to make his confession public, but unlike Augustine, Rousseau turns the process of truth-telling into an astonishing performance by insisting

on leaving no part of his sexuality unexposed.

It is difficult to begin a discussion of Rousseau's consideration of sexuality without mentioning the role of sexuality in Augustine's Confessions. As mentioned earlier, in choosing to echo both Augustine's title and many other aspects of his autobiography, Rousseau works to contrast his own views with Augustine's ideas regarding sin and the self, as part of a wider cultural move toward the secular in the eighteenth century. As an example of this secularization, Ann Hartle points out the significance of Rousseau's use of the *Mercure de France* as the central text at the moment of his conversion on the road to Vincennes, rather than Augustine's Bible – a choice that alerts the reader to the worldly nature of the newly converted Rousseau. Similarly, Rousseau's view of his own sexuality is based, in part, on a secularized reappraisal of Augustine's view of the connections between sin, sex, and the self. Therefore, in an effort to understand the implications of Rousseau's discussions of sexuality in Les Confessions, it will be useful to consider the places where Rousseau's discussion of the matter overlap or contrast with Augustinian concerns.

In framing his discussion of control over the body and its sexuality as a central agon of Augustine's Confessions, Jeremy Tambling notes the importance of an episode which takes place during Augustine's sixteenth year; a year set apart in the Confessions for its idleness and vice, including, as it does, the famous episode in which Augustine and his friends steal fruit from a neighbor's pear tree. The episode takes place immediately before the stealing of the pear (Confessions 2.3), when Augustine describes his relationship with his father in the following terms: "...the bramble of lust grew high over my head, and there was no one to root them out, certainly not my father. One day at the public baths...he saw the signs of active virility coming to life in me and this was enough to make him relish the thought of having grandchildren" (qtd. in Tambling 27). This exposure of the phallus as signifier also becomes an important event throughout the Rousseauian confessional, but, whereas Augustine's battle with the flesh is part of what

delays him from moving toward God, Rousseau's battle with his flesh coincides with his problems with civilization. In the process, denaturing leads him further away from what he considers to be healthy forms of sexuality, just as Augustine's emerging, sinful sexuality worked to delay his conversion to Christianity.

Tambling points out that two of Augustine's numerous, artful attempts at connecting himself allegorically to Adam in the Confessions can be seen in both the recognition of the naked body of the young Augustine in the baths, which corresponds with Adam and Eve's recognition of their own nudity, and at the point of Augustine's conversion beneath a fig tree (which supplies Adam and Eve with their loin cloths in Genesis 3:7) where the voice of a child leads him to read a passage from Matthew 19:21 (Tambling 27-28): "Not in rioting or drunkenness, not in chambering and impurities, not in strife and envying; but put you on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh in its concupiscences" (qtd in Augustine 202). Self-consciously, Rousseau has converted Augustine's allegory of self and Adam into a secular allegory of self and "Natural Man," while accepting but fundamentally rethinking Augustine's concern with the awakening of sexuality during adolescence.

In seizing on the confessional as a method for empowering the disempowered self, Rousseau understands the centrality of sexuality in the history of confessional discourse, and he builds on and exceeds the reader's expectations regarding both the number and varieties of revelations regarding his own sexuality. The reasons for this move beyond an effort to merely fulfill or even to expand on conventions of the confessional. "A more pressing motivation" lay "behind Rousseau's philosophical and literary justifications" (Rosario 36). The libelous, anonymous pamphlet, "The Citizen's Sentiment," which is today attributed to Voltaire, painted Rousseau as an oversexed, diseased *débauché* who abandoned his bastard children. Vernon Rosario observes that it was in fact a "sex scandal that fueled this "first ever" truthful autobiography" (36): a good deal of Rousseau's personal motivation for publishing a confessional tract, rather

than his previously planned memoir, is invested in answering Voltaire's libelous attacks.⁸ Thus Rousseau's interest in sexuality is imbricated in what he is attempting to achieve in Les Confessions, both philosophically and personally.

If, as is widely remarked, Rousseau can be credited with "inventing" the terms used to describe modern childhood, then his place in helping to define the terms of modern adolescence is also assured. Predictably, it is as adolescence approaches late in Book One of Les Confessions that sexuality begins to appear in Rousseau's narrative. Joel Schwartz takes Rousseau at his word when he states in Les Confessions that Emile was "the best, as well as the most important of [his] writings," it is clear from Rousseau's argument in Emile that the sexual awakenings of the adolescent are themselves politically important to the health and welfare of the state. Schwartz finds that the combination of the sexual with the political in Emile "provides a hitherto neglected key to the understanding of Rousseau's work generally" (1), a point with which it is difficult not to agree. The discussions of sexuality present in Les Confessions should be part of any discussion that attempts to generalize regarding Rousseau and his work, because, Rousseau's development as described in Les Confessions is the negative example from which the pedagogy of Emile emerged. With this connection in mind, our discussion of Rousseau's sexuality will focus on Les Confessions, but it will touch occasionally on the related approach present in Emile.

Rousseau's description of his sexuality begins in earnest in Les Confessions during the mostly idyllic period with the Lamerciers at Bossey. For the first two years at Bossey, gentleness "strengthens the natural disposition" of Rousseau's character for the good, but when Mlle Lamercier applies corporal punishment to Rousseau, the then eight-year-old finds himself at a place which, as he writes "would determine my tastes and desires, my passions, my very self for the rest of my life" in a manner "diametrically opposed to" how his sexuality should have developed. Of course, Rousseau famously confesses that,

Since Mlle Lamercier treated us with a mother's love, she had also a mother's authority, which she exercised sometimes by inflicting on us such childish chastisements as we had earned. For a long while she confined herself to threats, and the threat of a punishment entirely unknown to me frightened me sufficiently. But when in the end I was beaten I found the experience less dreadful in fact than in anticipation; and the very strange thing was that this punishment increased my affection for the inflicter. It required all the strength of my devotion and all my natural gentleness to prevent my deliberately earning another beating; I had discovered in the shame and pain of the punishment an admixture of sensuality which had left me rather eager than otherwise for a repetition by the same hand. (25)

Rousseau's eagerness leads Mlle Lamercier to discover the young Jean-Jacques' taste for discipline and to abandon this variety of punishment soon thereafter.⁹ Despite the proximity to nature at Bossey, Rousseau announces that "[f]rom that moment, I never again enjoyed pure happiness, and even to-day I am conscious that memory of childhood's delights stop short at that point" (Conf. 20). Both because of the first stirrings of sensuality connected to Mlle Lamercier's beatings and later beatings, meted out now by M. Lamercier (which may be what makes them bitter), upon being accused of breaking a comb which Rousseau says he did not disturb, the young Jean-Jacques can never return to his previously happy state. The swirl of emotions and confusion over forms of discipline push Rousseau out of his "state of nature" at Bossey by both accelerating his denaturing and forcing his return to Geneva to be apprenticed. The apprenticeship then brings more unnatural constraint and unattractive discipline that allows the movement away from nature to accelerate.

Rousseau's desire for discipline was fed by a combination of his imagination and naïveté. Well prior to his experiences as an apprentice and before the events involving the

women at the well in Turin, Rousseau admits to “feasting feaverish eyes on lovely women [and] recalling them ceaselessly to [his] imagination” (Conf. 26). Simultaneously chaste and lustful, because Rousseau admits that his family and his education successfully keep him from learning “clear ideas regarding sexual intercourse” until later, his earliest imaginative desires begin to help form his voyeuristic tendencies, even while his initial ideas about sex are beginning to form. As Starobinski points out, the leap from imaginative sensuality to a desire for punishment appears more natural given the limited number of outlets made available to Rousseau’s sexuality and imagination. Rousseau’s earliest sexual encounters are constructed in this and similar ways because Rousseau’s image of sexual intercourse “assumed odious and disgusting shapes,” such as “the coupling of dogs,” out of a general “horror of immorality” (Conf. 27). For Rousseau, the imagination plays a significant role in his negative view of human sexuality. In the Second Discourse, Rousseau differentiates between “natural” or “physical love” which natural man enjoyed as “that general desire which inclines one sex to unite with the other” and “the moral element of love” which “is an artificial feeling born of the usage of society” (38-39). Directed exclusively by the needs of physical love, natural man lives blissfully “ignorant of those preferences that irritate its feeling and augment its difficulties,” while in comparison, civilized man is governed by imagination, “which causes so much havoc among us” (39). Trapped within his overdeveloped erotic imagination, Rousseau’s sexuality starts to become denatured quite early.

To prevent the disgust that he begins to connect to sex and sexuality, Rousseau is very passive in his encounters with the opposite sex. Throughout Les Confessions, Rousseau seeks the close proximity of women, but actual physical or sexual contact is unlikely without a woman first taking control. In many ways, Rousseau’s condition is paralleled in the earliest portions of Julie, or the New Heloise, in which Julie and Saint-Preux are left to find ways to enjoy a new love relationship that cannot be consummated across class lines. The lovers’ struggle to restrain their “natural” desire while in close

physical proximity is one of the central tensions of the earliest portion of the text. Within his consideration of Rousseau's passivity in The Living Eye, Jean Starobinski identifies a pervasive connection between the gaze that dominated Rousseau's childhood and his unwillingness to act on his desires, whether the desire be for sweets or for sex:

The crime that Jean-Jacques is afraid to be caught committing seems to reside not so much in desire itself as in its aggressive edge, in overt conquest, which disturbs the order of things and arouses the vigilance of the censors. How can crime be abolished without abolishing desire? One way is to stand still and leave it up to the object of desire to make the advances. The shameful part of desire can no longer be imputed to Jean-Jacques; others will run the risks of desire in his stead. On this point the *Confessions* leave no room for doubt. Exhibitionism and masochism are attempts to reverse the normal movement from consciousness to object of desire. (23)

It is, in fact, not difficult to attribute much of Rousseau's sexuality to this variety of passivity. The combination of pronounced desire and passivity helps make Rousseau an effective observer of people and social formations because he needs to understand his social milieu in order to operate openly and within visual contact of what he desires. Rousseau's own abilities as social critic and autoethnographer are built on this passive and furtive outsider's point of view.

The relation between self-othering and sexuality comes into sharper focus in Les Confessions through Rousseau's description of his affair with Madame de Larnage. As was previously mentioned in passing, Rousseau assumed the identity of an Englishman named "Dudding" in order to make himself appear more interesting and seductive to Suzanne-François Larnage, whom Maurice Cranston identifies as having been a 44 year old mother of ten children when she met the 25 year old Rousseau during the summer of 1737 ("Jean-Jacques" 128). After acquiring a small inheritance from his mother's side,

Rousseau left Madame de Warens at Charmettes in order to seek a cure for a self-diagnosed polyp of the heart in Montpellier. On the road, he fell in with a group of people, including Madame de Larnage, who were traveling over the same route. Madame de Larnage pursued Rousseau aggressively and after several days she finally succeeded in seducing the passive, bashful Jean-Jacques:

...I was restrained by the fear of offending or displeasing, and by the still greater fear of being hissed and booed and ridiculed, of providing an after dinner anecdote...I was in tortures...But, not knowing what manner to adopt or what to say, I remained silent, and looked sulky...Madame de Larnage...abruptly cut this silence short by putting her arms around my neck; and in a second her lips, pressed upon my own, spoke too clearly to leave me in doubt. The crisis could not have come at a happier moment. I became charming. It was time. She had given me that confidence, the lack of which almost always prevents me from being master of myself. For once I was myself. (239)

Rousseau's passivity in the face of an object of desire is familiar, but what is most striking in this case is how this passivity stands between Rousseau and his "true self" [*Elle m'avait donné cette confiance dont le défaut m'a presque toujours empêché d'être moi. Je le fus alors* (O.C. I 252)]. Rousseau constructs his authentic selfhood behind several inauthentic layers – defined, in this case, by both his passive self and an English version of himself – which exemplify the voluntary and involuntary nature (often simultaneously) of Rousseau's self-othering. The labyrinth of Rousseau's sexual development increases the level of complication within his penchant for otherness, and makes his revelation of a "true" and "sexual" self appear vitally important to understanding Les Confessions and his other works.¹⁰

A particularly overt form of *amour propre* complicates the quotation above. In announcing that his concern for what others might think helped to define his passivity,

Rousseau repeats a form of one of his more explicit and frequently remembered critiques of civilization found in the Discourse of the Origins of Inequality. “*Amour propre*,” often translated into English with a single word such as “pride,” is a quality of civilized man related to pride or vanity in which an individual wishes to be considered in a positive light by others in their group. In the Second Discourse, Rousseau contrasts civilization’s *amour propre* with natural man’s *amour de soi-même*, which is best described as a form of self preservation “directed in man by reason and modified by pity, [and which] produces humanity and virtue” (91). In his dealings with Madame de Larnage, *amour propre* prevents, at least for a time, the most natural variety of sexual coupling which the Second Discourse describes. You will recall that in the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality Rousseau argues that the sexuality of “*l’homme sauvage*” is natural because it is physical love, while the unnatural or “moral element of love is an artificial feeling born of the usage of society” (38-39). This natural sexuality is “[l]imited solely to that which is Physical in love...[e]veryone peaceably waits for the impulsion of Nature, yields to it without choice with more pleasure than frenzy; and the need satisfied, all desire is extinguished” (39). “Savage hearts” are thus free from the world of imagination that haunts Rousseau throughout his life. In Book Six of Les Confessions, Rousseau describes the affair with de Larnage as several days in which he “grew drunk with the sweetest of pleasures.” He describes these pleasures in terms that suggest “more pleasure than frenzy” in that they were “pure and sharp and without any alloy of pain.” He goes on to acknowledge that he would have died “without having known sensual delight” if he hadn’t have met Mme de Larnage (240-41). This chance encounter with a woman while traveling in which each partner is able to give the other pleasure without the intrusion of the morality of the wider culture is extremely suggestive of the sexuality of Rousseau’s “savage man.”¹¹ Rousseau’s self-othering makes him both “Dudding” and the remnants of the “Natural Man” whose story is the underlying allegory in Rousseau’s autobiography. The role of the “other man” is further highlighted by the circumstances

surrounding Rousseau's later decision not to continue on from Montpellier to meet Madame de Larnage again at Bourg-Saint-Andéol as planned. Having continued to retain the façade of "Mr. Dudding" in his correspondence with Madame de Larnage,¹² Rousseau feared being exposed at Bourg-Saint-Andéol by "one person...who had been in England, or knew the English or their language" (Conf. 246). He breaks off the affair when the subterfuge of self-othering is no longer tenable. The complex machinations of Rousseau's passive sexuality and displays of otherness eventually make it impossible for him to more fully engage a more "natural" relationship in which he could actually be himself.

Rousseau's relationship with Madame de Warens, or as he calls her, "*maman*," hangs over his affair with Madame de Larnage. This entire section late in Book Six and at the end of the "*Prémière Partie*" of Les Confessions is narratively shaped as a physical and emotional crisis ending the idyllic pastoral of living with Madame de Warens at Charmettes as the immediate precursor to Rousseau's public life (which is the focus of the "*Seconde Partie*" of Les Confessions). The importance of this crisis and its sexual components are magnified by their position at the end of the first "Part" in the text as well as their being located at the end of the sixth of twelve total "Books" in Les Confessions thus marking the narrative's exact midpoint. In my reading of Rousseau's autobiography, this midpoint is not only the place where childhood and adolescence end with the arrival of sexual experience, something that will become an ongoing focus of the cultural work of Romanticism, but it is also an autoethnographic midpoint at which the now nearly fully denatured "sauvage" enters public life in Paris and is almost entirely lost.

Madame de Warens had taken Rousseau in and directed his conversion to Roman Catholicism beginning soon after his escape from his Genevan apprenticeship in 1728. By the time Rousseau visits Montpellier's doctors in 1737, it had been nearly 4 years since Madame de Warens became his mistress. In the period both preceding and following de Warens' seduction of Rousseau, the pair cultivated a relationship that was as

much, if not more, a mother-son relationship as anything else. Like a mother, De Warens hoped to help Rousseau find his place in the world by introducing him to a number of her acquaintances and, again, very much like a mother's, Madame de Warens's home became a safe haven for Rousseau when his plans did not immediately bear fruit.

The mother-son relationship is the focus of Rousseau's confused feelings in 1733 when Madame de Warens becomes his mistress. De Warens gave Rousseau eight days to think about the import of the sexual act before it was performed, leaving the young and inexperienced Rousseau feeling "fright mingled with impatience" while he characteristically states that he dreaded what he desired and appeared to therefore desire it even more (Conf. 187). Searching for reasons for his feelings, Rousseau observes that, "[b]y calling her Mamma and treating her with the familiarity of a son, I had grown to look on myself as such; and I think that is the real cause of my lack of eagerness to possess her... The day came at last, more dreaded than desired... Was I happy? No... I felt as if I had committed incest..."(189). This passage is not only related to both ethnographic and confessional discourse in its interest in the details of the sexual act and its effects, but it also predicts several precise points of interest to anthropologists, such as the details of a seduction or sexual act outside of marriage and the specifics of the breaking of the incest taboo.¹³

Within Rousseau's description of the defective nature of bourgeois kinship and sexual relations he is able to place himself within an act of incest by merely imaginatively reinventing the mother-son relationship in his life. This, of course, is the ethnographer's dream—being able to witness and record the fallout from a violation of the incest taboo. As an auto-ethnographer, Rousseau is his own dream come true. The fact that the fallout from "incest" helps to frame the physical and emotional crisis at the end of Book One of Les Confessions indicates that Rousseau understands both the power and the import of this autoethnographic revelation. In The Elementary Structures of Kinship (1949), Lévi-Strauss argued for a central role played by the invention of the incest taboo in the emergence of human culture. Almost 200 years earlier in Les Confessions, Rousseau

invents his own personal form of the incest taboo to mark the place where the natural setting at Chambéry begins to come apart and a young Jean-Jacques is cast out of a pastoral paradise to be fully submerged in the tight grip of culture. In his own way, Rousseau anticipates the argument that connects incest to culture.

The question of the role of the mother in the creation of the subject speaks directly to Augustine's confessional model. In Confession: Sexuality, Sin, and the Subject, Tambling sees Rousseau's disclosures concerning Madame de Warens as a continuation of Augustine's "confessional practice...[which] seems strongly linked to the mother" (25). This observation has the power of understatement when we consider that Rousseau's incestuous treatment of his "mamman" dramatically ironizes or at least problematizes Augustine's choice between his sexual appetites and his mistress on the one hand, and his mother and salvation on the other hand. For Rousseau, the mistress and the mother inhabit the same body, but the choice to sleep with "mamman" has painful consequences not for Rousseau's mortal soul but in that it ultimately leads to Rousseau's immersion in a defective culture. Without question, Rousseau understands how the role of the maternal is mirrored¹⁴ and reinterpreted from Augustine's confessional to his own.

Rousseau's revelations regarding his own sexuality do not end with his relationships with women. Autoerotic behaviors, including his previously mentioned appetite for physical discipline, are also investigated as part of Les Confessions' effort to reveal the whole truth. Rousseau's confessions of onanism are an important part of this agenda. Not only were these revelations of "self-love" unprecedented during Rousseau's time, but their power to capture the attention of an audience helped to make confessions of onanism a modern commonplace.¹⁵ Whereas previously public displays of male selfhood frequently focused on the subject's ability to keep from acts of "self-pollution," Les Confessions helps to initiate a major shift in the perception of both sexuality and onanism. Although Rousseau considers onanism largely in the negative light of his times, his willingness to expose this aspect of his own sexuality reveals some ambivalence

regarding the weight given to onanism in the early modern period, as both a sin and a symptom of a number of psychological and physical disorders. This ambivalence can be seen as portending a modern, more benign view of masturbation, because Rousseau believes, it is infinitely better to be seen as a masturbator than as an unreliable confessant.¹⁶

Rousseau's confessions of masochism and masturbation further challenge the reader to judge a confessant who has famously taunted anyone who dares to "reveal his heart...with equal sincerity" (Conf. 17). As Vernon Rosario concludes:

His confession of the "solitary vice" is special, however. Unlike the revelations of his coital intrigues, this is the sole erotic act that could have gone unmentioned without fear of ulterior revelation by anyone else. Its confession is thus the highest proof of his unreserved candor. The same can be said for Rousseau's confessions of his autoerotic punishment fantasies, to which no one would otherwise have had access. In Rousseau's construction of the "true knowledge" of humans, there is no better demonstration of naked truth than the revelation of one's erotic imagination. (35)

This point of view is also echoed powerfully by Thomas Kavanaugh's consideration that "writing the truth" in Rousseau's work is "a dialectical movement between authority and desire" (xi). In Les Confessions, Rousseau's own authority is heavily invested in confessing his desires. Any successful, thorough scrutiny of Rousseau's textual authority requires observing how Rousseau presents his confessions of onanism.

Importantly, Rousseau acquires his earliest knowledge of onanism alongside some of his first knowledge of the sexual act itself. In Book Two of Les Confessions, soon after leaving his apprenticeship in Geneva in 1728, and now financed by Madame de Warens' circle in Annecy, Rousseau proceeded to Turin for instruction that would lead to his conversion to Roman Catholicism. This journey establishes itself early as one that will

begin to carry Rousseau from sexual innocence toward experience. Not only had he just met Madame de Warens, who would soon play a major role in defining his sexuality, but Rousseau also traveled from Annecy to Turin with Monsieur Saban and his wife who was “rather quieter by day than by night.” Rousseau goes on to describe how while sharing a room with the Sabans “her noisy spells of sleeplessness frequently woke [him] up” and these spells would have kept him from even more sleep “if [he] had known the reason for them” (Conf., 63.) Quite graphically, Rousseau journeyed away from the moral surveillance that characterized the Geneva of his childhood into a much more openly sexual social climate. This “journey” will come to be defined by the changes wrought by this more voluptuous culture on Rousseau’s sexuality and personality.

If Madame de Warens and Madame Saban represent intriguing displays of female sexuality for the young, naïve Jean-Jacques, then the Croat who pressures him sexually while he was in the Turin hostel for converts represents what Rousseau sees as the darker side of the human sexual equation. In his description of his conversion at Turin in Les Confessions, Rousseau mentions two Croats who played the role of “Moors” so that they could have “themselves baptized whenever the rewards were sufficiently tempting” (Conf. 65-66). Rousseau points out that initially he attempted to give one of the two Moors the benefit of the doubt despite his “passionate glances” and more than affectionate kisses. Rousseau’s view of these men begins to change when one of the men asks him to share his bed. Rousseau refuses, but the next day, Rousseau reveals that, “[h]e resumed his caresses” until “he tried to work up to the most revolting liberties and...to make me take the same liberties with him.” Rousseau describes jumping free, scared but not angry in that he “had not the slightest idea what it was all about.” But after breaking free, his stomach turned and he was “more upset, more troubled, and more frightened” than he ever had been in his life after seeing “something whitish and sticky shoot towards the fireplace and fall on the ground.” Rousseau goes on to describe the Croat’s reaction to his ejaculation noting that he appears to the young Jean-Jacques to be

“having a fit of epilepsy or some other seizure more terrible” which produced a terrible aspect in the Serb’s face. In the end, Rousseau offers that there is “no more hideous sight for a man in cold blood than such foul and obscene behaviour, nothing more revolting than a terrifying face on fire with the most brutal lust” (Conf. 71).

What is immediately apparent in this brief but important section is that Rousseau is both repulsed and somehow attracted to this scene, despite the revulsion that he feels for the Croat. The young Jean-Jacques, who had begun to refocus the gaze which dominated his Genevan boyhood, took the time to pause and watch when confronted graphically with an illicit sexuality. This reaction, of course, is neither uncommon nor abnormal, also provides another instance of voyeurism, which easily fits the profile of the Rousseau who must both see and be seen. In light of Rousseau’s admissions of onanism later in Les Confessions, the reader can certainly infer that despite Rousseau’s speaking of having leaped away from the Croat, he remains close enough to observe the scene and learn some of the basics of onanism.

It is difficult to ignore the implications of this introduction to masturbation at the very moment of Rousseau’s conversion to Roman Catholicism. Not only does this moment further ironize the role played by conversion in the confessional since Augustine, but it also incriminates both religion specifically and culture more generally in the production of the individual’s sexual identity. This accusation is made even clearer in this same section of Les Confessions when Rousseau describes what happens when he shows a continuing willingness to expose the Croat’s activities. What Rousseau didn’t learn by watching the Croat is filled in by “one of the principals” in the Turin hostel who felt that “[t]here was nothing to get so annoyed about in having been found attractive.” This exchange continues, but with the principal taking a confessional line in announcing that “in his youth he had been similarly honoured and, having been surprised in a situation where he could put up no resistance, he had found nothing so brutal about it.” Rousseau points out that this exchange took place in public, with “an ecclesiastic

listening all the while who found the matter no more alarming than he” (Conf. 72). Not only do the Croat’s activities appear to prepare Rousseau’s own later confessed onanism, but the spontaneous, frank sexual confession just described itself provides a model for a large portion of Rousseau’s confessional project. Based on the situation that Rousseau describes here, the open confession of an illicit sexual act had the ability to shape or even abruptly change an audience’s interpretation of the act. This confessional power appears in Rousseau’s reaction to the conversation with the principal, when Rousseau remarks that the exchange made the entire incident appear so natural “that [he] finally believed that such things were no doubt the general practice of the world” (Conf. 72).

Of course, Rousseau goes on to confess to his own onanism on more than one occasion in Les Confessions. In his first admission, Rousseau associates masturbation with the time spent in Italy far more explicitly:

I had returned from Italy a different person from the one who had gone there. Perhaps no one of my age had ever come back in as strange a state as I. I had preserved my physical but not my moral virginity. The progress of the years had told upon me, and my restless temperament had at last made itself felt. Its first quite involuntary outbreak indeed had caused me some alarm about my health, a fact which illustrates better than anything else the innocence in which I had lived till then. Soon I was reassured, however, and learned that dangerous means of cheating Nature [*ce dangeureux supplément qui trompe la nature*], which leads in young men of my temperament to various kinds of excesses, that eventually imperil their health, their strength, and their lives. This vice, which shame and timidity find so convenient, has a particular attraction for lively imaginations. It allows them to dispose, so to speak, of the whole female sex at their will, and to make any beauty who tempts them serve their pleasure without the need of first obtaining her consent. Seduced by this

fatal advantage, I set about destroying the sturdy constitution which Nature had restored to me, and which I had allowed sufficient time to ripen. (108-9)¹⁷

Again, a personal crisis is associated with a physical and medical crisis which was, as mentioned earlier, an aspect of confessional discourse rooted in the Augustinian example. At this turn in Rousseau's life, the potential for continued medical problems increases because of the belief, developed during Rousseau's lifetime, that repeated onanism endangers human health.

Two publications that appeared before Les Confessions helped frame the European public's view of masturbation. The first was an unlikely but widely translated anonymous English pamphlet with the very descriptive title of Onania; or, the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution, and All Its Frightful Consequences, in both Sexes, Considered, with Spiritual and Physical Advice to those, who have already injur'd themselves by this abominable Practice, originally published around 1710. The second work, by the Swiss doctor Samuel-Auguste-André-David Tissot, was entitled Onanism, or A Treatise upon the Disorders Produced by Masturbation (1760). Most striking about these two texts, for the purposes of this study, is their clearly defined confessional dynamics. Both Onania and Onanism relied on letters and testimonials to secure a troubling view of the practitioners of the solitary vice.¹⁸ The letters frequently echo the personality traits and problems of Rousseau, probably because the readers of medical texts would tend toward involvement in some variety of intellectual work and would therefore have problems like Rousseau's. Also, Tissot's later publication of On the Health of Men of Letters (1766) reveals that he took a particular interest in the study of health problems associated with intellectuals like Rousseau.

Vernon Rosario reports that Rousseau and Tissot began a long friendship and correspondence after Tissot read Rousseau's Emile and was buoyed by the attack on onanism found there (22-24). In Book IV of Emile, working to confront what he saw as

the darker side of the emergence of sexual desire in Emile's teens, the tutor "Jean-Jacques" proposes to support the virtues of chastity in his young charge by presenting "him with a striking and true picture of the horrors of debauchery, of its foolish degradation, of the gradual decline by which a first disorder leads to them all and finally drags to destruction whoever succumbs to it" (324). Later in Book IV, in an effort to save Emile from himself and prevent this "gradual decline," Rousseau again reinvents the "inquisitorial gaze." Speaking to his fellow pedagogues, Emile's tutor declares:

He can protect himself from everything else, but it is up to you to protect him from himself. Do not leave him alone, day or night. At the very least, sleep in his room. Distrust instinct as soon as you no longer limit yourself to it. It is good as long as it acts by itself; it is suspect from the moment it operates within man-made institutions... Once he knows this dangerous supplement, he is lost... If a tyrant must subjugate you [Emile], I prefer to yield you to one from whom I can deliver you. Whatever happens, I shall tear you away more easily from women than from yourself. (334)

These "man-made institutions" of course fall under the rubric of "culture," whose negative powers Rousseau's pedagogical text continually works to minimize. For "Jean-Jacques," Emile's tutor, the battle to give Emile the necessary strength to confront the denaturing effects of culture, including the solitary vice, focuses on his pupil's imagination. As Rousseau reported in his own admission of onanism from Les Confessions above, this habit "has a particular attraction for lively imaginations."

A typical example of a confession taken from Onanism foregrounds the connection between masturbation and the imagination that is a vital part of the mechanism of Rousseau's confessed masturbation and vital to his cultural critique:

Many efforts are necessary... to conquer a habit which every moment recalls to our imagination. I own to you, not without blushing, the sight of any female object whatever creates desires in me... I am no longer

troubled with the passion, it is true: I at the same time call to mind all your advice: I combat, -- but the conflict exhausts me. If you could find some means of diverting my thoughts from these objects, I believe my cure would be at hand. (78-79)

As is the with Tissot's patients and Rousseau himself, once the battle for the imagination is lost, the road back is a long, difficult one. Here, as in Rousseau, the emphasis frequently stresses the overactive imagination rather than the act of onanism itself. For Rousseau, onanism brings together the effects of an expanding imagination with a further departure from a healthy, coital sexuality, qualities that characterize his journey away from the state of nature. His famous description of onanism as *ce dangeureux supplément qui trompe la nature* is an indication of how he envisions the act itself and the role that it plays in his autoethnographic narrative of being denatured. Onanism is then Rousseau's perfect autoethnographic and confessional "trope": it feeds the confessional's desire for sexual revelations and extreme verisimilitude, while simultaneously confronting the corrosive effects of culture.

The parallels between the confessions of Tissot's patients and Rousseau increase when one considers the levels of potential hypochondria present in these confessions, a problem that Tissot notes is "no uncommon attendant" to onanism (31). Taking another anonymous letter printed in Onanism as an example reveals the nature of the proximity between some of the more hyperbolic discourse of Tissot's patients and Rousseau when it comes to fielding numerous physical complaints: "...I am extremely weak...I have continual pains in all parts of my body, but particularly my shoulders; I suffer greatly with pains in my breast...I have pains in my stomach...if I read a page or two, my eyes water, and are very sore; involuntary sighs frequently escape from me" (30). Within the context of an increase in confessional medico-scientific literature in the eighteenth century, it is not surprising that "the secularization and medicalization of morality" which was "part of a common trend in the Enlightenment" (Rosario, 19) would allow for a

proximate view of onanism between Rousseau's and Tissot's works. Perhaps more provocative is that the languid, weakened state of the onanist constitutes Rousseau's early form of "Romantic agony." This relationship implies contact between Romanticism's sense of the emerging modern subject, and autoeroticism.

In her 1978 work Illness as Metaphor, Susan Sontag described the tropological value of tuberculosis as "a disease of the soul" during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (18). Sontag's view of this cultural phenomenon posits an intergral connection between the emerging view of this "disease of the soul" and the seemingly passionate or "reckless and sexual" (21) lives of the Romantics themselves which conflates the much older idea "of a "diseased" love, [and] of a passion that "consumes"" with the consumptiveness connected to tuberculosis (20). Sontag ultimately connects this process to the notion of "Romantic agony," probably best exemplified in the languid, tubercular biography of Keats. The recurrence of disease at times of crisis in Rousseau's Les Confessions enables a similar tropological reading of these recurring bouts with an uncooperative body. While large portions of Rousseau's pathologies appear to conform to Sontag's view of "Romantic Agony," in this case minus tuberculosis, Rousseau's agon seems to develop out of his autoethnographic way of seeing; namely, as a form of his identification with "l'homme sauvage." The ultimate source of Rousseau's "diseased soul" is the surrounding culture. Rousseau does not suffer from tuberculosis, but if a particular pathology be a necessary part of the formation of Romantic Agony, then his well-known melancholic personality fits into an acknowledged category of disease surrounding the literary culture of Romanticism.¹⁹

Late in Illness as Metaphor, Sontag expands her discussion of the role of disease in Romantic agony to include the proposition that the Romantic metaphors of disease built on and redirected a long history of cultural critique that used "an infection in the "body politic"" as its metaphorical palette. What changed during the Romantic period was that the "relatively contentless" traditional disease metaphors were exchanged for far

more specific images of contagion, infection, etc. which “suggest[ed] a profound disequilibrium between individual and society, with society conceived as the individual’s adversary” (72-73). It is in this climate that Rousseau’s repeated bouts with disease and/or illness help to mark places in the text where the process of denaturing takes an important turn, beginning arguably with his birth, at which he was “almost born dead” and had to be nursed carefully back to health (Conf., 19).

Rousseau returns frequently to the rhetoric of sickness and disease in Les Confessions in a manner that exposes a potential psychological, as well as a tropological logic. Rousseau’s physical crisis of the mid to late 1730’s, which precipitates his visit to the physicians at Montpellier, is a good example from which to consider the implications of Rousseau’s repeated medical problems. This example is made even more attractive because we have already spent some time with it in this section, as it relates to Rousseau’s sexual relationships with Madame de Warens and Madame de Larnage; so it will be possible to discuss this incident without having to go over large tracts of old ground, while revealing some of the complications of Rousseau’s rhetoric in much greater depth.

Previous to his trip to Montpellier during which he met Madame de Larnage, Rousseau complains of his health in a manner similar to that of the invalid from Onanism quoted above: “I was deathly pale and thin as a skeleton...I was continually short of breath, and finally I became so weak that I found it difficult to move” (Conf. 235). These symptoms vanish, at least briefly, when he meets Madame de Larnage. In fact, the first sentence of Rousseau’s description of his trip to Montpellier remarks ironically on the relationship between sex and his medical problems: “I did not have to go as far as that to discover the doctor I needed” (Conf. 236). Clearly, Rousseau is commenting on the affair with Madame de Larnage which will take place on the road to Montpellier. Rousseau’s amusing observation appears to be supported very much in fact when later in Les Confessions he observes that, “[o]n the road I had forgotten that I was sick... While

distracted by violent passions therefore, I ceased to think of my condition” (Conf., 244). This interesting moment of good health indicates the possibility that Rousseau’s illnesses, although not necessarily entirely psychosomatic,²⁰ are themselves activated by the battle between nature and culture which he embodies in Les Confessions. When Rousseau reveals that “[f]or once I was myself” when he was with Madame de Larnage (Conf., 239), a comment made more complex by Rousseau’s masquerading as “Dudding,” not only does the proximity between Rousseau’s sexuality and his autoethnographic sense of embodying the qualities of savage man begin to come into better focus, but he reveals a deeper psychological and physical connection between his body and his culture. Not unexpectedly, the inability to act on his desires appears to have produced physical symptoms that are easily eliminated when he has access to the object of desire.

The circumstances surrounding the apparent resolution of the remainder of Rousseau’s medical problems late in Les Confessions participate in making this text’s form of cultural critique even more plain. At the time that The Social Contract and Emile are published and Rousseau’s choice to live outside Paris becomes a life in exile, the veil of the imagination is lifted and a number of Rousseau’s medical problems cease. These events take place in Book 11 of Les Confessions, which recounts the happenings in Rousseau’s life in 1761-62. Rousseau weaves two narratives of disease in this section. The first narrative speaks to Rousseau’s four years of misery while living at Montmorency, culminating in a severe illness related to having a piece of catheter break off and remain unretrievable in his urethra. The second narrative speaks to the decay of the finances and political life of the French state following the Seven Years War (Conf. 522). Not only is Rousseau potentially working to provide a metaphorical parallel for his disease and near collapse in the “body politic” of the French state, but he finally arrives at the point of the French state’s imminent collapse, after having shown the reader the treachery and double dealings of the French ruling classes and literary elites throughout the second half of Les Confessions. But the complexion of this parallel changes after a

well-known surgeon named Brother Côme examines Rousseau extensively with a probe; at first thinking that Rousseau has a stone, but in the end feeling that his problem is “that the prostate gland was scirrhus and abnormally swollen.” When Rousseau is told that he will feel pain but likely live for a long time, his world abruptly changes:

Thus after having been successively treated over so many years for diseases which I had not got, I was finally informed that my complaint was incurable although not mortal, and would last for the rest of my days. My imagination was restrained by this information and no longer showed me the prospect of a cruel death in the agonies of stone. I ceased to fear that the end of a catheter, which had broken in my urethra a long time ago, had formed the nodule of a stone. Delivered from imaginary ills crueller than my real ones, I endured the latter more patiently. Certainly, since that time I have suffered much less from my malady than I had done before...(328)

Preparing to be expelled from France, portions of the denaturing process are now reversed allowing Rousseau to move closer to the ideal of the noble savage. The power dynamics that Rousseau fights via confessional autoethnography make the expansive mapping and analyzing of his body urgent and necessary.²¹

In his now-famous 1967 reading of Rousseau’s Les Confessions, Jacques Derrida expanded on Rousseau’s idea of onanism as “that dangerous supplement” to include the relationships between speech and writing as well as nature and culture. In Derrida’s view, Rousseau is fighting a philosophical battle in Les Confessions that he cannot win because priority cannot be given to nature over culture or speech over writing when these ideas depend on each other for their definitions. One is always buttressed or made possible by the other. To expand on both Derrida’s and Rousseau’s notions of the supplement, it is difficult to ignore the supplemental relationship between Rousseau and his “l’homme sauvage” in Les Confessions. Rousseau is difficult to define, because it is impossible to

give priority to Rousseau's historical anthropology over his autobiography. In this case too, the one is always buttressed or made possible by the other, which is easily characterized as a form of *différance* that persists in both anthropology and autobiography into the present. Rousseau's autoethnography, which relies on confessions focused on the body and its sexuality, views the author's body as the point of separation between the self and a "savage" other. The body becomes the place where the battle with a diseased culture is played out, then that same body become the text, or is written on to the text, where that battle is then described. Textuality and sexuality are made supplementary by this rhetorical and philosophical system.

The act of reading is also an important part of the fabric of Rousseau's and Derrida's "dangerous supplement." Not only does the eighteenth century introduce steamy novels and other literature that Rousseau refers to as "*ces dangereux livres*" that are meant to be read "*d'une main*" (Conf.: O.C. I, 40),²² but reading itself participates in kindling the imagination in numerous ways. At the heart of Rousseau's problems with the wider culture is his willingness to throw himself wholeheartedly into imaginative reading with apparently dangerous results. In the first Book of Les Confessions, reading the wrong varieties of books in amazing numbers feeds an almost "runaway" imagination that makes the search for supplements appear to be involuntary. It is worth reminding ourselves that this psychology is central to Rousseau's critique of European culture and is vital to Rousseau's motivations for the cultural descriptions that are a part of his autoethnographic approach. The effects of reading are frequently treated in Les Confessions both because of reading's effect on the imagination and because the books themselves are part of a wider cultural pattern that Rousseau works to reveal.

Reading is central to Rousseau's consciousness early in Book One of Les Confessions: he "date[s] the unbroken consciousness" of existence to the time when, around five or six years old, he began to learn to read. Often staying up late into the night with his father to read novels that his mother had owned, Rousseau moved from merely

learning to read to an intense interest in the material he was reading. In describing the effects that these novels had on a very young Jean-Jacques, Rousseau defines a lifelong confusion he felt because of his very early exposure to novels:

In a short time I acquired by this dangerous method, not only an extreme facility in reading and expressing myself, but a singular insight for my age into the passions. I had no idea for the facts, but I was already familiar with every feeling. I had grasped nothing; I had sensed everything. These confused emotions which I experienced one after another, did not warp my reasoning powers in any way, for as yet I had none. But they shaped them after a special pattern, giving me the strangest and most romantic notions about human life, which neither experience nor reflection has ever succeeded in curing me of. (*Conf.* 20)

“This dangerous method” [*cette dangereuse methode*] is both closely related to and echoed by “that dangerous supplement” [*ce dangeureux supplément*] and “those” previously-mentioned “dangerous books” [*ces dangereux livres*]. This network of dangers or the dangerous is vitally linked to the problems of Rousseau’s imagination, which is frequently active because of what Rousseau refers to as “romantic notions.” Books are the conduit through which the defects of the wider culture begin to redirect Rousseau’s imagination. Arguably, what Rousseau describes can be considered as an important part of the cultural conditions of the beginnings of Romanticism itself, which is also frequently traced to his work. And, as we remind ourselves so often, the wider availability of literature distributed to an ever-wider public marks the conditions of the European bourgeoisie during Rousseau’s lifetime and thereafter.

Having read his mother’s collection of novels in its entirety, Rousseau and his father turned to the works in her library that had once belonged to her father. Because he had been a minister, the collection included titles appropriate to “a man of learning” including Lesueur’s History of Church and Empire, Ovid’s Metamorphoses, and

Plutar

intere

these

works

and o

Thus,

child.

"gras

writin

imag

proce

Rous

ways

La T.

appre

"[r]e

searc

moth

repee

philo

able

mak

dom

from

imag

Plutarch's Lives. Rousseau identifies Plutarch as his favorite and traces his lifelong interest in Greece and Rome, which is so easy to locate in many of his works, to reading these books to his father while he worked. Although Rousseau sees this second set of works as helping him to develop "a sound taste," having begun his reading with novels and other adult works of imagination always remains problematic throughout his life. Thus, works such as Plutarch's Lives themselves become dangerous to an imaginative child, who, for example, while reading the story of Scaevola, frightens his family by "grasping a chafing dish in imitation of that hero" (Conf. 20-21). Whether Rousseau is writing or reading, the relationship between the written page and the dangers of the imagination are never lost.

Rousseau's overindulged reading habit effectively carries out the denaturing process that is one of the issues of singular importance in the design of Les Confessions. Rousseau's reading is foregrounded again and again throughout the text and in many ways drives the narrative forward by itself alone, as when Rousseau reads through Mme La Tribu's entire lending library, including numerous books of poor quality, while apprenticed in Geneva. This reading stimulated Rousseau's imagination and left him "[r]evolted by everything" (Conf. 48) leading to his ultimate decision to flee Geneva in search of the castles, ladies, and intrigues that had populated the books in both his mother's and Mme La Tribu's libraries. Later, a period of voracious reading will be repeated while Rousseau lives with Madame de Warens when his studies of philosophical, political, musical, and other texts will become the ground from which he is able to begin his career as a writer in Paris. This latter period of voracious reading then makes the most "unnatural" portion of Rousseau's life possible. The "danger" of books dominates the transitional periods in Rousseau's life and promotes dramatic moves away from nature and toward culture.

A good example of the danger that certain varieties of reading held for Rousseau's imagination can be found in his reading of medical and anatomy texts during his idyllic

period with de Warens near Chambéry. Rousseau describes this reading and its effects as follows:

To complete my undoing, I had varied my reading with a little physiology, and had begun to study anatomy. When I surveyed the number and workings of the various parts that compose the human frame I expected to feel all mine going wrong twenty times a day. Far from being astonished at finding myself to be dying, I was amazed still to be alive, and there was not an illness of which I read the description that I did not imagine to be mine. Since I found in every disease some symptom of my own, I believed that I had them all; and on top of this I contracted a still more cruel complaint from which I had thought myself free; the wild desire to be cured which is very difficult to avoid when one begins to read medical books. (Conf. 235-36)

Again, reading drives the action in Les Confessions because it precipitates the trip to visit medical doctors in Montpellier on which Rousseau meets and finds his temporary “cure” in the arms of Madame de Larnage. The passage above makes clear that there is a direct cause and effect relationship between the dangerous text and Rousseau’s imagination. The medical books with their lists of maladies and symptoms are all taken immediately to heart, as is the medical text’s frequent desire to find a cure. Interestingly, Rousseau replies to Tissot’s gift of a copy of Onanism in July of 1762 saying that he had read the book despite the fact that he no longer read any books, especially medical books.²³ Of course, it is difficult to take Rousseau at his word on this but it is easy to see why he might attempt to stop reading in light of what he has to say about its unnatural effects in Les Confessions.

Despite his later attempts to mitigate reading’s effects, Rousseau’s ability to locate himself in a text is both prolific and central to his constructions of self. Whether he is propelled to seek out “castles in Spain” by novels, laments having not been born Greek

or Roman after the fashion of the famous men found in Plutarch and the other classics, or finds himself barely alive after reading an anatomy text, Rousseau's self and self-othering are largely informed by books. This intertextuality easily translates to his own work and allows him to see himself as the "l'homme sauvage" that he repeatedly ruminates about. This process was certainly fueled by the reading of the proto-ethnographies that helped Rousseau envision himself as a "savage."

One of Rousseau's more persistent, often overlooked intertexts is DeFoe's Robinson Crusoe. A brief discussion of this text in relation to Rousseau and his work will help reveal the role "Robinson" appears to have played in helping to establish the possibilities of an autoethnographic way of seeing. The influence of realism from the novel, travel writing, etc. on writing in anthropology and sociology continue to be widely acknowledged; so it should not be surprising that the prose style and contents of novels generally, or a specific novel such as Robinson Crusoe, could be a model for Rousseau's approach to his own variety of autoethnography. When that novel is written in the first person, supposedly by Crusoe himself, and claims in its preface "to be a just History of Fact" (3) the beginnings of a non-Augustinian model for Les Confessions begins to appear.

Rousseau's best-known remarks regarding Robinson Crusoe come from Emile, in which the tutor proposes that only one novel will be made available to Emile to read before reaching adulthood: "This book will be the first that my Emile will read. For a long time it will compose his whole library...It will be the text for which all of our discussions of natural science will serve only as a commentary...Is it Aristotle? Is it Pliny? Is it Buffon? No. It is *Robinson Crusoe*" (184). That Crusoe becomes the equivalent of a "workbook" to which a large portion of Emile's education is "only a commentary" indicates the importance that Rousseau connects to DeFoe's castaway. Of course, as stated above, Rousseau saw a grave danger in how books expand the imagination "increasing thereby the desire, the hopes, and the fears beyond the realm of

the necessary” (Bloom, 7). Rousseau’s tutor knows that he cannot entirely prevent both the eventual flowering of Emile’s imagination and his eventual contact with works of literature. Thus, Crusoe’s experience of being shipwrecked on an island allows Emile’s tutor the luxury of a first novel which is didactic and speaks directly to the issues of the actions of the “natural man,” something that Rousseau is attempting also to unveil in his approach to Emile’s education. As Allen Bloom points out, Crusoe is meant to give Emile “a vision of the whole and a standard for the judgement of both things and men” (7).

One of the more telling details in how the tutor presents Crusoe to Emile is the way he insists on editing the text before allowing his pupil to read it. The tutor will give Emile the text, as he says, “disencumbered of all its rigamarole,” taking only the portion of the novel “beginning with Robinson’s shipwreck near his island and ending with the arrival of the ship which comes to take him from it” (Emile 185). In the Robinson Crusoe Story, Martin Green reports that this editing had more than a passing effect on the book that was quite possibly the second most published book in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, after the Bible (19-20). Not only did the tutor’s edited version of Robinson Crusoe quickly become “a major textbook of the Enlightenment” (Crusoe Story 33) to be delivered to the student at what some German pedagogues referred to as the “Robinsonalter,” but since the publication of Emile in 1762, most readers have “taken Robinson Crusoe to be what Rousseau made it” (Crusoe Story, 40). Rousseau removes Crusoe’s initial confrontation with his father about the advantages of taking up a bourgeois occupation, which removes a large portion of the story that reflects directly on the problems and questions that Rousseau tangled with as a teenager in Book I of Les Confessions. Of course, it is too soon for Emile to be exposed to this kind of cultural “rigamarole,” because Rousseau’s stated pedagogical goal is to remove his pupil from the traps of the wider culture until he is both strong and mature enough to cross this minefield without being entirely denatured. By limiting Crusoe to the island and the

concerns of the individual, the text becomes a “field guide” for the development of a more natural temperment and imagination.

Limiting Defoe’s narrative to the island also has two other profound effects on this work that are important to the emergence of an autoethnographic way of seeing: the allegorical power of the narrative is made even more central and pronounced and the focus on Crusoe’s material culture and everydayness become even more particularly foregrounded in the text. Regarding the first of these two effects, Rousseau is very clear in Emile that in limiting the world of Crusoe to his island, he is working to create an everyman who will drive Emile’s activities and worldview. As Rousseau describes this effect, one cannot but perceive the quality of self-othering in the manner in which Emile is expected to make use of Crusoe:

I want it to make him dizzy; I want him constantly to be busy with his mansion, his goats, his plantations; I want him to learn in detail, not from books but from things...I want him to think he is Robinson himself, to see himself dressed in skins, wearing a large cap, carrying a large saber and all the rest of the character’s grotesque equipment...I want him to worry about the measures to take if this or that were lacking to him...to note Robinson’s failings attentively; and to profit from them so as not to fall into them himself in such a situation. This is the true “castle in Spain” of this happy age when one knows no other happiness than the necessities and freedom. (185)

Thus the process of becoming “Robinson,” not only teaches Emile necessary problem solving skills, but it also steers the imagination in a positive direction that runs in opposition to the “castle in Spain” -- the clichéd romantic setting in the imaginative literature of Rousseau’s day. The “realistic” needs of a Robinson forced to live in direct contact with nature merge with the needs of a young Emile who is receiving a natural education in preparation for returning aspects of nature to interactions among men.

Both the form and content of Les Confessions make Rousseau's interest in Crusoe clear. The parallels between the lives of Rousseau and the fictional Crusoe are difficult to ignore. As Georges Pire points out in his article "*J.-J. Rousseau et Robinson Crusoé*," from the outset of Defoe's novel, which begins "I was born in the Year 1632, in the city of York, of a good Family...", the setting as well as Crusoe's situation are echoed by Rousseau in Les Confessions (480-82). Not only are Rousseau's and Crusoe's families originally foreigners (Rousseau descended from French Huguenot refugees transplanted in Geneva and Crusoe born to a German father from Bremen who has started a family in England) but their socio-economic conditions are also uncannily similar. Both Rousseau and Crusoe are the sons of an older parent or parents and both these young men struggle with the bleak prospect of the long, dull apprenticeships necessary for attaining what Crusoe's father tells Robinson is the preferred "middle station of Life" (5). Crusoe's romanticized vision of life at sea is countered by Rousseau's imaginative "castles in Spain," or as he writes in Les Confessions at the point when he is leaving Geneva, "a single castle was the limit" of his ambitions for a "modest future" (52). Rousseau and Crusoe share not only a similar socio-economic condition early in life, but their remedies were the same: sneak away from home rather than pay the awful price necessary for living the life of the bourgeoisie.

Later in Les Confessions, Rousseau is very specific about seeing himself as a "Robinson." Immediately before the end of his autobiography, Rousseau enjoys a final respite and a brief period of happiness on an island named St.-Pierre, a Bernese possession in Lake Bienne. In many ways, this period of less than a year is foregrounded in the text because it is the one final image on which Les Confessions lingers before Rousseau is again chased from Bernese territory and forced into a more permanent exile, an event that occurs outside the confines of Les Confessions. On L'Isle St.-Pierre, Rousseau discovers the joys of botany and plans to write a *Flora Petrinsularis*. Rousseau describes his frequent trips in a rowboat to a small nearby island: "...I generally followed

a settled plan. I would go and land on the little island, walk there for an hour or two; or lie down on top of its grassy hill to glut myself with the joy of gazing on the lake and its surroundings...or to build, like another Robinson Crusoe, an imaginary dwelling on this little isle" (594). Not only is Rousseau equating his status as an exile with Crusoe, but like a young Emile raised to consider ideas through the lens of Crusoe, he is using his imagination to place himself in the position of Robinson, as an expression of how far he has come in abandoning the negative influences of culture. Certainly, Rousseau's identification with Crusoe must have continued beyond this moment and it was probably reinforced by the subsequent trip to England, Europe's largest island, where Rousseau felt more isolated than ever. This theory is also supported by the character "Rousseau," the previously mentioned participant in the Dialogues, who describes visiting a "Jean-Jacques" in the 1770's who "always loved solitude." Because of "his fondness for the novel Robinson Crusoe" the character "Rousseau" feels that the true "Jean-Jacques" "would not have thought himself as unhappy as Crusoe did confined to his desert island" (117-18). Later in the Second Dialogue, Rousseau describes himself as "more alone in the middle of Paris than Robinson on his island" (128). Rousseau began to write Les Confessions in 1764, just before arriving at L'Isle St.-Pierre; the writing continued while he was living in England and was completed at about the time Rousseau was allowed to return to Paris in 1770. It is certainly possible that the overlap between Rousseau's and Defoe's narratives has as much to do with these serendipitous events as it does with the ability of a real or imagined island to provoke images of Robinson in Rousseau's imagination. The Dialogues were written between 1772 and 1776 when Rousseau had returned to Paris but was forced by the authorities to stay out of the public eye. Rousseau's self-image as "Crusoe" appears to have survived beyond the time he spent in exile.

Given that the image of a man alone on a desert island strongly affected Rousseau's mind and imagination, how did it inflect an emergent autoethnographic way

of

En

for

Le

an

bu

we

Th

De

st

ha

st

Eng

fi

ere

how

pers

ur

pers

to d

para

con

con

Plan

hire

S

of seeing? To answer this question, one need only open the portion of Crusoe that was Emile's required reading. Defoe's novel is itself autoethnographic. The extremely focused first-person point of view and plain style are familiar to readers of Rousseau's Les Confessions, but what is striking is that Crusoe writes his own story by being his own anthropologist. We are told what tools he salvages and fashions. We are shown how he builds his shelter and clothes. We witness how he manages to catch and grow food, and we are there when Crusoe discovers the limits and possibilities of his own selfhood. In The Second Common Reader, Virginia Woolf both playfully and seriously describes Defoe's novel as a book about "an earthenware pot," in that "unimpeded by comment, the story marches on with magnificent downright simplicity" (46-7). Robinson Crusoe would have needed only to have been a graduate student measuring the distances between structures in his "village" and later "collecting" his earthenware pot to take back to England for further study for the full image of a first attempt at autoethnographic fieldwork to be complete. Woolf saw Defoe's unadorned style, focused on the beauty of everyday things, as the new voice of the English middle class. It is not difficult to see how this voice could have spoken to and been modeled by Rousseau in the plain, personal style of Les Confessions.

With the emergence of bourgeois subjectivity comes a persist autoethnographic urge. It is there when Crusoe describes himself and when he describes the Other, in the person of Friday. It is also there when Rousseau searches to find a language with which to describe himself and his own otherness. In Culture and Imperialism, Said located the parallel histories of the novel and empire beginning with the emergence of the conquering of bourgeois culture as embodied in Robinson Crusoe (70). Within this context, it is difficult to disconnect the bourgeois imagination, even in literature, from Platt's idea of a powerful "planetary consciousness." It is striking that Rousseau fancied himself a new Robinson in 1765, prowling the Isle St.-Pierre with a copy of Lineaus's Systema in his hand, while he worked simultaneously on the autoethnographic Les

Confessions. As his own life approached his image of the natural man, a confessional autoethnography became the system that allowed him to describe and categorize the emergence of this “self-other.”

¹ Another example can be found in Book I of Les Confessions:

Such were the first affections of my dawning years; and thus there began to form in me, or to display itself for the first time, a heart at once proud and affectionate, and a character at once effeminate and inflexible, which by always wavering between weakness and courage, between self-indulgence and virtue, has throughout my life set me in conflict with myself, to such effect that abstinence and enjoyment, pleasure and prudence have alike alluded me (23).

² Of course, because the Emile and Les Confessions were originally published 20 years apart, the autobiographical nature of Rousseau’s tutor may have been much less clear to his readers in the 1760’s when Emile first appeared, than it is now post-Confessions. A dramatically clear example of Rousseau’s collision with his tutor “Jean-Jacques” occurs in Book II of Emile in a section where the tutor is discussing the use of night games to minimize fear. The tutor begs his readers’ pardon for recalling his own childhood within the text. The tutor explains that he “recall[s] more gladly what [he] did at ten than at thirty” and begins to recall an incident that clearly comes out of Rousseau’s period at Bossey and which makes up a large part of Book I of Les Confessions:

I was in the country boarding with a minister named M. Lamercier. I had a comrade and a cousin who was richer than I and who was treated as an heir, while I, far away from my father, was only a poor orphan. My big cousin Bernard was a poltroon to a singular degree, especially at night. I mocked him so much for his fright that M. Lamercier, bored by my boasting, wanted to put my courage to the test. One autumn evening when it was too dark, he gave me the key to the temple and told me to go and get from the pulpit the Bible that had been left there...(135-6)

The young and intrepid tutor succeeds in overcoming his fear of the dark temple on his second try to retrieve the Bible that evening.

³ An interesting example can be found in Book Seven of Les Confessions which describes Rousseau’s troubled association with the French Embassy in Venice in the mid 1740’s. In this example, Rousseau takes credit for personally thwarting a insurrection plot in the Abruzzi during the War of the Austrian Succession. Maurice Cranston finds no evidence in the archives of the French Foreign Office (Cranston 1983, 183) which “justifies acceptance” of Rousseau’s bold claim “that it is perhaps thanks to the much abused *Jean-Jacques* that the Bourbons owe the preservation of the Kingdom of Naples” (Conf. 288; the italics are my own).

⁴ There is a history of connecting Rousseau’s theoretical works to the social sciences but Lévi-Strauss is unique in his insistence on connecting anthropology to Les Confessions. For the theoretical connection, see: Emil Durkheim, Montesquieu and Rousseau: The Forerunners of Sociology trans. Ralph Manheim (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960) 65-155; Michèle Duchet, Anthropologie et Histoire au siècle des lumières: Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, Diderot (Paris: Françoise Maspero, 1971) 323-376; Victor Goldschmidt, Anthropologie et Politique: Les Principes du Système de Rousseau (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1974); and Ronald Meek, Social Science and the Ignoble Savage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) 76-91.

⁵ Lévi-Strauss alludes momentarily to “self-othering” without using the term by pointing out:

Rousseau speaks eloquently of himself in the third person as “he” (sometimes even splitting “he” into two distinct parts in the Dialogues) heralding the famous formula “The me is another” (the anthropologist does the same thing before proceeding to show that other people are men like himself, or in other words, the other is me.) (“Rousseau,” 12)

⁶ The italics appear in the original.

⁷ For a chance to listen to what happens on the inside of the confessional booth see Norberto Valentini and Clara De Meglio’s sociological study Sex and the Confessional trans. Melton S. Davis (New York: Stein and Day, 1974) which transcribes numerous recordings of confessions focused on sexual issues. Sexual confessions appear to be close to the norm. Valentini and De Meglio report that “a 1966 survey in

France indicates that 83 per cent of the sins confessed to the priest are of a sexual nature" (13). There are a number of particularly interesting and potentially "Rousseauvian" confessions included in this study in which the penitent insists that the church's narrow view on sexuality is wrong and "unnatural."

For a more general sociological treatment of the confession see Mike Hepworth and Bryan S Turner's Confession: Studies in Deviance and Religion (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982).

⁸ For a discussion of impact of Le Sentiment des citoyens on Rousseau's decision to write Les Confessions, see Maurice Cranston's The Solitary Self, pp. 102-109.

⁹ For a consideration of this scene which sees it as central to Rousseau's personality and sexuality see Phillippe Lejeune's Le Pacte Autobiographique. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975. pp. 49-85.

¹⁰ As Huntington Williams points out, this persona allows Rousseau to maintain the kind of distance that was so integral to his personality:

It is no doubt true that Rousseau becomes a man, in the sexual sense of the word, only when he is an 'other' man, and that the pseudonym is as necessary for their erotic enjoyment as is the insistence of Mme de Larnage. In fact his misrepresentation probably heightens the passion of the affair. (76)

¹¹ In The Sexual Politics of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1984), Joel Schwartz sees Rousseau's attempt at a "savage" form of sexuality in Les Confessions in the foregrounding of carnal, simple, and "apolitical" sexual relations of the state of nature, something that he feels that Rousseau does not excel in:

Among other respects, Rousseau is abnormal in that he rejects the political character of sexual relationships, despite the evident attraction that he finds in submission to women. This rejection again indicates his similarity to savage man. For in the primordial state of nature, sex was not yet political; men and women united sexually at fleeting intervals, in brief encounters, but basically remained as self-sufficient integers. But what was true in the primordial state of nature obviously can no longer simply be true for Rousseau; for the man who enjoys lying "at the feet of an imperious mistress," sexual relation are no longer conceivable without sexual dominance. Sex was originally apolitical because savages enjoyed "the physical" without experiencing "the moral" "in the sentiment of love"... This is impossible for Rousseau; in this sense he cannot be considered a natural man. (100)

I disagree with Schwartz here only in how he emphasizes Rousseau's loss of status as a natural man. That he is losing his ability to be considered a natural man is in fact Rousseau's point in analyzing his sexuality in Les Confessions, because it is the process of denaturing that he is working to emphasize.

For another expanded discussion of Rousseau's theories on the sexual life of savages that is focused on the political ramifications of the Second Discourse, see Kavanaugh, 10-40.

¹² Rousseau others himself further at this point in Les Confessions by allowing his narration to slip out of the first person for effect: "...our correspondence went steadily on, and Rousseau kindly undertook to collect his friend Dudding's letters" (245). This passage clearly echoes the activities of the so-called "editor" that Rousseau invents for the framing of the love letters in his epistolary novel, Julie, or The New Heloise.

¹³ Foucault mentions anthropology in passing in the first volume of The History of Sexuality only with regards to the issue of incest: "By devoting so much effort to an endless reworking of the transcultural theory of the incest taboo, anthropology has proved worthy of the whole modern deployment of sexuality and the theoretical discourses it generates" (110).

¹⁴ This mirroring can be said to begin at the start of Les Confessions. While Augustine's description of his life in The Confessions more or less ends with his mother's death, Rousseau's begins with the death of the mother.

¹⁵ See, notably, the screen memory near the beginning of Gide's Si le grain ne meurt.

¹⁶ Jean Stengers and Anne Van Neck argue in Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror trans. Kathryn A. Hoffmann (New York: Palgrave, 2001), that although "the basic modern arsenal of anti-masturbatory terror is already in place" in Emile, published in 1762, the "atmosphere of horror surrounding masturbation" in the nineteenth century had yet to take hold (58-59). The mid to late eighteenth-century can be said to have allowed a confession of onanism that the nineteenth-century could not have accepted.

¹⁷ I have interwoven a portion of Rousseau's original (O.C. I, 109) because Cohen's 1953 translation erases the important sense of *that dangerous supplement*, which Derrida highlighted in On Grammatology in 1967. Derrida's reading of this passage will be taken up later in this chapter.

¹⁸ Much of the discussion builds on Vernon Rosario's excellent The Erotic Imagination: French Histories of Perversity (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). See his chapter entitled "Onanists: The Public Threat of Phantastical Pollutions" (pp. 13-44) for a discussion of Rousseau, Onania, and Onanism. Two cultural histories of masturbation have recently been published that also cover the same ground: Jean Stengers and Anne Van Neck's previously mentioned Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror Trans. Kathryn A. Hoffmann (2001) pp. 37-99 and Thomas W. Laqueur. Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation (New York: Zone Books, 2003) 185-245.

¹⁹ For several considerations of depression within Romanticism see Kay Redfield Jamison, Touched by Fire: Manic Depressive Illness and Artistic Temperament (New York: Free Press, 1993), Irving Babbitt's chapter on Romantic Melancholy in Rousseau and Romanticism (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), Maro Praz, The Romantic Agony trans. Angus Davidson (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), and A. C. Goodson, "Frankenstein in the Age of Prozac" Literature and Medicine 15.1 (1996): 16-32.

With regard to Rousseau's specific problem with melancholy, Maurice Cranston reports that Grimm, Holbach and others are able to foresee some of the effects that living alone outside of Paris might have on Rousseau's melancholic personality. Correspondence from the period around Rousseau's leaving Paris for the Hermitage (1755-1756) indicates that Rousseau's friends were concerned about this specific problem (Noble Savage, 18-20). It is attractive to consider the possibility that a form of depression may have played a role in Rousseau's decaying sense of well-being from this period until the end of his life.

²⁰ In his description of his health following his departure from Madame de Larnage, Rousseau admits that: "My vapours were certainly cured, but all my other maladies remained..." (Conf., 244).

²¹ The history of the meaning of the word "*anthropologie*" for the French includes the comparative study of anatomy; therefore, it is natural that Rousseau's autoethnographic urge would attach both scientific and tropological meaning to his own anatomy as part his effort to make himself the first example in the comparative study of mankind.

²² In his search to "examine how the persecution of solitary pleasure was consonant with major social and cultural trends of modernity," Rosario Vernon examines, among other things, "the proliferation of "pornographic literature and the birth of the novel" (see 26-34). The political power of a heavily sexualized or pornographic literature in eighteenth century France can be clearly seen in the flood of pornographic books and pamphlets that eventually forced Marie Antoinette to remain largely within her family and the court. The infamous Essai Historique sur la Vie de Marie Antoinette, first published one year after Book I of Les Confessions, features the fictionalized sexual confessions of Marie Antoinette. Simon Schama describes this literature as featuring the vices of "masturbation, lesbianism, and insatiable nymphomania" (225).

²³ Rousseau to Tissot, 22 July 1762 (Leigh 1970, no. 2022) as qtd. in Rosario, 22.

III – WRITING THE “CRAZY BODY”: ROUSSEAU AS DE QUINCEY’S “HORIZON OF EXPECTATION”¹

From the very outset of Confessions of an English Opium Eater, Thomas De Quincey occupies himself with articulating both the “Englishness” of his “Opium Eater,” as well as the “Englishness” of his Confessions. To put this another way, before the publication of De Quincey’s Confessions in *London Magazine* in 1821, the conventions governing the study of a narcotized Englishman -- as well as those concerning an English form of confessional discourse -- had not been firmly established. This chapter considers Confessions of an English Opium Eater and its sequels as an “English Confessions” which transforms the independent natural man or noble savage that Rousseau locates within himself into a strikingly similar English persona inhabiting a lonely drug subculture. Despite De Quincey’s efforts to distance himself from Rousseau’s highly-sexed version of the confessional form, Confessions of an English Opium Eater, Suspiria de Profundis: Being a Sequel to the Confessions of an English Opium Eater, and his later Autobiographic Sketches owe a significant debt to Rousseau. Both Rousseau’s and De Quincey’s confessionals deploy an elaborate form of “self-othering,” or seeing the self as other, which utilizes popular images of the Oriental as a stand-in for each author’s marginalized subjectivity while providing an autoethnographic context. Very much like Rousseau, De Quincey’s observational habits, which were frequently directed at the English working classes and other urban types, are important to his autoethnographic way of seeing. This chapter will move beyond a critical history that most frequently focuses on the influences of Wordsworth and Coleridge on De Quincey by making the case for Rousseau as the “horizon of expectation” in reading De Quincey’s confessional works.

In his 1990 study of the long history of religious and secular forms of the confessional, Jeremy Tambling notes that “De Quincey is thoroughly what Wordsworth was not, a marginal man” (125). The same could, of course, be said about Rousseau when comparing him to Wordsworth. De Quincey’s and Rousseau’s works are imbued with the point of view of the outsider, the pariah, or the marginal man; this perspective is important to bridging the gap between literary autoethnographies and those generated out of ethnographic fieldwork. The autoethnographer is persistently considered or treated as “foreign” or “exotic” both to his or her self and to the wider culture under study. In the case of De Quincey, the self-given title of “English Opium-Eater” unabashedly announces a complex negotiation of his own status as part of an exotic English subculture. De Quincey retains the Rousseauvian view of the self as simultaneously unique and representative in the guise of what Robert Manquis has labeled the “bourgeois pariah”: one who is “alone in society, but also, by his growing intimation of its totality, one of its purest and most willing representatives” (63).

It is in his interest in his body that De Quincey can be said to depart radically from a more Wordsworthian confessional approach, exemplified by “The Prelude,” and follow a more Rousseauvian line.² Whereas Wordsworth’s display of “sublime egotism” is largely focused on the life of the mind, Rousseau and De Quincey are concerned with the role of the body as well as the mind in the formation of the self. For De Quincey, this interest is the preoccupation of the first page of his 1803 diary, which sketches a treatise on the “Bodily Discipline” that comes out of what the author describes as the necessity for an investigation of “the intimate connection, which [exists between the] body and the mind” and ultimately “has never...been [suf]ficiently enlarged on in theory or insisted on

in practise

approach to

(and thus in

exquisite th

melanchol

regarding

an integra

young age

Th

added to

Here, De

his critic

possible

opium. N

Confess

in practise” (141).³ The end goal of the seventeen-year-old De Quincey’s systematic approach to exercising the mind and the body simultaneously is “continually calling forth (and thus invigorating) the passions” as well as “relieving—varying—and so rendering exquisite those fits of visionary and romantic luxuriating or of tender pensive melancholy” (143). These sentiments, which coexist readily with Rousseau’s ideas regarding both walking reveries and the priority given the passions, indicate an interest in an integrated, Rousseauvian sense of the mind/body relationship beginning at a very young age.

The display of De Quincey’s body is at its most emphatic in the appendix that was added to the 1822 republication of Confessions of an English Opium Eater in book form. Here, De Quincey offers up his own body to the medical profession as a way to answer his critics—who questioned whether what he had written was both truthful and possible—and to expand and rewrite the medical literature surrounding the effects of opium. What emerges is the sense of an anatomical study, a quality which De Quincey’s Confessions of an English Opium Eater shares with Les Confessions:

Like other men, I have particular fancies about the place of my burial... Yet, if the gentlemen of Surgeon’s Hall think that any benefit can redound to their science from inspecting the appearances in the body of an Opium-eater, let them speak but a word, and I will take care that mine shall be legally secured to them—*i.e.*, as soon as I have done with it myself. Let them not hesitate to express their wishes upon any scruple of false delicacy and consideration for my feelings: I assure them that they will do me too much honor by “demonstrating” on such a crazy body as

mine; and it will give me pleasure to anticipate this posthumous revenge and insult inflicted upon that which had caused me so much suffering in this life.⁴

By continually bringing forth his narcotized “crazy body” throughout the Confessions, De Quincey retains the medical focus of Rousseau’s form of confessional discourse while retaining Rousseau’s emphasis on the individual life as an experiment or scientific *exemplum*. These considerations are vital to De Quincey’s version of confessional autoethnography.

Almost from the outset, the body becomes a central place for the measurement of cultural difference in De Quincey’s Confessions of an English Opium Eater. De Quincey sees the action of opium on the body as the defining characteristic of the English Opium Eater, who experiences the drug in a fashion that can only be defined as “un-Turkish.” Early on in the Confessions and immediately after stating that the popular claims for the intoxicating power of opium were flawed, De Quincey turns his attention to the well-known characteristics of Turkish opium-eaters:

With respect to the torpor supposed to follow, or rather (if we are to credit the numerous pictures of Turkish opium-eaters) to accompany the practice of opium-eating, I deny that also. Certainly, opium is classed under the head of narcotics; and some such effect it may produce in the end: but the primary effects of opium are always in the highest degree, to excite and stimulate the system: this first stage of its action always lasted with me, during my noviciate, for upwards of eight hours; so that it must be the fault of the opium-eater himself if he does not so time his exhibition of the

dose (to speak medically) as that the whole weight of its narcotic influence may descend upon his sleep. Turkish opium-eaters, it seems, are absurd enough to sit, like so many equestrian statues, on logs of wood as stupid as themselves. (77)⁵

The popular image of the Oriental, compounded by the widely circulated images of the “reclining” Oriental addict, make “the Turk” an easy target for De Quincey’s effort to define a more vigorous form of addiction. De Quincey points out the importance of both an established routine or technique in the taking of the drug in order to produce vigor while under the influence, as well as stating the advantages posed by his English origins in determining the level of efficiency at which the user can lead a more or less normal life. Thus, the unique “crazy body” of the English opium addict becomes a yardstick for measuring both the nature of opium addiction as well as the nature of English bodies more generally.

By comparing himself with a representative Turkish opium-eater, De Quincey is directing attention to the area of the world that was most frequently connected to opium and its use in the English imagination during this period. Widely-read travel writers and memoirist during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including Baron de Tott, returned again and again to the extremely popular subjects of Turkey and Turkish opium.⁶ Turkish opium was, by far, the dominant variety of opium available in England in the nineteenth century. Virginia Berridge notes that Turkish opium still retained “over 70 per cent of the market” in England in 1900 after having represented “between 80 and 90 per cent of the opium imported” into England between 1827 and 1869 (4). In the unregulated climate in which De Quincey lived (the initial Pharmacy Act came in 1868,

nine years after De Quincey's death), it can be said with some confidence that it was a Turkish product that De Quincey was most often able to procure from almost any apothecary in England. The origin of the opium itself takes on some importance in De Quincey's claim that "I, who have taken happiness, both in solid and liquid shape, both boiled and unboiled, both East India and Turkey...I (it will be admitted) must surely know what happiness is, if any body does" (Confessions 92-93). Not only is this a statement of De Quincey's experimental ethos, in that he is declaring his experience with opium in all of its forms, but it also points indirectly to the geographic and cultural concerns inherent in his project. De Quincey examines his body within the context of the anxieties of the British nineteenth-century, which Barry Milligan has succinctly described within the context of national identity, the expansion of empire, and the emerging commodity culture:

Nineteenth-century British fears and anxieties about opium and the Orient are intimately linked to...national identity...The threat of Oriental commodities is significant enough when they are figuratively ingested into "British" culture, as in the case of Persian rugs, Chinese porcelain, and japan-lacquered objets d'art. But when the foreign commodities in question are literally swallowed by individual British bodies, the figurative aspect of the threat is literalized. Tea, coffee, and many spices are examples of this phenomenon, but opium is perhaps the most broadly representative case... (28-30)

As an individual who claims to have ingested as many as 8,000 drops of laudanum a day, while, it should not be forgotten, simultaneously and continuously "drink[ing] tea from

eight o'clock at night to four o'clock in the morning" (Confessions 95), De Quincey's anxieties regarding a "foreign invasion" intensify under the influence of the produce of the Orient. It is in this climate that proving the "Englishness" of the domestic opium-eater becomes a central task in De Quincey's confessional approach, driving an anthropological way of seeing that expands while focused on comparing the traits and habits of English with Oriental addicts.

In Confessions of an English Opium-Eater, defining an elevated English form of confessional discourse is what De Quincey has in mind when he apologizes in his first paragraph for "breaking through that delicate and honourable reserve" which characterizes "English feelings." De Quincey elaborates on the then current state of the English confessional as "proceed[ing] from demireps, adventurers, and swindlers" who unnaturally make "spectacle(s)" of themselves before their English readerships. De Quincey certainly has Rousseau in mind when he adds "for any such acts of gratuitous self-humiliation from those who can be supposed in sympathy with the decent and self-respecting part of society, we must look to French literature." This reference to Rousseau marks the boundaries of an acute form of Bloomian anxiety when De Quincey admits that "so nervously" has he approached this vile "tendency" of the confessional form, that he has "hesitated about the propriety of allowing" his opium narrative "to come before the public eye, until after [his] death" (29). The well-known Anglo-American anxiety over Rousseau and his Les Confessions, fueled in large part by *ad hominem* attacks on Rousseau that begin with Burke's generation, form the backdrop to De Quincey's anxiety.⁷ De Quincey's attempt at a Confessions of his own is made provocative by the often competing but still parallel interests of De Quincey the Tory and De Quincey the

widely popular author. An Anglicized (or “Tory-ified”) version of Rousseau’s confessional approach, which works very hard to minimize the confessional’s traditional interest in the author’s sexuality while retaining and intensifying a strategy of self-othering, allows De Quincey to be as provocative as Rousseau without being “too French.”

This negotiation of Englishness and the confessional form appears to have been rather tricky, to say the least. As Rajani Sudan has recently pointed out, De Quincey’s challenge becomes one in which his “own project...is almost immediately called into question, because...it depends on a defective French genre” leaving De Quincey “to justify the differences between the “defective sensibility of the French” and his own deeply flawed life” (163). This “gambit,” to deploy a particularly apt chess term to describe De Quincey’s deliberate opening sequence, sets the stage not only for De Quincey’s autoethnographic confessional context, but it also creates an opening for the presentation of an idealized view of the author, again *à la Rousseau*, which is clearly meant to elevate him in the minds and hearts of the emerging middle class magazine-reading audience. A good deal of this work is done by only hinting at a sexual life and offering instead an image of a sensual but narcotized body in order to titillate the interest of the reader. This deployment of De Quincey’s body for the literary market is now considered as an important place in the emergence of “the modern self, that is, a post-Romantic form of subjectivity based on transgressive techniques” (Clej, vii), a critical judgement that has a very familiar ring in studies of Rousseau, but is quite new in studies of De Quincey who was considered a very minor, derivative figure until quite recently. The act of simultaneously concealing much of his sexuality while revealing his

narcotized body in stark relief can be characterized by considering a statement that Julian North makes regarding De Quincey's confessional voice: "De Quincey is usually characterized as a purple Tory, but, as far as the politics of autobiography in the period are concerned, he remains elusive, neither aligning himself fully with the school of Burke nor with the school of Rousseau" (66). De Quincey's simultaneous concerns regarding Burke's conservative English "body politic" and Rousseau's extremely popular forms of literal and figurative self-exposure are vital to an understanding of the meaning of Confessions of an English Opium Eater and De Quincey's other works. The balance of these concerns is imbedded in De Quincey's confessional approach.

De Quincey's unwillingness to even write the name of "Rousseau" into his preface indicated Jean-Jacques' ability to polarize an English audience. Edward Duffy's Rousseau in England (1979) examines the mixed reaction to Rousseau's work in England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. Duffy notes that while Rousseau's earlier works such as the Emile and La Nouvelle Héloïse were held in high regard in England during the middle of the eighteenth century; the later autobiographies, including Les Confessions, were most frequently said to be scandalous and vain, attracting "detailed and usually horrified attention to a man whose abundantly recorded life had been as weak and irresponsible as his pen had been energetic and admirable" (Duffy 83). Of course, Rousseau's reputation in England declined further when he became an icon of the French Revolution, so that by the time of Confessions of an English Opium-Eater "the perceived contradictions of Rousseau were the contradictions of the French Revolution" (Duffy 84). Despite this clear reversal, some English Romantics were still attracted to Rousseau's thought. To consider one important example, Edward Duffy

argues that Percy Shelley's "conversion" to Rousseau's way of seeing came as late as 1816. Shelley writes in a letter during this period that, "Rousseau is indeed in my mind the greatest man the world has produced since Milton" (as qtd. in Duffy 98). De Quincey would appear to be caught painfully between these negative and positive receptions of Rousseau in England. Based on De Quincey's imitation of numerous aspects of Rousseau's confessional, it is not difficult to see a De Quincey who respects any number of the aesthetic and philosophical triumphs in Rousseau's works, while simultaneously despising the "gratuitous self-humiliation" of Les Confessions.

While De Quincey's preface to Confessions of an English Opium Eater displays his unease about accepting a Rousseauvian way of seeing the individual, his preface also immediately follows on the heels of a title page that conjures up the image of Rousseau by accepting the French formula "*Les Confessions de...*," which instantly and intentionally places De Quincey's text in conversation with Les Confessions de J. J. Rousseau.⁸ If nothing else, this approach goes "a great way to undermining...[De Quincey's] professions of disgust" for Rousseau (North 63). Before considering how De Quincey deploys a Rousseauvian variety of self-othering in his autoethnographic treatment of difference, this chapter's arguments regarding Rousseau's influence will be buttressed by briefly considering several aspects of De Quincey's life and work that would lead him toward Rousseau, and to a confessional as well as autoethnographic worldview.

De Quincey's 1803 Everton Diary, although it barely covers three months of the seventeen-year-old's life, includes no fewer than three direct mentions of Rousseau. "Rousseau" (no title is given) is listed among the numerous texts that De Quincey

borrowed and purchased from Liverpoolian lending libraries and booksellers during this period (211). Rousseau was also much discussed among the people De Quincey saw frequently during this spring and summer of living independently in Everton outside of Liverpool. In his entry dated Thursday June 4, 1803 , De Quincey describes an evening at the home of the Liverpool bookseller, Mr. James Wright (referred to below as “W”) his wife (“Mrs. W”) and their houseguest a Mrs. Edmunds (“E”). De Quincey describes walking with them both in Liverpool and in Everton (including a wooded estate named “Santa Domingo”) and having the group meet and talk with William Clarke, a family friend of De Quincey’s:

Go to W’s;—get there by 11 o’clock;—go (as I had agreed) with W, Mrs W. and E. to St. George’s—hear a sermon from a Mr. --- on the Trinity;—go thence with Ws and E to the pier—parade—1st pier...we go to Everton—on the road we see William Clarke (son to Mr. J. Clarke of Birchfield)...drink tea and coffee—talk about the war...talk of free-will—origin of evil—association of ideas...we walk into lane about St. Domingo, talk about Rousseau—love etc...see the sun setting—walk—first to toffee-house where 6d. worth of toffee is got (of which I eat none) and thence to Liverpool—eat a bit of raw lamb—drink a tumbler of porter and 3 or 4 glasses of port wine—complain of being ill—go home—read more of “Caroline of Lichtfield”. (195-196)

Here, amid the formation of habits that will become lifelong — long walks, extensive nighttime reading, and putting alcohol and caffeine on a nearly empty stomach⁹ — De Quincey’s diary entry points to a prominent place for Rousseau in “the world of ideas”

that

app

ever

of f

sett

De

by t

Fre

app

De t

in an

sugg

The

Qui

that De Quincey inhabited during this period. That the Napoleonic Wars were imminent appears to have fueled the discussion of France and the French – a discussion that eventually led to Rousseau.¹⁰ If De Quincey’s timeline here is correct, then the discussion of Rousseau comes rather fittingly as the group is moving from an urban to a more rural setting – a trajectory that may have helped produce a discussion of Rousseau’s *oeuvre*.¹¹ De Quincey also may have been turned even further toward France and French culture by his reading habit, which, beyond just the works of Rousseau, includes the popular French romance Caroline of Lichtfield in the above quotation.

Further evidence that Rousseau is on De Quincey’s mind in the Everton Diary appears in the entry for June 2, 1803, only two days before the previously quoted entry, De Quincey mentions having deflected a pre-supper conversation to Rousseau’s writings in an attempt to save face when his limitations in conversational French were exposed, suggesting that De Quincey felt himself well versed with regards to Rousseau:

...meet Mr. Benterjak—he says some sentence ending with “*Ivre*”
(drunk)—I am rather confused and only say “oh! oui, j’entends”...then,
just after it had struck 10, Mr. W. enters and supper is announced;—I am
asked to stay but do not;—go home very miserable on account of
betraying my want of skill in French *before* Mr. W. Mrs. E and Mr. B.
(N.B. I talked with Mr. Benterjak about Rousseau’s *Emile*—*Julia*—*Social Contact*. Mr B. said that it was generally believed Rousseau did not write
the “Confessions” in the “*Emile*.”) (192-93)

This important conversation regarding Rousseau’s Les Confessions predicts De Quincey’s approach to Rousseau in writing Confessions of an English Opium Eater

(nearly 20 years in the future in 1803). Any “rehabilitation” of a text by Rousseau during this period in England must include an effort to distance Rousseau’s disreputable life from his works. This is what occurs in De Quincey’s conversation with Mr. Benterjak about Emile, an act similar to what De Quincey will attempt from the opening of his “Opium Confessions.” By 1821, De Quincey understood that for a reading public hungry for what was often derogatorily referred to as “personality,” a confessional voice offered a quick avenue to success, but that it was first necessary to give an English form to a discourse still connected in the public imagination to the immoral appetites of the French and of Jean-Jacques Rousseau in particular.

De Quincey has much in common with the young Jean-Jacques of Les Confessions. The seventeen-year-old diarist waiting at Everton to hear from his mother and guardians about his future would have read the book with personal attention. De Quincey’s exile to Everton followed close on the heels of a long struggle, with Thomas, bored with the schools of his mother’s choosing, feeling that he should proceed directly to Oxford at 16, and his mother and guardians looking to keep him in schools where he might win a scholarship to help support him at Oxford after he turned 18. As he describes in his Confessions, De Quincey chooses to escape from school and is soon thereafter caught when he attempts, rather clumsily, to contact his sister Mary. A compromise is struck where De Quincey is allowed to take a walking tour of Wales on a very limited budget. Rather than return to the family home when it grew cold in November, De Quincey again “slipped his chains” and set out for London, where many of the best-remembered episodes in Confessions of an English Opium Eater take place. These events self-consciously parallel the confrontations between the young apprenticed Rousseau and

his master at the end on Book One of Les Confessions. The larger issue in De Quincey's confrontation with his elders is much the same as Rousseau's, namely, what the young man will take as an occupation.¹² This not atypical problem of the bourgeois adolescent becomes for De Quincey what it was for Rousseau, the ground from which the author extends personal experience into a broader form of cultural criticism. Leaving home young to see the world affords both De Quincey and Rousseau the vision necessary to make critical assessments of the world around them, and much like a young Robinson Crusoe, each author becomes able to make an autoethnographic presentation of the self framed by a rejection of a bourgeois career and lifestyle.

The Everton Diary also offers a view of De Quincey's sexuality which is largely left untouched in his attempts at sparing delicate English feelings in the Confessions, but points readily to further parallels in De Quincey's and Rousseau's development that may have attracted De Quincey to Rousseau's confessional form. A casual reference to seeing "no harm in sexual intercourse between a brother and a sister (commonly termed incest)" (206) pulls De Quincey into the Romantic era's fascination with incestuous sexuality of which Rousseau was also a part. Since J. Hillis Miller's reading of the death of De Quincey's sister in Suspiria de Profundis during the 1960's, a scene that both Hillis Miller and De Quincey saw as coloring "all of his existence thereafter" (Hillis Miller 19) critics have returned to the image of the young De Quincey sneaking "like a guilty thing...from the room" after kissing his sister's cadaver on the lips in an effort to discover the rhetorical and psychological logic behind De Quincey's works.

Grevel Lindop's feeling that De Quincey "sensed that he was breaking some taboo" regarding how children should pay their respects to the dead (10), becomes the

beginnings of a lifelong nightmare connected to childhood incest in Charles Rzepka's recent Freudian reading of De Quincey's autobiographical works. De Quincey's desires in his confessional works point to what we might call an "incestuous economy" governing how he selects the women in his life. This obsession forms a self-conscious connection between sexuality and family that is very reminiscent of Rousseau. Whereas the loss of his mother ultimately draws Rousseau to Madame de Warens and later to his frequently maternal relationship with his wife Thérèse Lavasseur, the loss of De Quincey's sister Elizabeth is the self-proclaimed "involute" that shapes his relationships with women. De Quincey's "incestuous economy," however, does not necessarily eliminate the desire for the mother, a figure who still plays her conventional leading role in a "Confessions": "the rather awesome distance kept by his mother" is important to Thomas' emotional register because it left him with "deep feelings of insecurity" that were made liveable by his close relationship with his sisters (Lindop 8). Ultimately, De Quincey's "incest" is figurative and therefore much like Rousseau's, driven by what he desires but lacks, an intimate emotional attachment to a family member that can be realized only by seeking women willing to accept this role.

The product of both Rousseau's and De Quincey's search for a woman who fits their needs for motherly/sisterly attentions ends with their marriages to women who were considered far below them in social standing. Living at the margins of acceptable bourgeois society, Rousseau and De Quincey embrace relationships with women who will do anything and everything for them, in rather motherly or sisterly fashion. The best way to illustrate this in De Quincey's case might be to point out that when he first visited Dorothy and William Wordsworth at Grasmere in 1807, he "was startled, almost

embarrassed, by the spectacle” of Dorothy Wordsworth preparing the morning meal herself (Lindop 150-1). By 1817, De Quincey had married Margaret Simpson, the daughter of a dalesman living close to Dove Cottage, and who was comfortable in the roles of wife, younger sister, *hausfrau*, and nurse. As with Rousseau, De Quincey’s mistress, herself a supplement for the affections of a lost family member, became a more than acceptable wife. Of course, this transformation in philosophy regarding taking a wife occurs in parallel with both Rousseau’s and De Quincey’s own loss of social position, which comes only partly by choice.

De Quincey’s deep emotional and sometimes sexualized attachment to sisterly young girls is seen throughout his “Opium Confessions” and his other autobiographical works in the repeated figure of the girl who befriends and loves the author, including: the unnamed ten year old “forlorn child,” who shares De Quincey’s status as a squatter early on in his time as a runaway in London; the teenaged prostitute Anne, who befriends De Quincey during his London period and later haunts his dreams; Wordsworth’s misfit daughter Kate, who died in 1812, just short of 4 years of age; and De Quincey’s previously-mentioned teenaged bride, Margaret Simpson. Throughout his life, De Quincey is open about his close contact with these girls, recalling as he does: “always sleeping among” his “three innocent little sisters” when he was young (*Suspiria* 98); speaking “tenderly together” with Kate Wordsworth “when she slept with...[him] in the winter;”¹³ and lastly, his ten year old companion and fellow squatter who “crept close” at night “for warmth” in the London portion of his Confessions (46). This seemingly innocent variety of “sleeping around” is connected to a strong identification with girls and their emotional lives.

In this way, Confessions of an English Opium-Eater allows De Quincey to paint himself in a more masculine hue while simultaneously aligning himself with Rousseau's emotional register, often seen as feminine. This tension between the so-called masculine and feminine (and by extension between Burke and Rousseau) culminates in the Confessions where De Quincey admits "I do not often weep" (52) before a description of shedding tears for the lost prostitute Ann when he finds himself back on Oxford Street later in life. This is the third occasion of weeping described in the first portion of the Confessions alone,¹⁴ and it suggests a French and Rousseauvian cast to De Quincey's English opium-eater. In his history of the French Revolution, Simon Schama artfully describes the well-known fire storm of *sensibilité* that took hold late in the 18th Century, and, which, feeding off the work of Rousseau, Diderot, and others, takes weeping as an important signifier:

In this remade world of utterance and expression, tears were especially prized as evidence not of weakness but of sublimity. They were cherished because (it was assumed) they were unstoppable: the soul directly irrigating the countenance. Tears were the enemy of cosmetics and the saboteur of polite disguise. Most important, a good fit of crying indicated that the child had been miraculously preserved within the man or woman. So Rousseau's heroes and heroines, beginning with himself, sob, weep, and blubber at the slightest provocation...(150-51)

While, De Quincey's "Englishness" cannot permit him to blubber, his attempts at constructing an image of an unique Englishman, hint at the continental tenderness of, say, a Saint-Preux, or more precisely, of Emile's tutor.

Schama notes that “gentleness to the young” became part of the collision of *sensibilité* with the cultural construction of the French citizen. Within the context of Confessions of an English Opium-Eater, De Quincey takes advantage of a similar form of *sensibilité* in his construction of Englishness. Even if the reader discounts the sexualized nature of De Quincey’s contact with young girls, it is more difficult to disconnect his view of an Englishman’s sensibility from the wider public reception of European Romanticism. The weight given to weeping in his work merely solidifies his connection to the literary traditions of the Continent, while the weight given to tragedies surrounding young girls in his work provides a proper place for the production of these emotions on both sides of the English Channel.

Beyond his interest in young girls, there are a number of issues raised by De Quincey in the Everton Diary that indicate the strong possibility he may have considered himself in Rousseauvian terms, especially with regard to sexual issues. The Everton Diary reveals that De Quincey was visiting a prostitute during the spring of 1803 (194). This has led critics such as Charles Rzepka and Nigel Leask to question De Quincey’s description of a sexless relationship with the prostitute Ann in Confessions of an English Opium-Eater,¹⁵ and it makes the Rousseauvian and confessional natures of De Quincey’s text far plainer as it becomes clear that he was emerging sexually at around age sixteen when he chose to run away from home rather than face the bourgeois aspirations of his mother and guardians. The Rousseauvian context deepens further in the Everton Diary when onanism is recorded with some frequency. No other area of concern with regards to sexuality could give the young De Quincey a more Rousseauvian hue than his apparent interest in the recording of his autoerotic behavior.

Beginning as the Everton Diary's does with De Quincey's plan for disciplining the body, it is noteworthy that the author's first of eight mentions of onanism is immersed in his outline of "Section the Second" of the projected "His Bodily Discipline." Using a patois of modern and classical languages, knowledge of which were central to De Quincey's sense of self-worth, the author reports that "la derniere σπερματος εφφυσιο fu[page torn] *certes* ante la heure έννάτην" (143). Although a small tear in the page obscures the bracketed portion of this passage, its meaning is still clear: "the last *spermatoz effusio*...certainly before nine." Because this passage is immediately prefaced by De Quincey's statement of the main goal of the physical regimen laid out in "His Bodily Discipline" as "calling forth (and thus invigorating) the passion" and "rendering more exquisite those fits of visionary and and romantic luxuriating " (143), Charles Rzepka finds that these recordings of the occasions of masturbation "seem to have been intended to keep track of the passive effects of such a regimen on his newly invigorating 'passions,' or perhaps as notes of deliberate experiments in attempting to make those 'fits' of imaginary 'luxuriating' to which he was already prone 'exquisite' to the point of climax" (145). Even if the reader were to interpret the recording of onanism in this manner as indicating only an unwillingness on De Quincey's part to have an invasive reader, such as his mother, read and decode the confessional aspects of his diary, "hiding" behind this combination of languages does not necessarily change the fact that De Quincey has a real interest in keeping a record of autoeroticism. In fact, his use of classical languages gives a quasi-scientific, experimental, or even Linnean look and feel to his record keeping. As an example of such an onanistic experiment, Rzepka proposes De Quincey's May 4, 1803 entry in which an occasion of "*spermatoz effusionem*"

accompanies the reading the first volume of a steamy and cheap romance entitled “The Memoirs of Sir Roger de Clarendon,” which chronicles the emerging sexual lives of three young sisters (146-47). Of course, this kind of material speaks directly to what appears to arouse De Quincey’s emotional and sexual sympathies, and much as Rousseau notes in Les Confessions, reading certain kinds of literature had become part of the onanistic equation during this period. The connection between reading and that dangerous supplement is particularly clear and important with De Quincey, as reading and autoeroticism are extremely visible parts of the formation of the subject during the important confessional period recorded in the Everton Diary.

The final three of the six remaining recorded moments of onanism in the Everton Diary (May 30, June 1, & June 2, 1803) are of particular interest to the question of the influence of Rousseau on De Quincey: these “experiments” occur during the same period in the diary where the previously-mentioned discussions of Rousseau and his works are taking place (June 2 & June 4, 1803) as well as the trip to visit the prostitute (also June 4). Ultimately, this period just previous to and immediately after the declaration of war on France may represent the final opportunity to discuss and read Rousseau openly before the Napoleonic wars intensify the necessity to treat Rousseau again as a “quasi-obligatory target for national hostility” (Duffy 83).

Their often ambiguous bourgeois class positions link De Quincey and Rousseau, and it is with the well-documented rise of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois domestic privacy that masturbation first becomes a “problem.” Romantic literature problematizes this phenomenon, as has been demonstrated by Marjorie Levinson’s reading of Keats.¹⁶ It is possible to see in De Quincey and Rousseau what Levinson sees in Keats, namely, that

their work confronts “the idealized enactment of the conflicts and solutions which defined the middle class at a certain point in its development and which to some extent obtain” (5). The Keatsian point of view, defined by Levinson in familiar fashion by his “marginal, longing relation to the legitimate bourgeoisie (and its exemplars) of his day” invents “a writing which is aggressively literary” bordering on variety of parodic “anti-Literature” (5), another effect that could easily be applied to the confessionals of De Quincey and Rousseau. But most arresting here in Levinson’s consideration of Keat’s “life of allegory” is that central to Keats’s position exemplary of the frustrations of the bourgeoisie is a phallic, frequently masturbatory discourse that leads Byron to conclude that Keats was a “[s]elf-polluter of the human mind” and his poetry “a sort of mental masturbation – frigging his *Imagination*” (as qtd. in Levinson 18). It is not surprising that Byron should reject what was considered to be the voice of the bourgeoisie, but his method of discrediting Keats is telling. If the Romantics themselves read, for example, “*La Belle Dame sans Merci*” as the masturbatory frustrations of the bourgeois subject when faced with a prostitute, and they do this in a manner that makes this experience appear to be universal, then occasions of onanism would appear to be a proper register for measuring the frustatratons (sexual and otherwise) and attitudes of the bourgeoisie.

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick goes several steps further than Levinson in her reading of the frustrations of the “Masturbating Girl” in the heroines of Jane Austen’s novels by positing a special role for the onanist in the upsurge of interest in sexuality and in the emergence of a modern identity during the Romantic period:

The identity of the masturbator was only one of the sexual identities subsumed, erased, or overridden in...[the] triumph of the heterosexist

homo/hetero calculus. But I want to argue here that the status of the masturbator among these many identities was uniquely formative. I would suggest that as one of the very earliest embodiments of “sexual identity” in the period of the progressive epistemological overloading of sexuality, the masturbator may have been at the cynosural center of a remapping of individual identity, will, attention, and privacy along modern lines that the reign of “sexuality,” and its generic concomitant in the novel and in novelistic point-of-view, now lead us to take for granted. It is of more than chronological import if the (lost) identity of the masturbator was the proto-form of modern sexual identity itself. (826)

Of course, this identity can only be “lost” if it were once visible, and, if there is a text from this period that openly uses onanism to help frame the idea of a modern (sexual) identity then Rousseau’s Les Confessions can seriously claim this status. Based on the apparent role of masturbation in De Quincey’s emerging identity in the Everton Diary and the manner in which masturbation disappears from his Confessions of an English Opium Eater, De Quincey’s confessional can be seen as highlighting the very process of intentionally “losing” the formative modern sexual identity that Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick describes.

Within the Foucauldian history of sexuality, the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries are characterized by a domestic space that is extremely close-mouthed about sexuality, while a scientific discourse on the same subject explodes simultaneously. De Quincey’s confessional approach participates in this change by refocusing the scientific gaze of the confessional on the sensual and psychological aspects of opium usage rather

than the sexuality of the individual, a subject at which De Quincey only hints. In this sense, it is not unimportant that Foucault describes the continued currency of relative silence with regard to sex in the domestic arena (as opposed to its trumpeting elsewhere) as the affliction of “[Us] ‘Other Victorians.’”¹⁷ Standing as he does at the beginnings of the Victorian Age, De Quincey prefers to redirect the sexual considerations of his Confessions into a discourse that briefly attacks Rousseau and then turns its attention to the existing medical literature on opium and its effects. De Quincey’s attack on Rousseau accepts what had become, by 1821, an ethnographic or sociological argument that was widely familiar: while the French are characterized as passionate, sensual, and confessional, the English are characterized as reserved, thoughtful, and relatively tight-lipped. As a potential archetype for the “Victorian,” De Quincey significantly hangs his argument on the simultaneous rejection and acceptance of a Continental, confessional discourse. The image of the young De Quincey furtively recording his onanism for later analysis readily appears in this context as the etiology of an Anglicized and “Tory-fied” Rousseau, who sees the world through the lens of cultural and class difference while frequently reserving comment on several tabooed aspects of his own complex bourgeois social (including sexual) practices.

In the Everton diary De Quincey gives every indication that this autodidactic boy and voracious reader (very much a Romantic type, reminiscent of Rousseau, the Lake poets, and Frankenstein’s monster) is constructing a self while considering his literary influences, as he makes clear in his entry for May 9, 1803 : ““What shall be my character?” I have been thinking this afternoon—wild—impetuous—*splendidly* sublime? Dignified—melancholy—*gloomily* sublime? Or shrouded in mystery—supernatural—

like the “ancient Mariner”—*awfully* sublime?” (163).¹⁸ Even the question itself – “What shall be my character?” – appearing as it does in quotation marks, is potentially borrowed from another source.¹⁹ Thus, De Quincey’s “self-fashioning,” to borrow Greenblatt’s widely-circulated term, begins at or before Everton in the spring of 1803. In telling fashion, the same entry on May 9th and the following on May 10th again provide occasions to record onanism, giving further weight to the notion that masturbation may play a role in a “remapping” of the individual during this period. In this case, De Quincey is moving toward the mapping of a particular self, who like Rousseau, appears both embarrassed and intrigued by his own onanism.

Greenblatt’s “self-fashioning” is intentionally chosen here as a quiding concept because it represents an “attempt...to practice a more cultural or anthropological criticism” (Greenblatt 4). In defining “self-fashioning,” Stephen Greenblatt defers to Clifford Gertz by building on the work of The Interpretation of Cultures:

“There is no such thing as a human nature independent of culture,” Geertz writes, meaning by culture not primarily “complexes of concrete behavior patterns—customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters”—but rather “a set of control mechanisms—plans, recipes, rules, instructions...-for the governing of behavior.” Self-fashioning is in effect the Renaissance version of these control mechanisms, the cultural system of meanings that creates specific individuals by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment. Literature functions within this system in three interlocking ways: as a manifestation of the concrete behavior of its particular author, as itself the expression of the codes by

which behavior is shaped, and as a reflection upon these codes.

(Greenblatt, 3-4)

The Rousseauvian confessional form is exemplary in its self-conscious reflecting on the author's own behaviors and moments of contact with the "set of control mechanisms" that undergird the wider culture. In De Quincey's version of the confessional, with its underlying attempt to define the normative English Opium Eater, the Rousseauvian confession of onanism is impossible because it violates too many of the cultural norms of Englishness, in large part by making De Quincey's discourse too Rousseauvian and therefore too French. The confessions of onanism in the *Everton Diary* indicate that De Quincey had this code of behavior in mind as he fell into the pattern of a Rousseauvian adolescence and probably again when he wrote his Confessions. Onanism tests the limits of De Quincey's self-fashioning and exhibits the "interpretative constructions the members of a society [in this case the English] apply to their experiences" (Greenblatt 4).

When it finally comes time to write his projected "pathetic tale of which the Englishman is the hero" ("Diary," 181), an indication that De Quincey was considering something akin to his Confessions during the period of the *Everton Diary*, De Quincey chooses a form that borders on a parodic bourgeois "anti-Literature" (its public face is very much an "anti-Confessions") of the type similar to what Levinson locates in Keats. De Quincey accepts the Rousseauvian confessional's autoethnographic way of seeing, but the variety of "bodily discipline" he shares with Rousseau is amended to record the autoeroticism inherent in the pairing of "The Pleasures of Opium" in the first half of Confessions of an English Opium Eater and "The Pains of Opium" that dominates the second half. The now conventional scene of a Rousseauvian secular conversion in the

confessional is replaced by the beginnings of addiction and the repeated slide into the “pains” of heavy usage. Barry Milligan sees this dynamic of pleasure and pain in De Quincey as a “masochistic repetition compulsion” repeating an “endless trauma in which every attempt to separate English and Oriental, self and other, only further illustrates how unified they are.” Milligan concludes that ultimately this compulsion “masochistically... enact[s] over and over again a self-annihilation” (68). I prefer the terms “self-fashioning” or “self-othering” to “self-annihilation,” because they focus on De Quincey’s self-consciousness rather than the effects of his addiction, but the ideas are similar. The Rousseauvian confessional form allows De Quincey a place to consider the bodily, political, and psychological effects of his “Oriental infection,” and to fashion a self that allows him consciously to both reveal and conceal the parallels between Rousseau and himself.

To consider aspects of De Quincey’s autoethnographic sensibilities in greater detail, one finds a significant bridge between Rousseau’s and De Quincey’s work is found in the struggle between self and other that Milligan described immediately above. At a number of its most self-conscious moments, De Quincey’s constructions of otherness readily reproduces a variety of self-othering familiar from the work of Rousseau. In his effort to produce an “English Opium Eater” able to overcome the popular image of the Oriental addict, De Quincey works in Rousseauvian fashion to be simultaneously unique and representative; hoping as he states early on in Confessions of an English Opium Eater to speak openly of his “infirmity and misery” in a manner that “claim[s] fellowship with the great family of man” (30-31) while simultaneously uncovering the previously unauthorized world of opium addiction.

Self-othering extends De Quincey's ability to be both unique and representative by highlighting an approach to the self that prioritizes the role played by difference in the construction of identity. De Quincey's pseudonyms, which included, "Opium-Eater," "Defoe," and "One of the Old School" are argueably a traditional and mild variety of self-othering that was used extensively in the numerous periodicals where most of De Quincey's works first appeared. Also, the addition of the article "de" to the Quincey family name in the 1790's marks a family-wide interest in self-othering through identification with "old money" by inventing an ancestry that went back to the Norman invasion (itself an interesting representation of a Continental "infection" that could be considered part of De Quincey's attraction/repulsion complex for the French). That Thomas retains the prefix when the rest of his family returns to the surname "Quincey" beginning in 1802 illustrates the weight he gives to producing a suitably impressive identity, not only because of appearances but also because it flavors with inclusion the name of a man marginalized since childhood. It is also characteristic of De Quincey that he appears not to feel any humiliation in maintaining his "Normanized" surname despite its patent artificiality.²⁰

The moniker of "Wandering Jew" provides De Quincey with an image of self-otherness that he returns to several times in Confessions of an English Opium-Eater and Suspiria de Profundis. Alatheia Hayter points out in her edition of De Quincey's Confessions that he "always sympathized with Jews, as a persecuted people, some of the 'pariahs' to whom he felt so psychologically akin" (218 n 38). Identifying himself in this fashion allows De Quincey to explore the class and cultural implications of his own marginalized status, and this Semitic identity allows De Quincey a personhood similar to

that which Rousseau produces via his Armenian clothing, creating an individual who is culturally caught and divided between the traditions and accepted characteristics of the Occident and the Orient. The moments when De Quincey sees his place as akin to that of the refugees of the Jewish Diaspora are significant places in his confessional narrative. In Suspiria de Profundis, immediately after kissing his sister Elizabeth's lifeless body on the lips and stealing guiltily from the room, De Quincey turns toward Ahaseurus, the archetypical wandering Jew: "Oh, Ahaseurus, everlasting Jew...thou when first starting on thy endless pilgrimage of woe...and vainly yearning to leave the pursuing curse behind, couldst not more certainly have read thy doom of sorrow in the misgivings of thy troubled brain than I when passing for ever from my sister's room" (107). In laying out his "affliction of childhood" centered on the loss of two sisters and a father very early in life, De Quincey figures the loss from which he never "healed," the death of his favorite sister Elizabeth, by taking on a Jewish persona.²¹ For De Quincey, the Jew images an individual who is both culturally and emotionally marginalized.

De Quincey's battle with his own otherness can be traced to a painful event that he paired with Elizabeth's death as an important moment in his development. In Autobiographic Sketches, De Quincey recalls the trying period (when he was nearly eight years old) immediately after the deaths of both Elizabeth and his father, when his mischievous brother William returned home "from the pugnacious, competitive atmosphere of public school" only to treat "Thomas, four years his junior and small for his age, with lordly contempt" (Lindop 13). With William fully in charge of the children of the household, De Quincey describes a painful episode where the brothers play a game in which they both competitively construct and manage an imaginary kingdom. William

gave his kingdom the name of Tigrosylvania and placed it in a high northern latitude. As king of Tigrosylvania, William wrote daily tracts describing the prowess of his wealthy and warlike people. Thomas gave his island kingdom the name of Gombroon and placed it well south of both Tigrosylvania and the equator and wrote tracts describing his people as simple and extremely backward hoping to prevent the inevitable invasion. The sparring continued for some time until William happened to pick up the first volume of Lord Monboddos (James Burnett) Dissertations on the Origin of Language and from that point “William acquired ethnographic ammunition” (Plotz 133) that left a lasting impression on Thomas:

How much it would have astonished Lord Monboddos to find himself made answerable—virtually made answerable, by the evidence of secret tears—for the misery of an unknown child in Lancashire. Yet night and day these silent memorials of suffering were accusing him as the founder of a wound that could not be healed. It happened that several volumes of his work lay for weeks in the study of our tutor. Chance directed the eye of brother, one day, upon that part of the work in which Lord M. unfolds his hypothesis that originally the human race had been a variety of the ape...It followed inevitably, according to Lord M., however painful it might be to human dignity, that, in this their early stage of brutality, men must have had tails. My brother mused upon this reverie, and, in a few days, published an extract from some scoundrel’s travels in Gombroon, according to which the Gombroonians had not yet emerged from this early condition of apedom. They, it seems, were still *homines caudati*. Overwhelming to me

and stunning was the ignominy of this horrible discovery. Lord M. had not overlooked the natural question, In what way did men get rid of their tails! To speak the truth, they never would have got rid of them had they continued to run wild; but growing civilization introduced arts, and the arts introduced sedentary habits. By these it was, by the mere necessity of continually sitting down, that men gradually wore off their tails. (I, 98-9)

Adding insult to injury, which was his habit, William suggests that Thomas could “make a beginning” by ordering “the whole nation to sit down for six hours a-day” (99). The grief that Thomas felt is related to the fact that “[a]s a leader of the Gombroonians, he himself becomes associated with the ape-like, evolutionary creatures, and hence the non-Christian” (Roman 109). The humiliation of being associated with non-Christians isn’t merely an insult to Thomas’ religion, but it is also something that he associates with a “deep degradation” of himself that triggers a further discussion of pariahs in the text.²² The non-Christian pariah with a tail is merely another version of the Wandering Jew in De Quincey’s imagination.

There are two other lessons that De Quincey has learned here regarding authorship. First, in many ways, De Quincey’s brother William becomes a study in the power of textual authority, illustrating as he does that it is far better to be the author of your own biography and in complete control of the manner in which you are described. William was the polar opposite of Thomas in almost all things. De Quincey – a small, passive bibliophile – describes William as “[h]aughty... aspiring, immeasurably active; fertile in resources as Robinson Crusoe; but also full of quarrel as it is possible to imagine... Books he detested, one and all, except only such as he happened to write

himself" (I, 61). Broadly speaking, De Quincey's confessional form works to build a Crusoe-like image of the author's addiction. The opium-eater is active and vigorous; willing to both confront the working classes in the streets of London and to build a life for himself in a small cottage in the Lake District. Having learned the harsh lesson of the Gombroonians, De Quincey authors himself in an autoethnographic manner that allows him to refocus and control the narrative, as well as assign to himself the Crusoe-like energies so characteristic of his brother's personality.

Second, it is impossible to read De Quincey's memories surrounding the humiliation of his Gombroonians without considering this episode not only as part of De Quincey's expanding planetary consciousness, but also as the moment when the power of ethnography is first suggested to him. Reading De Quincey's work alongside that of Rousseau, this moment uncannily takes up where the Discourse on the Origin of Inequality leaves off in its famous musing on the potential for the orangutans and other man-like beasts to be "genuine Savage men whose race, dispersed in the woods in ancient times...had not acquired any degree of perfection, and was still found in the primitive state of Nature" (81). Unknowingly and well before he begins to write his Confessions, De Quincey had been transformed by the enlightenment conversation regarding "l'homme sauvage" into the leader of what Francis Moran refers to as Rousseau's "missing link[s]," becoming both a natural man and pariah who stands somewhere between primates and primitive human types.²³ De Quincey's position regarding his Gombroonians becomes naturally more Rousseauvian and more French when his passive, simple people are placed alongside his brother's war-like and Hobbesian Tigrosylvanians. That this game touches on science and philosophy's interest in

“l’homme sauvage” shows the continued predominance of this discourse in the late eighteenth century, while the fact that De Quincey sees this label as indicative of his status as an outsider shows some early recognition of aspects of the allegorical system that Rousseau uses to describe himself in Les Confessions.

De Quincey again has recourse to the image of the Wandering Jew when he expands dramatically, in the later 1856 Confessions, on his walking tour in Wales in 1802. This experience, which originally occurred just before De Quincey ran away for a second time and has the London experiences recalled in his original Confessions, is important in De Quincey’s effort to embrace the experience of the sublime, which was already important to the aesthetics of Romanticism. He goes to Wales in search of scenery, fresh air, and freedom from the unbearable oppression of his public school, and while he does mention Snowdon and some of the more usual tourist destinations, his observations regarding the land and its people consider the air of difference that he experiences in Wales within the compass of the Orient. This is in and of itself probably not surprising, but it does speak directly to how De Quincey’s autoethnographic discourse is organized. De Quincey’s “Wandering Jew” found Wales a place with “[n]o huge Babylonian centres of commerce...no hurricanes of haste, or fever-stricken armies of horses and flying chariots.” “These sweet sylvan routes” provide him with a “[h]appier life” than he can imagine, in part because each evening is spent “in a pretty rustic home” and is attended by “the Welsh harp” (III, 329). This critique of cities and city life, central in De Quincey’s work, fits both the confessional and the Romantic canon. Within this context, the image of the Wandering Jew is particularly fitting in that De Quincey creates a pastoral allegory—again familiar to the confessional form—beginning in Wales that is

readily connected to the image of a recognizable urban type. In his search for an urban “pariah” with which he can describe his own life on the economic margins in London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, the image of the urban Jew becomes an excellent analogue to De Quincey’s modern and cosmopolitan marginal man.

Soon after introducing himself as the “Wandering Jew” on the road in Wales, De Quincey begins to use images of the Orient to illuminate his surroundings. In describing how he pitched a primitive tent to economize on the road, De Quincey bemoans sleeping in the open by noting that “with a cloak of sufficient weight as well as compass, or an Arab’s burnoose, this would have been no great hardship” (III, 330). In light of Rousseau’s previously discussed strategy of self-othering which focused on the fashions and norms of the East, it is telling that De Quincey wishes something very similar for himself here. But the point of view of the Orientalist does not end there, because the entire “exotic” landscape of Wales quickly becomes an Oriental fantasy related to the strange fears De Quincey associates with his bivouac system:

I did, however, for some weeks try the plan of carrying a canvas tent manufactured by myself, and not larger than an ordinary umbrella: but to pitch this securely I found difficult... As winter drew near, this bivouacking system became too dangerous to attempt. Still, one may bivouack decently, barring rain and wind, up to the end of October... There are, as perhaps the reader knows by experience, no jaguars in Wales—nor pumas—nor anacondas—nor (generally speaking) any Thugs. What I feared most, but only through ignorance of zoology, was lest, whilst my sleeping face was upturned to the stars, some one of

the many little Brahminical-looking cows on the Cambrian hills, one or other, might poach her foot into the centre of my face. I do not suppose any fixed hostility of that nature to English faces in Welsh cows: but everywhere I observe in the feminine mind something of beautiful caprice, a floral exuberance of that charming willfulness which characterizes our dear human sisters, I fear, through all worlds. Against Thugs I had Juvenal's license to be careless in the emptiness of my pockets (*cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*). But I fear that Juvenal's license will not always hold water. There are people bent on cudgeling one who will persist in excusing one's having nothing but a bad schilling in one's purse... (330-31)

There is a certain logic to the geography that De Quincey establishes here that marks his surroundings as simultaneously Welsh and Indian. Wales, itself technically part of the English empire, exhibits aspects of an exotic Celtic inheritance that helps to define the Western-most extreme of Englishness; an important psychological and cultural demarcation in a text that is working to describe the habits and habitat of an English Opium-Eater. The exotic Indian landscape that De Quincey develops – with its confused mixture of animals and violent followers of Thuggee – lays portions of the Eastern empire on top of Wales and the “Western” empire. The characteristics of the one are merged with the other to the point where an admittedly unfounded fear of being trampled by a Welsh cow takes on the trappings of a vindictive variety of Hindu reincarnation. Despite the dominant imagery of Orientalism and Empire in this scene, the female gender of cows and De Quincey's fascination and disquiet regarding women and girls are often

the dominant preoccupation of this section. This combination of childhood fears as well as a fascination with cultural difference and the building of empire are in the foreground of De Quincey's autoethnographic approach.

During his journey through Wales, De Quincey's status as an evaluator of otherness comes into focus in his description of several days spent with a local family in their cottage. The event bears some resemblance to the experience that Mary Shelley wrote for Frankenstein's monster and the De Lacey family in the Swiss Alps. This speaks, at least in part, to the widespread nature of this variety of tourism, because interest in wandering in Wales was high during De Quincey's lifetime. Wales also lent itself to what Grevel Lindop refers to as a "rugged" variety of "a pastoral myth" that De Quincey found very attractive (73), while staying with local cottagers "remote from the high road" merely adds to the experience as romance. De Quincey describes the family of three brothers and four sisters as "remarkable for elegance and delicacy of manners" to such an extent that he feels that "[s]o much beauty, or so much native good breeding and refinement, I do not remember to have seen before or since in any cottage, except once or twice in Westmoreland and Devonshire" (III, 336). Here, De Quincey discusses the family in terms of a number of behaviors (left unclear but "understood") and class signifiers that make him feel comfortable with difference. The cottagers also speak English "an accomplishment not often met with in so many members of one Welsh family" (III, 336), making it clear that it is not necessary for De Quincey to know the local language to interact with this family. This would appear to be only a small detail, except it is language that makes this encounter possible in a number of ways, as De Quincey himself explains:

Here I wrote, on my first introduction, a letter about prize-money for one of the brothers, who had served on board an English man-of-war; and more privately, two letters to sweethearts for two sisters. They were both interesting in appearance; and one of uncommon loveliness...[I]t did not require any great penetration to discover that they wished their letters to be as kind as was consistent with proper maidenly reserve. I contrived so to temper my expressions as to reconcile the gratification of both feelings; and they were as much pleased with the way in which I had given expression to their thoughts as (in their simplicity) they were astonished at my having so readily discovered them...I had discharged my confidential duties as secretary so much to the general satisfaction...that I was pressed to stay...I slept unavoidably with the brothers, the only unoccupied bed standing in the chamber of the young women: but in all other points they treated me with a respect not usually paid to purses as light as mine; making it evident that my scholarship and courteous demeanour were considered sufficient arguments of gentle blood. ("1856 Confessions," III, 336-37)

Unlike Frankenstein's monster, De Quincey is able to operate both outside of the world of the native language of the people under study and find himself useful and accepted. In this instance, the role of English as the language of empire places De Quincey at a distinct advantage, and this advantage manifests itself in the above passage in his not only being understood, but also in his ability to be seen as a gentleman, something he much aspired to but rarely enjoyed. Being among the Welsh in this case becomes an

autoethnographic experience in which the “auto-” is very much at the forefront of the approach. In many ways, this confrontation with otherness explores both Englishness and selfhood simultaneously. Power is not located in only De Quincey’s ability to understand and articulate the sensibilities of young Welsh women in English. The women appear themselves to form part of a number of exchanges between Welsh weakness and English power, both in the nature of their brief relationship with De Quincey and in the apparent Englishness of their lovers or sweethearts. This same power dynamic holds with regard to the service of the son in the family on an English man-of-war (seemingly without having received all of the remuneration due). De Quincey’s sympathetic view of the disempowered underdog becomes characteristic of his autoethnography.

Aspects of De Quincey’s sexuality and his sensitivity to his own class position lurk at the edges in this scene when he notes that he was treated fairly in all things except not being allowed to sleep with the sisters, which also further exhibits the young man’s more carnal sensibilities regarding sharing the beds of young women. On this occasion the interest appears to be much more predatory than innocent, beginning with the rather sexual cast to De Quincey’s description of not needing “any great penetration to discover” the young ladies’ low level of “maidenly reserve.” De Quincey introduces this scene by speaking about other cottages in Westmoreland that he also found charming. One of those cottages must be that of Dalesman John Simpson, who was willing to accept De Quincey as a sexual partner for his young daughter Margaret for several years previous to her pregnancy and eventual marriage to Thomas. This situation illustrates exactly how De Quincey felt he should be treated as a “gentleman.” The parents of the Welsh girls may have been considering what the English gentleman really wanted when

they returned from a meeting of Methodists and sent him on his way “with churlish faces and “Dym Sassenach” (no English)” in reply to De Quincey’s efforts to communicate.

Whereas De Quincey’s “cottaging” experience is broadly similar to Frankenstein’s monster’s in that it sets up a confrontation with otherness, the monster’s time with the De Laceys is also often, at least temporarily, the antithesis of De Quincey’s experience. The monster’s marginal status is so marked that his knowledge of the De Laceys’ language is itself not enough to overcome the social distance between the “autoethnographer” and his subjects. While both the monster and De Quincey are forced to flee their respective cottages, De Quincey will eventually succeed in locating a suitable “cottage girl”; whereas the monster is never able to produce his own form of the family romance he observed among the De Laceys. De Quincey’s observations of the Welsh are not very insightful – he is probably too young to overcome his egotism during this time period – but the choice to foreground his Welsh experience points to an important overlap with both Mary Shelley and Rousseau with regards to a pastoral and allegorical construction of selfhood that depends on the marginalized status of the subject. By labeling himself a marginal man or “Wandering Jew,” De Quincey embraces these allegories to an extent that makes De Quincey’s “Jew” the potential equivalent of Mary Shelley’s monster and Rousseau’s noble savage. The autoethnographic aspects of this discourse are foregrounded in the romantic setting of the “exotic” cottage where both class and cultural boundaries are explored, a trend which is expanded in De Quincey’s better-known writings that confront both self and culture through recurring observations regarding the Orient in general and the British working classes in particular.

Whereas Rousseau preferred seeing and being seen by taking on the role of the *promeneur* prone to reverie, moving from the streets of the city to the countryside outside of Paris and back again; De Quincey relates this ambulatory form of the Romantic gaze to modernity's *flâneur*, prone to an intoxicated form of urban tourism and sociology, moving from the more tasteful to the less tasteful districts of London. De Quincey is similar to Rousseau in being frequently critical of cities and city life, but De Quincey also locates some common ground with opium users found in cities among the working classes. Early in his Confessions, De Quincey notes that the opium habit moves surprisingly beyond "men of talent" to include the working classes. De Quincey reports having heard about widespread opium usage among Manchester cotton workers in search of an "indulgence" cheaper than ale and spirits (31-2). In what can be read as a Rousseauvian move, De Quincey constructs himself as caught between these surprisingly antithetical classes of "opium-eaters"; namely, the "men of talent" from among the higher classes and the textile workers of Manchester. De Quincey's sense of a connection with the working classes is part of a complex relationship with the "Jacobin mob," itself a persistent motif in his work. In an important way, De Quincey's anxieties about Rousseau's place in the rhetoric of revolution link to his fears regarding connections between the English working class and himself.

It is then quite *a propos* of De Quincey's anxiety concerning French and Rousseauvian influences that his new English form of the confessional openly rejects the so-called feminine traits of the French by presenting an intensely robust, masculine addict who is willing to observe and confront the mob in the streets, while simultaneously

participating in a form of self-othering. The section of his Confessions entitled “The Pleasures of Opium”, describes his now famous Saturday night jaunts:

...whereas different men throw their feeling into different channels and most are apt to show their interest in the concerns of the poor, chiefly by sympathy, expressed in some shape or other, with their distresses and sorrows, I, at that time, was disposed to express my interest by sympathizing with their pleasures. The pains of poverty I had lately seen too much of...but the pleasures of the poor...can never become oppressive to contemplate...For the sake, therefore, of witnessing upon as large a scale as possible, a spectacle with which my sympathy was so entire, I used often, on Saturday nights, after I had taken opium, to wander forth, without regarding the direction or the distance, to all the markets, and other parts of London, to which the poor resort on a Saturday night, for laying out their wages. Many a family party, consisting of a man, his wife, and sometimes one or two of his children, have I listened to, as they stood consulting on their ways and means or the strength of their exchequer, or the price of household articles. Gradually I became familiar with their wishes, their difficulties, and their opinions...Whenever I saw occasion, or could do it without appearing to be intrusive, I joined their parties; and gave my opinion upon the matter in discussion, which, if not always judicious, was always received indulgently. If wages were higher, or expected to be so, or the quartern loaf a little lower, or it was reported that

onion or butter were expected to fall, I was glad: yet, if the contrary was true, I drew from opium some means of controlling myself. (80-81)

De Quincey's own chronic insolvency allows him to identify with the economic conditions of the working classes. The idea that he needed opium to "control" himself can be interpreted two ways. First, opium can be seen as protecting him from the emotional pain of the pathetic sight of the poor made even poorer by the vicissitudes of the local economy. This possibility extends the overlap between aspects of De Quincey's drug experiences and those of the opium-eating Manchester cotton workers, who used the drug to control the psychic and physical pain caused by industrial production. Also, De Quincey's stated desire to observe only the "pleasures" of the working poor indicates his broader intent to blunt the pain of what he sees. Second, opium can also be "controlling" De Quincey's own revolutionary urge or at least his desire to point out the depths of injustice connected to the problems of the working class. What cannot be ignored about the "self-othering" in the above quotation is that it is quite incomplete; De Quincey apparently feels some trepidation about identifying himself too closely with the masses. On his walks, De Quincey joins these family groups but reports that he does not always speak judiciously. It is possible that opium is "controlling" his ability to identify with the working classes to the point of complete "self-othering" because the drug turns the scene into a spectacle rather than further revealing the reflective nature of De Quincey's habit of viewing aspects of himself and his own condition via London's poor. It also bears mentioning that De Quincey's Saturday night walks included narcotized trips to the opera where the experience of listening to a public performance became a spectacle as well. Under the influence, De Quincey bounces between antithetical spectacles of the upper

and lower classes: the opera and the street. De Quincey the drug addict fits into neither of these worlds because while producing street scenes as spectacles, the drug increases his alienation from the individuals that he might meet.

John Barrell, Charles Rzepnik, and Alina Clej have all recently associated De Quincey as a walking observer of London's working poor with Baudelaire's and Benjamin's modern *flâneur*.²⁴ In and of itself, Baudelaire's translation of De Quincey's Confessions indicates a more than passing connection between these individuals and their ideas regarding urban spectatorship. These interests overlap further in their shared fascinations with both marginalized urban dwellers and the implications of a "narcotized subjectivity." Benjamin's description of the Baudelairean *flâneur* as one who "throws his lot in with the asocial" and makes a "fetish" of the "ambiguity" of the prostitute, appears an apt description of a number of De Quincey's confessional tendencies (157). But it may be the notice that Benjamin gives to the *flâneur*'s own ambiguous status that says the most about what I am working to illuminate in De Quincey's work: "The flâneur is still on the threshold, of the city as of the bourgeois class. Neither has yet engulfed him; in neither is he at home. He seeks refuge in the crowd" (156). This confusion or tension, particularly intense in De Quincey given his frequent bouts with a near "down and out" position, supports the *flâneur*'s attempts to observe the city through what Benjamin describes as "the gaze of an allegorist" (156 & see Rzepka, 140). Annette Cafarelli has noted that "...Romantic biographical analysis of character essentially transferred a vocabulary used for reading textual allegories to reading allegories of human life" and she includes De Quincey in a category of authors who foregrounds the "allegory of everyday life" (171-72). De Quincey's observational methodology, which Nigel Leask

playfully calls “Saturday Night Fever,” is an important part of the attempt to bringing meaning to the lives of those living on the margins in the cities through a number of allegorical substitutions including juxtapositions of self and other. The focus on everydayness and marginal types points directly to the interests and methods of the modern social sciences. That De Quincey’s lifelong interest in observing urban types begins in the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, some 40 years before Henry Mayhew’s works of proto-sociology in London begin appearing in the *Morning Chronicle*, reveals the ability of Romantic confessional discourse to predict the later “ethnographic” tendencies of the Victorian period.²⁵

WALKING THE CITY AS “FIELDWORK”: DeQUINCEY AND THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY

Briefly considering De Quincey’s autoethnographic descriptions of London’s working poor alongside the Chicago School of Sociology’s descriptive and methodological practices among similar populations in the first half of the twentieth century will reveal just how much De Quincey and the Romantic confessional foreshadowed the interests and methodologies of modern field work. To begin, I do not want to leave the reader with an image of De Quincey as only an occasional walker of city streets and observer of urban types. De Quincey was in the habit of taking lengthy walks near his home, and, based on what is evidenced in the *Everton Diary*, this habit began to form even before he met the Wordsworths, who are still famous for their appetite for walking in the Lake District.²⁶ James Hogg, De Quincey’s publisher after 1850, reports that De Quincey was a “first-rate pedestrian” who “considered that fourteen

miles a day was necessary to his health” (as qtd. in Japp 29). This extensive habit eventually becomes a significant part of De Quincey’s observational methodology in that he could easily keep his eye on the behaviors of the working poor. In a 1842 letter to Robert Blackwood of *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, as well as in a 1831 *Blackwood’s* article entitled “On the Approaching Revolution in Great Britain,” De Quincey mentions a lifelong surveillance of the working class which was based on a complex mixture of interest, sympathy, and fear. The 1842 letter states,

I watch in chance conversations; and in conversations that were not chance conversations I trained them and doctored them for the express manifestations of the true secret dispositions among the working poor. To a man I look upon the working poor, Scottish or English, as latent Jacobins – biding their time. (qtd. in Lindop 345)²⁷

These kinds of comments, which come from the pen of De Quincey the “purple Tory,” should be considered side-by-side with the reassuring and sympathetic approach from his Confessions, in which De Quincey describes “the impression left upon...[his] mind” as one in which “the poor are practically more philosophic than the rich; that they show a more ready and cheerful submission to what they consider as irremediable evils or irreparable losses” (80-1). This combination of fear and understanding is not merely native to De Quincey; in fact, it is foundational to the reforming ethos behind a good deal of the fieldwork in the social sciences. To begin to understand the Other is to begin to prevent a wider social catastrophe – whether this is in a colonial context, such as the ones in which Malinowski and Mead operated, or in a domestic and urban context such as the ones in which De Quincey and the Chicago School of Sociology directed their work. De

Quincey operates simultaneously in all of these contexts, mixing the imagery of the confrontation with otherness that defines the English experience of empire with the experience of otherness on the streets of cities throughout Great Britain.

Through the work of sociologists Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and others, the Chicago School of Sociology became prominent in the period between the World Wars by espousing substantial changes in urban sociology that worked to bring to that field many of the same scientific methods that had revolutionized ethnographic fieldwork. Robert Park's interest in cities and city types were themselves fed by a now familiar method – he walked the city's streets and observed the people that he saw there. Park boasted that he felt that he had “actually covered more ground, tramping about in cities in different parts of the world, than any living man” (as qtd. in Faris 29). Walking and observing may appear to be a rather simplistic research methodology, but Park felt that the city offered a unique opportunity to view “exceptional and abnormal types of man” in that,

...a great city tends to spread out and lay bare to the public view in a massive manner all the human characters and traits which are ordinarily obscured and suppressed in smaller communities. The city, in short, shows the good and evil in human nature in excess. It is this fact, perhaps, more than any other, which justifies the view that would make the city a laboratory or clinic in which human nature and social processes may be conveniently and profitably studied. (Park 45-6)

In many ways, these motivations for studying people in cities collide with those surrounding autobiographical and confessional studies of the self. Like Park's urban

subjects, the self is readily available for study and only the self can expose the self's "darker" attributes. In this setting, the ethnographic can quickly lead to autoethnography because the city offers the sociologist and autoethnographer every opportunity to measure his or herself (as a readily available standard) against an available pool of unique and often provocative types.

Not surprisingly, the works of the Chicago School frequently moved in the direction of confessional and autoethnographic discourses that made it difficult to draw a distinction between the sociologist and his or her subject. In their important 1921 textbook Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Park and Burress state that "[t]he first thing that students in sociology need to learn is to observe and record their own observations...to organize and use, in short, their own experience" (as qtd. in Faris, 40). This sense of "experience" quickly moves beyond the experience of collecting data. For example, under the tutelage of Park, Pauline V. Young approached a study of a Russian agrarian sect that had migrated to Los Angeles, known as the Molokans, using a method of "participant observation" in which Park advised Young "'to think and feel Molokan" in order to gain a complete understanding of the Molokan culture, social world, and inner life" (Faris 71). This kind of scientific self-othering had even more truly autoethnographic roots in Nels Anderson's The Hobo (1923), which was the product of professors at Chicago promoting Anderson's ability to decipher "Hobohemia" in Chicago based on his own previous experiences as a homeless man within this subculture. The fact that this work merely achieved its effect "by way of informal descriptions, using no formal research technique" (Faris 66) reproduces De Quincey's informal autoethnographic forays into urban areas where his own life experiences and tenuous

economic status defined his way of seeing the working poor. One can only imagine that De Quincey would have approved of the “slumming trips” that the University of Chicago organized and which “for a time...were a fashion among young Chicago intellectuals.” The idea that the “picaresque faces” of Hobohemia “and the sight of strange establishments—the employment agencies, the flophouses, the lady barbers, the pawnshops—were the next thing in local color to a trip abroad” (Faris 65) is an idea connecting the city with the exotic that is already firmly present in De Quincey’s imagination as it mixes the imagery of urban poverty and prostitutes with the fierce Malay and other Oriental images that inhabit his waking and dreaming lives. De Quincey’s previously mentioned tour of Wales, which itself decays into a “tour” of the heart of one of London’s more picaresque districts in Confessions of an English Opium Eater, begins to make the connection between ethnography, the self, and an exotic variety of urban observation and tourism that would later become the backdrop to the Chicago School of Sociology.

In his 1991 study of De Quincey’s fears of the Other, John Barrell frames his discussion of the logic which defines De Quincey’s works beginning with his Saturday night jaunts to view the working poor. Barrell describes the persistent contact with otherness in De Quincey’s work as a process which can be located along an arc that Barrell calls “This/That/The Other,” which Barrell explains as follows:

...the terms self and other can be thought of as superseded by ‘this’ and ‘that’, in a narrative that now says, there is *this* here, and it is different from *that* there, but the difference between them, though it is in its own way important, is as nothing compared with the difference between the

two of them together, and that third thing way over there, which is truly *other* to them both. (10)

Within the narrative of De Quincey's confessional, Ann the prostitute and the working poor become "that there" in relationship to the Malay and other Orientalist images that represent what is "truly other" in De Quincey's imagination. This "scheme of accommodation" which relieves the pressure of the "apparently exhaustive binary" (Barrell 10) of the self's identification through confrontation with a single other is the operative form of De Quincey's own variety of autoethnography: the self is defined by several different qualities of otherness which are consistently comparable with each other in the author's imagination.

Before moving on to discuss De Quincey's oft-discussed meeting with a Malaysian Opium Eater as an example of a moment of contact with "The Truly Other," I wanted to return briefly to De Quincey's preferred image with regards to his own status as a marginal man, that of the Wandering Jew. When considered alongside Barrell's systematic view of "This/That/The Other" in De Quincey's work, it is difficult to find a definitive location in this hierarchy for the Wandering Jew. To use Barrell's language, the Wandering Jew could just as likely be "that there" as that which is "truly other" to De Quincey, and it is also very possible that De Quincey's comfort level with the imagery of the Jewish diaspora allows the image of "this" of the self to begin to blur with the image of the Wandering Jew perhaps even further than De Quincey's identification with the Malay or the working poor might indicate. These possibilities make this particular image of living simultaneously inside and outside of a culture particularly powerful, while rather uncannily conforming to a variety of the "marginal man" that Robert E. Park and

his student Everett P. Stonequist focused on in their fieldwork during the 1930's.

Stonequist's The Marginal Man (1937) expanded on Robert Park's idea of the importance of understanding the racial and cultural hybridity of ever larger portions of the urban populations in both the United States and the rest of the world in which the mechanisms of immigration and empire, as well as those of the post-colonial world that was then just beginning to emerge, had led to the emergence of a "marginal man...who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds" (Stonequist 8). Park and Stonequist see the significance of the marginal man in his being "the key personality in the contacts of cultures" because it "is in his mind that the cultures come together, conflict, and eventually work out some kind of mutual adjustment and interpretation" (Stonequist 221). In his "Introduction" to The Marginal Man, Park describes the nature of the marginal man as a "cultural product" whose life goes a long way toward describing De Quincey's situation:

The marginal man is a personality type that arises at a time and a place where, out of the conflict of races and cultures, new societies, new peoples and cultures are coming into existence. The fate which condemns him to live, at the same time, in two worlds is the same which compels him to assume, in relation to the worlds in which he lives, the rôle of a cosmopolitan and a stranger. Inevitably he becomes, relatively to his cultural milieu, the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint. The marginal man is always relatively the more civilized human being. He occupies the position which has been, historically, that of the Jew in the Diaspora. The

Jew, particularly the Jew who has emerged from the provincialism of the ghetto, has everywhere and always been the most civilized of human creatures. (xvii-viii)

While there need be no allowances made for some of Park's now dated notions regarding the marginal man's status as "more civilized," it is indeed striking that Park's description of the marginal man not only touches on De Quincey's preferred image of the Jewish Diaspora, but it also draws a picture of the marginal man as emerging out of the crisis created by the emergence of an industrial economy and the building of empire. It is this crisis of domestic bourgeois identity that fuels De Quincey's elaborate description of the life of an "English Opium Eater," who is caught simultaneously within the framework of characteristics which are considered to be both Occidental and Oriental, as well as both bourgeois and working class. It is also very striking that Park's description above touches on both the importance of the marginal man as an object of study and well as the qualities that make the marginal man's point of view significant. For Park and Stonequist, the marginal man is both sociologist and sociological object, and it is not surprising within this context that many of the academics and students connected to the University of Chicago exhibit some qualities of the cultural hybridity that The Marginal Man describes. In Chicago between the world wars, a version of the Rousseauvian desire for seeing and being seen has mutated into the object of study itself. Earlier, in London and numerous other British cities, De Quincey recovers this way of seeing for an English readership fascinated by the descriptions and the point of view of a native variety of "Opium-Eater."

Any view of De Quincey's form of autoethnography would not be complete without a considering of the most comprehensive moment of self-othering in Confessions of an English Opium-Eater when the author is confronted, in rather strange fashion, with a Malay who happens to stop at Dove Cottage. De Quincey begins the episode by describing how his maid allows a turbaned, itinerant Malay to enter the cottage, and, unnerved, she comes upstairs to announce that "there is a sort of demon below." Oddly, De Quincey does not immediately go down, but when he does he describes how the Malay's "sallow and bilious skin" and "small, fierce, restless eyes" contrast with "the beautiful English face" of his maid (91). Very much in the style of Rousseau's approach to confessional discourse, De Quincey sees the aesthetic and political possibilities of establishing a continuum of similarity and difference between the European and Asian in which he will place himself. Difference is established with the help of his maid, while differences and similarities will be established by considering the Malay while he stands next to De Quincey. True to form, De Quincey tries to communicate with the man using several lines from the Illiad, to which the Malay merely bows, understanding nothing, and replies in what appears to be Malay. Then, the Malay reclines on the floor for an hour before taking his leave. De Quincey describes his departure as follows,

I presented him with a piece of opium. To him, as an Orientalist, I concluded that opium must be familiar...Nevertheless I was struck with some little consternation when I saw him suddenly...bolt the whole...at one mouthful. The quantity was enough to kill three dragoons and their horses: and I felt some alarm for the poor creature: but what could be done? I had given him the opium in compassion for his solitary life, on

recollecting that if he traveled on foot from London, it must be nearly three weeks since he could have exchanged a thought with any human being...[T]here was no help for it: - he took his leave: and for some days I felt anxious: but as I never heard of any Malay being found dead, I became convinced that he was used to opium: and that I must have done him the service I designed, by giving him one night of respite from the pains of wandering. (92)

Of course, I am not the first to see De Quincey in the Malay, for example: John Barrell describes this proximity by merely stating “he *was* the Malay” (19), Charles Rzepka intriguingly sees the Malay as replaying “De Quincey’s early pilgrimages and adoration” for Wordsworth at Dove Cottage (“De Quincey and the Malay,” 180), Rajani Sudan finds that the emphasis on faces in this scene leads eventual to “a literal exchange of faces” (170), and Alina Clej finds that “De Quincey’s double is...not alien enough; it is rather a figure of “the uncanny”” (261). All of these readings are accurate, but a number of aspects of this scene illustrate qualities of De Quincey’s self-othering that have gone unnoticed by critics.

The term “Orientalist” used to describe the Malay as knowledgeable about opium is itself potentially suggestive of self-othering. The term has two possible definitions in this case. An individual from the Orient could be called an Orientalist during this period, but an Orientalist could also be a student of oriental culture, literature, and languages. This second definition better fits De Quincey’s personality than what little we know about the destitute Malay who briefly haunted Dove Cottage. Although the quotation does expose the limitations of De Quincey’s Orientalism – he is neither Oriental himself nor skilled in

Malay or any other Oriental language – the ultimate bridge between the Malay and De Quincey is the shared and apparently universal Orientalist characteristic of opium use. In this passage, the term “Orientalist” may be best defined as a user of opium (in copious amounts) which allows the term to include both De Quincey and the Malay. In every sense, the Malay appears to be De Quincey’s model of an “Opium-Eater” provided to help the author produce an English equivalent. In fact, the Malay, who takes the opium that he is offered and dramatically “bolt[s] the whole,” may be the text’s only definitive “opium-eater” in that, as Grevel Lindop points out, De Quincey “was generally an opium *drinker*,” (249) a statement that is heavily supported by De Quincey’s preference for “ruby colored laudanum.”²⁸ This preference and this episode are important in light of De Quincey’s effort in his Confessions to describe an English Opium-Eater who swallows the drug in astonishing amounts.

Grevel Lindop points to William Marsden’s The History of Sumatra (1811) as a potential source for De Quincey’s Malay because of its striking frontispiece “which shows a dark-skinned Malay with a striped turban” and its reference to “the Malay’s heavy use of opium, a point that might well have impressed De Quincey” (218). Marsden’s text speaks very briefly regarding opium use among the Malay, yet, rather strikingly, Marsden’s description of the different effects of opium on different social classes on Sumatra is echoed by the hierarchy implicit in De Quincey’s comparison of “the torpid state of self-involution ascribed to the Turks” with the English Opium-Eater’s active form of addiction, brought on by opium’s tendency “to excite and stimulate the system” (Confessions 77). A variety of class-related logic is present also in De Quincey’s description in his Confessions of the Manchester Cotton Workers as “amateur opium-

eaters” who came to the drug only when their wages were too low to allow them to partake of ale and spirits, clearly a much lower and rather debauched form of opium usage and appreciation when compared with the higher-minded motivations of pain relief and stimulation which De Quincey claims for the English bourgeoisie. With regards to questions of opium and class hierarchy, the voice of De Quincey is often indistinguishable from Marsden’s:

That the practice of smoking opium must be in some way prejudicial to the health, is highly probable; yet I am inclined to think that effects have been attributed to it, much more pernicious to the constitution than it in reality causes. The *bugis* soldiers, and others in the Malay bazars, whom we see most attached to it, and who use it in excess, commonly appear emaciated; but they are in other respects abandoned and debauched. The *Limun* and *Batang Assei* gold-traders, on the contrary, who are an active, laborious class of men, but yet indulge as freely in opium as any others whatever, are, notwithstanding, the most healthy and vigorous people to be met with on the island (Marsden 278).

This defense of opium use among portions of a Sumatran merchant class clearly predicts the traits of the bourgeois or merchant English Opium-Eater that De Quincey describes in his autobiography as exhibiting a highly functional form of opium addiction. English readers appear to have been very ready to accept a theory regarding differing levels of functionality among addicts in Sumatra that was based not on dosages but on social class, just as many of these same readers were accepting of the vigorous form of English

opium-eating that De Quincey works to describe as characteristic of the English merchant or middle class.

The connection of both class and empire with opium is also reflected in Marsden's description of a *muck* – the infamous Malaysian murderous rampage which was said to be brought on by the effects of depression and/or opium. Marsden notes that he had “the opportunity of being an eyewitness but to one *muck*,” which involved the male slave of a Portuguese woman who after “being treated by his mistress with extreme severity, for a trifling offence” took up an opium pipe and knives and vowed revenge “if she attempted to strike him again.” The civil guard was called and the so-called *muck* was gunned down in an outhouse where he attempted to hide (279). The Malay who haunts De Quincey's dreams and who De Quincey describes by writing that he “ran a-muck at me, and led me into a world of troubles,” could have been located by De Quincey in Marsden's text as a personification of his fear of both a revolutionary mob and England's unruly imperial subjects in the Far East. The *muck* which Marsden describes -- in a manner that makes it appear exemplary -- indicates that *muck* violence may have often sprung out of both class warfare and the power dynamics of colonialism. De Quincey's fear of the Malay and his fear of the working classes thus have the potential to begin to blur together, spurred on, in part, by the resemblance between “class war” at home and relations between the English and their imperial subjects abroad. De Quincey's apparent desire to kill the Malay with opium (or at least not prevent his death by using an emetic, which amounts to the same thing really), creates a scene that can be read as a passive revisiting of the murder of the *muck* which Marsden described in History of Sumatra. Incidentally, the Malay returns frequently in De Quincey's nightmares as does “the

perplexity of [his] steps in London” among the working classes for which he “paid a heavy price in distant years, when the human face tyrannized” his nightmares (Confessions 81). De Quincey’s two self-others, who define the limits of his personality, haunt him interchangeably as the tyrannical “human faces” in his dreams. De Quincey’s narcotized imagination will not allow him to elude himself, even when that self is made other.

As Charles Rzepka points out, the journey that the Malay makes from London to Dove Cottage reinvents De Quincey’s own journey to the Lake District which dominates the first portion of his Confessions (“De Quincey and the Malay” 180). The image of the Malay and his journey thus has a potential allegorical interpretation which leads back to De Quincey himself. A close examination of De Quincey’s language in this passage indicates the manner in which he is projecting himself on to the Malay. De Quincey states that, “I had given him the opium in compassion for his solitary life, on recollecting that if he traveled on foot from London, it must be nearly three weeks since he could have exchanged a thought with any human being...” (Confessions 92). Without the ability to communicate with the Malay, there appears outwardly to be no reasonable manner in which De Quincey could receive this information. They are both “solitary” in this sense, and their common understanding, which transcends language, is suggestive of a shared culture. As is the case with Rousseau’s efforts to align his Natural Man or Noble Savage with his own experience, the Malay arrives in De Quincey’s Confessions at a point of conversion. While Rousseau’s famous conversion on the road to Vincennes traps what little remains of the “Savage” deep within Rousseau himself, the arrival of the Malay in De Quincey’s Confessions marks the conversion from “The Pleasures of Opium” to “The

Pains of Opium.” Rousseau marks his later complete conversion back to a more “savage” place by donning Armenian dress, while De Quincey co-mingles his identity, his fears, and his addiction via his Malaysian self-other. What is different is that De Quincey’s allegorical self-othering is much bleaker than Rousseau’s, in large part reflecting the nature of addiction. De Quincey’s form of primitivism does not carry with it the implications of liberty that form part of the essential nature of Rousseau’s idealized type.²⁹ In fact, De Quincey is enslaved to opium and the Malay, just as the opium user in Marsden’s description of a Malaysian *muck* is himself a slave.

In the end, the Malay may be a doubly perfect “self-other” for De Quincey: the most widely circulated popular characteristics of Malays in De Quincey’s time are arguably their prolific opium use and slight physical size, which was considered to be “rather below the middle stature” (Marsden 44) – both of which are qualities De Quincey shares. Yet, ultimately, De Quincey’s greatest feat of self-othering may be in his ability to imitate the specifics of Rousseau’s own form of confessional discourse while simultaneously distancing himself from his model. To use Paul de Man’s terminology, if there is a kind of “De-facement” in this autobiography, it begins on its first page where De Quincey suggests that he will not wear the mask of Rousseau, but commences to do exactly that. De Man saw *prosopopeia* as autobiography’s master trope, and, in this case, De Quincey does intentionally deface or attempt to hide his performance in the character of Rousseau. Beyond the potential for an anxiety of Rousseauvian influence to motivate this behavior, De Quincey’s simultaneous move toward and away from Rousseau could have at least one obvious motivation. De Quincey desires a broader readership to both make his reputation and expand his pocketbook. To model Rousseau is also to hope to

model his success: Rousseau's confessional text sold very well and ultimately so did De Quincey's.

Beyond De Quincey's self-othering, the greatest concentration of autoethnographic discourse is located in his descriptions of his opium habit. Between his fascination with the fantastic numbers of drops of laudanum that he consumed and his efforts to change the view of the torpid Turkish opium addict by relating his experiences as an English opium-eater at the opera and on the streets of London, De Quincey retains the confessional's medical bent while predicting a general commonplace of field anthropology – the study of a culture's use of mind-altering substances. It bears noting that when De Quincey announces his intention to reinvent the consideration of opium usage as it has been perceived “by travelers in Turkey” (*Confessions*, 72), he is announcing his effort to take on the limitations of the kinds of texts widely considered to be proto-anthropologies; the same kinds of texts that Rousseau attacks as a form of unfit fieldwork in *The Discourse on Inequality*. In place of the Turks that these travelers claimed to have observed, De Quincey offers his own experiences as an Englishman who indulges in opium, and it is in this approach that his autoethnographic perspective thrives. As with Rousseau, De Quincey's status as an outsider or marginal man proves to be an effective and matter-of-fact tool for analyzing his world in anthropological terms.

¹For Hans Robert Jauss's discussion of “horizon of expectation” (*Erwartungshorizont*) as an aesthetics of reception see “Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory” *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982. pp. 3-45.

² Wordsworth can be seen as a translator of Rousseau's ideas for De Quincey. There is every indication that Wordsworth was very familiar with Rousseau's works. Wordsworth's library included *Les Confessions*, *Réveries du promeneur solitaire*, *Du contrat social*, and *Emile, ou de l'éducation* (Shaver, 221) and Duncan Wu has found that Wordsworth also read a number of Rousseau's works, including the *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* more than once, between 1793 and 1801 (Wu,

Wordsworth's Reading 1770-1799 pp. 119-120 and Wordsworth's Reading 1800-1815 p. 181). While critics have seen the influence of Rousseau in other poems in Wordsworth's oeuvre, such as *Salisbury Plain* and *Michael* (see Wu, 1770-1799 pp. 119-20 for an overview of this influence), *The Prelude* can itself be considered within both the particular interest in tales of selfhood that manifests itself during the Romantic period and as a work which both echoes and challenges assumptions regarding the development of an individual and of a literary mind following Rousseau's provocative *Les Confessions*. Beginning as The "Thirteen Book Prelude" does with the narrator describing the freedom that comes with shaking off "That burden of my own natural self/The heavy weight of many a weary day" (i 23-24) (Wu, 1770-1799, 119) as well as the image of "a naked boy" bathing on a summer's day as if he were "a naked savage" living in a "hut...on Indian plains" (i 291 & 303), it is clear that aspects of Rousseau's ideas are a consideration from the beginning in Wordsworth's "Poem to Coleridge."

³ The text within the brackets in passages from De Quincey's *Diary* (see: *A Diary of Thomas De Quincey*. 1803. Ed. Horace A. Eaton. London: Noel Douglas, 1927) represent the editor's attempts to restore text that has been torn away or has been smudged beyond recognition. Throughout the vast majority of the diary, including the previous passage, this is not a difficult task

⁴ De Quincey, Thomas. *The Collected writings of Thomas De Quincey*. 14 vols. Ed. David Masson. London: A. & C. Black, 1896. III, 472. A number of citations from De Quincey's works are taken from this 14 volume collection. Future citations from this collection will be given in the text by noting the volume number (using roman numerals) and page numbers involved.

⁵ Citations from De Quincey's original 1821 edition are taken from: De Quincey, Thomas. *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*. ed. Althea Hayter. New York: Penguin, 1971. This edition will be labeled "Confessions" in future citations.

⁶ Although Lady Montagu does not appear to mention opium use in Turkey, DeQuincey mentions reading a portion of Lady Montagu's popular letters describing Turkish culture and cultural practices in his diary in 1803. This text would work both to inform De Quincey's Orientalism and his experiment in "inoculation" with opium that he announces in his *Confessions*. Lady Montagu's description of the inoculation of Turkish children with cowpox very early in the eighteenth century is thought to be one of the original sources of information on the subject for Edward Jenner (see also Lattimer, Dean and Jeff Goldberg. *Flowers in the Blood: The Story of Opium*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1981.160.).

⁷ For a view of Burke's attacks on Rousseau see Edward Duffy's *Rousseau in England: The Context for Shelley's Critique of the Enlightenment*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. pp. 37-42.

⁸ "*Les Confessions de J. J. Rousseau*" is in fact how Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond render the title on page one of volume one of the *Oeuvres Complètes* (1959). Whether or not "...de J. J. Rousseau" is actually part of the title might be a debatable point, but this does illustrate how natural this formula is in relation to confessional texts. For a discussion of French and English texts with similar titles which predate De Quincey's *Confessions* see Lindop, 249.

⁹ De Quincey's stomach complaints are a portion of the backdrop to his use of opium. De Quincey traces this problem to the period when he lived "rough" on or near Oxford Street as described in his *Confessions*, but the *Everton Diaries* expose a lifestyle that could not have been easy on his stomach.

¹⁰ It appears that the Napoleonic wars gave Burke's critique of Rousseau as "Revolutionary" some added momentum. The Spring and Summer of 1803 may have been a final opportunity for the critical consideration of Rousseau before the politics of war with France made Burke's logic appear to be stronger than ever (Duffy describes "[t]he Rousseau of wartime England" as "a quasi-obligatory target for national hostility" (83)). To add fuel to this view in terms of the English Romantic reception of Rousseau, Wordsworth's borrowing of texts by Rousseau for his own work ends just previous to this in 1801 (see Wu), and Shelley's conversion to a Rousseauian worldview which Duffy describes in *Rousseau in England* takes place at the termination of war with France in 1815. De Quincey 1821 *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, which simultaneously rejects and embraces Rousseau, can be seen as a partial rehabilitation of Rousseau in post-Waterloo England.

¹¹ The editor of De Quincey's *Everton Diary* notes several lines from Syer's 1830 History of Everton which point toward a relationship between the St. Domingo estate and both love and philosophy, as well as alluding to the speed with which Everton quickly became part of greater Liverpool between when De Quincey wrote his diary in 1803 and when this history of Everton appeared in 1830:

The roads and avenues which border this triangle of the *ci-devant* St. Domingo estate, were some time ago considered delightful and sequestered places; they were adapted to the ruminations

of philosophers, or to the seclusion coveted by lovers, for seldom was this charming retreat intruded upon by strangers; therefore, neither the philosopher nor the lover, who perchance stole into these delightful avenues, had to fear the observations of ignorance, malice, and slander. (as qtd. in *Diary* 233 n 77)

¹² In typical and still familiar bourgeois fashion, Mrs. De Quincey appears to have pressured Thomas to choose a potential career as a precursor to going to Oxford so as to increase the utility of what he studied there. A fragment of a draft of a letter to his mother in the *Everton Diary* illustrates how both De Quincey and his mother went back and forth on this issues surrounding his future:

Everton, May 13.

Dear Mother,

I thought it had been understood between us—that my views cannot change, however circumstances may hasten or retard (or, in any way, vary) the means of their accomplishment. My future life can in no way, shape, or substance, have discord with my present intentions; though unquestionably it my receive it's color from the reflection of my situation. These general views, I believe, are not what you ask to know, but what path in life I mean to follow for their attainment. How this is a necessary preliminary to going to college, I never could understand; and I thought you...[end of fragment] ("Diary," 166)

¹³ Letter from De Quincey to Dorothy Wordsworth from June 13, 1812 (as qtd. in Lindop 197).

¹⁴ For other moments of weeping see *Confessions* pp. 38, 39. After describing his effort to run away from boarding school, De Quincey characterizes his life as "blended and intertwined...[with] occasions of laughter and tears" ("*Confessions*," 39)

¹⁵ See Rzepka, Charles J. *Sacramental Commodities: Gift, Text, and the Sublime in De Quincey*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995. pp. 140-4, and Leask, Nigel. *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. pp. 188-90. Leask argues persuasively that "there is a subliminal suggestion that De Quincey contracted venereal disease either during or shortly after his first sojourn in London" (189).

¹⁶ See Levinson, Marjorie. *Keats's Life of Allegory: The Origins of A Style* (1988).

¹⁷ See Foucault's *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1 pp. 3-13.

¹⁸ For views of Coleridge's influence on De Quincey see: Beer, John. "De Quincey and the Dark Sublime: The Wordsworth-Coleridge Ethos." *Thomas De Quincey: Bicentenary Studies*. Ed. R. L. Snyder. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985. 164-98., Leask, pp. 170-228, and Daniel Sanjiv Roberts' *Revisionary Glean: De Quincey, Coleridge, and the High Romantic Argument*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. pp. 1-30 & 71-112.

¹⁹ The previous three lines are passages, in quotation marks, which the editor Horace Eaton is able to attribute to Milton and Collins ("*Diary*," 163, 228 n 49-50).

²⁰ In his attack on De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* in *John Bull* in 1824, William Maginn referred to De Quincey as "Quincy" in order to point out De Quincey's inability to tell the truth about himself (see Julian North's "De Quincey Reviewed," 10).

²¹ For a discussion of this scene and De Quincey use of the Wandering Jew as a recurring "involute" in his work, see Barrell, John. *The Infection of Thomas De Quincey: The Psychopathology of Imperialism*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991. 29-32. For a discussion of the image of the Wandering Jew as part of De Quincey's emphasis on a "prodigal economy" see Clej, Alina. *A Genealogy of the Modern Self: Thomas De Quincey and the Intoxication of Writing*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. pp.76-89.

²² See *Autobiography 1785-1803* pp. 100-109. This section transitions from the Gombroonians by noting:

From this deep degradation of myself and my people, I was drawn off at intervals to contemplate a different mode of degradation affecting two persons, twin sisters, whom I saw intermittingly; sometimes once a-week, sometimes frequently on each separate day. You have heard, reader, of pariahs. The pathos of that great idea possibly never reached you. Did it ever strike you how far that idea had extended? Do not fancy it peculiar to Hindustan. Before Delhi was, before Agra, or Lahore, might the pariah say, I was. (100)

What follows is a history of the pariah and later a description of the twin girls who are deaf, disfigured, "remarkably plain in person and features, unhealthy, and obscurely reputed to be idiots" (103). De Quincey instantly identifies with them and attempts to befriend them.

²³ See Moran, Francis III. "Between Primates and Primitives: Natural Man as the Missing Link in Rousseau's Second Discourse." *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 54.1 (1993): 37-58.

In the same note in *The Discourse on Inequality* that includes his references to primates, Rousseau mentions that travelers "even claimed that there are whole peoples that have tails like quadrupeds" (80).

²⁴ see Barrell pp. 1-5; Rzepka, *Sacramental Commodities* pp. 140, 301n. 21; and Clej who emphasizes De Quincey's proximity to the modernity of Baudelaire and Benjamin throughout her book.

²⁵ For a discussion of the emergence of the proto-sociologists of Victorian London, including Mayhew, see Nord, Deborah Epstein. "The Social Explorer as Anthropologist: Victorian Travelers Among the Urban Poor." *Visions of the Modern City: Essays in History, Art, and Literature*. Ed. William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock. Proceedings of the Heyman Center for the Humanities. New York: Columbia University, 1983. 118-30.

²⁶ Stephen Gill notes that "appropriately, it was walking that brought about his death" when he describes Wordsworth's death in the spring of 1850 following a "pleurisy" that appeared to be connected to walking to Grasmere and White Moss Common in cold and wet weather (422).

²⁷ see also Barrell, 3.

²⁸ Grevel Lindop also points out that De Quincey used "Opium-Eater" to draw parallels between himself and the "exotic fraternity of the Turkish Theriakis "who ate solid opium and [were] featured in many Eastern tales and travel books" (249). This connection points to the self-other latent in De Quincey's title.

²⁹ For a discussion of the history of the Noble Savage as an allegorical figure signifying freedom see: Stelio Crio. *The Noble Savage: Allegory of Freedom*. Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990.

IV. – MARGINAL MAN REDUX: MALINOWSKI'S CONFESSIONAL FIELDWORK

Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1941), a founder of anthropology's functionalist method, as well as a central figure in the emergence of fieldwork in the profession, remains at the forefront of discussions regarding the future of anthropology.

Malinowski's A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term (1967), which Clifford Geertz describes as anthropology's "*The Double Helix*" ("Works and Lives" 75), is central to the current reevaluation of the narrativity of the anthropological monograph.¹ Until now, what the Diary has said about Malinowski's method and personality has been foregrounded, while the importance of the confessional nature of both the Diary and Malinowski's monographs has minimized. To date, the confessional discourse of Malinowski's Diary has largely been considered as a separate phenomenon or genre distinct from the "realism" of the majority of Malinowski's work.² Clifford Geertz dissociates Malinowski's work from the confessional even further when he states: "The *Diary* disturbs, but not because of what it says about Malinowski. Much of that is neo-romantic commonplace, and, like some other famous "confessions," not nearly so revealing as it seems. It disturbs because of what it says about "Being There"" (Works and Lives 76). While Geertz does acknowledge the confessional tone in anthropology throughout his work – in fact, he does this far more often than many of his colleagues – there is still the professional strain in Geertz's writing that views confessional anthropology critically. Perhaps the reason for this is, as Mary Louise Pratt notes, that within anthropology personal narratives "are often deemed self-indulgent, trivial, or heretical" ("Fieldwork" 31). What is particularly striking about Geertz's treatment of

Malinowski is that he cloaks his interest in confessional discourse by focusing on the rhetoric of what he calls “I-witnessing”—the method Malinowski and others use to make themselves “convincing” (“Works” 79).³ Of course, the convincing performance of a truth-telling self is also, lest we forget, central to the ethos of the confessional. Although Geertz’s reading of the Diary is extremely effective in what it says about the nature of fieldwork, I wanted to begin this discussion of Malinowski by noting how critics in anthropology want, perhaps even unconsciously, to minimize the importance of the confessional in his work. Geertz’s own mildly confessional style, at its most memorable in his famous description of Balinese cockfighting, reveals the nature of his own “neo-romantic” (and I mean this not as a derogatory term) reflex.⁴ What Malinowski’s Diary does reveal about Malinowski is that he was an extremely neo-romantic individual who helped to define a professional and often neo-romantic discourse, which is difficult to dismiss as either uninteresting or unimportant. If Malinowski’s Diary is to be read as anthropology’s The Double Helix, then perhaps a “genetic” or generic connection between Malinowski’s confessional discourse and his monographs should not come as a complete surprise.

The publication of A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term in 1967, which exposed an anthropologist in the grips of a profound identity crisis, touched off a storm of controversy and professional reflection that has yet to entirely die down. While espousing moving the anthropologist into the villages to be studied for extended periods, Malinowski confronted a culture in the Trobriand Islands (1914-15 & 1917-1918) that was both alien and profoundly frustrating for him. In his 1968 review of Malinowski’s diary, Clifford Geertz rightly describes Malinowski as “a crabbed, self-preoccupied,

hypochondriacal narcissist, whose fellow-feeling for the people he lived with was limited in the extreme" ("Mosquito Net," 12). For many, this is putting the case much too lightly, but rather than merely focusing on extending a discussion of Malinowski's sharp ambivalence for the peoples he was studying (his numerous references to the Trobrianders as "niggers" and "savages" as well as his direct reference to a Kurtzian desire to "exterminate the brutes" are frequently pointed to as characteristic of the diaries) this chapter will work to integrate Malinowski's confessional diaries into a reflection on the Romantic and autoethnographic nature of fieldwork in the modern social sciences. Indeed, there is an echo of the Rousseau of Les Confessions in viewing Malinowski as "a crabbed, self-preoccupied, hypochondriacal narcissist," but this parallel runs much deeper. What becomes obvious when reading Malinowski's confessions and anthropological works alongside the work of Rousseau and De Quincey is that Malinowski is as much a Romantic as he is an anthropologist. Throughout his diary, Malinowski focuses on what are now familiar confessional commonplaces, such as: close observation of his own sexuality (including onanism), a desire to frame his relationships with woman as a supplement to the mother-son relationship, and his frequent return to discussions of the pitfalls of extensive reading on an overactive imagination. Over time a fussy, Rousseauvian type begins to emerge. Malinowski's monographs, with their voracious interest in the sexuality and Oedipal travails of the Trobrianders, echo the highly-sexed struggle for selfhood in the Diary and point ultimately to a process of confessional self-othering further complicated by Malinowski's discomfort both with himself and the Melanesian villagers under study.

Raymond Firth, Malinowski's student and frequent apologist, amplifies the confessional nature of the Diary, in its introduction, by challenging the reader who might choose "to sneer at passages in this diary to be first equally frank in his own thought and writings, and then judge again" (xix). Firth's own performance here is one that is unmistakably *à la Jean-Jacques*, and for that reason, it is a fitting place to begin this discussion of Malinowski and his work within a confessional context; however, Firth also connects Malinowski's work very directly to forms of Romanticism at other points in his essays, noting specifically that his teacher's "subordination of form to theme," his "sense of having his values in the sphere of human personality rather than human constructs" ("Malinowski," 108), and his preference "for wide generalizations, but not for their formal expression" ("Contemporary," 480) were qualities that were part of Malinowski's Romantic frame of mind. These tendencies are characteristic of Malinowski's confessional style.

Taking the notion of a Romantic Malinowski even further than Firth, Ivan Strenski notes that the widely-circulated image of an empiricist and positivist Malinowski emerging out of the Diary and Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922) "becomes intelligible" only when Malinowski's "*neuromantik*" tendencies are exposed (766).⁵ For Strenski, a telling example of the often fleeting image of a "Romantic Malinowski" is available in Malinowski's own parting words in Argonauts:

I have tried to pave my account with fact and details . . . But at the same time, my conviction, as expressed over and over again, is that what matters really is not the detail, not the fact, but the scientific use we make

of it. Thus, the details and technicalities . . . acquire their meaning in so far as they express some central attitude of mind of the native . . .

What interests me really in the study of the native is his outlook on things, his *Weltanschauung*, the breath of life and reality which he breathes and by which he lives . . . a definite vision of the world, a definite zest for life (as quoted by Strenski 766).

The tension here between Reason and Passion, restated as technicality and *Weltanschauung*, places Malinowski firmly within the orbit of the way of seeing of the Romantics. The manner in which this tension manifests itself in Malinowski's anthropology may be best exemplified by his own gloss of the Trobrianders' institution of the *Kula*: an elaborate system of gift exchanges of arm-shells (*mwali*) and necklaces (*soulava*) that is the focus of *Argonauts*. In laying out the basic outlines of this process in which *mwali* circulate in a counterclockwise fashion and the *soulava* in a clockwise fashion within a "Kula Ring" of islands spread out over several hundred miles, Malinowski admits that at first glance, "this simple action" of "passing from hand to hand of two meaningless and quite useless objects" may seem "tame and unromantic"; however, "[m]yth, magic and tradition have built up around it definite ritual and ceremonial forms, have given it a halo of romance and value in the minds of the natives, have indeed created a passion in their hearts for this simple exchange" (*Argonauts* 86). The proximity of the terms "romance" and "value" in this passage is particularly telling because these words exemplify the manner in which Malinowski worked in the field, seeing "data" as "romance" in order to assign it "value." Strenski argues rightly that it is

necessary, in reading Malinowski's works, to be cognizant of the anthropologist's manner of filtering his data through a Romantic lens.

In exploring the echoes of Conrad in Malinowski's life and work, James Clifford has commented, "Malinowski pulled himself together" through his work in which "the fashioned wholes of a self and of a culture seem to be mutually reinforcing allegories of identity" ("Predicament," 104). The prefatory comments entitled "Subject, Method, and Scope" that begin Argonauts are important in this regard in that Malinowski's concerns mimic both Rousseau's and De Quincey's in what Argonauts refers to as "methodological candor." Whereas, for example, Rousseau proposes in Les Confessions to include both his narrative and his correspondence as a kind of "double check" of the veracity that is so important to his project, Malinowski introduces a similar system of both tables and description because "an Ethnographer, who wishes to be trusted, must show clearly and concisely, in a tabularized form, which are his own observations, and which the indirect information that form the bases of his account" (Argonauts, 15). The tables give the reader the ability to see, or at least begin to see, where narrativity ends and the ethnographer's experience begins. Malinowski's narrative style frequently reveals the contours of the self, while the "tabularized form" works to retain a snapshot of the culture of the Trobriands as it was originally observed. In this fashion, the "mutually reinforcing allegories of identity" that Clifford mentions can be traced in Malinowski's work to many of the same ideals that supported both Rousseau's and De Quincey's confessional constructions of self.

The self-conscious “Ethnographer” ⁶of Argonauts introduces the romantic side of his sociological observations by placing himself before the reader as the troubled inheritor of a modern social scientific Robinsonade:

Imagine yourself suddenly set down surrounded by all your gear, alone on a tropical beach close to a native village, while the launch or dinghy which has brought you sails away out of sight . . . I well remember the long visits I paid to the villages during the first weeks; the feeling of hopelessness and despair after many obstinate but futile attempts had entirely failed to bring me into real touch with the natives, or supply me with material. (4)

From this struggle emerges both the Diary and Malinowski’s method which he characterizes as distancing oneself from the traditional “abode in the compound of some neighboring white man” and “cutting oneself off from the company of other white men, and remaining in as close contact with the natives as possible” (Argonauts 4, 6). In this way, the Diary reconfigures the confessional’s “marginal man,” who chooses or is forced to live caught between two worlds and is therefore trapped within his own sense of self-othering.

Commenting on the relation between travel literature and Malinowski’s opening “alone on a tropical beach,” Mary Louise Pratt remarks that the image of the “old fashioned castaway... is especially apt, since it corresponds to Malinowski’s own situation at the time. An Austrian citizen living in Australia, he had been sent to sit out the war in the Trobriand Islands rather than risk reprisals or deportation” (“Fieldwork,” 38). This marginalized status, both inside and outside of the Trobriands and Western society, is magnified further by both Malinowski’s status as Polish, itself a displaced

nationality in Europe at the time of the Great War, as well as by the quirks of the Polish class structure, which, as Helena Wayne (Malinowska) explains, allows Malinowski's maternal and paternal lines to originate in "a social class, which had . . . no exact equivalent in other European countries, between landed gentry and nobility, but certainly not aristocracy" (529). Very much in a manner reminiscent of Rousseau's status as a Genevan who operated both inside and outside of French culture at a number of different class levels, Malinowski's position as a Polish man from an indeterminate class simultaneously limits and allows him to cross political, linguistic, and social borders that may have been off limits to others at this time. The speed with which Malinowski grows fluent in Motu in the diaries can be seen as part of his self-acknowledged "facility for acquiring a conversational command of foreign languages" (as qtd. in Stocking, After Tylor 252), but it is difficult not to see this gift for languages as part of the adaptive toolbox of a young Pole in exile who is forced to interact and create social contacts more than ever before. Malinowski's image of the castaway arriving on the tropical island is therefore a fitting analogue to Malinowski's own outsider status, which, as Mary Louise Pratt points out, is also "innocent, and one can see why it would be a compelling image to the contradiction-ridden ethnographer" ("Fieldwork" 38) The "Castaway" fittingly and romantically describes Malinowski's place in the Trobriands as well as in Europe, just as Robinson Crusoe spoke so clearly to Rousseau both as he was writing the Emile outside of Paris and later when he fancied himself a Robinson while writing Les Confessions in exile . The "castaway" is very much a part of the "allegories of identity" that inform the Romantic Self in which "mutually reinforcing" qualities of self and other play an essential role. Of course, the "deserted isle," with its ubiquitous rather than occasional

“Fridays,” provides Malinowski with a ready supply of otherness from which he can frequently measure and remeasure himself.

Malinowski’s status as an outsider in the Trobriand Islands is largely self-evident, yet when considered alongside his description of the beginning of a typical working day in Argonauts, aspects of De Quincey’s early form of urban sociology appear in Malinowski’s method:

...every morning...I would get out from under my mosquito net, to find around me the village life beginning to stir, or the people well advanced in their working day according to the hour and also to the season, for they get up and begin their labours early or late, as work presses. As I went on my morning walk through the village, I could see intimate details of family life, of toilet, cooking, taking of meals; I could see the arrangements for the day’s work, people starting on their errands, or groups of men and women busy at some manufacturing task. (7)

While De Quincey’s peripatetic habit took him to the markets that London’s working poor frequented after receiving their wages on Saturdays, Malinowski’s walks also focused on the economic habits of the Trobriander family unit. Whereas, in Confessions of an English Opium Eater, De Quincey often interjected himself into the discussions of working families when he “could do it without appearing to be intrusive” and “was always received indulgently” (“Opium Eater,” 81), an even more aggressive Malinowski notes that he “would thrust . . . [his] nose into everything, even where a well-mannered native would not dream of intruding [and] they finished by regarding” him “as part and parcel of their life, a necessary evil or nuisance” (Argonauts, 8). These parallels

might be dismissed as mere coincidence if it wasn't for the nature of Malinowski's walks as he describes them. They are as much about "collecting" and calming himself, as they are about collecting data. In Argonauts, while speaking of the difficulties that come with immersing oneself in a native village, Malinowski remarks "after you have been working with" the natives "for several hours...you will naturally hanker after your own kind. But if you are alone in a village and beyond the reach of this, you go for a solitary walk for an hour or so, return again and then quite naturally seek out the natives' society" (7). The diaries themselves confirm the frequency of these walks as well as their apparent necessity for Malinowski's physical and mental health. The depth of Malinowski's existential crisis is particularly clear early in the diaries when Malinowski describes a walk near the village of Derebai in the entry dated October 31, 1914:

Then I wrote my diary and tried to synthesize my results, reviewing Notes and Queries. Preparations for excursion...Then I went to the village; the moonlit night was bright. I felt not too exhausted, and I enjoyed the walk. In the village I gave Kavaka a bit of tobacco. Then, since there was no dance of assembly, I walked to Oroobo by way of the beach. Marvelous. It was the first time I had seen this vegetation in the moonlight. Too strange and exotic. The exoticism breaks through lightly, through the veil of familiar things. Mood drawn from everydayness. An exoticism strong enough to spoil normal apperception, but too weak to create a new category of mood. Went into the bush. For a moment I was frightened. Had to compose myself. Tried to look into my own heart. "What is my

inner life?" No reason to be satisfied with myself. The work I am doing is a kind of opiate rather than a creative expression. (30-1)

In the two previous examples taken from Malinowski's Diary, if the first walk through the village suggests the observational habits of a De Quincey, the second suggests Rousseau's "solitary walker," who uses the peripatetic habit to further his attempts to both "know thyself" and to understand his environment. For Malinowski, when his Trobriander subjects are unavailable, the ethnographer's own life and subjectivity frequently become the focus. Under this system, the interchangeability of Self and Other increases. In the second quotation describing a walk, Malinowski has not only acquired a romantic frame of mind, as can be seen in his sense of ethnography as "a creative expression," but he has also acquired the habit of a frequent peripatetic impulse which was a central Romantic observational, aesthetic, and personal strategy, as well as being a crucial part of the Romantic sense of "experience." Strikingly, Malinowski minimizes the exoticism of the Papuan vegetation in his field of vision and announces its effect to be "too weak to create a new category of mood," leaving Malinowski to do what he would have done on a more ordinary walk through his native Krakow, namely examine himself. In a very real way, Malinowski was "walking the walk" of the Romantics, but rather than the environs of Paris, London, Wales, the Lake District, or Chaumonix, he has taken the walking habit "off shore" to the South Seas.

Before moving forward to consider the foci that give Malinowski's Diary a confessional sensibility, it is important to realize that despite the title of A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term, which is taken from Malinowski's own ruminations on the daily work of the diarist at the beginning of the second of two field diaries in the work,⁷

Malinowski did harbor ambitions for writing his own, very public autobiography. Helen Wayne, Malinowski's daughter, reports that in an unpublished portion of the diaries and journals written between 1908 and 1918, Malinowski stated his desire to "leave a lasting trace." He spoke of "the beginning of an official diary in publishable style" which was to be designed as "a psychological document possessing social value" (as qtd. in Wayne, "Foreword," xv). This desire to write his autobiography appears again early in the published section of the Diary, but this time it is fueled by Malinowski's sense of how far away he is from his previous life:

Wednesday I slept late, then I went to the village in the morning and took a few pictures. I didn't find anyone to work with there, so I went back and began to read the letters from M. Even before my period of intoxication with Dumas I began to read and arrange N's letters. Now I continue reading. At moments I feel like writing the story of my life. Entire periods already seem so remote, alien. Boarding school...and the preparations for the doctorate—these things seem to almost have nothing to do with me.—
Wednesday I had temperature, Thursday, too—rather weak, 36.9[C] but I was still exhausted. Tuesday or Wednesday night I took quinine,
Wednesday morning arsenic too. (63)

I have chosen to include the material surrounding Malinowski's mention of wanting to publish his autobiography because it exposes the confessional context in which he considers the autobiographical act. His own tendencies—a voracious reading habit, the persistent scanning of his medicalized body, his frequent attempts at auto-medicating, and his attempt to "arrange" the timeline of his sexual life (although "M" may be his

mother or a lover, “N” is one of Malinowski’s lovers)—illustrate that Malinowski is already beginning to write the self within a confessional mold suggestive of both Rousseau and DeQuincey. Although Malinowski died suddenly in his fifties and left no authorized autobiography, his diaries have become the “psychological document possessing social value” that he had envisioned. Ironically, the status of Malinowski’s diaries as confessional has a lot to do with their being “unauthorized.” Although we can only begin to guess what Malinowski’s authorized autobiography might have looked like, it is a good guess that although it would have used the diaries as a basic outline, the ultimate product would have surely “cleaned up” the young anthropologist. An older Malinowski at the top of his field would have had little motivation for changing history’s view of him. Ultimately, then, the diaries represent a kind of “confessional opportunity” because the time period represented exemplifies the uneven power relations that motivated the Romantic confessional. Malinowski’s sense of powerlessness with regard to his own ethnicity and national status as “alien combatant” within the peripheries of the English empire establishes one of several positions from which the confessional voice in A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term is fueled. Although the Diary is not, strictly speaking, the same variety of public performance as Rousseau’s or De Quincey’s confessionals, it does reflect a confessional bent in Malinowski’s personality in which he systematically records a crisis of confidence surrounding a number of confessional moments, such as: the final stages of coming of age, the moment of entry into an occupation, and the struggles related to the subject’s sexuality.

One aspect of Malinowski’s personality that places his diaries firmly within the confessional orbit is his voracious and often autodidactic reading habit, as well as his

own concern regarding the effect that reading fiction will have on his frame of mind. Without hesitation, Malinowski conforms to the confessional tradition, going back to Augustine in this case, of writing a life that is a book about books. In his brief study of Malinowski's reading habits, Edward Roberts lists 34 texts, mainly novels, that Malinowski recorded as his reading material concurrent with the writing of the diaries, as well as 11 other works and 31 other authors who are merely referenced in the diaries' frequent literary digressions (70-74). This is an ample amount of reading and literary reflection for diaries that, taking into account several lapses in the keeping of a daily account, are spread out over what is barely a year and a half of real time. While Malinowski's reading habit in Melanesia included such professionally appropriate titles as Notes and Queries on Anthropology (1912) and Charles Seligmann's The Melanesians of British New Guinea (1910), the vast majority of the reading material is made up of novels by authors such as Dumas, Thackeray, Kipling, H.G. Wells, Conrad, Hardy, and Charlotte Brontë.

Throughout his diaries, novels are Malinowski's constant companions and they quickly become a barometer of how he feels about himself as an ethnographer. The loneliness and frustrations of fieldwork led Malinowski to frequently indulge his addiction—early on in the diaries he describes a reading binge that left him feeling like he had “been drugged” (16)—and the appearance of a novel in the text often indicates that Malinowski is feeling low, frustrated with the natives, or simply unloved. Aspects of all of these qualities appear very early in the diaries and are part of Malinowski's mindset when he makes an entry at Mailu, dated September 17, 1914, in which the desire for reading places his identity and professionalism under assault:

Wasted all day Saturday 17 and Sunday 18 waiting for Saville [local missionary who he was staying with], and reading *Vanity Fair* and in my desperation –complete obfuscation, I simply forgot who I was... Wednesday morning I collected material about the dances. It was about that time that I read *Romance*. The subtle spirit of Conrad comes through in some passages; all in all, a novel “more spasmodic than interesting,” in the broadest sense.—I still think about and am in love with T. It is not a desperate love; the feeling that I have lost creative value, the basic element of the self, as happened with Z. It is the magic of her body that still fills me, and the poetry of her presence. (26-27)

I have extended this quotation a bit to indicate the manner in which Malinowski's desire for literature is frequently connected to sexual desire and the confessional necessity for feeling loved. It is difficult not to feel a correlation between the “spasmodic” nature of the novel by Conrad that Malinowski has just described and his own sexual desire, which haunts him in such graphic fashion throughout the diaries.

The two women that Malinowski names in the above quotation, also referred to as Tośka and Zenia in the diaries, are part of a complex web of relations with women which also later includes the further “complication” of having to choose between two other women who are simultaneously his fiancées; namely, Elsie Masson, an Australian who will later become Malinowski's first wife, and Nina Stirling, another Australian, with whom Malinowski has great difficulty finding the words necessary for breaking off the engagement. In each case, the women themselves signify a culture just as the books that help to conjure them up in Malinowski's mind are themselves cultural signifiers or

artifacts. Conrad's place between English and Polish culture makes him particularly suggestive of Malinowski's own position.⁸ This position may be best exemplified in a passage from the second diary in which Malinowski laments the loss of his Polish lovers ("N" in this passage may be Zenia or another woman; "E.R.M." is Elsie Masson):

At night rain, insomnia; thought of N. [circled letter] and Toska with sensual regret, for that which will never come back. Thought about Poland, about "Polish woman"; for the first time deep regret that E.R.M. is not Polish. But I rejected the idea that perhaps our engagement is not definitive. I shall go back to Poland and my children will be Poles. (252-53)

Any attempt to save his own "Polishness" is difficult in this setting because of the lack of available reading material in Polish as well as the diminished role played by the Polish language in his life in Melanesia. His ethnographic notes and writings are in English with a smattering of Motu, while only his letters home and parts of his diary—crowded as it is by Motu and other European languages—continue in Polish, indicating that the combination of cultural artifacts (books, women, and the culture of the Trobrianders) was beginning to overwhelm Malinowski's "native" culture. The desire to return to Poland and terminate his outsider status is strong at this point, but, a return to Poland never proves possible. Academic work and the Second World War both demand that he live out the rest of his life in London and later in New Haven. Malinowski will continue to be a variety of the marginal man until his death in May, 1942.

Peter Brooks considers the manner in which the desires fomented by reading are related to sexual desire in Reading for the Plot, and in a number of ways, Malinowski

offers an unique example of the exchange of readerly and sexual desire. The combination of epistemophilia and libido is perhaps present most strongly in Malinowski's reading of Tess of the d'Urbervilles in which he finds a strange echo of his own recent sexual conquest of the previously virginal Elsie Masson:

If I married E.R.M., I would be estranged from Polishness. This discourages me more than anything else when I think of marrying E.R.M.—and how about her? Then I looked at the sea and sky and my thoughts return to E.R.M.. Sadness at the thought that I might never see her again.—I went back; supper; read T[ess] o[f the] d'U[rbervilles] in which I am beginning to find something. The theme of false sexual [appropriation] very strong, but the *treatment*? Short talk with natives but no great results. Under the tainamo, thought of E.R.M.. I want her very deeply and intensely. (174)

Here, both the connection between reading and desire as well as the problem of the decay of Malinowski's Polishness are very evident. The novels are themselves, with the help of the isolation and cultural immersion felt while in the Trobriands, playing an important role in leading him away from his own culture and towards a polyglot of cultural connections and practices. In the process, Tess strikes awfully close to home by calling into question, in English, Malinowski's status as a sexual predator in the English speaking world.

"Under the tainamo," or mosquito netting, is a place that I will return to with regard to Malinowski's sexuality, but first I would like to consider one of the novels that Malinowski reads (in fact he reads it at the same time as he reads Tess) which would

appear at first glance to be merely characteristic of the variety of escapist reading that he does while in Melanesia, but, upon closer observation, this second novel is also a suggestive, autoethnographic text that parallels the experiences and methodology of the ethnographer alone in the field. The novel is Charlotte Brontë's Villette (1853), which is a narrative that not only foregrounds its English hero, Lucy Snowe, as an outsider, but it is also particularly interested in the culture of confession present in Roman Catholic Europe. Considering Villette briefly will provide further first-hand evidence of the ubiquitous nature of the confessional as both biographical form (the novel is not only Lucy Snowe's confession but it also correlates closely with the life of Charlotte Brontë) and as a cultural phenomenon that is directed toward an autoethnographic way of seeing. This phenomenon is made doubly apparent when one considers the central scene in Tess of the d'Urbervilles, the book that Malinowski is reading simultaneously with Villette, in which Tess and her new husband Angel Clare confess their previous sexual transgressions on their wedding night. Susan David Bernstein considers both Tess and Villette as texts that support an expanding form of a Victorian "confessional subject" which "is increasingly located through the detailed visual investigations of female bodies" (19). We can say without hesitation that Malinowski is himself both focused on "investigations of female bodies" (of both the women in his life and the Trobriander women) and immersed in a confessional approach to subjectivity. Despite his efforts to throw off reading novels as an addiction keeping him from his work, the novel can be said to be both promoting the narrative style of "ethnographic realism," which Malinowski helped to construct, and an autoethnographic approach to both subjectivity and fieldwork. In many ways, after reading Malinowski's diary and several of his

monographs, it becomes clear that it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate his ethnographic concerns from his literary interests. In very real terms, Malinowski is “doing ethnography” on the Trobriands whether he is reading materials related to his profession, such as Notes and Queries in Anthropology, or a “realistic,” confessional, and autoethnographic novel such as Villette.

The action in Villette develops in the aftermath of Lucy Snowe’s decision to leave her unsatisfying job as an assistant to an older woman in England and move to France, where she arrives rather haphazardly at the job of teacher of English in a small girl’s school in the city of Villette. What quickly emerges in Snowe’s narration is an investigation of the implications, good and bad, of an alien “confessional culture.” Upon being elevated to the position of teacher within the school by the headmistress Madame Beck, Snowe immediately begins to ask questions regarding the effect of Roman Catholic confessional practice and the culture that it helps to spawn. Taking an anthropological line, she describes the inhabitants of this city in “the Labassecour” in contrast to the multinational girls in the school, who were often predictably deceitful or frank depending on whether they were from noble or more plebian origins (the bourgeois being more frank and the noble more deceitful):

To do all parties justice, the honest aboriginal Labassecouriennes had a hypocrisy of their own, too; but it was of a coarser order, such as could deceive few. Whenever a lie was necessary for their occasions, they brought it out with a careless ease and breadth altogether untroubled by the rebuke of conscience. Not a soul in Madame Beck’s house, from the scullion to the directress herself, but was above being ashamed of a lie;

they thought nothing of it: to invent might not be precisely a virtue, but it was the most venial of faults. “J’ai menti plusieurs fois” formed an item of every girl’s and woman’s monthly confession; the priest heard unshocked, and absolved unreluctant. (80)

Although this voice is recognizably Protestant, it is striking that from the start of Villette, Lucy Snowe is willing to both accept and reject aspects of the confessional culture as superior or inferior to her own.

From the familiar “confessional position” of the young adult who finds herself in a new occupation, Lucy is able to consider the quality of schools and pedagogical practice, another confessional commonplace, from the opposite side of the pupil-teacher divide. And in doing so, she constructs an ethnography that is also a criticism of English cultural practices, as well as a provocative turn away from the typically poor pedagogical approaches that are highlighted in confessional texts:

Here was a great house, full of healthy, lively girls, all well-dressed, and many of them handsome, gaining knowledge by a marvelously easy method, without painful exertion or useless waste of spirits; not, perhaps, making rapid progress in anything; taking it easy, but still always employed, and never oppressed. Here was a corps of teachers and masters more stringently tasked, as all the real head-labour was to be done by them, in order to save the pupils, yet having their duties so arranged that they relieved each other in quick succession whenever the work was severe: here, in short, was a foreign school; of which the life, movement,

and variety make it a complete and most charming contrast to many institutions of the same kind. (73)

Susan David Bernstein is correct in pointing out that the “curious juxtaposition of foreign Catholic and familiar English culture [is never] more apparent than in the novel’s meticulous attention to the power relations in narrative acts of self-revelation and in the ecclesiastical act of confession” (61). For Brontë, this juxtaposition soon begins to merge into a more singular form of textual and ecclesiastical confession when Lucy Snowe, troubled by both her sublimated sexual longings for Dr. Bretton, an Englishman living in Villette, and the process by which her own form of self-othering has begun to produce a hybrid form of subjectivity, Lucy’s loneliness and curiosity lead her to the confessional in a local Catholic church:

The priest within the confessional never turned his eyes to regard me; he only quietly inclined his ear to my lips. He might be a good man, but his duty had become to him a sort of form: he went through it with the phlegm of custom...

“Mon père, je suis Protestante.”

He directly turned...[and] inquired, not unkindly, why, being a Protestant, I came to him?

I said I was perishing for a word of advice or an accent of comfort...

“Was it a sin, a crime?” he inquired, somewhat startled.

I reassured him on this point, and, as well as I could, I showed him the mere outline of my experience.

He looked thoughtful, surprised, puzzled. "You take me unawares," said he...I am hardly furnished with counsel fitting the circumstances."

Of course, I had not expected he would be; but the mere relief of communication in an ear which was human and sentient, yet consecrated—the mere pouring out of some portion of long accumulating, long pent-up pain into a vessel whence it could not be again diffused—has done me good. I was already solaced. (164)

Snowe's sense of release goes a long way toward explaining the kind of relief that Malinowski appears to receive from his confessions in the diaries. Beyond the sense of catharsis, Malinowski must also have felt some kinship with Lucy Snowe's efforts as a participant-observer who is actually accumulating knowledge of a confessional culture by experiencing confession itself. She is merely reversing Malinowski's move from the Catholic (and Continental) world of Poland to the Protestant world of England. And, in yet another reversal, the passage is clearly taken with the confrontation between "the phlegm of custom" and the unconventional nature of a "Protestant" confessor who cannot give voice to her own sexual desires. Malinowski knows no such prohibition or hesitation with regards to his sexuality in the Diary.

Although Malinowski's diary mentions Villette only briefly, it is difficult not to see the manner in which he began to consider the confessional nature of the novel when he states: "[e]ffect of Villette on me is that I feel how wicked I am" ("Diary" 202). Lucy's self-control in the face of her unrequited love for Dr. Bretton, and her eventual happiness in her marriage to the "aboriginal" Monsieur Emanuel, cast an uneasy shadow over Malinowski's efforts to restrain his libido when confronted with his relations with

women. Also, Lucy's process of self-othering is complete and her confrontation with "this land of convents and confessionals" ends with a marriage to a native of Villette which also ends the novel itself and its wavering "between self-display and self-concealment, between resolute articulation and a wavering reticence" (Bernstein 61). This ending weirdly predicts the act of self-othering that comes with the marriage of the "Ethnographer" to the foreign spouse and points to the denouement of portions of Malinowski's own identity crisis in his marriage to Elsie M. By announcing after finishing Villette that "[t]he end [was] weaker than the beginning and middle" and that the best aspect of the work was "[h]er way of struggling against fate and her hunger for happiness" ("Diary" 203), Malinowski can be said to be identifying most with the autoethnographic portions of Brontë's text, found in the beginning and middle, and the manner in which the confessional becomes both an authorial and ethnographic form as well as an approach to finding happiness in the face of a familiar identity crisis. Read in this manner, Villette becomes more than mere entertainment or distraction and is transformed into an important "field guide" for Malinowski as he attempted to navigate his own very similar autoethnographic "field experiences."

The apparent differences between how Malinowski treats his own sexuality in the diaries and how Snowe's sexuality is treated in Villette can be considered as different only in degree. Convention and custom only allowed Brontë so much room in the discussion of her heroine's sexuality (the institutions of courting and marriage are among the only forums open to discussion), but in the much broader confessional form open to Malinowski, sexual desire is considered in much more graphic terms and is a constant preoccupation both with regards to his considerations of himself and his observation and

analysis of the Trobrianders under study.⁹ Malinowski's sense of his own "wicked" ways vis-à-vis Snowe become abundantly clear from the outset in the diaries. For example, early in the first diary, Malinowski wrestles to control his desires, noting:

I went back home and read Rivers and Hill. For a long time I couldn't fall asleep. Erotic thoughts...But believe my monogamous instincts are stronger and stronger. I think about only *one* woman. I miss only T.—no one else. My mind makes me eliminate T.—she is a provisional substitute for the *only one*. Lewdness is beginning to be something alien to me. (65)

The attempts to find a sexual supplement are a familiar Rousseauvian response to the subject's sense of being overwhelmed by sexual thoughts and a desire to find a place or home in the world. As time goes by, Malinowski has as little luck as Rousseau did in quelling his sexual imagination and desires through a process of substitution.

In a Melanesian landscape populated by topless female bodies, Malinowski is constantly reminded of his own desires, as he writes in his diary again and again, such as when he states: "[a] prostitute or divorcee from *gunika* [inland] (*gunikia haine*) [inland female] attracted my attention—*gagaia ura!* (desire for sex)" ("Diary" 84); and later, "Kenoria is pretty, has a wonderful figure. Impulse to "pat her belly." I mastered it" ("Diary" 153); and again even later, "young females, blackened, with shaved heads, one of them a *nakubukwabuya* [adolescent girl] with an animal-like, brutishly sensual face. I shudder at the thought of copulating with her. Thought of E.R.M." ("Diary" 177). The autoethnographic context that places Malinowski's own sexuality in the field alongside his considerations of Trobriander sexuality is made all the more graphic not only by his simultaneous preoccupation with both native bodies and the bodies of his European

lovers, but also by the introduction of Motu terms for describing his own desires. Certainly it can be taken as a sign of acculturation or some form of partial self-othering when, for example, Malinowski is able to identify a fellow “outsider” in a seaside village as a sexually available “prostitute or divorcee” from an inland (*gunika*) village (*gunikia haine*=inland female), or again, when the “nakubukwabuya” or adolescent girl with the “animal-like, brutishly sensual face” brings an image of copulation as well as an image of his own young European fiancée to his mind; a moment that has the effect of placing his most recent sexual conquest (E.R.M.) alongside the sexually available natives in his field of vision and imagination.

Prenuptial intercourse is one of Malinowski’s major preoccupations in his effort in The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia (1929) to illustrate that “the problem of sex, family, and kinship presents an organic unity which cannot be disrupted” (“Special Foreword,” xxi). Malinowski’s use of the word “problem” in this context is particularly telling in that it speaks to his own perceived sexual “problems,” his own desires seemingly out of control, rather than anything about the normal day-to-day functionings of Trobriander sexual relations. In this regard, it would appear to be characteristic of Malinowski’s autoethnographic interest in the natives that he spend a good deal of time considering the sexual lives of young unmarried men in the Trobriands, the individuals whose status and sexual activity most resembled his own. In The Sexual Life of Savages, Malinowski describes both the formal and informal sexual relationships pursued previous to marriage in the Trobriands, but he is particularly interested in the local institution of the *bukumatula*, or bachelor’s house, where, as a prelude to a potential long-term relationship, a young girl will move into a house that her lover shares with

several other young men and their lovers. Malinowski describes the informal and nonbinding nature of a relationship taken up in a *bukumatula* in the following manner:

Of course, two lovers living together in a *bukumatula* are not bound to each other by any ties valid in tribal law or imposed by custom. They foregather under the spell of personal attraction, are kept together by sexual passion or personal attachment, and part at will. The fact that in due course a permanent liaison often develops out of a temporary one and ends in marriage is due to a complexity of causes . . . but even such a gradually strengthening liaison is not binding until marriage is contracted.

Bukumaktula relationships as such impose no legal tie. (63)

This is also Malinowski's own desired state with regard to his first fiancée, Nina Stirling. This is the fiancée that Malinowski wanted to break with but kept putting off ending the relationship, and she is, as Malinowski explains, also the fiancée with whom he had a "simpler," less intellectual, and more sexually satisfying relationship than he had with Elsie Masson, his future wife. Within the time period recorded in the diaries, bad conscience, social convention, procrastination, and desire prevent Malinowski from finishing the letter that will make his break with Nina permanent. Just as Malinowski's own relationships, dominated by genital sexuality and few other concerns are fading in support of a more complex social and intellectual desire for Elsie Masson, the *bukumatula* system described above was also on the wane in the Trobriands as part of a process that George Stocking observes "makes it clear that the passage from savagery to civilization was also a passage away from a relatively easy and harmonious genital sexuality" (After Tylor 266). These observations coincide, in more than one way, with

Rousseau's view of early human history as described in the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality when Malinowski asks in his diary:

What is the deepest essence of my investigations? To discover what are his [the native's] main passions, the motives of his conduct, his aims. (Why does a *boy* "sign on"? Is every boy, after some time, ready to "sign off"?) His essential, deepest way of thinking. At this point we are confronted with our own problems: What is essential in ourselves? (119)

Here the Rousseauvian idea of a harmonious genital sexuality in earlier human history meets what the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality sees as the watershed moment of cultural change brought into human history by agriculture and the emergence of property (to "sign on" refers, among other things, to contracting out as plantation labor). As George Stocking points out, what is at stake here for Malinowski is the loss of a desirable form of sexuality without compensation, in that,

the long-run evolutionary consequences of "signing on" might be seen as loss as well as gain—and the loss more sharply felt by a European living on a tropical island, who had vowed to deny himself the sensual pleasures associated with such exotic realms. Denied the compensating gains of civilization, why, indeed, would the native "boy"—or anyone else—sign on." (After Tylor 266-67)

Confronted with his "own problems," Malinowski's diaries can be characterized as part of the author's own simultaneous attraction and repulsion for "signing on" with European cultural expectations. The loss of his own "harmonious genital sexuality," which had accompanied his own period as a bachelor, makes this process all the more difficult for

3

Malinowski. Malinowski's position also parallels that of a young Trobriander bachelor because his decisions regarding marriage and a career linger over "signing on" to a life that will inevitably lead to the loss of some or all of his Polishness. His hesitation about breaking with Nina Stirling are part of his own calculus regarding "the compensating gains" of loss of one culture and the gaining of another.

One tension within The Sexual Life of Savages that is difficult to relieve with the available evidence is Malinowski's claim, on the one hand, "that it is impossible to get direct information from any man concerning his own conjugal life" (94), and, on the other hand, Malinowski's ability to collect very specific and often graphic data about Melanesian sexual life. Malinowski's descriptions of Melanesian "orgiastic festivals" and other "customary forms of license," the widespread practice of "erotic scratching" and *mitakuku* (biting off of eyelashes during intercourse), as well as his complicated Kama-sutra-like descriptions of the natives' favored sexual positions¹⁰ indicate that he had a great deal of success as a "father confessor" while in the field, despite local taboos regarding a direct approach to discussions of sexual life. While Malinowski confesses to his diaries regarding his own erotic thoughts within his tent at night, a location that itself speaks to aspects of the construction of the Roman Catholic confessional booth, he also plays the role of confessor with the Trobrianders. As he writes of his own libido and what he calls "subversive" sexual thoughts, Malinowski works to find ways to get the Trobrianders to commit to similar discussions for the sake of his research; in fact, throughout his work in the Trobriand Islands, Malinowski is searching for the approach that will allow him to receive the tabooed and subversive sexual insights into the local culture that parallel his own personal concerns in the diaries.

Strangely, or maybe not so strangely, gossip becomes central to Malinowski's methodology, especially when it comes to collecting data on native sexual practices that cannot be obtained in direct one-on-one interviews. In his methodological preface to Argonauts, Malinowski announces that upon his arrival in the Trobriands he "began to take part, in a way, in the village life . . . to take personal interest in the gossip and the developments of small village occurrences; to wake up every morning to a day, presenting itself to me more or less as it does to the natives" (7). Malinowski's description of his morning walk through the village that was discussed earlier follows immediately after this passage, indicating a direct correlation between Malinowski's peripatetic habit and the collection of useful gossip. Stocking refers to Malinowski's approach to gossip as being "[a]t the level of methodological principle" in light of statements in The Sexual Life of Savages that speak of the central nature of, as Malinowski remarks, "personal friendships [to] encourage confidences and the repetition of intimate gossip" (as qtd. in Stocking, After Tylor 260).

In her 1989 critique of anthropology entitled Woman, Native, Other, Trinh T. Minh-ha argues that "[a]nthropology is finally better defined as "gossip" (we speak together about others) than as "conversation" (we discuss a question), a definition that dates back to Aristotle" (68). This etymology is provocative. The OED notes that "anthropologia" first appears very late in Latin (1595) and that the term is "analogically the abstract substantive" of Aristotle's term (anthropologos), which Liddell and Scott define as "speaking of man, i.e. fond of personal conversation." "Gossip" is the accepted single English term used to translate "anthropologos" in a number of English language editions of the Nicomachean Ethics.¹¹

While considering an "ethic of obtrusiveness" that characterizes the anthropologist's effort "to perforate meaning by forcing his entry into the Other's personal realm," Trinh characterizes the activities of ethnographers in starkly anti-heroic terms:

On the lookout for "messages" that might be wrested from the object of study, in spite of its opacity or its reticence in sharing its intimacy with a stranger, this knowledgeable man spends his time spying on the natives, in fear of missing any of these precious moments where the latter would be caught unaware...The more indiscreet the research, the greater the value of its revelation. (68)

Such is the case with Malinowski and his attempts at working to find acceptable ways to ask questions about tabooed subjects. This focus on gossip is a persistent feature of the confessional form. Malinowski's form of the confessional necessitates an ability to collect and control gossip just as both the Roman Catholic confessional and Rousseau's Les Confessions can be seen as sites set up specifically for the control of a community's gossip.¹² Controlling gossip is essential to the often tricky power dynamics that are a formative part of the confessional act.

Gossip is mentioned with some frequency in The Sexual Life of Savages,¹³ but to take only one example that has autoethnographic and confessional ramifications, Malinowski reports on the gossip that has led him to uncover a sexual scandal involving a chief:

Scandal reports many breaches of marital fidelity among To'uluwa's wives, especially and naturally on the part of the youngest ones. The point on which village gossip centres its most eager and malicious interest is the

fact that several of the most prominent sons of the chief himself are among the adulterers. Of course, this relation has not the same incestuous flavour as it would possess for us, since the bodily tie between father and son is not recognized; but it is bad enough to scandalize the natives, or rather arouse their interest by its piquancy. Ilaka'ise, the youngest wife, a girl of not more than twenty-five and, with her tall figure, soft and well-developed contour, and shapely face, a model of Melanesian beauty, has a permanent intrigue with Yobukwa'u. He is the third son of To'uluwa and Kadamwasila...(117-18)

Malinowski reports having "heard many other items of scandalous gossip" involving this kind of incestuousness than he has space with which to retell them (119). These are the kinds of sexual relationships at the margins of respectability that he worked extremely hard to tease out of the Trobrianders. Although Malinowski reports that this incident does not have the same "incestuous flavor as it would possess for us" because the Melanesians did not recognize paternity in their theory of birth, it is difficult not to translate the scandal that follows these affairs as themselves having the flavor of incest. Malinowski's interest in gossip and scandal leads him to a number of practices that fall outside of standard Western bourgeois and heterosexual practices. This begins to show up less than a half year into the first diary, when at the point where his skills in the local languages were just beginning to emerge, Malinowski records: discussing "sexual matters among the natives...[including] incest" (81), having an informant discuss how one approaches "a kekeni [girl] when they want gagai [intercourse]," and asking questions about the occurrence of homosexuality among the natives (83). From the start of his field

work, Malinowski's linguistic and interpersonal skills focus keenly on uncovering the limits of Melanesian sexuality. His approach is extremely dogmatic, if an answer is blocked by a taboo, a new opportunity or approach must be located to re-ask the same question.

Another important point in this context is that Malinowski's interest in scandal, particularly incestuous scandal, is fueled by touchpoints that are typical to both anthropology and the confessional. The Sexual Life of Savages exposes aspects of a point of view with regards to culture, later followed up by Sex and Repression in Savage Society, that was to be made much more universal by Lévi-Strauss's famous claim that "[b]efore it, culture is still non-existent; with it, nature's sovereignty over man is ended. The prohibition of incest is where nature transcends itself" ("Kinship," 25). Malinowski doesn't universalize incest in quite this way, but it is constantly in the foreground in his fieldwork. The Sexual Life of Savages ends with a section entitled "Cases of Actual Incest," in which Malinowski describes a known case of the breaking of the ultimate form of taboo in Trobriander culture, namely brother-sister incest. While noting that Mokadayu and his sister Inuvediri are forced to move to other communities, Malinowski writes:

Such is the story of Mokadayu and his sister. Together with other facts previously described, it shows dramatically how inadequate is the postulate of "slavish subservience to custom." It also shows that the opposite view—that native customs are a sham and a fake—would equally be misleading. The fact is that the natives, while professing tribal taboos and moral principles, have also to obey their natural passions and

inclinations, and that their practice is the compromise between rule and impulse, a compromise common to all humanity. (479)

This “compromise common to all humanity” is informed not only by Freudian psychology but by Malinowski’s own experience with his mother. George Stocking reports that it was when Malinowski entered Krakow University at “eighteen, that he first heard of Freud—having been previously during adolescence distressed by dreams of incest, and (before the fact) of his father’s death” (After Tylor 244-45). Thus, the Trobriands become a laboratory of both Self and Other in which the “nuclear complex,” as he calls it in Sex and Repression, can be tested in a matrilineal setting. Malinowski finds that the intense mother-child relationship is not duplicated in the Trobriands and, among other things,

the open taking-up of sex ever since it first began to stir in the young blood; above all the attitude of benevolent onlookers which the parent take toward the sexuality of their young; the fact of the mother’s withdrawing completely but gradually from the boy’s passionate feelings...brings about the fact that the intensification of sexuality at puberty exercises no direct influence upon the relation to the parents. (70)

In Oedipus in the Trobriands (1982), Melford Shapiro tracks the unfirm ground on which this “scientific myth,” as he calls it, develops swiftly to where “the Trobriand case is offered as disproof of the universality of the Oedipus complex,” both in anthropology and psychology, despite the rejection of Malinowski’s thesis by H.A. Powell, the first anthropologist to follow up with the Trobrianders after Malinowski (Shapiro 1). To cultivate an Oedipal pun here, Malinowski’s blindness to the complexity of the nature of

familial relations in the Trobriands is fueled by his own experience, in which “personal friendship, [and] the mutual confidences and intimacy” in the mother-son relationship fuels “deep complications” that later affect familial and sexual development (“Sexual Repression” 66, 67). Rather simplistically, Malinowski wants to believe that the more open nature of sexuality in the Trobriand Islands necessarily leads to major differences in intrafamilial relations—an idea that would appear to indicate the tremendous weight that Malinowski gives to libido, sexuality, and mother-son relations in forming his own personal and anthropological interpretations.

Earlier, I mentioned the connection, brought out in Jeremy Tambling’s work on the confessional, that Rousseau’s construction of a complex mother-son relationship with Madame de Warens points to “confessional practice...[which] seems strongly linked to the mother” (Tambling 25). I extended this argument further noting that Rousseau’s confessional discourse intentionally ironizes Augustine’s reflections on Monica’s interest in her son’s sexuality and salvation, while also revealing Rousseau’s interest in incest as part of the confessional’s autoethnographic inheritance. In the case of Malinowski, the editors of the diaries choose to both participate and not participate in the confessional’s own interest in the mother and incest by erasing only part of Malinowski’s incestual leaning in his statement, in the diary’s first few pages, that wants to connect the body of his mother with that of his mistress when he reflects that “[a]s for homesickness, I suffer little enough for it and very egotistically at that. I am still in love with [...]—but not consciously, not explicitly; I know her too little. But physically—my body belongs to her. I think of Mother [...] sometimes [...]” (15-16). In her preface to the *Diary*, Valletta Malinowska, Malinowski’s second wife, explains the “dots” in the above quotation by

mentioning that “[a] few extremely intimate observations have been omitted, the omissions being indicated by dots” (viii). In light of the extremely sexualized and often scandalous nature of what is to follow, one can only conclude that this is an incestuous fantasy that frames the beginning of the published diaries. In keeping with the Malinowski’s confessional form, which in this case clearly imitates Augustine’s structuring of the maternal, the diaries end with the death of Malinowski’s mother while he is still in the field. His feelings of regret and loss lead to the solidification of his decision to marry E.R.M. and to the location of what he refers to as “being at “the bottom of consciousness”—the feeling of the physical foundation of mental life, the latter’s dependence on the body, so that every thought flows effortlessly in some psychic medium that has been labouriously formed inside the organism” (“Diary,” 294). The conventional confessional crisis brought on by the loss of the mother or “Mamman” returns here in a particularly autoethnographic setting. Trapped in a confessional fog, the walking and weeping Malinowski uncannily resembles an autoethnographic Augustine/Rousseau trapped on an island with only his (auto)ethnographic work to comfort him:

Then worked with Paluwa, Monakewo & Co. In the evening went to the [ibubaku] and talked with Monakewo about copulation...Then I went for a walk and wept.—At night, sad, plaintive dreams, like childhood feelings. I dreamed about Warsaw, about our apartment ...Everything permeated with Mother. Woke up every other minute. By morning drowned in sadness. Went out in the road and wept.—Sudden flashes of understanding, visions of the past. (295)

Importantly, the loss of the mother also amplifies both the loss of culture that haunts Malinowski throughout the diaries and expands the dimensions of the marginalized status of the confessional subject. The central place of the mother in the history of the confessional can be seen as fueling an autoethnographic way of seeing because of the mother's recurring role as a nurturing conduit of culture providing her children with a comfortable sense of belonging and place. Thus, the confessional's interest in describing the interaction between the wider culture and the subject's family life will most often need to confront the place of the mother as the child's "translator" of culture norms.

Before moving on to consider the autoethnographic in the life and work of Margaret Mead which focuses on the sexual coming of age of both herself and the openly masturbatory adolescent girls in Samoa, I want to briefly consider Malinowski within the context of his autoerotic confessions as exemplifying a later version of what Kosofsky Sedgwick describes as the "uniquely formative" but "(lost) identity" of the masturbatory Romantic subject, which is arguably the "proto-form of modern sexual identity itself" (826). Malinowski gives us an opportunity, like Rousseau and De Quincey before him, to assess his sexuality, including the autoerotic habits of the subject, which are so often erased in the name of propriety. In Malinowski's case, issues of sexuality are so central to his self image that his confessions of autoerotic behavior are even more important to an understanding of his subjectivity than they might be for others. To use Foucault's terminology again, the place of sexuality as the "index" of the modern subject is extremely secure in this case, while autoeroticism has a central role to play during the crisis of identity that Malinowski experiences in the field.

Early on in his crisis, which he later describes in characteristically literary terms as a “Dostoevskian state,” Malinowski displays a plasticity within his own identity which manifests itself rather simplistically early in the diaries when he is aboard ship and feels that the ship’s engines and motions were part of himself, and which later appears to grow more complex, as in Malinowski’s statement “[w]ent to the village . . . speculate whether I am myself or my younger brother. Talk about kula. Breakfast” (Diary x & 145). The matter-of-fact way in which Malinowski gives in to the clouding of his own identity is telling. His self-othering appears to be not directed at the Trobrianders and the uncovering of data while in the field—although he does occasionally other himself in that way—but it is instead participating in a larger crisis of identity in which numerous cultural cues are involved in the creation of a polyglot subjectivity. Malinowski’s autoerotic tendencies are part of this crisis from the start of the diaries, as he makes clear at the beginning of his first fieldwork diary in 1914:

I had a strange dream; homosex., with my own double as partner.

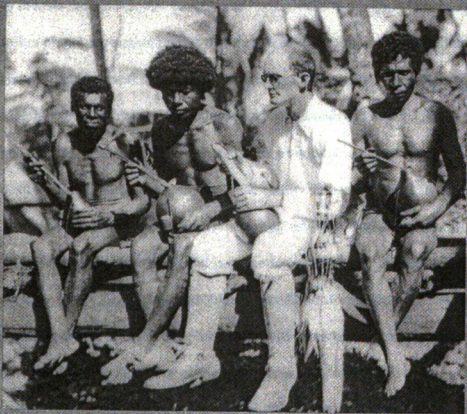
Strangely autoerotic feelings; the impression that I’d like to have a mouth like mine to kiss, a neck that curves like mine, a forehead just like mine (seen from the side). (12-13)

The particularly uncanny feeling that comes with a *doppelgänger* as sexual partner, I would argue, transcends questions regarding homosexuality and pushes the idea of the autoerotic toward a form of narcissism that is difficult to ignore. Malinowski’s autoeroticism is part of his self-absorbed personality, which is now made to run wild under the lonely conditions of fieldwork. Malinowski’s photography in the field, and the

extremely mannered way in which he represents himself on film speaks to both this narcissistic view of himself and his further struggles with autoeroticism.

In a photograph of Malinowski and several of his Trobriander informants that is used by Stanford University Press for their cover to the most recent reissue of A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term (1989 [1967]), Malinowski's struggles with his own identity and autoerotic habit are made surprisingly plain (see *figure 1*). In the photograph, Malinowski sits in profile, showing himself from the side as he appears to have preferred himself in his autoerotic dream and as he also appears in all 11 photographs that include the "Ethnographer" himself in Michael W. Young's recent publication of 190 of Malinowski's photographs. A heavily adorned *solava*, or shell necklace, one of the two objects central to the Trobriander's "kula ring," hangs from Malinowski's left arm. On the laps of all of the men in the photograph are what Michael Young and his Trobriander informants have identified as "chiefly limepots," elegant and exaggerated versions of the pots used throughout the region to process betel nut, which is "a mild narcotic and social lubricant." Malinowski "holds the whalebone limestick, which only "nobility" are privileged to rattle noisily in the gourd" (Young, 55). What is immediately striking about the photograph is the manner in which Malinowski's pose renders the "whalebone" phallic and appears therefore to imitate onanism. The limepot and limestick are more than visually phallic in that they are connected to genitalia and the sexual act in the Trobriander imagination. In The Sexual Life of Savages, Malinowski describes a local practice of singing highly sexualized ditties, called *kasaysuya*, in which, for example, men childishly and comically claim that they have large penises and women laugh and show lack of interest. In one of the ditties that Malinowski translates, the sound of

A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term



Bronislaw Malinowski

With a New Introduction by Raymond Firth

Figure 1 (cover of Malinowski's "Diary" with photograph)

processing betel nuts takes on a sexual equivalent: "O women of rank, your breasts are small indeed,/But the men of rank are lecherous/You copulate on the ground, and while you do that, your limepots produce a rattling sound *kwe, kwe, kwe*" (206). Seeing the limepots and limesticks in the photo, it is not difficult to imagine why they have been assigned a sexualized meaning in Trobriander life. In fact, I believe that Stanford Press has chosen this photo as its cover for the very reason that it points immediately to the extremely sexualized and autoerotic nature of what is to follow. At the very least, the photo reveals the homosocial context that Malinowski was hoping to capture in a series of similar photographs shot on this day that were "probably intended to illustrate Malinowski's close working relationship with his informants—the intimacy of his ethnographic style" (Young, 54). Unconsciously, it also can be seen as tying Malinowski's confessions to Rousseau's; foregrounding the "supplementarity" of both the sexuality and the textuality of what is to follow and giving value to the centrality of autoeroticism in this updated form of the struggles of the Romantic (sexual) subject.

Onanism appears briefly but is also often erased by the editors of A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term. Michael Young, based on information in Malinowski's diaries, states that he believes the above photograph was taken on "2 January 1918, when Malinowski was at Billy Hancock's place at Gusaweta and "Fellows from Omarkana" turned up" (54). Billy Hancock, who probably took the photograph of Malinowski included here, was a European living in the Trobriands who was an enthusiast of both photography and ethnography. The portion of Malinowski's diaries at the time of the new year in 1918 focuses on adding "depth" to his analysis of self, and on January 2nd, Malinowski dwells on the pitfalls of distraction with the "[s]ensual enjoyment of the

world” (170-71). Soon thereafter, on January 10th, Malinowski includes onanism in the discussion:

Read and corrected letter to E.R.M. . . . All the time: problem of maintaining inner purity in relation to her...I can repress occasional violent whoring impulses by realizing that it would get me nowhere, that even if I possessed women under these conditions, I would merely be sloshing in the mud. The most important thing is to have a strong aversion to sloshing in the mud (onanism, whoring, etc.). And to seek out everything that builds up such an aversion. (Diary, 180-81)

I cannot help but agree with George Stocking’s argument that the “editorial omissions” in the diary leave a number of “instances of autoeroticism” only half-hidden as part of an editorial effort to give as complete a picture as possible, within the confines of good taste, of “the central psychological drama of his life: an extended crisis in which certain Freudian undertones were obvious even to Malinowski himself” (263n & 263). Freud’s views regarding masturbation were old-fashioned, even for his time, and in many ways coincide with both Rousseau’s and Malinowski’s feeling that onanism was physically, sexually, and psychologically depleting, but Freud’s rather odd theory regarding the onanistic etiology of melancholy points to what might be considered an effort to unpack aspects of the troubled “Romantic type,” which is to this day still discussed with reference to the “withering” effects of both melancholia and onanism. It is not a great stretch to say that Malinowski resembles this Romantic type in a number of ways.

For the reader of Malinowski's Diary, the notation "under the mosquito net" quickly becomes code for onanism. This repeats throughout the Diary, and examples include: "Yesterday, under the mosquito net, dirty thoughts . . . I thought that even if E.R.M. had been here, this would not have satisfied me" (156); "Under the mosquito net, I thought of E. R. M. affectionately and passionately" (169); "Then I read E.R.M.'s letters...[i]n the evening under the mosquito net and in the morning thought about her intensely" (267); "Read E. R. M.'s letters. Went under the mosquito net and had unnecessary lecherous thoughts about E. E. etc." (270). The connection between the mosquito netting and onanism is perhaps made most explicit in Malinowski's Diary on December 22, 1916 when a number of physical and sensual experiences lead him to "get under the mosquito netting": "I rowed vigorously. Gorged myself with bananas and rice. I am quite drowsy, get under the mosquito net. "Subversive" thoughts—I resolve to control that. But [gone] too far. Slept very badly. Weak heart, numb hands" (162). The Rousseauvian confessional type surfaces here in the combination of sensual desire for food and sexual contact, which is relieved through "that dangerous supplement." Hypochondria and the Enlightenment's view of onanism as debilitating, which stalks Rousseau in Les Confessions, are also apparent throughout Malinowski's diaries as can be seen in this example in the odd but characteristic afterthought "weak heart, numb hands"—an afterthought that, in this case, wants to establish a causal link between Malinowski's complaints and his onanistic habit. Over time in Malinowski's Diary, the autoerotic activities under the mosquito net focus more and more on E. R. M., while simultaneously increasing in frequency as the crisis regarding the two fiancées begins to resolve itself in Malinowski's imagination. Onanism, in this sense, becomes very much

an “index” of the sexual subject, oddly tracking the trajectory of Malinowski’s extended identity crisis and focusing the reader’s attention on its eventual resolution.

Yet, in the final calculation, what is uncovered in Malinowski’s diaries with regard to onanism is that the proximity between the autoethnographic way of seeing and the confession of autoeroticism is made to entirely overlap in a situation where the autoethnographer works to write, quantify, and unsuccessfully control his own sexual urges and autoerotic behaviors while simultaneously questioning the native Trobrianders about their own sexuality and autoeroticism. Malinowski finds that the Trobrianders themselves appear to be rather torn with regard to onanism and in this way sometimes mirror, and at other times reject European thought on this practice during this period. While the Trobrianders show “indifference” to the “natural” sexuality of their children which includes “[g]enital manipulation,” masturbation by adults is ridiculed “as undignified and unworthy of a man, but in a rather amused and entirely indulgent manner” (“Sexual Life”: 48, 47, & 401). In early 20th Century Europe, an “indulgent manner” with regard to onanism is only beginning to appear, in no small part because individuals have begun to question the long history of connecting the practice with mental illness and other medical problems. Malinowski appears to be a man of this time in his fluctuation between abhorrence or fear of onanism and the rather matter of fact recording of the practice.

This makes for an effective place to transition into the autoethnographic context within the confessional and professional discourses of Margaret Mead, who “naturalizes” Rousseau’s confessional and historical “natural man” or “noble savage” by locating a healthy and openly confessional and masturbatory group of adolescent girls on the island

of Samoa. In the process, Mead locates a provocative amalgam of herself and the Romantic subject in the sexual habits and cultural formations of the Samoans. The autoethnographic interest in the sexuality of both Self and Other is present as it was in Malinowski, but Mead's identification with her subjects moves her far closer than Malinowski to a variety of self-othering reminiscent of Rousseau.

¹ For some important discussions of anthropology's textual focus and concerns see: Manning, Peter. "Metaphors of the Field." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 24 (1979): 425-441; Marcus, George and Cushman. "Ethnographies as Texts." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (1982): 25-69; Van Maanen, John. *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988; Tierney, William G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. eds. *Representation and the Text: Re-Framing the Narrative Voice*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997; Brady, Ivan. "Anthropological Poetics." in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000, 949-79, and Ricardson, Laurel. "Writing: A Method of Inquiry." in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000, 923- 948.

² For literary discussions of Malinowski see: Payne, C. "Malinowski's Style." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 125 (1981): 416-440; Clifford, James. "On Ethnographic Self-Fashioning: Conrad and Malinowski." *The Predicament of Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988. pp. 92-113; and, Geertz, C. *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988. pp. 73-101

³ In order to illustrate how Geertz's analysis is focused on the confessional, one need only continue with the passage cited here: "Ethnography takes, obliquely in the 1920's and 1930's, more and more openly today, a rather introspective turn. To be a convincing "I-witness," one must, so it seems, first become a convincing "I." (79)

⁴ "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" begins with the sentence: "Early in April of 1958, my wife and I arrived, malarial and diffident, in a Balinese village we intended, as anthropologists, to study" (*The Interpretation of Cultures* 412). Not only does the connection between self-consciousness and disease ("malarial and diffident") strike me as foundational to a marginalized observer in the confessional tradition, but the piece is very much focused on the experience of the outsiders themselves as they come into contact with cultural difference. Geertz is also quick to join with the work of Bateson and Mead in a conversation regarding the phallic status of the cock in Balinese society. Bateson and Mead's theories on sex, gender, and temperament are part of an autoethnographic argument that will be central to the next chapter. Building on Bateson and Mead, Geertz proposes that the cocks are substitutes for Balinese men (what Geertz calls the "ideal self") and that the cockfights allow the Balinese to play out cultural fears of bestiality. The "disquiet" that Geertz locates in Balinese culture because of the cockfights and the addictive nature of cockfights themselves is powerfully reminiscent of the forms of cultural criticism, disquiet and addiction surrounding Augustine's famous recollection of Alypius's "conversion" at the gladiatorial games in Rome. This points to a place in Augustine's confessional model in which an ethnographic detail is used as part of a broader cultural critique.

⁵ While Firth sees a connection between German neoromantic thought and Malinowski's work, see Ellen, R., et al. *Malinowski Between Two Worlds: The Polish Roots of an Anthropological Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988 for the formative role played by Poland and Polish culture on Malinowski's work.

⁶ The word "ethnographer" is one that Malinowski habitually and self-consciously capitalizes, indicating the importance that this concept has as part of his identity.

⁷ The second diary (1917-1918) begins as follows:

A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term

Day by day without exception I shall record the events of my life in chronological order.—
Every day an account of the proceeding day: a mirror of the events, a moral evaluation, location of the mainsprings of my life, a plan for the next day.

The over-all plan depends above all on my state of health. At present, if I am strong enough, I must elevate myself to my work, to being faithful to my fiancée, and to the goal of adding depth to my life as well as my work. (113)

⁸ The Malinowski-Conrad connection is taken up by James Clifford in his previously mentioned article "On Ethnographic Self-Fashioning: Conrad and Malinowski." Clifford's argument centers on the idea that "[I]n both *Heart of Darkness* and the *Diary* we see the crisis of a self at some "furthest point of navigation"" (102). This perspective parallels aspects of my attempts to see the point of view of the marginalized, confessional, and exiled type in Malinowski.

⁹ For discussions of Malinowski's sexuality, see: Altork, Kate. "Walking the Fire Line." *Taboo: Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*. Ed. Don Kulick and Margaret Willson. New York: Routledge, 1995. pp. 116-19; Kulick, Don. "Introduction—The Sexual Life of Anthropologists: Erotic Subjectivity and Ethnographic Work." *Taboo: Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*. Ed. Don Kulick and Margaret Willson. New York: Routledge, 1995. pp. 1-3; Togorovnick, Marianna. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. pp. 3-11. Kulick begins his introduction to the collection entitled *Taboo* (a collection in which a number of anthropologists confess to having sex with their subjects) by pointing out a number of places where the history of anthropology and the history of sexuality overlap:

This book...is a perhaps inevitable consequence of two events: the posthumous publication of *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* in 1967, and the reflexive turn in the discipline...That the second major monograph of one of anthropology's most important figures was titillatingly entitled *The Sexual Life of Savages*...is no fluke. (Of course, that Malinowski was later to become remembered more for his own brazen fantasies than for his analysis of the sexuality of the Trobriand islanders is one of the great, and perhaps, particularly apt, ironies of anthropology's fixation on both sex and savages.) Nor is it mere fortuity that the best-known American anthropologist initiated her career with a book detailing, among other things, the sexual experiences of adolescent girls in a 'primitive' society. (1-3)

My work here can be seen as a critical examination of the "fortuity" that Kulick and others have observed.

¹⁰ Malinowski describes the "position" as the "most noteworthy feature" of the Melanesian sexual act: The woman lies on her back, the legs spread and raised, and the knees flexed. The man kneels against her buttocks, her legs resting on his hips. The more usual position, however, is for the man to squat in front of the woman and, with his hands resting on the ground, to move towards her or, taking hold of her legs, to pull her towards him. When the sexual organs are close to each other the insertion takes place. Again the woman may stretch her legs and place them directly on the man's hips, with his arms outside them, but the far more usual position is with her legs embracing the man's arms, and resting on the elbows. (283)

Early on in *The Sexual Life of Savages*, Malinowski regrets having not been able to include "a small number of illustrations bearing directly on erotic life" because these photos could only be "faked or at best posed" and he considered "posed passion (or sentiment)" to be "worthless" (xlviii). An odd choice of words in light of the posed photographs of Melanesians copulating (posed with men mounting men) that Michael Young recently located among Malinowski's Kiriwinian papers. Young was unwilling to publish these photos in his recent book on Malinowski's photography because his Trobriander informant saw them as "a lewd misrepresentation" of local sexuality. (22)

¹¹ A number of translations of *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1125 a 5, render the term in this manner. For example, both David Ross (1925) and Terence Irwin (1985) use "gossip."

¹² As mentioned in the introduction, Rousseau's *Les Confessions* are themselves a reply to the "slandorous" things that were said about Rousseau in Europe both before and after Voltaire's "The Citizen's Sentiment." It is possible to consider the confessional, in the sense, as another discourse focused on gossip.

¹³ Gossip is mentioned as part of Malinowski's research on pages 101, 117, 119, 123 and 277 of *The Sexual Life of Savages*.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIB



3 1293 02551 6

THEME

4

2001

V 9

56997591

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.
MAY BE RECALLED with earlier due date if requested.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE

CONFESSIONAL DISCOURSE AS AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

VOLUME II

By

Brian Edward Burns

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

2003

with the

became

society"

an evolu

Coming

individual

culture in

Sciences

communi

he lives, a

Winthrop

begin to s

own cultur

Margaret

question: "

America?"

work an a

Considerin

anything

in a manner

V. - MARGARET MEAD: AUTOETHNOGRAPHY AND THE "NATURAL WOMAN"

Margaret Mead's career as an anthropologist coincided, alongside Malinowski's, with the beginnings of the second generation of anthropologists for whom fieldwork became "its usual apprenticeship" characterized by "a lonely sojourn in a "primitive" society" (Lapsley 2). Working largely to combat anthropology's longstanding interest in an evolutionary and frequently race-based way of seeing, Mead published her 1928 book Coming of Age in Samoa to reveal her interest in the effects of acculturation on the individual; an interest shared by her mentor, Franz Boas. Boas encapsulated his view of culture in his 1930 entry under "Anthropology" in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences by noting that "[c]ulture embraces all the manifestations of social habits of a community, the reactions of the individual as affected by the habits of the group in which he lives, and the products of human activities as determined by these habits" (as qtd. in Winthrop 53). Boas viewed Mead's earliest fieldwork in Samoa as an opportunity to begin to supply an expanded field of evidence in support of his view of culture. Using her own culture's sense of "the awkward age" of adolescence as a control, the 24-year-old Margaret Mead set off for Samoa in 1925 in order to begin to answer the following question: "Were these difficulties due to being adolescent or to being adolescent in America?" (Coming of Age 5). Because of the extremely self-reflexive nature of her work, an autoethnographic approach is readily discernible within Mead's work. Considering Mead's work alongside Deborah Reed-Denahay's definition of autoethnography "as a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context" in a manner that is "both a method and a text" (9), Mead's monographs and

autobiogr

offering h

autoethno

fieldwork

Samoa: A

to Mead's

monograp

of this coi

autoethno

revelation

protracted

Rousseau

Mead call

and Emile

openly on

Romantic

"coming o

recent att

Samoa ra

A

context o

in autobio

"The Sto

autobiography straddle both her own culture and the cultures she studied in the field, offering her both a method and numerous texts within which to frame her autoethnography. This autoethnographic overlap between the anthropologist and her fieldwork is made very plain by the full title of her work on Samoa, Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization, which points to Mead's simultaneous interest in both Samoa and the West. If what anthropological monographs say about "being there" is important, as Geertz has said, than the other side of this coin, anthropology's desire to speak to "being here," is particularly intense in the autoethnographic approach of Margaret Mead. At her most Rousseauvian, Mead's revelation of the active sexual and autoerotic lives of Samoa's young girls becomes a protracted cultural critique in which a young Samoan "Natural Woman" replaces Rousseau's "Natural Man" as the central allegorical figure meant to illuminate what Mead calls "our educational problems." The concerns and approaches of Les Confessions and Emile are very much at play in Mead's work, leaving the reader to consider her openly onanistic and sexual Samoan girls as a modern attempt to "naturalize" the Romantic subject by removing the confusion surrounding the sexual awakening of "coming of age." This Rousseauvian context is deepened further by Derek Freeman's recent attacks on Mead, in which he describes a much more aggressive and Hobbesian Samoa rather than accept Mead's tranquil and Rousseauvian view of conditions there.¹

As was the case with Malinowski, Mead's fieldwork will be considered within the context of her own autobiographical writing. Much like Malinowski, Mead was interested in autobiography, going as far as to have the very timid Ruth Benedict produce her essay "The Story of My Life" so that Mead could understand and appreciate her friend and

lover's d

ended I

highly su

into a tex

own "cor

example.

hide from

own sexu

between s

G

the histor

moments

to the mee

and Mead

making t

meeting in

matter-of-

relationsh

lateral. To

Mead's ar

the field:

lover's development, but, unlike Malinowski, Mead did craft her own autobiography, entitled Blackberry Winter (1972), specifically for publication. Written at the end of a highly successful career, Blackberry Winter's confessional moments are woven tightly into a text that is part professional memoir and part an autoethnographic treatment of her own "coming of age." Mead saw no reason to draw herself into a discussion of, for example, her sexual relationships with Ruth Benedict and Edward Sapir, but she doesn't hide from the extremely "sexed" nature of her work both with regards to aspects of her own sexuality while in the field and to her broader interest in the cultural connections between sexuality and personality explored in her fieldwork.

George Stocking begins his History of Anthropology vol. 4 remarking that "[i]f the history of anthropology were to be made into a television miniseries, one of its "great moments would surely be set on the Sepik River early in 1933" (3). Stocking is pointing to the meeting in New Guinea between Margaret Mead, her then husband Reo Fortune, and Mead's future husband Gregory Bateson motivated by the interest the three had in studying the local cultures. In Blackberry Winter, Mead describes what happens at this meeting in a manner that reflects both her autoethnographic field technique and her matter-of-fact confessional tone. The anthropological question at issue is framed by the relationship between sex and temperament within four cultures in New Guinea—the Iatmul, Tchambuli, Arapesh, and the Mondugumor—which had been the recent focus of Mead's and Fortune's year of fieldwork, both before and after they had joined Bateson in the field:

As we discussed the problem, cooped up together in the tiny eight-foot-by-eight-foot mosquito room, we moved back and forth between analyzing

ourselves and each other, as individuals, and the cultures the we knew and were studying, as anthropologists must. Working on the assumption that there were different clusters of inborn traits, each characteristic of a particular temperamental type, it became clear that Gregory and I were close together in temperament—represented, in fact, a male and a female version of a temperamental type that was in strong contrast with the one represented by Reo. It also became clear that it would be nonsensical to define the traits that Gregory and I shared as “feminine” and equally nonsensical to define the behavior of the Arapesh man as “maternal,” in this culture in which both men and women were predominantly nurturing and parental in their behavior. Equally, Mundugumor men and women, who are strongly sexed, proud, and individualistic, could be said to fit into a single, but very different, temperamental type...The intensity of our discussions was heightened by the triangular situation. Gregory and I were falling in love . . . As we dealt with the cultural differences between Arapesh, Mundugumor, Tchambuli, and Iatmul, we talked also about the differences in temperamental emphasis in the three English-speaking cultures—American, New Zealand, and English—that we represented and about the academic ethos that Gregory and I shared. No part of this was irrelevant to our struggle to arrive at a new formulation of the relationships between sex, temperament, and culturally expected behavior.

(“Blackberry” 216-17)

The overlap of the autoethnographic and the confessional with its focus on the sexual is immediately clear in Mead's description of this period. These discussions—part anthropology, part romance—are themselves an extremely graphic example of the overlap between the anthropologist's sexual and erotic subjectivity and his or her scientific interest in the sexuality of native peoples. The theoretical approach emerging out of these conversations, which began to chart temperamental types based in part on a culture's expectation with regard to how “sexed” its men and women should be, becomes part of a system of self-classification or autoethnography which itself fuels the “sexed” sensibilities of its participants. Untangling the ethnographic project from the emerging romance between Mead and Bateson becomes difficult in this charged atmosphere of social science and desire in which it is impossible to understand the ethnographic theories involved without considering the autobiographical context.² With this in mind, even the chapter title “Tchambuli: Sex and Temperament,” which Mead uses in Blackberry Winter to mark the section that discusses the meeting on the Sepik River, is clearly ironic in its effort to reflect both the scientific and autobiographical importance of this moment in Mead's life. This feeling is heightened even further in Mary Catherine Bateson's autobiography and memoir of her parents in which the Sepik River meeting—again described in a chapter entitled “Sex and Temperament”—takes on qualities of an oddly ironic scientific and personal primal scene which the author pictures as the “feverish atmosphere that must have characterized the interval” in which her parents met, classified one another in terms of temperament, and then fell in love (129).

The manner in which Mead charts out the temperamental types within the cultures she met in New Guinea in Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (1935)

draws N

that con

of Culm

types, ea

charted

of a com

by both

the nord

characte

endless

Reo For

some no

empathi

tempera

she desc

expected

children

oppositi

unconge

197-98)

that just

along th

Mundug

draws Mead's way of seeing herself and other cultures further into the web of relations that connect the confessional with anthropology. Taking ideas from Benedict's Patterns of Culture and Jung's "fourfold scheme for grouping human beings as psychological types, each related to the others in a complementary way" ("Blackberry" 217), Mead charted the temperamental positions of men in women in several cultures along the points of a compass. In the process, her autobiography clearly marks out the position occupied by both the cultures under study as well as the members the Sepik River love triangle. In the north were the men and women of the Mundugumor about whom she characteristically says in Blackberry Winter, "I loathed the Mundugumor culture with its endless aggressive rivalries, exploitation, and rejection of children" while she describes Reo Fortune as being "both repelled and fascinated by the Mundugumor . . . [who] struck some note in him and . . . emphasized aspects of his personality with which I could not empathize" ("Blackberry" 205-6). At the bottom or in the south of the compass of temperaments, Mead locates the men and women of the Arapesh. In Blackberry Winter, she describes the Arapesh as an agreeable people among whom "men and women were expected to be succoring and cherishing and equally concerned with the growth of children." Rather expectedly, Mead sees Reo Fortune's take on the Arapesh as being in opposition to hers. Fortune sees the Arapesh as "formless, unattractive, and thoroughly uncongenial," fueling his "frustration" which often borders on violence. ("Blackberry" 197-98). Mead implies a form of cultural criticism (a form of "spousal criticism" is more than just implied) in the manner in which she establishes a topography of temperaments along the points on a compass. Reo Fortune's position in the "north" with the Mundugumor and Mead's and later Bateson's position in the "south" of this compass

alongside

temperat

personal

tropical

Samoaans

T

a Hobbes

Mead's p

may be i

Mead's a

Winter

To say th

feel that c

serialize

Passage's

alongside the Arapesh, locate Fortune within a competitive “northern” or European temperament while placing Mead and Bateson in a “southern” position denoting a personality that runs counter to European expectations and is more closely related to the tropical or “southern” stereotype that informed Mead’s view of the Arapesh and Samoans.

The fact that these two types, “north” and “south” are recognizable as versions of a Hobbesian and Rousseauvian vision of human prehistory reveals only a small portion of Mead’s predisposition for framing her work in a recognizably Rousseauvian manner. It may be in her revelation of her position as a cultural outsider or “marginal woman” that Mead’s approach reveals its particularly Rousseauvian point of view.³ In Blackberry Winter, Mead mentions that,

Both Gregory [Bateson] and I felt that we were, to some extent, deviants, each within our own culture. Many of the forms of aggressive male behavior that were standardized in English culture did not appeal to him. My own interest in children did not fit the stereotype of the American career woman or, for that matter, the stereotype of the possessive, managing American wife and mother. It was exciting to strip off the layers of culturally attributed expected behavior and to feel that one knew at last who one was. (219)

To say that it was “exciting to strip off the layers of culturally attributed behavior and to feel that one knew at last who one was” points both to the autobiographical and sexualized nature of the time that Mead is describing, but, perhaps more importantly, this passage’s use of the term “deviant” coincides with its usage in Sex and Temperament in

which "C

accident

cultural s

emphasis

The devi

Tempera

based ter

neither a

The pass

of Mead

deviant

into the

L

a positio

what Me

anthropo

Benedict

ethnogra

her fami

which “deviant” is defined as “any individual who because of innate disposition or accident of early training, or through the contradictory influences of a heterogeneous cultural situation, has been culturally disenfranchised, the individual to whom the major emphases of his society seem nonsensical, unreal, untenable, or downright wrong” (290). The deviants among the Arapesh, Mundugumor, Tchambuli are central to Sex and Temperament because they help to define the limits of the culturally-enforced, gender-based temperaments within the cultures under study. Without the deviants, there is neither any ethnographically nor autoethnographically important data for Mead to collect. The passage above regarding “deviants” goes a long way to describing the voice or flavor of Mead’s autobiography that connects the point of view of the cultural outsider, or deviant, with the position of the cultural critic, a quality that again draws Mead further into the web of relations that characterize the confessional way of seeing.

In Blackberry Winter, as one might expect, Mead approaches writing the life from a position strongly influenced by anthropology. From the outset of her autobiography, what Mead refers to as “the pattern my family made for me” becomes the central anthropological tenet driving her narrative form; at the same time, Mead establishes Ruth Benedict’s relativistic Patterns of Culture and her own fieldwork as her principal ethnographic intertexts.⁴ Mead admits that, beginning very early in life, she began to see her family as an anthropological unit on the basis of the recognition of pattern:

From my earliest childhood I compared my own family with the kinds of families I heard about, learned about in songs, and read about in books. I thought seriously about the ways our family resembled other families, real and fictional, and sometimes sadly about the ways we did not fit into the

The yo

observa

of the A

observa

of re-Be

Mead's

singular

anthrop

the natu

and fam

and wor

I

reading

Blackbe

Purpose:

confessi

or break

expected pattern . . . Tracing old patterns was something I began to do very early, as I noted family resemblances—who in the next generation had the eyes or the nose or the curling hair or the sharp wit of some member of the generation before. (“Blackberry” 57, 58, & 60)

The young Mead’s sense of a familial “pattern” emerges from a combination of observation and evaluation, focused on experiences with both actual and textual versions of the American family in the early twentieth century. The beginnings of a life in the observational social sciences are readily discernible here as is the confessional tradition of reflection on the important role played by books in framing the childish imagination. Mead’s autoethnographic subject submerges these two aspects of her subjectivity into a singular point of view. Perhaps just as important as the implication of an emerging anthropology, Mead’s intertextual way of seeing, beginning at a very young age predicts the nature of the autoethnographic project; for example, this “textual” approach to her life and family is a precursor to the famous incident on the Sepik River in which Mead’s life and work take their models effortlessly from the work of both Jung and Benedict.

Behind this autoethnographic bent is the familiar confessional type for whom reading is both a vital part of subjectivity and a potential recipe for disaster. In Blackberry Winter, Mead describes an education that is both accidentally and purposefully focused on the tension between nature and culture that informs Rousseau’s confessional voice. In Mead’s familiar view of childhood, reading has the power to make or break the child’s universe:

Looking back, my memories of learning precise skills, memorizing long stretches of poetry, and manipulating paper are interwoven with memories

Unlike

conseq

Rousse

that the

idea th

a man

at Boss

reader

Althoug

Rousse

future a

found a

convent

of running—running in the wind, running through meadows, and running along country roads, picking flowers, hunting for nuts, and weaving together old stories and new events into myths about a tree or a rock. And there were long intervals, too, that were filled with reading, reading as many hours a day as I could manage between playing outdoors and doing formal lessons. Of course, reading was a good thing, but too much reading was believed to be bad for a child. And so it became, in part, a secret pleasure I indulged in at night when I was supposed to be asleep or in the daytime hours I spent curled up in a hollow tree while I was supposed to be off on some more active quest. (72)

Unlike Rousseau's, Mead's voracious reading habit turns out not to have fatal consequences for the child. In fact, it is difficult to discern in this passage, which engages Rousseau's notion of the "natural childhood" as ideal *Bildung*, whether Mead believes that there is such a thing as too much reading for a child. If Mead does believe in this idea, then it is clear that the threshold of too much reading hasn't been met in her case. In a manner that engages with Rousseau's description of reading outdoors while a youngster at Bossey, the image of the "natural child" is extended here to include the voracious reader under a tree, where her furtive reading can continue in nature and uninterrupted.. Although this assertion might appear an overinterpretation attempting to manufacture the Rousseauvian and the confessional in Mead's account of something as everyday as a future author who reads, the wider context of Mead's comments regarding her reading, found in a chapter entitled "In and Out of School," reflect on the confessional's conventional interest in the educational ups and downs of the child. This interest then

carries c

manner

common

admits t

taking "

commo

relative

Also, th

which

statute

When s

as a pro

parents

most de

the Uni

had do

reform

field w

carries over into her fieldwork's focus on adolescence and Western pedagogy. In a manner that makes it appear that Mead is ticking off a laundry list of confessional commonplaces in this section, the next paragraph following Mead's comments on reading admits to a benign form of "prank-stealing" in which a neighbor's house was the target of taking "corn from his corncrib . . . [to] feed it to his chickens" (72). This confessional commonplace reinforces the feeling that in Mead's case the "natural child" remains relatively good and free from the usual problems associated with childhood stealing. Also, this ease can be seen as a vindication of Mead's parents' educational approach, which, although not ideal in its inability to keep Margaret in school throughout her childhood, succeeds in giving the girl a balanced sense of herself and her possibilities. When she does steal during her childhood, her moral sensibilities allow it to happen only as a prank that hurts none of the parties involved.

Mead's interest in her fieldwork evolves naturally out of her relations with her parents and paternal grandmother who, as Mead states in Blackberry Winter, had "the most decisive influence" on her life (45). Mead's father was a professor of Economics at the University of Pennsylvania and a specialist in the economics of railroads. Her mother had done graduate work in the humanities that was focused on social and educational reform. Both parents embraced a professional and personal ethos that extended to fieldwork and offered Mead an early model for a successful observational methodology:

During all these years my father spent a great deal of time watching and listening to the people who actually did the things about which he taught and wrote. My first experience of fieldwork was through my mother's work among the Italians living in Hammonton, New Jersey, where we has

Des

rel

sp

with

gnd

old

care

care

to ch

at t

we is

ind

had a

and a

when

educ

then

then

moved in 1902 so that she could study them. But father's vivid accounts of how a street railway in Massachusetts had failed and of the fate of a pretzel factory also gave me a sense of the way theory and practice must be related. ("Blackberry" 35)

Despite the richness and proximity of these models, surprisingly, it is Margaret's relationship with her maternal grandmother that gives her the beginnings of a "hands on" approach to the observational social sciences.

Mead traces her interest in children and child development to her relationship with her paternal grandmother, which deepened when Mead's mother gave birth to two girls less than 18 months apart in 1910 and 1911. Margaret, who was now 9 or 10 years old, and Margaret's paternal grandmother began hereafter to play a significant role as caregivers for the two small girls, named Elizabeth and Priscilla. The necessity for great care in watching over these new babies was brought on by the Meads' having lost a baby to childhood disease several years before. Mead describes her grandmother later as being "at the center" of the Mead household, noting that "[h]er room . . . was the place to which we immediately went when we came in from playing or home from school"

("Blackberry" 45). This setting became Margaret's first laboratory. Mead's grandmother had a college degree, which was quite unusual for a woman of her day, and was qualified and active enough to have taken her husband's job as a school principal when he died and when Mead's father was only five years old. The Mead family's experimental view of education and its distrust of the confinement and disciplining of the child that characterized many early twentieth-century public schools emanates from the educational theories and reforms that were the focus of Mead's paternal grandparents. As part of her

appro

teachin

grinde

vis-a-v

Here, th

observat

continue

role play

be easily

her obser

findings

become "

authorized

approach to education, Mead's grandmother emphasizes "training the hands early" and teaching the child to "observe the world...and note" what he or she sees. Under her grandmother's tutelage, Margaret begins to take quite seriously her observational role vis-à-vis her younger sisters:

They were already beginning to show clear contrasts in temperament, which Grandma pointed out as she set me to work taking notes on their behavior—on the first words Priscilla spoke and on the way one echoed the other. She made me aware of how Priscilla mimicked the epithets and shouts . . . [of the] Swedish nurse and the Irish cook and of how Elizabeth was already making poetry of life . . . I learned to make these notes with love, carrying on what mother had begun. I knew that she had filled thirteen notebooks on me and only four on Richard; now I was taking over for the younger children. In many ways I thought of the babies as my children whom I could observe and teach and cultivate. ("Blackberry" 64).

Here, the oldest female child's role as surrogate mother includes taking over the observational duties from a mother who has too many children to allow her "science" to continue. The way Margaret embraces this role is important as her lifelong interest in the role played by temperament in the contrasting personalities of her sisters. But what might be easily missed here without awareness of Mead's later career is the manner in which her observational research allows her naturally to claim ownership over her younger siblings. Just as the Samoans, Arapesh, and other cultures that Mead studies will later become "her people," her siblings become more than just siblings by virtue of her having authorized their development. This seemingly natural connection between fieldwork

tech-

anth-

which

the p

oppo

so to

chap

instu

Her re

explai

simple

appea

family

is four

home

with th

Comin

States

techniques and ownership is an important corollary to the unequal power dynamic of the anthropologist/native relationship that has come in for a great deal of recent criticism and which is, at least, partially informed by the roles of confessor and confessant played by the participants in fieldwork studies. Mead's own autobiography, which allows her the opportunity to be both confessor and confessant, also allows her "to watch herself grow," so to speak, and then authorize as well as empower her own view of herself.

The cultural critique that occupies Mead in her "Our Educational Problems" chapter late in Coming of Age is identifiable as a reevaluation of American and Samoan institutions through the eyes of a daughter of educational reformers and social scientists. Her reasons for making these comparisons are starkly Rousseauvian: "But for the explanation of the lack of conflict we must look principally to the difference between a simple, homogeneous primitive civilisation, a civilization which changes so slowly that it appears static, and a motley, diverse, heterogeneous civilization" (206). The Mead family's reluctance to participate fully in "a motley, diverse, heterogeneous civilization" is found in the family's preference for frequently keeping Margaret and her siblings at home rather than have them attend a standard school. The Mead family's preoccupation with the unnatural separation of work and play among American children is revisited in Coming of Age as a place of major cultural difference between Samoa and the United States:

Samoan children do not learn to work through learning to play, as the children of many primitive people do...From the time they are four or five year old they perform definite tasks, graded to their strength and intelligence, but still tasks which have a meaning in the structure of the

This clea
meanin
family pr

whole society. This does not mean that they have less time for play than American children who are shut up in schools from nine to three o'clock every day...The difference lies not in the proportion of time in which their activities are directed and the proportion in which they are free, but rather in the difference of attitude. With the professionalisation of education and the specialization of industrial tasks which has stripped the individual home of its former variety of activities, our children are not made to feel that the time they do devote to supervised activity is functionally related to the world of adult activity...The Samoan girl who tends babies, carries water, sweeps the floor; or the little boy who digs for bait, or collects cocoanuts, has no such difficulty...And the practice of giving a child a task which he can do well and never permitting a childish, inefficient tinkering with adult apparatus, such as we permit to our children, who bang aimlessly and destructively on their fathers' typewriters, results in a different attitude...Their participation in adults' activities is either in terms of toys, tea-sets and dolls and toy automobiles. (It must be understood that here, as always, when I say American, I do not mean those Americans recently arrived from Europe, who still present a different tradition of education. Such a group would be the Southern Italians, who still expect productive work from their children.) ("Samoa" 226-28)

This clearly autoethnographic passage includes a number of personal details that attach meaning to places in Mead's own childhood. Not only is the reference to Southern Italian family practice firmly rooted in her mother's experiences with recent Italian immigration

to New

matter.

that M

Age. N

increas

meanin

Winter

way of

constr

temper

atemp

much

child a

patern

Black

hovers

the "pr

of the

zined

out rat

years.

what i

to New Jersey,⁵ but it is difficult not to see a young Mead, or Mead's siblings for that matter, being redirected away from their father's typewriter and toward the kinds of tasks that Mead's grandmother designed to educate the hands of youngsters. In Coming of Age, Mead sees the misdirected energies of the American child as participating in the increase in the "storm" of adolescence while further alienating the youngster from a more meaningful preparation for adulthood. Mead's own childhood, as outlined in Blackberry Winter, can be read as her parents' uneven attempts at minimizing this effect.

Mead's autobiography becomes a sketch of the emergence of an autoethnographic way of seeing that highlights the anthropologist's own *Bildung* as the process of constructing the future fieldworker. For Mead, a childhood spent observing her sisters' temperaments, plus her later observations of Samoan adolescent girls, and her still later attempts to form an autoethnographic view of temperament on the Sepik River inform much of her later professional and personal life. Mead's descriptions of raising her own child and participating in the life of her grandchild as a grandmother modeled on her own paternal grandmother become the mirror image of her childhood in the second half of Blackberry Winter with the two moments separated by her career in the field, which hovers over the entire text. Beginning in her acknowledgements, Mead hopes to mitigate the "presence" of the subjects of her fieldwork in her autobiography, while taking control of the reader's anthropological expectations from the start; but in the process, the autoethnographic context becomes immediately and startlingly clear, when Mead points out rather feebly that: "This is not a book about the peoples I have studied through the years. I have written about them in many books and the interested reader can find there what is taken for granted in this narrative of my own life. Although the focus of this book

is

se

al

ba

al

al

al

em

Me

con

but

cons

to ve

Seco

good

Franz

as fol

is not on them, they are nonetheless present and I thank them” (“Blackberry” xxi). The sense that her ethnographic work is what can be “taken for granted” in her own autobiography creates a quandary for the reader who comes to Blackberry Winter without having first read her other works; what can be “taken for granted” is very much the autoethnographic context of the work in which the self is made visible with the help of another. In Mead’s case, this other is frequently the Samoan adolescents who helped her make her reputation.

The obviously “post-Emile,” if I may coin such a word, pedagogical ideology embodied in Mead’s family’s distrust of schools is only one possible connection between Mead’s childhood and aspects of Romantic or late Enlightenment thought. Another connection to the Romantics that places Mead well within the conversation including both the Emile and Les Confessions is her persistent interest in adolescence as a cultural construct. In a very real way, Mead’s work among the Samoans can be read as an attempt to verify the universality of what Rousseau proposes in his Les Confessions and the Second Discourse; namely, that acculturation has moved humankind away from the goodness that marked human prehistory. In his foreword to Coming of Age in Samoa, Franz Boas articulates the position that he shares with Mead with regards to adolescence as follows:

In our own civilization the individual is beset with difficulties which we are likely to ascribe to fundamental human traits. When we speak about the difficulties of childhood and adolescence, we are thinking of them as unavoidable periods of adjustment through which every one has to

pass. The whole psycho-analytic approach is largely based on this supposition.

The anthropologist doubts the correctness of these views, but up to this time hardly any one has taken pains to identify himself sufficiently with a primitive population to obtain an insight into these problems. We feel, therefore, grateful to Miss Mead for having undertaken to identify herself so completely with Samoan youth that she gives us a lucid and clear picture of the joys and difficulties encountered by the young individual in a culture so entirely different from our own. The results of her painstaking investigation confirm the suspicion long held by anthropologists, that much of what we ascribe to human nature is no more than a reaction to the restraints put upon us by our civilization. ("Foreword")

Between the time of Rousseau and Mead's Coming of Age, there has been a shift from the class and religion-based worldview (you are who you are because of social standing and original sin) that Rousseau attacked in his autobiography to a more Rousseauvian, bourgeois and psychoanalytically informed view of the self (you are who you are because of the quality of your relations with your family during the physical and psychological crisis of adolescence).

In "identifying herself so completely with Samoan youth," a variety of self-othering appears from the outset of Mead's work and is difficult to ignore. The picture of the sixteen-year-old Margaret Mead that is the frontispiece of her autobiography Blackberry Winter begins to display the confessional logic of a writer who sees the moment of "coming of age" as fundamental. For Augustine, sixteen was his approximate age when lust began to dominate the consciousness of a young man tainted by original



1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30
 31
 32
 33
 34
 35
 36
 37
 38
 39
 40
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51
 52
 53
 54
 55
 56
 57
 58
 59
 60
 61
 62
 63
 64
 65
 66
 67
 68
 69
 70
 71
 72
 73
 74
 75
 76
 77
 78
 79
 80
 81
 82
 83
 84
 85
 86
 87
 88
 89
 90
 91
 92
 93
 94
 95
 96
 97
 98
 99
 100
 101
 102
 103
 104
 105
 106
 107
 108
 109
 110
 111
 112
 113
 114
 115
 116
 117
 118
 119
 120
 121
 122
 123
 124
 125
 126
 127
 128
 129
 130
 131
 132
 133
 134
 135
 136
 137
 138
 139
 140
 141
 142
 143
 144
 145
 146
 147
 148
 149
 150
 151
 152
 153
 154
 155
 156
 157
 158
 159
 160
 161
 162
 163
 164
 165
 166
 167
 168
 169
 170
 171
 172
 173
 174
 175
 176
 177
 178
 179
 180
 181
 182
 183
 184
 185
 186
 187
 188
 189
 190
 191
 192
 193
 194
 195
 196
 197
 198
 199
 200
 201
 202
 203
 204
 205
 206
 207
 208
 209
 210
 211
 212
 213
 214
 215
 216
 217
 218
 219
 220
 221
 222
 223
 224
 225
 226
 227
 228
 229
 230
 231
 232
 233
 234
 235
 236
 237
 238
 239
 240
 241
 242
 243
 244
 245
 246
 247
 248
 249
 250
 251
 252
 253
 254
 255
 256
 257
 258
 259
 260
 261
 262
 263
 264
 265
 266
 267
 268
 269
 270
 271
 272
 273
 274
 275
 276
 277
 278
 279
 280
 281
 282
 283
 284
 285
 286
 287
 288
 289
 290
 291
 292
 293
 294
 295
 296
 297
 298
 299
 300
 301
 302
 303
 304
 305
 306
 307
 308
 309
 310
 311
 312
 313
 314
 315
 316
 317
 318
 319
 320
 321
 322
 323
 324
 325
 326
 327
 328
 329
 330
 331
 332
 333
 334
 335
 336
 337
 338
 339
 340
 341
 342
 343
 344
 345
 346
 347
 348
 349
 350
 351
 352
 353
 354
 355
 356
 357
 358
 359
 360
 361
 362
 363
 364
 365
 366
 367
 368
 369
 370
 371
 372
 373
 374
 375
 376
 377
 378
 379
 380
 381
 382
 383
 384
 385
 386
 387
 388
 389
 390
 391
 392
 393
 394
 395
 396
 397
 398
 399
 400
 401
 402
 403
 404
 405
 406
 407
 408
 409
 410
 411
 412
 413
 414
 415
 416
 417
 418
 419
 420
 421
 422
 423
 424
 425
 426
 427
 428
 429
 430
 431
 432
 433
 434
 435
 436
 437
 438
 439
 440
 441
 442
 443
 444
 445
 446
 447
 448
 449
 450
 451
 452
 453
 454
 455
 456
 457
 458
 459
 460
 461
 462
 463
 464
 465
 466
 467
 468
 469
 470
 471
 472
 473
 474
 475
 476
 477
 478
 479
 480
 481
 482
 483
 484
 485
 486
 487
 488
 489
 490
 491
 492
 493
 494
 495
 496
 497
 498
 499
 500
 501
 502
 503
 504
 505
 506
 507
 508
 509
 510
 511
 512
 513
 514
 515
 516
 517
 518
 519
 520
 521
 522
 523
 524
 525

sin. For Rousseau, sixteen was the age where it became necessary for a lustful teenager to flee Geneva and begin his search for “castles in Spain” because his cultural, personal and class positions were untenable. For Mead, the sexually relaxed and liberated Samoan teenager is the antidote to her sexually naïve sixteen-year-old self, who appears to be part of the notion of a “Blackberry Winter” that Mead describes in her epigraph as the time when a late “hoarfrost lies on the blackberry blossom; without this frost the berries will not set.” This metaphor can be extended to describe Mead’s career, as Nancy Lutkehaus does in her introduction to a recent reissue of Blackberry Winter (xvi), but it can also be seen as describing Mead’s sexuality, which she is only willing to explore in a roundabout way in her autobiography. Despite the great respect that Mead has for how she was raised, there is something in her own repressed teenaged sexuality that she finds troubling and which helps to form her bond with and her interest in her adolescent Samoan subjects. Mead, it can be said, retains the confessional’s interest in the sexuality of the sixteen-year-old with a vengeance both in her anthropology and in her autobiography. When the presence of a sexually inhibited culture is mitigated later in Mead’s life, which is one of the culprits in both Mead’s and Rousseau’s “de-naturing,” a “natural woman” similar to that found in Coming of Age begins to come into view in Blackberry Winter.

In Coming of Age, Mead describes a Samoa where “[t]he community ignores both boys and girls from birth until they are fifteen or sixteen years of age” at which time they begin to join adult social groups and move slowly toward marriage (74). Although Mead is interested in adolescents in several age groups following puberty, she takes a particular interest in the sexually active sixteen and seventeen-year-old girls who are entering “the best period” of their lives in which they live in relative freedom. These

teenaged girls are free from the tending the younger siblings that characterizes the previous stage of girlhood and free to hold off on marriage for “as long as possible” while they enjoy living without responsibility (“Samoa” 38). Thus, the parallels between Mead’s girlhood and her version of Samoan girlhood deepen in light of the fact that Mead spends her pre-teen years frequently tending her younger siblings. Blackberry Winter is not clear on whether Mead emerges out of this period of babysitting before she leaves home for college, but being stuck in what is in Samoa an earlier stage of girlhood may partially account for why Mead’s period of relative freedom is too brief.

Coming of Age is particularly famous for its description of three types of sexual relationships open to these adolescent girls: the so-called “clandestine encounter” or “under the palm trees,” a sexual liaison named for its frequently occurring out-of-doors; a “published elopement” or *Avaga* which may or may not end in marriage; and a, to use Mead’s language, “curious form of surreptitious rape, called *moetotolo*” or “sleep crawling” in which young men come to young women at night in their parents’ homes hoping to be accepted as their lovers in the dark (91-98).

Mead’s descriptions of these three types of sexual relations focus on the freedom of action that these approaches allow Samoa’s young girls. A liaison “under the palm trees” is described as allowing young girls to have their first sexual experience with an older man (and likewise a young boy with an older woman), which Mead describes as an “exceedingly frequent . . . [event], so that the success of an amatory experience is seldom jeopardised by double ignorance” (“Samoa” 88). The far less frequently practiced institution of elopement is described as the remains of a chiefly version of the clandestine encounter in which a relationship not sanctioned by both sets of parents can be

consummated, but it brings with it the added risk that “the boy wishes to increase his reputation as a successful Don Juan” while “the girl wishes to proclaim her conquest and often hopes that the elopement will end in marriage” (“Samoa” 103). In the case of *moetotolo* or “sleep crawling,” Mead finds that, although reprehensible, this kind of “sexual revenge” loosed on girls who do not appear at previously planned liaisons “under the palm trees” is often used as a young girl’s “excellent alibi, since she has only to call out ‘moetotolo’ in case her lover is discovered” hoping, of course, that he will not be caught when the household gives chase (“Samoa” 94). In Samoa, as Mead finds it, these forms of sexual relations frame a very relaxed set of notions regarding both sex and marriage, in which, in the case of marriage, “divorce” is then “a simple and informal matter, the non-resident simply going home to his or her family” (108).

Ultimately, Coming of Age juxtaposes the matter-of-fact view of sexual relations in Samoa and the relative sexual freedom of the women there, with cultural conditions in the West, where

[r]omantic love... [is] inextricably bound up with ideas of exclusiveness, jealousy and undeviating fidelity . . . Our attitude is a compound, the final result of many converging lines of development in Western civilization, of the institution of monogamy, of the ideas of chivalry, of the ethics of Christianity. Even a passionate attachment to one person which lasts for a long period and persists in the face of discouragement but does not bar out other relationships, is rare among the Samoans. Marriage, on the other hand, is regarded as a social and economic relationship. (105)

The exploration of Samoan sexual attitudes is ultimately meant to be deployed as part of Mead's overall cultural critique. This critique finds a provocative context within Mead's own autobiography, which focuses on the hit-and-miss nature of the young Margaret's naïve and unsatisfying early sexual life.

As she is "coming of age" in Blackberry Winter, Mead describes an incomplete sexual education in which her parents worked to describe sexuality "seriously and realistically, but in an abstract way." As is still often the case, Mead is left to fill in her picture of human sexuality at school, through contact with her mother's "outspoken, modern views," the "crude, open gossip" of her neighbors, and the reading of novels (82-83). This approach to a sexual education fits the pattern of the uneven formal education so characteristic of the confessional as well as showing early aspects of the investigative skills necessary for a career involving fieldwork. Here, the connection between sexual knowledge and gossip, which becomes so central to anthropological fieldwork post-Malinowski, can be located within the experiences of bourgeois childhood. This method of data collection then is beginning to be sharpened well before the anthropologist finds his or her way into the field. But in Mead's case, an abstract sense of the sexual act plus the overhearing and processing of gossip with regards to sex is not enough to give the young girl a complete picture of sexuality.⁶

In Blackberry Winter, Mead describes meeting a serious young man at age 15 and becoming secretly engaged by age 17. The "tender age" in and around 16 is defined for Mead as the time when, without sufficient knowledge, she made a decision that would greatly affect her young life. Mead's fiancé, Luther Cressman, would later become Margaret's first husband despite all attempts on the part of her family to prevent her from

man

on th

she t

here

Mac

ins

caus

the

rela

and

and

Mac

rep

marrying so young. Caving in to both her temperament and her education, which focused on the possibilities of having both a family and a career, Mead married Cressman after she took a degree at Barnard in 1922. Mead describes the disappointment of her honeymoon with Cressman, as follows:

It was pleasant to sit and talk over breakfast with a sense of great leisure we had not known before and were seldom to know again . . . [but] [o]ur enjoyment of these lazy hours did not mean that even after an engagement of five years there were not moments of strangeness and disappointment to overcome. We had read so many books written by the sex specialists of the 1920's, who believed that sex was a matter of proper technique—that men should play on women's bodies as if they were musical instruments, but without including in their calculations that women must be very good musical instruments in order to please the men who played on them.

("Blackberry" 117)

Mead chooses not to elaborate on the reason that she is not a "very good musical instrument," but it seems very unlikely that there is some physical limitation that is the cause. Luther Cressman writes that "there was nothing doing" when it came to sex during the first several days of their marriage, pointing to a psychological cause for Margaret's reluctance when he notes that "[h]er barred gates were a sign of both psychological fear and hostility to the commitment of marriage" (92-93). Hilary Lapsley points out that the analogy between bodies and musical instruments comes from the work of Havelock Ellis. Mead's sexual trepidation in the early days of her honeymoon may come out of the expectations established by Ellis and others to which Mead returned in Male and Female

when
acco
med
them
trav
life
cult
four
for e
ap
wh
com
Se
pre
eff
Spe
that
won
she
fac
Ma

when she wrote: “In the 1920’s an attempt to change the position of women was accompanied by an insistence on women’s need for sexual climaxes comparable to men’s, and the demand that women respond to men became a burdensome demand on them to behave like musical instruments...” (as qtd. in Lapsley 80-81). Even if this trouble at the beginning of her marriage is a sign, as Lapsley’s indicates, of Mead’s lifelong preference for relationships with women, it is clear that Mead is critical of the culture that led her to her marital bed and then left her fully unprepared for what she found there.⁷ Whatever the reason for Mead’s frustration, a book is clearly no substitute for either sexual knowledge or experience. Throughout Blackberry Winter, Mead’s paints a picture of her first two marriages in which her naïveté gave her little background from which to consider her own and her husbands’ sexualities and temperaments before committing to marriage. The previously mentioned autoethnographic moment on the Sepik River is in many ways the time and place where Mead “comes of age” professionally, personally, and sexually. Her theories on temperament are as much an effort to find a mate with similar needs and desires, sexual and otherwise, as they are a system of anthropological classification. The relationship between sexuality and culture that Levi-Strauss located quite narrowly in the prohibition of incest and the exchange of women in marriage, is found throughout Mead’s work in the more general connections she reveals between culture, temperament, and the individual subject’s sexuality.

By reading the sexual lives of Mead’s adolescent Samoan girls alongside the facts of her own emerging sexuality in Blackberry Winter, it becomes apparent that Margaret’s experiences as a Barnard undergraduate are partially analogous to the period

of freedom that Mead witnessed among Samoa's girls and young women in the 15-20 year old group. In Blackberry Winter, Mead describes her period at Barnard as follows:

We belonged to the generation of young women who felt extraordinarily free—free from the demand to marry unless we chose to do so, free to postpone marriage while we did other things, free from the need to bargain and hedge that had burdened and restricted women of earlier generations. We laughed at the idea that a woman could be an old maid at the age of twenty-five, and we rejoiced at the new medical care that made it possible for a woman to have a child at forty. (108)

After reading Coming of Age in Samoa in which a similar period of freedom between puberty and marriage is seen as a central characteristic of a sexually liberated culture, it is possible to conclude that if everything had been as it should have been, Margaret would have come out of her period of freedom both sexually liberated and confident in her future. Mead had left DePauw after her freshman year in large part because she was, as an Easterner, considered an outsider in the Midwest. Moving to New York and Barnard College, she was able to find a group of serious and artistic young Barnard women living in a cooperative, later nicknamed the “Ash Can Cats,” who allowed her the opportunity to be accepted despite her seriousness and bookishness. Bohemians though they seemed, the Ash Can Cats “were still remarkably innocent about practical matters related to sex” (Blackberry Winter 103). It is this innocence that colors the earliest days of Mead's marriage to Luther Cressman, adding to the pressures Margaret felt because of her inability to embrace her circle of friends' ideas regarding waiting to marry until after age 25. Margaret's own acculturation before arriving at Barnard was too strong to be

over

than

any

than

over

over

of

man

her

and

have

study

the

the

pen

the

overcome in three short years. In many ways, Luther Cressman's assessment of Mead's "barred gates" as the logical outcome of fear of both sex and the commitment of marriage explains some of the complex of feelings that were pulling Mead in the directions of both "home and family" and "career."

Soon, it was increasingly clear that Mead couldn't balance both family life and career with Luther Cressman. If we consider this period of her life within the framework of the cultural critique in Coming of Age in Samoa, her own period of freedom before marriage had been too short to allow her to make good and informed decisions regarding her future. Throughout Blackberry Winter, Mead directs the readers attention to the tentativeness of her first marriage by referring to it as a "student marriage." These words have the force of a pun when the reader considers the marriage as both one between two students and also one between two students of marriage, who are learning the pitfalls of the institution as they go.

In Blackberry Winter, Mead predicts the dissolution of her marriage during her period at Barnard when she describes the romantic relationships of the young women of the "Ash Can Cats" as follows:

We did not bargain with men. Almost every one of us fell in love with a much older man, someone who was an outstanding figure in one of the fields in which we were working, but none of these love affairs led to marriage. Schooled in an older ethic, the men were perplexed by us and vacillated between a willingness to take the love that was offered so generously and uncalculatingly and a feeling that to do so was to play the part of a wicked seducer. Later most of us married men who were closer to

Bas

Edv

alre

man

was

whi

rel

Ma

for

gee

loc

per

For

me

and

For

for

me

for

for

our own age and style of living, but it was a curious period in which girls who were too proud to ask for any hostage of fate confused the men they chose to love. (109)

Based on what we know about Mead's life, and we know a great deal, her affair with Edward Sapir, her version of the Samoan girl's "older man," comes only after she is already married to Luther Cressman. Mead was, in this sense, very much a hostage to a marriage that she had made too young. She did not want to spend her life with Sapir, who was brilliant and stimulating but was looking for a full-time mother for his two kids, which indicates even further that she desired the kind of freedom to move among sexual relationships that she found among the Samoan girls later during this same period.

Mead's trip to Samoa, which is at the center of Blackberry Winter, dividing "Part One" from "Part Two," comes at this point where the young, married, but confused Margaret goes in search of Samoan adolescence and quite literally and autoethnographically locates herself and her own desire to be free. On the way home from Samoa, her own period of freedom and liberation expands when she meets her second husband Reo Fortune aboard the S.S. Chitral on a voyage from Sydney to England, where she was to meet Cressman who was studying there on fellowship. Soon, Mead divorced Cressman and told erroneously by doctors that she could not have children, she married Reo Fortune with whom she could have a professional marriage focused on their shared fieldwork and careers. Again, Mead's period of freedom did not last long, and again she made a decision regarding marriage that she would later regret. Unlike her Samoan adolescents, Mead does not allow herself sufficient time with which she can take measure of her new spouse's temperament. Temperament aside, the fact that Reo Fortune was

originally from a rural district of New Zealand itself increased the likelihood of some potentially intractable cultural distance between Mead and Fortune. Ironically, this “professional marriage” will end “professionally” on the Sepik River, when Mead’s own methodological concerns begin to coincide more fully with her more personal needs and desires.

Coming of Age in Samoa’s status as autoethnography centers on the manner in which Mead’s cultural criticism points to her position as both inside and outside of Samoan and American culture. While she struggles to find her way in her own life and forge a position as both career woman and mother, which many in her own society see as deviant, she locates a Samoan girlhood that, as an antidote to her own confusion, offers sex as “a natural, pleasurable thing” and allows young women to explore their desires and needs freely before they enter marriage and involve themselves in the larger community. Mead’s own sexual and personal “coming of age” is, by comparison, extremely rocky, and does not really begin to sort itself out until after the events at the Sepik River. This European and American society of “numerous contradictions,” sexual and otherwise, is embodied in her own troubled socialization, which she describes in Coming of Age as a typical young woman’s confusion over the problems of sexual conduct as well as “[t]he perplexities introduced by varying concepts of marriage, the conflict between deferring marriage until competence is assured, or marrying and sharing the expenses of the home with a struggling young husband” (243). This is the antithesis of the problem of the Samoan girl, who has far fewer choices, but is left a period in which she can get comfortable with her sexual and social identity before she evolves into a wife and mother.

In a number of ways the picture of the young and sexually liberated Samoan girl that Mead draws is an updated version of Rousseau's "natural man"; an anthropological allegory that mixes the self and its desired location in the world with an idealized image of a "primitive society." In both Rousseau's and Mead's autobiographies, the author writes a life that can be read as a quest for the freedom enjoyed by their own versions of "natural man," or, in Mead's case "natural woman". In his particularly canny reading of both Mead's and Freeman's ideologically-driven texts, Dennis Porter locates aspects of a natural type in Mead's rhetoric from the outset of Coming of Age which "embodies a recognizable literary topos, namely that of the infallibly good place or paradise" and where "an abundance of good things, ease of living, and a natural harmony between earth and its creatures" lead to the production of "a picture of noble savagery" (23). Within this context, it is striking that Mead's fieldwork focuses on the confessions of onanism and homosexuality among the Samoan girls that she studied as an index of their openness, and, I would argue, their "naturalness." In turning Rousseau's "natural man" on its head, first by re-gendering her as a woman, and, second by naturalizing onanism and homosexuality as nondeviant, Mead is not only embracing an enlightened view of these sexual practices that had only begun to take hold, but she is also naturalizing the masturbatory, Rousseauvian and confessional subject as well as herself.

Coming of Age describes masturbation as "an all but universal habit, beginning at the age of six or seven" and part of the Samoan cultural practice of giving their children a "complete knowledge of the human body . . . [and] a vivid understanding of the nature of sex" (136). Mead also reports that homosexuality is viewed as "simply *play*, neither frowned upon nor given much consideration" among the Samoans (149). In a society in

v

n

n

n

w

b

2

b

o

b

7

which a “[c]onfession of sin was a rare phenomenon” despite the presence of missionaries for a number of generations, the kinds of confessions that Mead is able to receive indicate a culture that does not equate onanism, homosexuality, or sex before marriage with sin. Among the 25 girls that Mead studied who were past puberty (5 of whom were within 6 months of puberty), 22 admitted to masturbation, 17 admitted to homosexual experience, and 12 admitted to heterosexual experience (Coming of Age 285). It is difficult to consider these confessions outside of Mead’s own views on homosexuality and masturbation, especially in light of her treatment of these issues in her own autobiography.

In Blackberry Winter, Mead briefly considers the issues of masturbation and homosexuality simultaneously in her recollections regarding her “free” period with the “Ash Can Cats,” as follows:

But we knew about Freud . . . [and] [w]e learned about homosexuality, too, mainly from the covert stories that drifted down to us from our more sophisticated alumnae friends Accusations were made against faculty members, and we worried and thought over affectionate episodes in our past relationships with girls and wondered whether they had been incipient examples.

We knew that repression was a bad thing, and one of our friends—not a member of the inner circle—described how she and her fiancé had made up a set of topics to talk about on dates so that they would not be frustrated. When she heard that I had been engaged for two years and did

not intend to get married for three more years, she exclaimed, “No wonder your arm hurts!” (103-104)

Mead goes on to discuss her problems with neuritis—Mead’s friend is equating her recurring pain with frequent masturbation—something that is, along with the question of onanism, part of the confessional’s conventional interest in a medicalized view of the subject’s body. It is difficult not to consider this passage as particularly telling, both in light of the role played by open masturbation in Mead’s assessment of Samoan culture and the role played by confessions of masturbation in the history of the confessional since Rousseau. Connecting the subject’s confessed medical problems to onanism works to integrate the Rousseauvian aspects of Mead’s occasional confessional bent, as it humorously both continues and discontinues the eighteenth and nineteenth century practice of considering onanism as a medical problem spawning numerous chronic ailments. This quotation is also significant for Mead’s unwillingness, despite her own admission that repression is a “bad thing,” to admit to homosexuality and onanism directly in Blackberry Winter. Since the 1980’s, both Mead’s daughter and her biographers have spoken openly about Margaret’s homosexual relationships with Ruth Benedict and Katherine Rothenberger, a friend from her De Pauw days⁸. This is not to say that Mead is necessarily being untruthful here with regard to the specifics of her friendships while at Barnard, but this single rather indirect admission is her only mention of homosexuality in the text. Also, her confession of onanism appears to want to consider this confessional commonplace as indirectly as possible, fulfilling an obligation to speak to the issue of autoeroticism without making direct reference to it. These indirect confessions can be readily identified with the American culture that Mead sees as the

an

M

as

re

fu

cl

eff

cer

po

un

rea

ag

ba

ove

des

Me

aut

on

of

his

the

En

antithesis of Samoan culture with regard to both the confessional and sexuality. Margaret Mead is so firmly trapped within her culture's view of homosexuality and masturbation as deviant, that, even in 1972 when Blackberry Winter was published and public morality regarding sex had shifted dramatically, the sexuality of Mead's young Samoan girls still functioned as a "stand in" for the kind of self that Mead desired but could never publicly claim. Mead's intergenerational argument in Blackberry Winter is anthropological in its effort to establish nonparental kinship ties, such as those found in a Samoan village, as central to writing a life—the autobiography gives Mead's grandmother the central position in her childhood and ends with Margaret as a grandmother—but Margaret's unwillingness to openly confess to many of the major aspects of her sexual life leaves the reader with an incomplete autoethnographic view of the anthropologist's own "coming of age."

The advent of a more liberal view of masturbation during the 1920's is part of the background to Mead's interest in the subject of autoeroticism, but she is never able to overcome an unwillingness to talk at length about the role that onanism played in her life despite the central place given to masturbation in the lives of her Samoan adolescents. Mead's Master's Degree in Psychology both partially explains her interest in autoeroticism and points to her having read the recent works of Havelock Ellis and Freud on the subject. The positions of figures such as Ellis and Freud probably inform a portion of Mead's unwillingness to confess to too much autoerotic behavior. In his recent social history of masturbation, Thomas Lacquer describes the 1920's as the moment when "[m]asturbation became the frontline encounter of sexual desire with culture" and the Enlightenment's narrow views on the practice began to change with Havelock Ellis's

7

D
f
D
M
b
27
th
be
27
cu

The
and

notion, among others, “that autoeroticism represented civilization in its highest form; the foundation of the arts and creativity” (Solitary Sex 360-61). Freud’s earlier mainstream nineteenth-century views of masturbation softened in the face of these changes, but adult masturbation continued to be considered problematic or even potentially pathological by both Ellis and Freud. Freud’s new view of masturbation, which, Lacquer explains, emerges out of the Dora case, suggests that “[m]asturbation is a developmental stage” that must be passed through and inevitably controlled in order for a healthy heterosexuality to flourish (397). In summarizing Freud’s argument, Lacquer makes an anthropological allusion that points toward the connection between masturbation and culture that appears to haunt Mead in Samoa:

Freud’s argument for the universality of infant masturbation—its inevitability, moral innocence, and developmental specificity—had an enormous impact on sexual pedagogy after 1920. Rather than evil and dangerous *tout court*, it became part of ontogenesis: we pass through masturbation, we build on it, as we become sexual adults. Only its survival into a later developmental stage, like a representative of some primitive people who sometimes appear naked and savage amid bourgeois Europeans, suggests that something is wrong, not with the body but with the mind. Guilt, neurosis, or hysteria replaces corporeal corruption, but it results less from the act itself than from its conflict with morality and civilization. (394)⁹

Thus the primitive type is an analogue for an earlier developmental stage—both of the self and in human prehistory—just as Rousseau envisioned it. Perhaps not entirely by

accident, Rousseau stumbled on what Mead and her generation would see as critical: masturbation has become an important signifier in the “coming of age” of both civilizations and individuals. In light of this approach, Rousseau risks fixing himself in an early stage of personal and cultural development, which seems rather fitting in light of his interest in equating himself with “natural man.” The openly masturbatory Samoan teenagers point toward the healthiness of the girls themselves and their entire civilization. Mead’s own place within the scheme is left cloudy, as is the question of the overall health of her civilization. We are left only with her neuritis and the possibility that she may have masturbated as a youngster. The question as to whether she masturbates as an adult is left entirely untouched in her autobiography for obvious reasons: either she doesn’t participate in autoerotic behavior or she chooses not to consider this extremely tricky question. Despite this, Rousseau’s insistence on equating “coming of age” with truthful confessions of onanism has now ossified into both a literary trope and a place of significant scientific interest. In the meantime, Mead deepens the Rousseauvian context surrounding the place of onanism in culture by approaching the issue within the familiar framework of the relationship between Self and Other.

It is difficult to speak of Margaret Mead’s fieldwork in Samoa without considering Derek Freeman’s criticism of Mead beginning with Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth (1983). Derek Freeman’s attacks on Margaret Mead’s fieldwork in Samoa have been one of anthropology’s real “events” or “happenings” of the past twenty years, spilling out, as the argument picked up steam, from the world of social science into the public sphere. Arguing for a more biologically determined view of adolescence, Freeman offers a much

more violent and sexually conservative version of the Samoans than does Mead. He finds the Samoans to be extremely focused on the issue of virginity and far more prone to rape than almost any culture on earth. As James Clifford notes in his essay “On Ethnographic Allegory,”

Mead’s “experiment” in controlled cultural variation now looks less like science than allegory—a too sharply focused story of Samoa suggesting a possible America. Derek Freeman’s critique ignores any properly literary dimensions in ethnographic work, however, and instead applies its own brand of scientism, inspired by recent developments in sociobiology. As Freeman sees it, Mead was simply wrong about the Samoans. They are not the casual, permissive people she made famous, but are beset by all the usual human tensions. They are violent. They get ulcers. The main body of his critique is a massing of counterexamples drawn from historical record and from his own fieldwork. In 170 pages of empirical overkill, he successfully shows what was already explicit for an alert reader of *Coming of Age in Samoa*: that Mead constructed a foreshortened picture, designed to propose moral, practical lessons for American society. But as Freeman heaps up instances of Samoan anxiety and violence, the allegorical frame for his own undertaking begins to emerge . . . One is left with a stark contrast: Mead’s attractive, sexually liberated, calm Pacific world, and now Freeman’s Samoa of seething tensions, strict controls, and violent outbursts. Indeed Mead and Freeman form a kind of diptych, whose

opposing panels signify a recurrent Western ambivalence about the
“primitive.” (102-3)

In locating Freeman’s allegorical overview of his material, Clifford points to Freeman’s effort to align his critique with a biological and Dionysian worldview in response to Mead’s conscious Apollonian counterpoints, a structure that merely speaks to the replacement of Mead’s allegory with a slightly different one on the part of Freeman. Without much legwork, peeling away a layer or two of this argument leads the reader back to Rousseau’s disagreement with Hobbes about the nature of human prehistory. Hobbes, much like Freeman, offered a snapshot of violent and warlike peoples doing what is necessary to live; whereas Rousseau, much like Mead, offered a view of men as calm, good, and nonviolent. At a more personal level, Freeman’s own combative critical style merely suggests a level at which his work might be considered as a nearly complete autoethnographic photo negative of Mead’s, where the anthropologist’s combative temperament, to use Mead’s entry point into culture, colors the perceived temperament of the culture under observation.

Mary Catherine Bateson, who followed in the footsteps of her famous parents to become an anthropologist herself, makes an important point about Freeman’s criticism of Coming of Age, when she states that:

Freeman failed to identify the theoretical source of the flaws in *Coming of Age*, which is not the affirmation of the role of culture in patterning behavior but the expectation, at that stage in the development of anthropology, of a pervasive kind of homogeneity. Margaret was working then in the context of Ruth Benedict’s developing ideas about cultural

H

R

w

Te

re

re

ti

h

u

st

Q

e

h

d

v

h

t

patterning, which led her to believe she would be able to characterize the style of the culture as a whole. In doing this, she allowed her sense of Samoa to be shaped by her initial intensive work with the adolescent girls in a remote and tranquil backwater. It is as if an entire picture of American culture were filtered through the vision of a group of teenaged girls in a small town before the invention of television. (224)

Here, Mead's daughter sees her mother's theoretical flaw within the framework of Rousseau's confessional form. Just as Rousseau saw himself as unique and representative while announcing that his confessional was the "*première pièce de comparaison pour l'étude des homes*," Mead saw both her Samoan adolescents and her own adolescence as representative of broader cultural patterns. In the Neuchâtel Preface, Rousseau recognized the limitations of offering only "one item for comparison" (585) by noting that his lack of a definitive social station and his history of having lived at stations both high and low in society offered him a unique ability to observe and criticize the culture under observation (585-87). As a 24-year-old in Samoa, Mead could not yet offer any such reassurance to her reader. Although, like Rousseau, she felt herself to be an outsider or marginalized individual, it would not be until after the events on the Sepik River, some eight years after Samoa, that a more nuanced autoethnographic perspective would begin to emerge in her work. In the place of Rousseau's unique experiences with a number of different social classes, Mead would offer her own wide range of field experiences as well as her sense of her own place within American culture. Along the way, Mead's three husbands, coming from very disparate cultural mileus and temperaments, would offer her three further viewpoints on the relationship between culture and the individual.

¹Derek Freeman's attacks on Mead's work in Samoa are the central event in cultural anthropology in the last 25 years. Of course, Freeman is attacking Mead's Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization 1928 (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1961). Freeman's work can be found in two books: Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983) and The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead: A Historical Analysis of Her Samoan Research (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999). Margaret Mead and Samoa was later reissued as a paperback appearing under Freeman's self-referential title of Margaret Mead and the Heretic (New York: Penguin, 1996). Margaret Mead and Samoa uses Freeman's own field experiences and government records regarding rape and other social problems to undermine Mead's view of an idyllic Samoan adolescence. The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead uses interviews with a surviving informant from Mead's fieldwork to reveal that the teenaged girls had "hoaxed" her by teasing her into believing in a more sexually liberated young Samoan girl than what actually existed. While Freeman's positions have been controversial, many anthropologists now see Samoa as a synthesis of both Freeman's and Mead's positions. For an overview of this controversy see: American Anthropologist 85: 908-47; The Samoan Reader: Anthropologists Take Stock ed. Hiram Caton (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990); Lowell D. Holmes, Quest for the Real Samoa: The Mead/Freeman Controversy and Beyond (South Hadley: Bergin & Garvey, 1987); and Jeanette Marie Mageo, "Mālosi: A Psychological Exploration of Mead's and Freeman's Work and of Samoan Aggression." Pacific Studies 11.2 (1988): 25-65. A sociological defense of Mead is available in James E. Côté, Adolescent Storm and Stress: An Evaluation of the Mead-Freeman Controversy (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994). This controversy has penetrated Samoan life, as can be seen in Chief Malopa'upo Isaia's Coming of Age in American Anthropology (Universal Publishers/uPUBLISH .com, 1999). Isaia claims, rather counterintuitively, that Samoa should claim damages for harm done to its tourism industry because of Mead's projection of a sexually-liberated Samoa. The Mead/Freeman controversy will be taken up at the end of this chapter.

²This incident offers a particularly telling example of the triangular mediation of desire offered by René Girard in Deceit, Desire, and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure (1965). Mead's own efforts to mediate her work through this "love triangle" may extend the efficacy of Girard's model beyond "desire" *per se* and into a wider field of human interaction. It may also further indicate a relationship between desire and the social sciences that is yet to be fully explored. It is interesting that the "others" that inform Mead's desire are both Fortune and Bateson as well as the corresponding temperamental types located within villages in New Guinea. The "love triangle" thus becomes interpersonal, intercultural, and interdisciplinary in its dimensions.

³The manner in which Mead treats the Mundugumor in Sex and Temperament allows the analogy between her work and Rousseau's to be stretched even further. Beginning with her ninth chapter, "The Pace of Life in a Cannibal Tribe," it becomes clear that Mead is nostalgic for a kind of Mundugumor prehistory which, although more recent than the human prehistory Rousseau sketches in his Discourse on the Origins of Inequality, is central to her effort to locate a personality that "contrasted sharply with the Arapesh ideal personality" (236) just as Rousseau's theoretical *homme sauvage* contrasts with modern man:

The Mundugumor had been under full government control for about three years. When this outlawed war, head-hunting, and cannibalism, Mundugumor life stopped dead, like a clock of which the mainspring is broken. But the memory of the way of life which they had so recently and unwillingly forsaken was still vivid and green; small children of eleven and twelve had all taken part in cannibal feasts. In this section I shall use the present tense to describe the life as it had been lived up to three years before we came to the people. (167n1)

Not only is the transpositioning of the past and present an important example of Johannes Fabian's "denial of coevalness" within anthropology, but, Reo Fortune's fascination with the Mundugumor and their transition into a new variety of social life is far more understandable (and less necessarily characteristic of his temperament) in this context than what Mead describes in Blackberry Winter.

⁴For a thorough discussion of Ruth Benedict's role in Mead's life and work see: Lapsley, Hilary. Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1999. The most recent complete biography of Mead is Jane Howard's Margaret Mead: A Life. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984.

⁵In light of Maria Montessori's closely watched tour of American in 1915, which included a famous speech delivered at Carnegie Hall and an experimental classroom displaying her methods at the Pan Pacific

Exposition in San Francisco, it is interesting that Mead places Italian cultural and pedagogical practices alongside her own ideas regarding educational reform. It is also true that Mead's grandmother's emphasis on training the young person's hands sound very much like Montessorian pedagogical practice in action. Mead would have been 14 years old when Montessori toured American—an age where she was possibly cognizant of Montessori's work and methods. In light of her family's preoccupation with education, it is difficult to see how Montessori would go unnoticed.

⁶Mead's daughter, Mary Catherine Bateson reports that:

Margaret had an insatiable appetite for the detailed and specific, for minute particulars. She grew up devouring nineteenth-century novels, indeed all novels, involving herself in the minutiae of thousands of fictional lives, and was much disappointed when I failed to respond to Dickens and Scott—and to the details of the Bateson genealogy. She said, you never be an anthropologist because you don't enjoy gossip, you're not really interested in the details of other people's lives. Later, when I became an anthropologist, I was glad to have the models of linguistics and my father's work, for I probably never will do the kind of classical ethnographic work she had in mind. (193)

Not only does Mead suggest the direct connection between gossip and anthropology that is found in Malinowski and Trinh T. Minh-ha, but she also exhibits the bookishness that is so central to the Romantic Confessional type. The literary nature of Mead's anthropology can easily be traced back to this interest in the novel, which further connects Mead's frame of reference with both Malinowski and Rousseau.

⁷For discussions of this period see Lapsley 79-81, Cressman 91-93, and Howard 47-48. The importance of this moment cannot be overlooked in light of Mead's later theory which places Cressman somewhere between her other two husbands, Reo Fortune and Gregory Bateson, in terms of his sexuality and temperament (Fortune is "North," Bateson is "South," and Cressman is "West"). All three husbands, as well as Mead's fieldwork, thus became touchpoints along the way toward developing her autoethnographic way of seeing.

⁸See Bateson 117-127, Lapsley 75-96, and Stocking *The Ethnographer's Magic* 310.

⁹See Lacquer, 359-397 for his discussion of the emergence of Havelock Ellis's and Sigmund Freud's views on onanism.

VI. – JAN MYRDAL: AUTOETHOGRAPHY IN ASIA, NORTH AMERICAN, AND THE EUROPEAN WELFARE STATE

The Swedish cultural critic Jan Myrdal (b. 1927), still remembered first in the United States and much of Europe as the son of Nobel Prize winners Gunnar and Alva Myrdal, is one of the West's most prolific authors and cultural critics.¹ Although much of Myrdal's journalism and literary criticism is most frequently limited to circulation in Northern Europe, Myrdal's anthropology, travel literature, and autobiographical writings have enjoyed a much wider audience.² Beginning with *Rapport Från Kinesisk By* [*Report From a Chinese Village*] in 1963, in which Myrdal had the unique opportunity to consider the social landscape of a small peasant village in post-Revolution China, Myrdal's writings regarding conditions in South Asia and the Far East have been noticed outside of Scandinavia and widely translated. What is striking in Myrdal's work is the manner in which his writings in the anthropological mode are openly informed by the details of his life, especially his family life. By reading Myrdal's confessional autobiographies "in the shadow," as it were, of his anthropological perspective, a form of late twentieth-century autoethnography emerges which chronicles the decay of the bourgeois (and intellectual) European family on the heels of its migration from the country to the city. Myrdal's description of Swedish social practices frequently intensifies into a critique of the Western tradition (economic, political, and intellectual) more broadly, while the confessional also becomes the platform from which Myrdal is able to attack numerous Swedish institutions and icons, including his own parents. In the process, Myrdal's form of confessional autoethnography retains and arguably intensifies the interest of the Romantic confessional in the body and sexuality of its subject. Like

Mead, Myrdal accepts an anthropological way of seeing from his parents beginning at a young age and cultivates his own sense of the deviant or marginalized self to establish the point of view of the cultural critic.

Rapport från kinesisk by [Report From a Chinese Village] is an ethnographic description of daily life in the small central Chinese village of Liu Ling (212 people in 1962) which is just south of Yan'an and northeast of Xian. Myrdal's choice of Liu Ling appears to have been motivated by an effort to find as representative a village in central China as possible. Liu Ling was a particularly good place to measure the effects of the revolution and civil war because there had been a radical distribution of land to the peasants in 1935, giving Liu Ling a longer than average history of reform to consider in retrospect in 1962. Also, the town had been occupied by both sides during the civil war, so the villagers were able to comment at length about their varied experiences during that conflict. Portions of Myrdal's report are intentionally divided into first person narratives which focus on the lives of individuals within the village. Each narrative ends with a brief counterpoint of usually no more than 3 or 4 paragraphs derived from interviews with other villagers regarding their perspectives on the villager whose story had just been recorded. The narratives are divided into a number of sections which delineate important aspects of village life, such as: "Skolan" [School], "Liu Ling By Arbetslag" [Liu Ling Village Worker's Collective], "Arbetslager för Grönsaksodling" [Worker's Collective for Vegetable Farming], "Partiet" [The Party], etc. The goal is to give both the leaders and average inhabitants of a Chinese village the opportunity to speak broadly and in their own words about life in the Chinese countryside, the place where the silent majority of China's inhabitants reside.

Unlike the standard ethnography in which the ethnographer's analysis dominates, Myrdal chooses to foreground the first person narratives of the individual villagers rather than allowing his voice to smother their point of view. Myrdal doesn't believe in any absolute truth, but he does believe in allowing mariginalized voices to be heard:

Det har naturligtvis varit mig en stark frestelse at bygge ut boken, dra egna slutsatser...men jag har undvikit detta. Det skulle spränga arbetets ram...I denna bok har jag stravat efter att återge vad människorna själva sagt. Och så länge man är överens om att det ar människorna—de många—som själva skapar sin historia är det första och nödvändigaste att låta dem komma til tals utan att själv skjuta fram de egna spekulationerna i förgrunden. (14)

[There has naturally been a strong temptation for me to expand the book, drawing my own conclusions...but I have avoided this urge. It would have destroyed the work's truthfulness...In this book I have worked to reproduce what the people themselves said. And as long one agrees that there are people—they are many—who themselves create their own history then it is important, first and foremost, to allow them to speak without projecting our own speculations into the foreground.] ³

This introduction, written in January of 1963, indicates that Jan Myrdal came relatively early to what has come to be seen as a mainstay of postmodernity in anthropology, namely, there is real value in the unadulterated narratives of the subjects under study. This perspective is part of Myrdal's variety of socialism, but Myrdal's statement is also representative of a more subtle understanding of the power that comes with telling one's

own story. Myrdal's understanding of this power is related to his own drive to embrace confessional discourse, which is something he has done with some frequency in telling his own story since the 1960's.

Myrdal's belief in an autoethnographic form in his anthropological work dovetails nicely with the autoethnographic framework within which he narrates the details of his own life. This proximity is enhanced further by Myrdal's revelations later in the English language edition of Report from a Chinese Village (1965) that his Swedishness and his family are not very far in the background of his description of Liu Ling. Speaking generally about Sweden and the subjective nature of his own truthfulness, Myrdal notes that his "strong social bias" is in part informed by his home country "where free peasants during the centuries have managed to keep their own power and held off the gentry and the officials that plagued most of Europe... a tradition that even now... makes for an intense distrust of officials" (xiv). Here Myrdal shifts gears and reveals that, "[n]ot until the book was written and published and I held the volume in my hands did I become conscious of what had been the strongest emotional impulse behind it: a personal, emotional and sub-conscious drive towards identification" with the Chinese villagers (xv). Myrdal's own emotional center is located in Solvarbo in Dalecarlia province in Sweden where Myrdal's father's family originated and where Jan spent large portions of his childhood when his parents were abroad. The tradition of an independent peasantry was particularly strong in Dalecarlia: a number of villages there, including Solvarbo, had "refused to follow the land reform (unification of holdings) that broke up the Swedish villages during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (xv). The spirit of an independent

peasantry strongly connected to its village and traditions was an important force in Myrdal's childhood and his understanding of his world:

As my parents were abroad, I spent my early childhood with my paternal grandparents. Later on I spent nearly every summer with my paternal grandmother. During the war, when my parents were in the United States, she lived with us children. I also spent quite a long time in Solvarbo and met the old people there. During all these years my grandmother talked about our village...There was a genealogical consciousness pervading everything she said. Though she had moved from the village, she still existed within the village, she still existed inside the village framework.

When, at the age of ten, I said that I was going to be a writer, she took this to be a writer about Solvarbo, describing village and family. I never became that writer; I never will. That village is dead and gone. Though the peasants refuse to conform, Swedish society had changed so fast that the village has lost its meaning even though it has not physically disappeared.

("Introduction to Chinese Village" xv-vi)

Although Myrdal could not foresee it in 1964 when he wrote this introduction, he does arguably become "a writer about Solvarbo," albeit indirectly: his connection to his paternal grandparents and their ancestral village informs most of his autobiographical writings since the mid 1960s and continues to be a dominant concern in his writings during the 1980s and 1990s. A rather complex and personal variety of "the structures of feeling" that Raymond Williams attempts to apprehend in the English views of the country and the city are present in Myrdal's effort to understand both the village's and his

own urban family's "loss of meaning."⁴ In a very real way, the genealogical and sociological ways of seeing that Myrdal inherits from his paternal grandparents and parents respectively, become an import part of the anthropological method through which meaning can be created around the transition from the country to the city which changes both Myrdal's family and his society forever.

Given Myrdal's rather pessimistic version of the familiar pastoral that embraces rural cultural forms over urban ones, it would not be difficult to trace an intellectual history of his interest in a hardworking, independent peasantry back to Rousseau and the cultural work of Romanticism via Marx and others, but this is not really necessary because Myrdal explicitly connects his own work to Rousseau in his earliest work. In his autobiographical book Pubertet [Puberty] (1988), written in 1946 but was not accepted for publication at that time, Myrdal mixes prose and poetry in a brief "diary" of an adolescent working to make sense of his sexual awakening and new found independence. In his 1988 introduction to Pubertet entitled "Några Ord Fyrtiotvå År Senare" ["A Few Words 42 Years Later"], Myrdal recalls the Rousseauvian context in which he approached the writing of his life. Using the third person pronoun "han" ["he"] to describe himself, which mimes its usage in Pubertet where it effectively produces the sense of a universal adolescent voice, Myrdal describes himself and the writing and editing of Pubertet:

...han då hösten 1946 skrev ut och redigerade dessa olika stycken från 1942 och framåt till en samling...Hans medvetna avsikt var att på tvärs mot vad han tyckte vara skrivande feg finhet skriva ut en samtida pubertetsskildring som skulle ge intryck av att vara dokumentar; den

skulle ha dagbogkaraktär. På så sätt skildra puberteten inifrån. Egentligen borde den ges ut utan att någon såg skribenten själv, menade han först. Sedan när han skrev vidare ändrade han sig. Han skulle visa sig som sann. Se här Jan Myrdal! De andra vågar inte! Sedan må de skriva uppsatser om Jean Jacques hur mycket de vill. Men han var inte som de! Han förmådde de inte vågade...och han deklamerade...

“Jag begynner ett företag, som aldrig ägt någon motsvarighet och som fullbordat aldrig skall finna någon efterföljare. Jag vill för mina likar framställa en människa i naturens fulla sanning; och denna människa skall vara jag.”

San alltså. (9-10)

[...in the fall of 1946 he wrote and edited the different parts from 1942 onward into a collection...His conscious intent contrasted with what he thought while he timidly wrote a contemporary description of puberty which was meant to have the feel of a documentary and the intimate character of a diary. So in this way, Puberty was sketched from within. In reality, he meant it to come out without anyone recognizing him as the author, but later, as he continued to write, his thoughts on this changed. He was going to describe himself truthfully. Look here is Jan Myrdal! Later let them write essays about Jean Jacques as much as they want. He was not like them. He was capable of accomplishing what they wouldn't risk...and he declared...

“I have resolved on an enterprise which has no precedent, and which, once complete, will have no imitator. My purpose is to display to my kind a portrait in every way true to nature, and the man I shall portray will be myself.”

And it was the truth.]⁵

Even as a teenager, Myrdal already understands how confessional discourse will allow its subject to be simultaneously unique and representative. In fact, Myrdal doesn't give a second thought to the potential sense of redundancy created in his text by simply miming Rousseau's famous claims of uniqueness from the first paragraph of Les Confessions as an introduction to a text which then redeploys Rousseau's interest in the emerging sexuality of a sensitive young intellectual. In Myrdal's defense, there is a significant difference of degree between Les Confessions and Pubertet: the latter transforms sexuality into the singular measure of subjectivity. Later, Myrdal's picture of himself will become more dynamic, yet this text written by an adolescent during adolescence—and this is certainly where it was unique in 1946—provides an important place from which to consider both Myrdal's development and his way of seeing that development. The fact that Myrdal remembers his youthfully earnest apostrophe to Rousseau some forty years later would indicate that he has had a Romantic version of confessional discourse on his mind since that time.

Beginning in Confessions of a Disloyal European (1968), which is one of his earliest published autobiographical works, Myrdal makes a conscious effort to consider himself, his upbringing, and his culture in autoethnographic terms. Very early on in the work, Myrdal comments that “[i]f the reader is able to remember his own childhood he

will find his memory a fascinating study in anthropology” (27).⁶ Although this comment is made only in passing, the manner in which he ruminates over his own childhood using the language and perspective of a fieldworker in the social sciences indicates that Myrdal has a good deal invested in seeing his own world in terms that would also be fitting for an anthropologist in the field. Under Myrdal’s gaze, his daughter’s development into a stubborn, introverted, and self-reliant girl is explained as “an adaptation to the ideal stereotype of the elders in the kinship system” (“Disloyal Confessions” 64) and visiting the homes of Westerners while traveling in Asia becomes attendance at “their cocktail ceremonies” (Confessions, 66). These two comments connect to areas of autoethnographic import in Myrdal’s writing, namely, his descriptions of his family and family life and his descriptions of the development of a non-Western perspective during the long stretches that he spent traveling in Asia.

Regarding his family, Myrdal’s anthropological evaluation is frequently curt:

I am not exactly a kin-loving man. When I think about kinship systems and my kindred my skin begins to prickle and I can feel my neck-hair rising. A physical discomfort before a latent threat to my individuality. You get born into a kinship net, a collective not chosen by yourself, a collective where you are the youngest, the one everyone has the right (duty) to educate, reprove, urge on. The dream of the well-adjusted family member: to become so adult and get a mother so ancient and weak that he can say:

—Oh no, mother dear, vermouth is bad for you, and take the glass out of her hand while the kindred look on and smile pleasantly. (Confessions 81)

This rather cynical view of “kinship systems” grows out of the still close-knit but troubled relationship that Myrdal enjoyed with his relatives whose “kinship net...no longer has any social function” in an urban setting, aside from being “the heavy corpse of a dead peasant society” (Confessions, 83). Constantly shuttled between his parents and his other relatives, Myrdal as a youngster has numerous opportunities to attempt to comprehend the nature of the extended family. Myrdal’s conception of “home” is continually stretched throughout his childhood because of these experiences.

Throughout his work, both anthropological and autobiographical, Jan Myrdal displays a particular interest in homes – both other people’s and his own. He is not only interested in the particular lifeways of families contained within these homes, but he also takes more than a passing interest in the physical attributes of the home and how these contribute to family life in turn. Because “home” itself is such a powerful concrete and metaphorical image, a discussion of Myrdal’s consideration of homes and their meanings will function as a useful segue into how Myrdal organizes the autoethnographic images found in his works into a critique of both his family and his society. Also, Myrdal’s consideration of “home” operates as a direct point of contact between the interests of Myrdal the confessional autoethnographer and Myrdal the anthropologist and cultural critic.

From the outset of Barndom [Childhood] (1982), the earliest of Myrdal’s five works focused on his development which were written during the 1980’s and 1990’s,

homes, in both their physical and familial dimensions, quickly become an area of great interest. On Barndom's first few pages, a young and largely ignored Jan Myrdal develops the habit of falling asleep on chairs in the living room of his house, only to wake up in the morning to find that he had urinated on his parents' Sven-Markelius-designed chairs during the night. The chairs themselves are part of Myrdal's parents' functionalist ethos: "[n]ästän allting i främre rum och i föräldrarnas avdelning har varit på Stockholmutställningen eller kommer från Svenskt Tenn" (16) [[a]lmost all of the furnishings in the living room and in the parents portion of the house were part of the Stockholm Exhibition or come from Svenskt Tenn]. The Svenskt Tenn furniture company and its designer Josef Frank, the Stockholm Exhibition of 1930, and the architect Sven Markelius were all important to the emergence of functionalism in Swedish and Scandinavian Design. This movement merged ideas regarding form matching function with Durkheim's functionalist credo in sociology which looked to the interdependence of numerous aspects of a culture. The idea, as Markelius and the Myrdals saw it, was that modern design could help to reshape family life along more organic Social Democratic lines. Although he is only 5, Myrdal's urinating on these "designs" is evidently part of a struggle against this effort to "mold" him *in absentia*, because his parents frequently left him with the servants and sequestered themselves, very much "by design" in their portion of the house.⁷

Later in Barndom [Childhood], a cold and "blind" model (its windows are opaque) of a "collective" house that Markelius gave to the young Jan Myrdal in the early 1930s foreshadows the eventual construction of a Markelius-designed into house which the Myrdals moved in 1938. The house allows Myrdal's parents a good deal of privacy in

their own rooms on the upper floors while the rest of the house is given a collective feel.

Jan critiques the design of the children's rooms on the lower level in the following terms:

Mot trädgårdssidan här i vårt plan låg övre källaren med forrådsrum och därefter hembiträdesrum, kök och serveringsrum. Mot Nynägsvägssidan låg garage, badrum för tjänstefolk och barn, barnskoterskerum i förbindelse med barnkammaren och längst ut i hörnet sovås åt mig. Barnkammeren var måttsatt så att den senare skulle kunna delas upp i två likadana sovås. Då skulle det kunna tas upp en ny dörr ut i allrummet. På så sätt skulle det bli ett sovrum och sovås i fil. När barnen flytade kunde där bo assistenter eller övernattingsgäster. Sovåsen var inte riktig rum. Markelius hade tankt ut dem tillsammans med Alva. De var en förnyselse av boendetänkandet. På dagtid skulle barn leka utomhus eller kollektivt i allrummet. Sovåsen var avsedda enbart för sömn och höll preciis den luftkub som var tillräcklig för hygienisk sömn. De var därtill väl ventilerade med speciella fönsterkonstruktioner. (En Annan Värld, 89)

[Here on the backside of the house on our floor over the cellar was a storage room and after that the housekeeper's room, kitchen, and pantry. On the street side of the house was the garage, servants' and childrens' bath, the nanny's room which opened into the children's greatroom and in the furthest corner was my bedcubicle. The children's greatroom was set up so that later it could be divided evenly into two bedcubicles. Then it could be fitted with a new door into the great room. In this way there would be a bedroom and three bedcubicles together downstairs. When the

children were grown and moved out, assistants could live there or guests stay overnight there. The bedcubicle was not a real room. Markelius had developed them with Alva's help. They were a new approach to living space. During the day the children would play outside or together in the greatroom. The sleep cubicle was designed only for sleeping and held precisely the amount of air necessary for healthy sleep. For this purpose, they were well-ventilated by specially-constructed windows.]

Each of the details of the house's design which Myrdal presents is telling with regards to how he perceived the makeup of his family. Despite the house's modern functionalist gloss, locating the parents and children on separate floors while leaving the children largely to live underfoot among the domestic help merely recreates a recognizable family dynamic of the upper bourgeoisie that calls for sequestering all children and domestics separate from their parents and employers. "Filing" Jan in a cubicle in the furthest corner, while allowing the parents an entire floor of rooms for work, study, and relaxation, clearly indicates Jan's value within the Myrdal family group. The bedcubicles with their specially-designed windows—which Jan Myrdal finds to be drafty, incapable of keeping out light at night, and shoddily made—turn out to be less an attempt at rethinking living space than they are a convenient method for containerizing children while Gunnar and Alva Myrdal entertain, which they do frequently. The bedcubicles are soundproofed so Jan cannot overhear the dinner conversations that take place in the greatroom during his parents' frequent dinner parties. On such occasions, a chamberpot is provided so that Jan need not leave the cubicle and spoil his parents' dinner conversations. The dining table used in the greatroom, designed by Svenskt Tenn,

can be extended using the children's play tables in the event of extremely large dinner parties. Thus, if form really follows function, then the greatroom is in Jan Myrdal's mind meant exclusively for his parents' entertainment, otherwise it would have been possible to give the children more space for their own use and privacy. To add insult to injury, a number of the house's unique design features turned out to be headaches. For example, Markelius's specially designed beach terrace, complete with water and sand, never functioned correctly and the roof on the house leaked regularly (flat-roofed houses are few in Sweden for this very reason). This drafty, leaky, oddly-designed home presents the reader with evidence of the odd material affectations of the Swedish bourgeoisie. Efforts to control living space to push for political and social goals—something that has made Swedish design and urban planning models for the past 50 or more years—are reducible in Myrdal's mind merely to an effort at control for the fulfillment of selfish ends. In this sense, Jan Myrdal's view of his parent's house illustrates on a reduced scale his critique of the entire Swedish social system, in which a lukewarm form of social democracy provides for the political and personal comforts of its ruling elites.

There are two antidotes to this vision of a home in Myrdal's work: one is found at "Gesta," the house of Jan's paternal grandparents in Södermanland just south of Stockholm; the other is located in the stone caves built by the people of Liu Ling. These two structures are connected, rather strangely, in Myrdal's childhood memories. Not only did Jan consider Gesta to be "home," but he locates an antithetical image of both his father and Markelius in his paternal grandfather:

Man försökte få mig att säga "Hemma i Stockholm". Men det gjorde jag inte, Jag sade "Hemma på Gesta". Det tyckte man inte om...om jag ritade

hus då ritade jag Gesta och jag ritade stora huset och ritade lekstugan som farfar byggt åt mig. Han var byggmästare egentligen och kunde låta bygga vad han ville. Han ritade upp lekstugan åt mig. Han ritade in bordet och de väggfasta bänkarna och han ritade farstu... Så sade han:

- Den bygger vi, eller hur?

Så sade han till att den skulle byggas och han hade snickerifabrik på Gesta och där gjordes all trädgårdsstolar och allting och så byggdes lekstugan och den stod i trädgården och hade en svart nyckel och var röd med vita knutar och vita fönsterkarmar för den hade riktiga glasfönster. De lekstugan var min och den lekte jag i när jag var hemma. (Barndom, 37-8).

[They worked to get me to say “Back home in Stockholm,” but I refused to do it and I said “At home at Gesta” instead. They didn’t like that...if I drew a house then I drew Gesta. I drew the big house and I drew the playhouse which Grandfather built for me. In fact, he was a master builder and could have built whatever he wanted. He drew up plans for a playhouse for me including a table, built-in benches, and front vestibule...Then he said:

- Let’s build it!

The playhouse was built and it stood in the yard and had a black key. It was red with white trim and white window frames because it had real windows. The playhouse was mine. I played in it when I was home.]

The ability of Myrdal’s grandfather to warmly welcome Jan into his home and allow him his own private living and playing space at Gesta illustrates a warmer sense of home,

family, and design than that offered by Jan's parents, Sven Markelius, and Svenskt Tenn. In fact, the specific details of the "playhouse" place it in direct conflict with Myrdal's parents' functionalist ideas of home: the "real windows" of the playhouse counter the "blind" paper windows of Markelius's model and the drafty windows in the house built by Markelius for the Myrdals, the red and white color scheme marks the structure as a conventional house of the Swedish countryside (a convention that lives on today as a form of national nostalgia in the red and white houses and cottages that are everywhere in Sweden outside of the major cities),⁸ and his grandfather's designs for a table and built-in benches appear to have been purely functional as opposed to Jan's parents' more selfish approach to form and function that motivated the Svenskt Tenn designed dining tables in the Myrdal's "great room" concept.

Myrdal's memory of Gesta includes a cave that the youngster recalled having dug near the property. Myrdal does not make it clear whether the cave really does exist or was merely a product of his young imagination, but either way, the cave and its contents are an important starting point in addressing the emergence of Myrdal's autoethnographic way of seeing. In this case, Myrdal's "proto-fieldwork" tends toward a kind of personal archaeology, which Myrdal returns to in his recollection of an afternoon as a youngster when he had just been reviewing a book full of family photographs:

...samma dag som farfar tagit fram slaktboken jag satt på berget tvärs över vägen och med en sten sökte slå mig ned i klippan. Jag slag hart. Mossan hade jag skrapat undan. Stenen traffade berget med ett torrt och hårt ljud och man kunde se var jag slagit ty där hade berget fått ett vit sår. Stenen

började målas till mjöl och det gjorde ont i handen men jag fortsatte att slå. Jag skulle slå mig ned i salen. (Barndom 43)

[...the same day that Grandfather brought down the book containing our family's geneology, I sat on the mountain across the street and tried to pound myself into the cliff with a stone. I pounded hard and scraped the moss off the rock. The stone met the mountain with a dry and hard sound and it was possible to see where I struck because the mountain received a white scar. The stone began to be ground into flour and hurt my hand but I continued to pound. I would pound myself down into the cave.]

As he pounded, Jan begins to believe that he can see into a cave below the hill. Inside the cave, Jan's imagination allows him to see the Greatgrandfather and Greatgrandmother that his Grandfather had been describing to him earlier that day when they had discussed the family's geneology. The interior belongs to a home, with the Greatgrandparents sitting silently on chairs. A cave is not only a powerful image of home projected back into human prehistory, which in this case appears rather uncannily to be part home and part burial mound, but it is also an image central to Myrdal's ethnography of a Chinese village. Much in the style of Rousseau's allegorical exchange between his own life and his ideas regarding human prehistory in Les Confessions, Myrdal rediscovers memories of himself and his family in the caves dug out for houses by the inhabitants of Liu Ling. In the process, the caves also effectively place both Myrdal and the inhabitants of Liu Ling at a point in human prehistory, a temporal shift that is a recognized commonplace in anthropology and that has been fittingly described by Johannes Fabian as a systemic "denial of coevalness" by which he means "a persistent and systematic tendency to place

the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse" (31). This "denial of coevalness" can be seen as an important point of overlap between ethnography and confessional discourse: the confessional narrative is extremely predisposed to description of the past, most often at the expense of the present and future. In Myrdal's case, that his family still has one foot in the village and the other firmly planted in the city places him in a position where moving between his parents and grandparents brought with it a jarring temporal shift, which runs deeper than the difference that more typically comes with moving between caregivers taking their cues from different generations.

The first section of Myrdal's Rapport Från Kinesisk By, entitled "*Liu Ling by*" [Liu Ling Village], contains the following: a brief local history and a description of the local topography and weather (19-21); the first-person narrative of Li Yiu-hua, an old local leader who describes the village and its surroundings from a location atop a local mountain (22-27); the first person narrative of Mau Ke-yeh, a local cave builder (28-32); and a conventional ethnographer's description of daily life in the village (33-49). Not only does much of what Myrdal illustrates about daily life in the Chinese countryside reflect on his own life with his grandparents at Gesta rather than with his parents in Stockholm—Myrdal's Liu Ling is a village in which children remain close to their parents and family throughout their childhoods, the very antithesis of his experience with his own parents—but the long-held practice of living in caves in Liu Ling builds a direct bridge between the imagination of a young Jan Myrdal seeing his long dead relatives sitting in a cave at Gesta and the inhabitants of Liu Ling who have often lived in the same caves for several generations. The attraction of caves in Liu Ling is found in their

efficiency and longevity. As Mau Ke-yeh, the cave builder, describes for Myrdal in his narrative:

Här i vår del av landet föredrar folk att bo i grottor. Detta beror mest på att lösjordon vår är sådan att grottorna blir lätta att bygga och att de också blir bättre och mer isolerade bostäder än vanliga hus...Men jordgrottor är inte så hållbara, de kan till och med bli farliga. Även om jorden är av god kvalitet håller en jordgrotta sällan mer än två till tre generationer...Stengrottor är bättre...En stengrotta kräver omsorgsfullare planering och kostar betydligt mer arbete. Man kan grovt rakna med att varje stengrotta kostar ungefär 400 dagsverken...De är således betydligt dyrbarare att bygga än både jordgrottor och vanliga hus. Men under det att ett vanligt hus inte kan klara sig i trettio år utan större reparationer står en stengrotta fyra- eller femhundra år utan vidare. (28-31)

[Here in our part of the country people choose to live in caves. This is brought on by our loose soil which makes the caves easy to build as well as being better and more private than a regular house...But dirt caves are not extremely sturdy, they can over time become dangerous. Even if the dirt is of good quality, a dirt cave will seldom hold for more than two or three generations...Stone caves are better...A stone cave necessitates more scrupulous planning and costs considerably more in labor. A person can roughly figure that every stone cave costs about 400 working days...They are considerably more expensive to build than both dirt caves and regular houses. But in the end, a regular house cannot survive for

thirty years without major repairs while a stone cave will stand for four or five hundred without needing repair.]

If his book clears a “debt” to his ancestors (xvi), as Myrdal claims in the introduction to the English edition of Report from a Chinese Village, then certainly a good portion of this work is done by the caves of Liu Ling which hold an independent and hardworking extended family of villagers over hundreds of years and several generations. The manner in which the young Jan Myrdal digs for the seemingly imaginative cave containing his long-dead independent and hardworking relatives at Gesta predicts the interest that Myrdal would show in “uncovering” an ethnography of a cave-dwelling Chinese village. The local cave builder’s description of the greater initial costs that came with building a stone cave can be read here as indicating the greater investment in time and labor that Myrdal’s grandparents, and the generations that came before them in the village, have made in establishing a home in the broadest senses of the term. By finding himself and his relatives in the caves of Liu Ling, Myrdal establishes, quite unconsciously at first (which makes this all the more interesting), a portion of the autoethnographic context from which both his fieldwork and autobiography emerge.

Myrdal’s narrative of daily life in Liu Ling begins with a brief description of the development of the child, beginning with breastfeeding and learning to eat at the family table after weaning around age three. Not only does this description conform to the conventional format of the “coming of age” stories that have Romantic antecedents, but Myrdal’s interests within the arena of child development often point to places where the culture of Liu Ling differ markedly from his own culture. The way Myrdal’s own family acclimated him to eating and table manners is extremely important in this regard. Myrdal

notes that in Liu Ling , “[e]fter tre års ålder börjar barnet äta med familjen, det far mjuk och lättuggad mat...All familjemedlemmar matar barnet. Det börjar försöka äta med pinnar och sedan blir dess kosthall mer och mer som de vuxna familjemedlemmarnas”

(34). [“[a]fter three years of age the child begins eating with his or her family, beginning with soft and easy to chew foods...All family members feed the child. He or she begins trying to eat with chopsticks and soon meals will be more and more like those of an adult family member.”] This interest in the child’s acclimation to table manners and adult food is part of his own personal concern with the socially-retarding effect of having been kept from eating with his parents throughout his childhood, a point that Myrdal returns to several times in his autobiographical works. This concern generates Myrdal’s own lifelong interest in observing and reporting on the cultural significance of table settings and table manners.

Myrdal’s interest in table manners appears quite early in his second work regarding his childhood entitled En Annan Värld [Another World] (1984). Aboard the Swedish passenger ship the *Kungholm*, on his way to live in New York in 1938 where his father was to complete his well-known work analyzing American race relations,⁹ an eleven-year-old Myrdal recalls analyzing the formal table setting in great detail while revealing the significant cultural distance between his own experience and the very Swedish place settings on the tables:

Det är en stor dukning, ser jag. Silvret med de tre kronorna är putsat och tungt. Till vänster om tallriken ligger fiskgaffel och kottgaffel; till höger ligger soppsked, fiskkniv och köttkniv; ovanför tallriken ligger dessersked, fruktgaffel och fruktkniv. Det står två glas, ett stort och ett litet, mot höger

till framför mig. De glittnar och gnistrar. Båda är de dekorerade med Svenska Amerikaliniens tre kronor. Jag vet att jag noga tittar på vertygen. Jag kan inte äta med kniv. Jag vet inte hur man gör. När jag äter i köket har man skurit för åt mig för att det skall gå fort...De stora äter med kniv och gaffel. De vänder på gaffeln och med kniven för de upp mat på gaffeln. (54)

[It is a large setting, I see. The silver with the three crowns is polished and heavy. To the left of the plate are the fish and meatknives; to the right is the soup spoon, fish knife and meat knife; above the plate is the dessert spoon, fruit fork, and fruit knife. To the right in front of me are two glasses, one large and one small. They glitter and sparkle. Both of them are decorated with the Swedish-America Line's three crowns. I know that I carefully examine the silverware. I cannot eat with a knife. I do not know how to do it...Adults eat with both knife and fork. They turn the fork over and use the knife to push food up on to [the back of] the fork.]

In a real sense, this becomes his final view of Swedish culture before arriving in the U.S., and allows him one last look at the trappings of his native culture that will be the basis of comparison when he is living abroad. The silverware is adapted to the Scandinavian habit of turning the fork upside down and pushing food onto the back of the utensil before transferring the food directly to the mouth. Myrdal's inability to participate in this portion of Swedish culture at age eleven is indicative of both his faulty upbringing and his status as an outsider within Swedish culture. In fact, Myrdal already senses that his position within his family and his culture is somehow "wrong" (he considers from a young age

whether this is because he was a mistake or even a bastard child born to Gunnar and another woman) and hopes to remain in the United States forever. It is Jan Myrdal's sense of being the rough equivalent of a "marginal man" within his own family that places the youngster in a position where he begins to take a real interest in how the culture around him functions and why he appears to be operating from the outside. This sensitivity becomes the backbone of his autoethnographic approach and it is highlighted particularly strongly toward how Jan perceives the table manners of the Americans.

Jan Myrdal's sense of inclusion in American society greatly increases when he sits down to his first American meal. When an American graduate student, in order to befriend Gunnar, offers to take Jan for a weekend to his parent's home in upstate New York, Jan has an opportunity to see how Americans operate at the table over meatloaf and mashed potatoes. After applying ketchup to both the meatloaf and potatoes on his plate, the graduate student's father becomes the center of Myrdal's attention:

När jag såg honom äta blev jag alldeles fascinerad. Han åt nästan som jag. Fast mer omsorgsfullt. Först tog han gaffeln i vänster hand och kniven i höger hand. Han satte ner gaffeln i den stora köttfärsbiten och skär med kniven loss ett litet stycke, precis lagom för en munsbit. Han frigjorde därefter gaffeln. Sedan placerade han kniven upp på tallrikskanten och lade ifrån sig gaffeln längst ner mitt på tallriken. Han satte vänster hand under bordet, tog tag i gaffeln med höger hand, holl den som om den vore en sked och förde upp köttfärsbiten till munnen. (142-3)

[When I saw him eat I was entirely fascinated. He ate almost like I did, although he was more fastidious. First he took the fork in his left hand and

the knife in his right and after placing the fork into the big piece of meatloaf he cut off a small piece with a knife that was the exact size for a bite. After freeing his fork, he placed the knife up on the edge of the plate and put his fork down right near the middle of the plate. He set his left hand under the table, took hold of the fork with his right hand and, holding it like a spoon, he brought the piece of meatloaf up to his mouth.]

Of course, Myrdal is probably not the first to comment on the wasted motion involved in American table manners nor is he the first to notice the strange manner in which ketchup and other condiments are used, and often overused, on this side of the Atlantic, but, unique in Myrdal's observations of American table manners is that he is able to identify himself in them and finds that he "behövde egentligen bara komma ihåg att hålla vänsterhanden under bordet och inte ha mat på gaffeln när...[han] bytte hand för att äta helt amerikanskt" (144) ["in the end needed only to remember to hold the left hand under the table and not have food on the fork when he changed hands in order to eat entirely in the American style"]. A process of self-othering has begun.

Later in En Annan Värld, Jan Myrdal describes a moment that revealed not only his attempt at self-othering via table manners, but also his parents' interest in controlling his body. In a very deliberate fashion, Jan Myrdal's autoethnographic way of seeing comes out of both his own ability to observe and describe himself and others; much like the autoethnographic methodology that emerges out of Rousseau's upbringing, Myrdal's self-knowledge and sense of his own difference is fueled originally by a feeling of uneasiness brought on by the sensation of being persistently under critical observation. The self becomes a source of comparison namely because the self feels that it is under

attack, a sensation central to the confessional reflex. On an evening in New York when his parents and Gunnar's assistant and the assistant's wife are leaving for the theatre after having enjoyed cocktails, the group passes by the open kitchen door and observes Jan eating meatballs and potatoes. Jan recalls that his father stopped and said to the others:

- Ser ni hur han redan amerikanserat sig, säger Gunnar. Han äter som en farmare från Bible Belt. Han sitter käpprakt på stolen och håller vänsterhanden gömd under bordet och vågar inte röra kniven annat än för att skära med den.

- Skrev inte Veblen en uppsats om den amerikanska knivföringens historia? frågar assistenten.

- Jag minns inte om det var Veblen, säger Gunnar. Men det vore en bra uppsats. Den som råkade komma in på en amerikansk restaurant utan att känna folksederna här och som inte kände till de västeuropiska bondimmigranternas sociala bakgrund på adertonhundratalet och de östeuropeiska immigranternas kulturnivå och traditioner skulle lätt kunna tro att Amerika saknar toalettpapper och befolkades av hinduar och muslimer som tvätter sig i stjärten med vänsterhanded och därför gömmer den under bordet, sade Gunnar och alla i korridoren skrattade de.

Jag låtsades som om de inte fanns. Jag åt. (207-8)

[“Do you see how he has Americanized himself,” Gunnar says. “He eats like a farmer from the Bible Belt. He sits bolt upright in the chair and holds the left hand hidden under the table and will not disturb the knife except to cut with it.”

“Hasn’t Veblen written an article about the history of knife use at the American table?” the assistant asked.

“I don’t recall if it was Veblen,” Gunnar says. “But it was a good article. A person who happened to enter an American restaurant without knowledge of the popular customs and who didn’t know about the West European immigrant farmer’s social background during the nineteenth century or about the East European immigrants’ cultural standards and traditions might easily have thought that America was devoid of toilette paper and inhabited by Hindus and Muslims who hide their left hands under the table because that is the hand that they wipe themselves with,” Gunnar said and everyone in the hallway laughed.

I made it appear like they did not exist. I ate.]

The process of Americanization that Gunnar describes upon seeing Jan eating, and the anthropological tone that he takes in describing it, are part of the Myrdal’s family life in which the modern social sciences frequently help to define both how they interact and what they say when they interact. Jan’s ultimate reaction to this is to feel that he is part of an experiment or an example to be considered within a wider scientific context, and he both rejects and relishes this role depending on the context. At the end of the scene described above, a conversation regarding Jan’s weight ensues and Gunnar proceeds into the kitchen and snatches the last two meatballs from Jan’s plate while saying, “[d]u behöver dem inte...[därfor att] [d]u är fet nog ändå” (209) [[y]ou don’t need these...[because] [y]ou are fat enough already]. It is provocative that this meal which displays the struggle between Jan and his parents is the iconographic Swedish meal (Swedish meatballs and potatoes– the dish made available in the IKEA cafeteria as part

of the complete Swedish experience). The culture from which Jan Myrdal is distanced because of his parents' lack of interest in contact with him is then symbolically taken away again in the United States when Swedish "comfort food" is seen as a problem for Jan by his parents. Jan Myrdal's own place between two worlds – identifying with both his own culture and another – might be best exemplified in this scene where the food is Swedish and the table manners are American. Gunnar's attempt to remark on this behavior as "other" or "marginal" and therefore Oriental is a version of the same reflex that leads Rousseau to frame his own marginal status in terms of Armenian dress. Self-othering will eventually lead Jan to find aspects of himself in a Chinese village, while his American identity is an earlier version of the same thing. Later, in 12 på det Trettonde [12 Going on 13], when Gunnar announces the family's plan to return to Sweden, Jan refuses to go and both physically and emotionally struggles with his parents over the issue (41-52). He will not give up his American identity easily.

Overall, Jan Myrdal sees the United States during this period as liberating.. Although still living with his parents in New York, he is able to escape the confines of his parents' gaze as well as their own form of Social Democratic functionalism in his family's new apartment at 449 Riverside Drive where Myrdal immediately finds that his bedroom "är nästan fyra gånger so stort" (107) ["is nearly four times bigger"] than his cubicle in Stockholm and it could be locked, allowing him the privacy to read and think that he had so much trouble finding at home in Sweden. Myrdal's period in the United States (1938-1940) marks his initial confrontation with cultural difference and plays a constructive role in the production of his autoethnographic way of seeing.

Upon being able to lock his door in New York and read in peace, Myrdal describes his own autodidactic appetite and the direct effect of his reading on his imagination in terms that are reminiscent of the Rousseauvian confessional. For example, reading Kropotkin's history of the French Revolution in his room in New York leads to a daydream in which Myrdal himself addresses the convention and calls for the death of the king (En Annan Värld 118-9). As Myrdal grows up, his desire for books and his autodidactic behavior expand. Eventually, his autodidactic behavior is central to the development of a non-Western worldview which Myrdal describes in his Confessions of a Disloyal European. Myrdal's Confessions intentionally juxtapose a series of quick descriptions (most often one or two paragraphs) of his living in poverty and being treated poorly in Scandinavia immediately after the Second World War with descriptions of his initial perceptions of the poor treatment of the peoples of South Asia at the hands of Europeans, Americans, and their own native elites. In the picture that evolves, European treatment of its own working classes illustrate of portion of the psychology of the colonial and post-colonial relationship between East and West. The basic inequalities of European life, Rousseau's jumping off point in his anthropology and cultural critique, are revisited by Myrdal in his effort to criticize Western culture at its very foundations. Myrdal's self-described lack of loyalty to Europe emerges at this moment in his text out of an effort intellectually to reorient himself. This period is located near the middle of Confessions of a Disloyal European, thus forming this confessional's secular conversion while simultaneously imitating the autodidactic propensities of the Romantic confessional author. In Myrdal's case, he realized that he needed,

...to acquire new perspectives suited to a larger reality. This meant reading. But as the days have too few hours and as I—as everybody else—must have beer and potatoes (or preferably whisky and meat) to keep alive, I sat through the nights reading Ibn Khaldun, Chinese classics, Indian history. Not mainly for the sake of learning—even though it is always fun to read—but in order to remold myself; to break down my ethnocentric “Western” perspectives. To seek and destroy the ideologies, the thought patterns and the prejudices that our schools and newspapers, friends and employers fill us with in Europe. (113)

The “new man” who emerges after this reeducation is better able in Myrdal’s mind to attack Western platitudes regarding equality and evolve a blisteringly critical form of autoethnography which takes Myrdal’s experiences in Europe, American, and South Asia as illustrative of broad cultural problems.

Myrdal’s cultural criticism, autodidacticism, and autoethnographic way of seeing point to several connections between his work and the aspirations of the Romantic confessional, but it may be in Myrdal’s intent on focusing on the issues surrounding the emergence of his own sexuality that the cultural work of Rousseau is most apparent in Myrdal’s confessional form. From the outset of Pubertet Myrdal’s concern is in describing the sexual frustrations and confusions of the adolescent male as the backdrop to a wider cultural critique. As the poem in Pubertet dated December 8, 1943 indicates, the rather furtive nature of sex for young people during the Swedish 1940’s was indicative of a culture which was unwilling to see its young people as they really were and in terms of what they really needed. The poem begins by noting that “ungdomen är

förvildad” [The young are made less civilized] by the outdated thinking that keeps sexuality from being discussed openly and in a manner that fits the times. Myrdal goes on to speak of a world of adolescent sex in which “skrämd kärlek i parker under sommaren/hastig öronspänd kärlek i trappor om vintern” [scared love in parks during the summer/fast tense love in the stairwells during the winter] is the norm (51), a view, that in its specific details, parallels his own initial sexual experiences as described elsewhere in Pubertet (35, 36, & 69). Later in the same poem, Myrdal reveals that the widespread problems surrounding adolescent sexuality are ignored by the vast majority of the Swedish social fabric by asking the rhetorical question “Varför undertrycker ni sexualundervisningen/sa 20 000 flickor per ar maste gora abort” [Why do you suppress sexual education/while 20,000 girls per year must receive abortions?] (51). Although Myrdal’s poetic style can be rather primitive or at the very least adolescent in Pubertet, his points regarding a society’s unwillingness to recognize the sexuality of its young people as part of a wider cultural problem are still very familiar. What is striking is not that Myrdal was ahead of his time, although that argument might be made, but that Myrdal, while still in his teens, can situate his own sexual coming of age in a broader social context.

Not only does Pubertet acknowledge the sexual frustrations of a young Swedish teenager during the mid-194’s, but the Rousseauvian context of this “bodily” approach to autobiography is deepened further by Myrdal’s willingness to consider onanism openly as part of his adolescent experience. In a short poem in Pubertet dated September 18, 1943, Myrdal describes sitting in a high school biology class but being distracted by his desire to possess the “flicka med varmbrunt levande hår [girl with living warm brown

hair]” (32) sitting in front of him. After describing his desire and frustration, Myrdal ends the poem parenthetically and switches from the voice of adolescent sexual frustration and fantasy to the more clinical and controlled voice of medical science and adult authority: “(körtelreaktioner vid puberteten/framkallar snuskiga fantasier/pollutioner ofarliga men utmattande/onani osund/könsumgänge förkastligt) [(glandular activity at puberty/produces dirty fantasies/pollutions debilitating but not dangerous/unhealthy onanism/sexual intercourse reprehensible)] (32). This series of lines continues the more general cultural critique with regards to teenaged sexuality mentioned above and graphically dramatizes the polarization within Swedish society regarding these issues.

Of course, a single brief mention of onanism in Myrdal’s work – especially one written so early in Myrdal’s career – may not, in and of itself, represent a strong argument for a Rousseauvian-style preoccupation with onanism as a test of the author’s verisimilitude, but Myrdal does revert to the issue of onanism much later in his career, in his Confessions of a Disloyal European to help frame a broader cultural critique.

Describing a scene from junior high school, Myrdal notes:

In 1941 our divinity teacher, a young man fresh from the theological faculty of Uppsala University, warned us against secret vices. This irritated me. I considered him unsound and unscientific. Therefore I made a statistical research on the sexual habits of students of the students of our class, the I⁴B coeducational class of Bromma Secondary School. He blushed crimson when I delivered the results to him. All of us masturbated. All the boys had been masturbating since they were eight or nine. The same with the girls. All of them masturbated, they said, except

two who said “No” and then giggled and one who gave me a box on the ear and started to cry when I asked her. We were fourteen and masturbated like monkeys in a zoo. (80)

Not only is Myrdal’s confession of onanism a clear performance of an expected moment in post-Rousseauvian confessional discourse, but, by miming the practices of fieldworkers in the social sciences (and here the influence of Myrdal’s parents is very plain) Myrdal seamlessly conducts a variety of confessional autoethnographic fieldwork beginning in his teenaged years, which echoes many of the concerns of Mead’s Coming of Age in Samoa. Broadly speaking, Myrdal’s confessional performance is a performance of a portion of this dissertation’s thesis. The collective, quantifiable confessions of onanism among Myrdal’s classmates tear at the existing power relations in the student-teacher relationship, as well as expose weaknesses in the broader culture. The proximity between the Rousseauvian confessional and the workings and interests of the social sciences are definitively foregrounded in Myrdal’s effort to use a study of the autoerotic behaviors of his classmates to combat structures of power from a position of weakness. By including this moment in his later confessional autobiography, Myrdal continues a Rousseauvian-style cultural critique by making use of and updating discussions of the same areas of interest that permeated Jean-Jacques’s confessional descriptions of European culture in the late eighteenth-century.

¹ One measure of Myrdal’s literary and critical output is Britta-Lena Jansson’s 1977 bibliography of his work which runs for nearly 190 pages (Jan Myrdal : en kronologisk bibliografi 1943-1976. Stockholm: Oktoberförlaget, 1977.) and is itself 25 years old.

² Examples of Myrdal’s anthropology and travel writing include: *Bortom berg och öknar: Afghanistan, ett framtidsland* [Beyond Mountain and Desert: Afghanistan, a Land of the Future] (Stockholm: Nutidsbokerna, 1962), *Rapport från kinesisk by* [Report from a Chinese Village] (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt

& Söner, 1963), Chinese Journey (New York: Pantheon, 1965), Gates to Asia: A Diary of a Long Journey with Gun Kessle (New York: Pantheon, 1971.), Sidenvägen [The Silk Road] (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1977), and Indien Vantar [India Waits] (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1980). Myrdal's autobiographical works include: Barndom [Childhood] (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1982.), En annan värld [Another World] (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1984.), Tolv på det trettonde [12 Going on 13] (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1989.), När morgondagarna sjöng [When the Tomorrows Sang] and Maj: en kärlek [Maj: A Love Story] (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1998.). In the confessional tradition, these autobiographical works focus intensely on Myrdal's "coming of age" from birth in 1927 to his early twenties immediately following WWII.

³ All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

⁴ See Williams, Raymond. The Country and the City. 12.

⁵ All translations from Swedish in this section are my own with the exception of Myrdal's quote from the first paragraph of Les Confessions which is taken from Cohen's translation.

⁶ This quotation is from Myrdal's original in that Confessions of a Disloyal European was written by Myrdal in English.

⁷ Myrdal's lifelong interest in August Strindberg may have its roots in Strindberg's autobiography, Tjänstekvinnans son [Son of a Servant Woman], which describes an upbringing that parallels Myrdal's own in that Strindberg felt that his parents abdicated most of their parental responsibilities to their domestic servants. In Myrdal's autobiographical works, his parents' cook named Karin plays a distinctly Strindbergian role in Jan's upbringing. This relationship fits within the confessional's interest in the mother and Rousseau's own desire for seeking out supplements for the mother-son relationship. Myrdal's interest in Strindberg has recently culminated in a biography (Johan August Strindberg. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur, 2000.).

⁸ The Swedish work "lekstugan" which Myrdal uses speaks directly to the play house's status as a play cottage in the style of the Swedish countryside (stuga=Swedish country cottage).

⁹ An American Dilemma; the Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944).

VII. – EDWARD SAID: THE AUTOETHNOGRAPHY OF A “WILD ANTROPOLOGIST”

The autoethnographic voice of the late Edward Said's 1999 autobiography Out of Place, at first seems a natural fit for narrating a life lived first as part of an expatriate Palestinian family based in Cairo and later as a student and leading cultural critic in the United States, but most arresting in Said's autobiography is how so much of both the form and content of the Rousseauvian confessional has been translated seamlessly into this context, where the colonial and post-colonial worlds meet. In a manner reminiscent of Rousseau, Said finds his existence complicated by his position on the border between Occident and Orient, as well as between Christianity and Islam, but unlike Rousseau, Said's self-othering becomes complicated by seeking to be more than a strategy of figuration for describing life as a "marginal man." Again like Rousseau, Said exists at the cultural margins throughout his life and the way of seeing developed from this point of view informs his own form of cultural criticism. Said's career-long interest in the work of Michel Foucault, who frequently considered the implications of society's marginalized and disempowered individuals, stimulates Said's own critical interest in society's deviants or marginal types. His 1984 critical eulogy entitled "Michel Foucault, 1927-1984," describes Foucault as "understand[ing] European social life as a struggle between, on the one hand, the marginal, the transgressive, the "different," and, on the other, the acceptable, the "normal," the generally social, or "same." Out of this are born . . . various attitudes which later develop into institutions of "discipline" and confinement that are constitutive of knowledge" (189-90). Said's deference to Foucault's sense of difference

enhances the Rousseauvian context of an autobiography written as autoethnographic cultural critique.

In Culture and Imperialism, Said proposes a now famous “contrapuntal criticism” that reverses modernity’s focus by emphasizing space over time, thus allowing the critic to read for the geographies of power and control that buttress the English novel. Said’s best-known contrapuntal reading is of Jane Austen’s Mansfield Park, which he sees as governed by the authority of Sir Thomas Bertram, whose power originates largely in his plantation and slaves in Antigua rather than in his position as father and owner of Mansfield Park. Using what Said describes as a “very odd combination of casualness and stress, Austen reveals herself to be assuming...the importance of empire to the situation at home” (Culture and Imperialism 89). The importance of empire is most problematical at the moment of Bertram’s return from Antigua when, like “a Crusoe setting things in order,” he is able to reorganize life at Mansfield Park just as he had done “exactly the same things—on a larger scale—in his Antigua “plantations.”” This action makes the geographical contrapunt clear to Austen’s hero, Fanny, who sees that “to hold and rule Mansfield Park is to hold and rule an imperial estate in close...What assures the domestic tranquility and attractive harmony of the one is the productivity and regulated discipline of the other” (Culture and Imperialism 87). From the outset of Out of Place, Said’s marginalized and confused identity, further complicated by his status as simultaneously Arab, American, English, Christian, and colonial subject, can be seen as the ultimate source of his later contrapuntal way of seeing. The extremely complex geography of Said’s boyhood—which moves between Cairo, Jerusalem, Lebanon, and the United

States—forces the prioritizing of the spatial over the temporal, and helps to evolve a confessional autoethnography written from a contrapuntal point of view.

This brief review of an extremely important aspect of Said's critical career is meant also to reveal a connection between Said's autobiography and his cultural criticism while contextualizing his life and work in a way that brings out its parallels to the life and work of Rousseau. Said's contrapuntal and geographical way of seeing is informed by his life lived in exile, just as Rousseau's own version of the contrapuntal style is informed by a similar experience. For Rousseau, identity or the loss of identity circulates between the contrasting cultures of Geneva, Paris, and to a lesser extent Turin, London, and Venice. For Said, Jerusalem, Cairo, Lebanon, and New York play the same role, but in this case the distances between the locations and their cultures is much greater, as is the author's own confusion regarding his own identity. When Said sits down in the 1990's to pen Out of Place, he is repeating Rousseau's own effort to use autobiography late in his career to construct a bridge between his earlier cultural criticism and himself.¹ The resulting view of the author is again reminiscent of the contradictions of Rousseau in that "Said's defining contradiction... is the doubled condition of desiring a unified, assimilated, "rocklike" identity (all something, whatever it may be, rather than an ensemble of ill-fitting parts) and of enjoying the liberating, expansive pleasures of multiple identities that never fully cohere" (Armstrong 101). These parallels deepen further in light of the autoethnographic and confessional ethos of Said's autobiography. Said is himself both ambivalent about and intrigued by anthropology, stating in his 1988 essay "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors" that while "we would not have had empire itself, as well as...anthropology... without important philosophical and imaginative

processes at work in the production as well as the acquisition, subordination, and settlement of space”; and while anthropology itself is characterized by “a genuine malaise about the sociopolitical status of anthropology as a whole”; Said is impressed, “that few of the anthropologists who are read outside anthropology make a secret of the fact that they wish that anthropology, and anthropological texts, might be more literary or literary theoretical in style and awareness, or that anthropologists should spend more time thinking of textuality and less of matrilineal descent...” (308 & 296). Paralleling these interests, Out of Place reconfigures anthropology into a confessional mode that is clearly “more literary or literary theoretical in style and awareness” while allowing the confessional’s own interest in the matrilineal to allow for the text’s intense fascination with Said’s mother.

Before moving forward into Out of Place to consider Said’s reframing of the issues of “matrilineal descent,” the anthropological way of seeing that evolves out of this approach may be most evident in Mustapha Marrouchi’s strange and telling willingness to see Said as a “wild anthropologist” despite postcolonial criticism’s almost universal unwillingness to validate the anthropological project. Marrouchi’s observation indicates that others have noticed an ethnographic gloss in Said’s criticism:

And while it is true that Said grew up riding horses, speaking several languages, re-creating himself in the old colonial fashion—the episode is eloquently narrated in “Cairo Recalled”—he chose to do fieldwork. He may, in fact, be called a wild anthropologist in that he, like Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, has done fieldwork not in the disciplinary sense, but, pushed by class alliance and power line, he has acquired his authority for

such devices as quoting from fieldwork data and telling stories that testify to his presence at the scenes of action. His direct experience with the West made him successful, almost indistinguishable from wild anthropologists.” (188)

There is no denying the proximity between Rousseau’s sense of the anthropological power of the experience of living within a number of cultures and social classes and the variety of Saidian “wild anthropology” that Marrouchi describes.² This “wild anthropologist” conforms in a number of ways with a Rousseauvian critical framework that is both autoethnographic and self-consciously centered on the self’s own status as a marginalized “wild” or “natural man.” The “wild anthropologist’s” autoethnographic framework emerges in Said’s work before Out of Place in a number of confessional snippets, such as when Said declares Culture and Imperialism to be “an exile’s book” originating in the author’s position both inside and between both the Arab world and the West” (xxvi). A more recent example of a strange variety of autoethnographic performance is present in a comment that Said makes in passing in a 2000 interview with Jacqueline Rose, in which Said acknowledges that he is in the habit of facilitating people’s desire to see exactly how he lives:

But I think the most peculiar thing of all has been the number of people...who have wanted either to come to my house or to see me at a meal—to see how I “lived.” A...psychologist who lives in Boston—we had participated in several seminars in the eighties about conflict resolution—came to New York and rang me from NYU, which is downtown, and said, “Can I come and visit you?” I was taken a bit by

surprise and said, “Yes, of course.” She came up, entered the apartment, came into the living room where I have a grand piano—“Oh you play the piano”—looked around a bit more, asked to see my study and then, when I said, “Why don’t you sit down? I mean it’s a long subway ride from downtown,” said, “No, no, I have to go...I only came to see how you lived.” Another person at a distinguished publishing house—we were doing a deal or something—refused for weeks, perhaps even months, to sign the contract until I came to Boston and had dinner with him so he could observe me and my table manners.” (16)

Although Said has a number of personal and political reasons for writing Out of Place, it is very much in the tradition of Rousseau to both desire to be seen and to have a public that desires to see you and your otherness on display (in the above example, apparently, Said is just not exotic enough for his female visitor). Just as Said is intrigued with aspects of anthropology despite his distaste for its origins, he also appears to desire to reveal himself and his surroundings while being both accommodating and wary of the desire of others to observe his home and life. Out of Place offers Said an opportunity, via confessional autoethnography, to control the power dynamics of this exchange while placing himself in the position of both observer and observed, which is most certainly a return to the power play inherent in Rousseau’s confessional form.

Said’s parents are extremely important players in his autobiography in part because his family’s life as Palestinian expatriates living in Cairo – Said’s father ran a very successful office supply business there – insulated them from most Egyptians, and in part because Said’s parents “tried to create a world very much like a gigantic cocoon, into

which...[Edward] was introduced and maintained” (*Out of Place*, 12). What emerges in Said’s description of this “gigantic cocoon” is a Protestant boyhood (Said’s mother was the daughter of a Baptist Minister from Nazareth and a Lebanese mother and Said’s father’s Protestantism deepened after he spent time in America and in Pershing’s army earlier in the century) that bears a close resemblance to Rousseau’s in that the politics of seeing and being seen established in Said’s family are guided by the familiar set of strict and frequently conflicting moral principles connected to both the values of Protestantism and the European bourgeoisie. Said’s title “Out of Place” originates, in part, from this regimen of policing by his parents that left Edward feeling,

[b]eing myself meant not only never being quite right, but also never feeling at ease, always expecting to be interrupted and corrected, to have my privacy invaded and my unsure person set upon. Permanently out of place, the extreme and rigid regime of discipline and extracurricular education that my father would create and in which I became imprisoned from the age of nine left me no respite or sense of myself beyond its rules and patterns. (19)

In this unlikely bourgeois and Protestant world, Said’s Cairo becomes what Geneva was to the young Rousseau, a “walled off” city that the author eventually needs to leave in order to begin to construct a sense of his own identity. Yet, there are real limits to what can be achieved by leaving Cairo: living in what might be best described as a perpetual state of alienation and exile, Said’s sense of being marginalized or out of place is, as he describes above, quite permanent.

From the beginning of Said's autobiography, which opens with the telling statement "[a]ll families invent their parents and children, give each of them a story, character, fate, and even a language" (3), the issues of self-fashioning and self-othering move swiftly to the foreground of the author's narrative. The most important exemplum for Said in this regard was his father, Wadie, whose ability to take on other identities Edward describes as "the practice of self-making with a purpose" (11). Wadie's story is one that Edward knows only in a basic outline form. It was clearly part of his father's personality and purpose to leave a good deal of his own narrative in the dark, in part, it seems, so that the parts of his story that he did tell his children became a variety of "Horatio Alger romance" (10) or "packaged homily" with an overly simplistic moral such as "[n]ever give up" (9). Wadie left Palestine first for England and later for the United States in 1911 by working aboard a passenger liner. After taking a job as a salesman and attending Western Reserve University in Cleveland, he enlisted in the American Expeditionary Force and was attached to the Quartermaster's Corp in Pershing's Army. He returned briefly to Cleveland after the war and started a paint business before returning to Palestine at the instigation of his mother. This is when the changes that Edward was familiar with began to emerge, and where "in 1920 armed with U.S. citizenship, William A. Said (formerly Wadie Ibrahim) had quite abruptly turned sober pioneer, hard-working and successful businessman, and Protestant" (10). This change, which brought along with it a love of pancakes and apple pie a la mode that made Edward's father something of an eccentric, became the model that young Edward Said was forced to accept in later fashioning a life for himself. Edward's father sent him to the United States off and on throughout his boyhood and later sent him to Princeton, at great

expense, so that the experiment in self-othering that he had begun could in some way be completed.

Whereas Thomas De Quincey's family's self-othering move from the name "Quincey" to "de Quincey" was a clear attempt to appear to be from older money, the real reasons for Wadie Ibrihim's much more dramatic change in surnames from "Ibrihim" to "Said" is never fully revealed to Edward. The actual reason for the change may be mercantile. Edward did have cousins in Jerusalem before the founding of Israel named Said and these Saims were the original partners in Wadie's office supplies business, but the real reason for this change remains unknown to Said even in the present. This issue takes on even greater importance for Edward when he is old enough to begin to consider the meaning of his own highly artificial name. The clearly un-Arabic name of "Edward," paired with the enigmatic surname of "Said," leaves the name "Edward Said" as foundational to the author's dominant feeling of discomfort regarding his origins and identity. Said describes this problem as one in which,

...the overriding sensation I had was of always being out of place. This it took some fifty years to become accustomed to, or, more exactly, to feel less uncomfortable with, "Edward," a foolishly English name yoked to the unmistakably Arabic family name Said. True my mother told me that I had been named Edward after the Prince of Wales, who cut so fine a figure in 1935, the year of my birth, and Said was the name of various uncles and cousins. But the rationale of my name broke down both when I discovered no grandparents called Said and when I tried to connect my fancy English name with its Arabic partner. For years, and depending on the exact

circumstances, I would rush past “Edward” and emphasize “Said”; at other times I would do the reverse, or connect these two to each other so quickly that neither would be clear. The one thing I could not tolerate, but very often would have to endure, was the disbelieving, and hence undermining, reaction: Edward? Said? (3-4)

The feelings of liberation which Edward’s father attached to America and his subsequent ability, upon his return to Palestine, to radically remake himself, became for Edward a kind of prison in which he belonged to numerous available cultural and religious groupings while simultaneously being never “all” of any of them. Standing on the border as he does between these groups, while feeling only partially included in any of them, is highly reminiscent of the outlook that informs the Romantic confessional.

In describing the artificial nature of “Edward,” Said’s younger version of himself takes on important characteristics of Rousseau’s younger self “Jean-Jacques” as both an idealized and frequently victimized version of the author. What starkly differentiates these two cases is that Said’s parents rather than Said himself hold the ideal that frames “Edward.” Said describes “Edward” as someone “whose daily travails a quite different but quite dormant inner self was able to observe, though most of the time was powerless to help” and whose “creation was made necessary by the fact that his parents were themselves self-creations” guided by a mish-mash of “pre-war Palestinian habit; American lore picked up a random in books and magazines and...[Said’s] father’s decade in the United States...the missionaries influence; incompleted and eccentric schooling; British colonial attitudes...and, finally, the style of life my parents perceived around them in Egypt” (19). These are the far-ranging cultural limits upon which the majority of Out

of Place works toward an autoethnographic description of life in the Palestinian diaspora.

In the spirit of the Romantic autoethnographers, Said's experiences appear simultaneously representative and unique; representative in the telling of a Palestinian family's displacement and subsequent loss of cultural identity during the post-war period, and unique in the manner in which Said's family chose to handle this situation, embracing as they did such a diverse set of cultural influences.

Although Said's father played a major role in his life, Out of Place is itself a confessional autobiography in the tradition of both Augustine and Rousseau: the maternal influence is a dominant, if not the dominant force in the narrative.³ Only twenty when she gave birth to Edward in 1935, and some twenty years younger than her husband (by an arranged marriage that had removed her from her friends and family in Beirut and deposited her in Cairo), Said's mother reacted to the vicissitudes of her situation by cultivating a close relationship with her son:

My mother was certainly my closest and most intimate companion for the first twenty-five years of my life... Were my mother to have been only a simple refuge, or a kind of intermittent safe haven, from the day's passage I cannot tell what the results might have been. But she had the most deep-seated and unresolved ambivalences toward the world, and me, I have ever known. Despite our affinities, my mother required my love and devotion, and gave them back doubled and redoubled; but she also could turn them away quite suddenly, producing in me a metaphysical panic I can still experience with considerable unpleasantness and even terror. Between my mother's empowering, sunlike smile and her cold scowl or her sustained

frowning dismissiveness, I existed as a child both fortunate and hopelessly miserable, neither completely one nor the other. (12-13)

This divided consciousness is also latent in the manner in which Said's mother uses language: Arabic is used to create a maternal register and English is used to punish in a manner that rather self-consciously recreated the cultural dynamics of power and empire in pre- and post-war Cairo.⁴ Said remembers first his name pronounced "Edwaad" and English words of admonishment such as "naughty" and "fibber" as part of "a more objective and serious tone that mostly banished the forgiving and musical intimacy" of Arabic in his mother's own unique rhetoric (4). With an identity constructed in both the English and Arabic speaking worlds, Said's subsequent criticism of the West (written in English, the language of his mother's criticism) and his defense and consideration of the true and frequently unrevealed qualities of the Arab world continue to expound on this cultural divide that is locatable within both himself and his family. In this case, the relationship between language and culture posited by Levi-Strauss is exemplified in the extreme, with a rather schizophrenic leaping from one and later back to the other language amplifying the cultural confusion of the young Said. Within this milieu, Said's image or metaphor of a "motherland" will always embrace both the ideas of criticism and belonging that are found in the different registers for the usage of Arabic and English which his mother introduced into his imagination.

The matrix of love and discipline that Said's parents develop fits nicely into a form of confessional discourse that follows any number of Rousseau's leads. Like Rousseau, Said understands at a very young age that he is perpetually under observation. Importantly, Said's father is motivated in his close inspection of his son by what Said

describes, in an unmistakably autoethnographic fashion keenly focused on the matrilineal, as a commonplace of Arab culture:

The implicit syllogism, according to which I grew up, ran as follows:

“Edward” resembles his maternal uncles (*talih^c mikhwil* is the Arabic expression of the process; it also suggests that the older one got, the more strong the resemblance); his uncles are irrecusably bad sons and brothers; therefore “Edward” is far too likely to end up like them, and must thus be broken in his course, reeducated, re-formed to be less like them. (18)

Said’s father saw his brothers in-law as both shiftless and unable to provide for their families and for the care of Edward’s maternal grandmother in her later years. In some ways, this feeling, whether fair or unfair, appears to be one potential outgrowth of a culture of arranged marriages that were frequently set up as business transactions. Originally, Edward’s father was made attractive to his in-laws as a potential match for the very reasons that he ultimately looked down on his brothers in-law – he was comparatively much richer than his future wife’s family. This view of Edward’s future informed both the very “bipolar” manner in which Said’s mother treated him (always simultaneously loving her son and on guard against the accusation that she was responsible for his failings) and gave his father the motivation he needed for ultimately sending Edward to the United States so that he could operate outside the influence of his wife and her family.

The Said family’s acceptance of an English way of raising children, beginning with an acceptance of English schools and the rather Victorian form of “close policing” of a child’s body, points toward the assimilation of the values of the British middle

classes by the successful local business people living within the empire.⁵ Within the strained relationship between Said's father and his in-laws, it is then not at all surprising that Said's father takes a rather "imperial," paternal line, choosing to accept the mercantilistic and more metropolitan climate of Cairo, rather than the older and much slower pace of the Jerusalem inhabited by his in-laws. The brothers in-law become, in a manner of speaking, the Said family's "burden": a form of the lazy and languid Oriental and imperial subject that still lingered in the European imagination throughout much of the twentieth century. Accepting the colonizer's terms brings with it aspects, sometimes fleeting and other times lasting, of the colonizer's paternalistic, often self-congratulatory point of view

Said spends a good deal of time considering the personal and ideological implications of his education, first in the colonial schools of Cairo and Jerusalem, and later while finishing high school and going on to Princeton in the United States. Here, again, a confluence of interest with the Romantic confessional is evident, but, in Said's case, an analysis of schools in different settings takes on the trappings of a form of comparative autoethnography tracking the experience and effects of British colonial schools in Cairo as compared with schools in the United States. An education in English colonial schools was a natural outgrowth of Said's parents' preference for English forms of discipline. The watchful eye of his parents at home was replaced by the watchful eye of teachers and administrators continually on guard against the formation of bad habits. For the young Edward, in due course, it became only natural that "schoolteachers were supposed to be English" (36) and that his teachers would find his behavior to be far less than perfect. Admonishing words such as "Don't fidget" and "Get on with your work"

are at the forefront of Said's memories, especially of a teacher named Mrs. Whitfield at the Gezira Preparatory School (GPS) which was a private school with both English and Arabic students located in Said's neighborhood in the Zamalek district of Cairo. Beyond this fairly typical variety of discipline, one of Said's most vivid recollections is from what he recalls as his first direct colonial encounter, when, at the age of eight and for a now forgotten infraction, he was sent out of a classroom at GPS and upstairs to be disciplined by a Mr. Bullen:

I was instantly frightened of this large, red-faced, sandy-haired and silent Englishman who beckoned me toward him. Not a word passed between us as I approached him slowly where he stood near the window. I remember a blue vest and white shirt, suede shoes, and a long flexible bamboo stick, something between a riding crop and a cane. I was apprehensive, but I was also aware that having reached this nadir of awfulness I must not break down or cry. He pulled me forward by the back of the neck, which he then forced down away from him so that I was half bent over. With his other hand he raised the stick and whacked me three times on the behind; there was a whistle as the stick cut the air, followed by a muffled pop as it hit me. The pain I felt was less than the anger that flushed through me with every one of Bullen's silently administered strokes. Who was the ugly brute to beat me so humiliatingly? And why did I allow myself to be so powerless, so "weak"—the word was beginning to acquire considerable resonance in my life—as to let him assault me with such impunity. (41-2)

This confessional commonplace is made all the more Rousseauvian by Said's sense, not yet fully formed but still present, of the political and social implications of being beaten. Said's reaction to corporal punishment is also familiar in that he feels that the beatings and constant remonstrances by his teachers and parents authorize him to be the "delinquent, the "Edward" of punishable offenses, laziness, loitering, who was regularly expected to be caught in some specific unlicensed act and punished by being given detentions or, as... [he] grew older, a violent slap by a teacher" (42). Just as Rousseau's sense of inequality, central to his cultural critique, came out of his frequently violent treatment at the hands of his masters, Said's own sense of the inequalities in the West's treatment of the East develops out of an education that left him feeling lacking in the qualities of "Englishness" enforced at school and later reinforced at home.

The uselessness of an education dominated, among other things, by the history of the English Kings and their intrigues, was lost on Said's parents and teachers but not necessarily on Edward. In his description of the "lessons of English glory" which "were interspersed with repetitive exercises in writing, arithmetic, and recitation" Said tellingly lingers on the name "Edward" and its implications in a manner that displays his distinct feelings of being less English than was desirable:

Our lessons and books were mystifyingly English: we read about meadows, castles, and Kings John, Alfred, and Canute with the reverence that our teachers kept reminding us they deserved...A disproportionate amount of attention was lavished on the Battle of Hastings along with lengthy explanations of Angles, Saxons, and Normans. Edward the Confessor has ever since remained in my mind as an elderly bearded

gentleman in a white gown lying flat on his back, perhaps as a consequence of having confessed to something he shouldn't have done. There was never any perceived connection between him and me, despite our identical first name. (39)

The young Said appears to have understood that an English boy named "Edward" should have found a model in Edward the Confessor while his Arab self would in reality have great trouble emulating someone so "English." This lack of a connection may be true only up to a point: an Edward the Confessor who appears near death or lying in state after death "as a consequence of having confessed to something that he shouldn't have done" points to the ultimate demise of a young Edward continually under close observation to prevent his seemingly inevitable misdemeanors. Said's own autobiography arguably and rather uncannily completes a cultural connection to Edward the Confessor in that the writing of a confessional autobiography itself can be read as a sign of citizenship, or at least of complete immersion in a Western view of the world, symbolized by the acceptance of a modern form of Western discourse. The process of writing his confession has also literally turned Edward Said into a "Confessor." That this text was begun by Said while "recovering from three early rounds of chemotherapy for leukemia" (ix) in 1994, suggests that a sense of his own mortality has driven Said to recall the strange, prostate body of "the other Edward the Confessor" that remained part of Said's memory and imagination for some 50 years. Willy-nilly, a version of "Edward the Confessor" had stayed with Said since childhood, as a model for his own "Englishness" or Westernness which he ultimately could not escape.

Said's troubled experiences in colonial schools are numerous, and, as he grows older, they begin to point to a growing realization of the power dynamics at play in this imperial relationship as well as the changes that were beginning to be all too clear to everyone regarding the "end game" of English colonial administration and power in the Middle East. In 1951, at the height of these changes, Edward's father decided that the time was ripe for sending his sixteen year old son to Mount Hermon School in Connecticut. Here, away from the clearer power dynamics of British colonial schools for the first time, Said would find both positive and negative aspects to the American approach that would begin to change the ways that he perceived himself and his academic achievements. On the side of what was negative in American pedagogy, Said struggled with Mount Hermon's attempts at developing qualities such as "leadership" in students that led to a very confused, and probably at least partially class and racially-biased approach to succeeding at the school which was far more subtle in its power politics than what Said had experienced in Cairo:

I also soon learned that you could never really find out why or on what basis you were judged, as I was, inadequate for a role or status that relatively objective indicators like grades, scores, or match victories entitled you to. While I was at Mount Hermon I was never appointed a floor officer, a table head, a member of the student council, or valedictorian (officially designated as number 1 in the class) and salutatorian (officially number 2) although I had the qualifications. And I never knew why. But I soon discovered that I would have to be on my guard against authority and that I needed to develop some mechanism or

drive not to be discouraged by what I took to be efforts to silence or deflect me from being who I was rather than becoming who they wanted me to be. In the process I began a lifelong struggle and attempt to demystify the capriciousness and hypocrisy of a power...[whose] unfairness, in my opinion, depended principally on its prerogative for changing its bases of judgement...But what developed in my encounters with the largely hypocritical authority at Mount Hermon was a newfound will that had nothing to do with the "Edward" of the past but relied on the slowly forming identity of another self beneath the surface. (230-31)

This new self is born out of the isolation of this period and his own efforts to distance himself from the Americanized "Ed Said" that almost everyone at Mount Hermon soon saw him as being. The sense of a new self is doubled after an instructor's critique of Edward's fact-driven approach to an essay entitled "On Lighting a Match," leads Said to reject the approach of rote memory and recitation that had dominated his experience in colonial schools. In its place, Said accepts and begins to build a form of critical and imaginative thinking that helped to evolve a new "complicated process of intellectual discovery (and self-discovery)" that continues to this day (231). This "conversion," centered around an essay in a manner reminiscent of Rousseau's walk to Vincennes, allowed Said to see that because he "was never at home or at least at Mount Hermon, out of place in nearly every way," he was able to locate his own "territory, not socially but intellectually" (231). In a sense, it is Said's ability to find and cultivate some of his comparative strengths during this experience in an American high school that gives him the background necessary to begin to find a comfort zone within his own sense of a

severely marginalized, complex identity. His accumulated knowledge of the potential capriciousness of authority figures also allows him to rebound from the injustices of his time at Mount Hermon.

In keeping with the trappings of a Rousseauvian and Romantic childhood, Said reacts to the oppressiveness of his life at home and at school by retreating into his imagination or voyeuristically and furtively seeking out what he desired. Said's imagination is fueled by an eclectic combination of books, opera, films, and the theatre, with most of these cultural productions coming from Europe and the United States. "Edward" is in a number of ways as much a product of these consumable aspects of Western culture as he is the combination of traits, ideas, and fears that his parents attempted to inculcate in him. A provocative example of this is in Said's description of reading Hamlet alone with his mother, in preparation for seeing a John Gielgud performance of the play in Cairo in 1944, as "one of the great moments" of his childhood (52). What becomes immediately clear in Said's recollection is that the manner in which he hopes to describe his very close relationship with his mother is tied to the very complex set of emotions that bind Hamlet to Gertrude in the play. Although Said was too young to fully understand the play's ideas regarding adultery and incest, he does appear to have understood that his mother's version of Gertrude, with her "bewitchingly flirtatious and calming tone" was meant to speak directly to him "hoping perhaps to lift...[him] out of the sodden delinquency of...[his] life" (52). Although Said does not insist on a Freudian interpretation of his relationship with his mother, the reader is confronted by the manner in which Shakespeare's play is transferred to Said's life:

We were two voices to each other, two happily allied spirits in the language. I knew nothing conscious of the inner dynamics that linked the desperate prince and adulterous queen at the play's interior, nor did I really take in the fury of the scene between them when Polonius is killed and Gertrude is verbally flayed by Hamlet. We read together through all that, since what mattered to me was that in a curiously un-Hamlet-like way, I could count on her to be someone whose emotions and affections engaged mine without her really being more than an exquisitely maternal, protective, and reassuring person. Far from feeling that she had tampered with her obligations to her son, I felt that these readings confirmed the deepness of our connection to each other; for years I kept in mind the higher than usual pitch of her voice, the unagitated poise of her manner, the soothing, altogether conclusively patient outline of her presence as goods to be held on to at all costs, but rarer and rarer as my delinquencies increased in number and her destructive and certainly dislocating capacities threatened me more. (53)

On the cusp of the changes of adolescence, Said experiences the high-water mark of his sense of maternal love mediated through the voices of Gertrude and Hamlet. As adolescence begins to imprint itself on Said's sexuality and imagination, Said's mother "plays" a truer version of Gertrude with some frequency, undermining her son's sense of well-being more and more often. Of course, the English cultural significance of *Hamlet* is itself fitting within Said's narrative: what was a blissful experience for the young Edward when read at home with his mother becomes, when seen on the stage, a cruel

reminder of his own marginalized position. The confident, strong “English, heroes” on the stage merely reinforced his own sense of his “inferior status” (53). In both an actual and a metaphorical sense, *Hamlet* is Said’s Shakespearean “play within the play” that brings out the confessional’s interest in both the maternal and the young man’s emerging sexuality while ironically directing the reader’s attention to “the play” or the performance that is the identity of the whole Said family. Oddly enough, Said mentions in passing that he and his mother “skipped the play-within-a-play sequence as too bewilderingly ornate and complicated for the two of us,” a detail that leaves open the possibility of a refiguration of the entire play as the play-within-the-play of Said’s own narrative of a life in which the tragic hero’s potential death (by leukemia) still lurks in the wings.

Another incident in 1943, at school at GPS in Cairo, important in indicating the power that the theatre played in Edward’s young life, also illuminates the emergence of Said’s sexuality as well as his relish for voyeurism. The school produced Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland for the stage and despite having found the book “tiresomely arch and largely incomprehensible” (46), Said was enthralled by the transformation that took place during the staging of the play and which “gave an aura of irreducible glamour and strangeness to the actors, who during the day had been children at the GPS...” (47). But, ultimately, what intrigued Said most about the production was the young girl named Micheline Lindell, a girl with “a mole on the left side of her mouth” who possessed the attractive qualities of fluency in “English and Cairo French.” Said describes Micheline’s effect on him as follows,

In *Alice* she was dressed in a white dress, with long white stockings and white ballet slippers. She was supposed to look virginal but did not at all,

so artfully did her underlying seductive message get through the tight primness of her clothes, appealing very directly to a completely transfixed and, it must be added, mystified boy of nine. I felt no defined sexual attraction since I had simply no conception of what sex was, but looking at Micheline I did feel stirred and excited at how completely transformed she was and, even more exciting, how easily during the three days of performances she glided from being one of us, average, humdrum, uninteresting, to being a creature with so unmistakable an aura of glamour and elevation. During the day I would watch Micheline being ordinary...[t]hen at night she became the isolated and gifted girl, aglow with her power and skill. I saw every performance, although my parents demurred each time, but then reluctantly gave in on the grounds identified by my father as “it’s part of his education.” I liked to stand quietly and unnoticed just outside the school gate to watch her leave, her eyes gleaming with the excitement of having won the evening for herself, her white dress only partly hidden beneath the black coat held around her shoulders by her father. I felt some guilt at my “sneakiness,” but it was overridden by the thrill of concealment and of having seen Micheline exiting from one life into another. (47-8)

The awakening of Said’s sexuality, which was also below the surface in his memory of reading *Hamlet* with his mother, is much more pronounced in this example, but it is the connection between Said’s emerging sexuality and the politics of seeing and being seen raised by this incident that give this scene its real power. Said’s fascination with

Micheline's transformation from a "normal" to a sexualized persona not only gives him an opportunity to see a condensed version of what is happening to himself and his classmates while they move through the sexual awakening of adolescence, but it also allows him the opportunity to admire an accepted variety of dramatic self-othering that affords the participants an increase in the power that comes with performing and being seen – the opposite of the kinds of attention afforded to the young Said by his playing to his parents expectations as "Edward." Said's reaction to pleasure, extremely reminiscent of Rousseau's, centers on his inability to act on making contact with the object of desire which leaves him only with the furtive pleasure that comes from viewing what he desires from a distance.

Said's voyeurism was itself a reaction to the tight web of observation set up by his parents, which also fosters a more general desire to break the rules set up for him. As Said describes it, his behavior becomes akin to that of a criminal trying to see and experience everything that was not open to him: "I always looked around doors that were ajar; I read books to find out what propriety kept hidden from me; I peered into drawers, cupboards, bookshelves, envelopes, scraps of paper, to glean from them what I could about characters whose sinful wantonness corresponded to my desires" (31). In describing the variety of imaginative life brought on by this kind of furtive reading, Said recalls repeatedly reading and rereading an entry in the Collins Junior Book of Knowledge about "Kalita, the girl fakir who performed miracles of strength and self-punishment at the Bertram Mills Circus." With regard to viewing Kalita's forms of discipline and contortion (e.g.: walking on glass, lying on nails, and suffering blows with a sledgehammer to a slab of marble resting on her stomach) Said relates that this display

“defied the positive laws of respectability under which...[he] chafed” and “[h]er contortions were also at odds with nature, but that increased their excitement” (32). Responding to a combination of sexual titillation and the not unrelated sense of freedom that came from Kalita’s impropriety, Said describes the effect that books began to have on his young imagination in a manner that echoes Rousseau’s descriptions of the effects of “castles in Spain”:

I read and reread the three grittily printed pages on Kalita and I examined and reexamined the two photographs that drew me in every time I opened the book...I dreamed of knowing her, being taken to her “caravan,” being shown some more horrible feats (for example, her imperviousness to, perhaps even enjoyment of, other forms of extreme pain and unknown types of pleasure, her disdain for domestic life, her capacity for diving to unusual depths, eating live animals and disgusting fruits) and hearing from her about her freedom from the ordinary talk and responsibilities of everyday life. It was from my experiences of Kalita that I developed the habit of mentally extending the story presented in a book, pushing the limits to include myself; gradually I realized that I could become the author of my own pleasures, particularly those that took me as far away as possibly from the choking impingements of family and school. My ability to appear to be studying, reading, or practicing the piano and at the same time to be thinking of something completely different and completely mine, like Kalita, was one of the features of my life that irritated teachers but impressed me. (32-33)

This compression of aspects of discipline, sex, and the often overheated youthful imagination makes this memory particularly Rousseauvian in its dimensions, and Said's attraction to Kalita's complete rejection of the variety of "everyday life" that is known to him deepens the author's connection to Rousseau's critique of the bourgeoisie. In Said's case, it is worth noting that this critical point of view is developing even before his teenage years had begun.

The manner in which Said reads the Collins Junior Book of Knowledge further illustrates a consciousness divided between a number of different cultural centers. Clearly meant for young British readers, Said's view of Kalita as an exotic Oriental object of desire coincides with a response that could be expected from a young boy in the United Kingdom. The imagery of the Orient is based on types such as the "large half naked man in a turban" who beat the previously-mentioned slab of marble which Kalita held on her stomach. This power dynamic appears to play not only on Western stereotypes of how men in the East treat women, but it also reveals both how Said is titillated by Kalita's exoticism while identifying with her otherness and her painful treatment by her fellow performers on stage. Not only is this identification with a woman arguably a further connection between the young Said and the sensibilities of the Romantic confessional, but it also appears to point to an identification with aspects of Kalita's ability to turn a perceived position of powerlessness (beaten) into one that is powerful (able to take a beating) which speaks directly to the Rousseauvian confessional's interest in discipline as a tool for empowering the marginalized self.

The role played by literature in Said's imagination works to expose his sense of being simultaneously both inside and outside of the Cairo of his youngest years. As in his

description of the Collins Junior Book of Knowledge and Kalita, Said's reading tended toward the varieties of literature meant to translate, preview, or temper the experiences of colonization and empire for young Europeans. While living within Cairo in the Zamalek district on the island of Gezira, which was "not a real community but a sort of colonial outpost whose tone was set by Europeans," Said describes how his play time was spent in the small park, called "the garden," from which he could always be watched and called by his mother and how his life was limited to the "charged geography" of the island of Zamalek:

I played Robinson Crusoe and Tarzan there, and when she came with me, I played at eluding and then rejoining my mother. She usually went nearly everywhere with us, throughout our little world, one little island enclosed by another one. In the early years we went to school a few blocks away from home...For sports there was the Gezira Sporting Club...For years, Sunday meant Sunday school; this senseless ordeal occurred between nine and ten in the morning at GPS, followed by matins at All Saints Church...School, church, club, garden, house—was my world until I was well into my teens. (22)

In his introduction to Culture and Imperialism Said gives two views of "culture." The first involves the arts and representation and is focused on the novel, in part because "[t]he prototypical modern realistic novel is *Robinson Crusoe*, and certainly not accidentally it is about a European who creates a fiefdom for himself on a distant, non-European island" (xii). Said's second view of culture is taken from the Arnoldian sense of the term. Under this rubric, culture is tied to discourses, such as the novel, which

smooth out the rough edges of modernity that simultaneously feed the European sense of national and individual identity, and the related appetite for empire. Given his acknowledgement of the ideological weight of Robinson Crusoe, it is noteworthy that Said's youthful imagination is able to digest the allegorical sensibilities of De Foe's novel quite readily and apply these lessons to his play within the several "islands" – both real and imaginary – where his family's culture exists. Unknowingly, Said is preparing himself for his own Robinsonade, embodied in his father's ultimate goal of sending him to the United States for both an education and a livelihood. Like a combination of Rousseau's young pupil Emile and the exiled Rousseau of L'Isle St. Pierre, Said begins to digest the lessons of bourgeois life through his childhood reading, only to retell these imaginative journeys later as confessional autoethnography. "Culture" for Said appears to have been empowered by both the methods of representation that regulated his literary world and imagination, and the related ideas surrounding identity formation that were always foregrounded by his parents, schools, and surroundings. Similar to the function played by the moral and class hierarchies of Geneva which Starobinski finds paralleled in that city's geography, Said's Cairo, limited as it is to his "island" and "garden" where he is always under observation, provides the site from which Said begins to understand the implications of his own cultural and class-based otherness. In the process, the discourse of autoethnography and the allegorical way of seeing central to this form are previewed and rehearsed from an early age, in a setting that speaks to the nature of human prehistory.

In a recently published interview with W.J.T. Mitchell, Said again mentions the importance of Robinson Crusoe to his contrapuntal way of seeing that refocuses narrative

to spatial rather than temporal formations. In the interview, Said and Mitchell are discussing the connection between the lack of a Palestinian narrative and the lack of a place called Palestine:

EWS: ... The narrative here is a function of speaking from a place.

WJTM: I see. So narrative to you is actually a kind of spatial notion.

EWS: Absolutely. Not a temporal one. I mean, obviously, it has temporal elements—it would be silly not to acknowledge that. But it's principally, for me, the possibility of producing a territorial object, if you like, or a territorial location, as in Robinson Crusoe, where, in talking, he revisits, he repopulates, he reenacts both the shipwreck and the establishing of himself on the island. That's the core of it.(43-4)

What is striking in this formation is not necessarily the connection between Crusoe and narrative plot generally, but, rather the emphasis on bourgeois accumulation that characterizes De Foe's narrative. Said feels the need to possess and map the space in question, which reinvents a narrative style that speaks to Mary Louise Pratt's idea of "planetary consciousness" from within a postcolonial space. As in Rousseau's confessional, Crusoe's story becomes a self-conscious template for a frustrated form of planetary consciousness in Out of Place. Although Crusoe is able to map a place for himself eventually, a large portion of DeFoe's narrative is caught between Robinson's numerous shipwrecks, where he lives largely without a well defined sense of home or place. If Robinson Crusoe's sense of place is central to narrativity, then the confessional and autoethnographic cultural critique of a frustrated Crusoe or Rousseau can be seen as marking the narrative possibility of the marginalized individual incapable of the self's

tale of property, accumulation, and salvation. The short circuiting of Crusoe's trajectory, while retaining its deliberately autoethnographic focus, thus becomes the thing for "mapping the unmappable"—the individual without a place. From this point of view contrapunct is everything, because, without a place, it is all there is.

To return to the quotation from Out of Place that focuses playing at both Robinson Crusoe and Tarzan in the garden outside of Said's boyhood home in Cairo: not only does Said's "garden" appear significant within a confessional tradition that has historically looked to the biblical Adam, in the case of Augustine, and *l'homme sauvage*, in the case of Rousseau, as significant players in its pastoral view of a life, but Tarzan of the Apes represents an unmistakable imperial and Darwinian turn in the variety of literary type living in "a state of nature." Tarzan is an *à-propos* character for imitation by Said in that the "ape man" is in many ways "Edward in reverse," an English boy whose identity has been erased by living the life of a "wild child" at the fringes of empire. Later in his autobiography, Said describes how his habit of playing at being Tarzan is reinforced by the Tarzan and other mostly American films \ "fastidiously chosen" by Said's mother when he happened to be "in good favor." Whereas there is something of the moral voice of Burke in Said's mother's idea that many American films were appropriate for Edward while "French and Italian films were taboo," there is clearly something of the voice of Rousseau in how the young Said reacts to both the pleasures of the cinema itself and the films on display there:

Sitting in the plush cinema seats, much more than in viewing the Hollywood films themselves—which struck me as a weird form of science fiction corresponding to nothing at all in my life—I luxuriated in the

sanctioned freedom to see and not be seen. Later I developed an irrecusable attachment to Johnny Weismuller's whole Tarzan world, especially to the uxorial and, in *Tarzan and His Mate* at least, virginally sensual Jane cavorting in their cosy tree house, whose clever Wemmicklike comforts seemed like a pure, uncomplicated distillation of our life as a family alone in Egypt. Once "The End" appeared on the screen in *Tarzan Finds a Son* or *Tarzan's Secret Treasure*, I began my ruminations on what happened afterward, on what the little family did in the tree house, on the "natives" they cultivated and befriended, on members of Jane's family who might have visited, on the tricks that Tarzan taught Boy, and on and on. (33-34)⁶

Said appears treceptive – and perhaps even more receptive than many a European youngster of his generation would be – to the goings-on of bourgeois life in so strange a setting as a treehouse in the jungles of Africa. His preference for the more domestic forms of the Tarzan Robinsonade speaks volumes in this regard, while the voyeuristic, sexualized aspects of this experience do more than resemble some of Rousseau's preferences regarding seeing and being seen. Moreover, his projected form of family romance in which the "uxorial" Jane titillates the young Said points to the familiar proximity between the maternal and the awakening sexuality of the young bourgeois male of modern confessional discourse. Said's "castles in Spain" and comfort found in being able to see people's lives unfold (however fictional they may be) without being seen corresponds closely to the young Rousseau's reaction to a similar variety of the "inquisitorial gaze." Broadly speaking, this "gaze" and the way of seeing that evolves

from it is something that Said's autobiography exposes as an export commodity within the European and American systems of global empire that dominated much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The process of globalization and the role played by American mass media in this process can be seen as having begun here, in a small but deliberate way, just before and after the Second World War.

Said's imagination, and desire to locate a place from which he was both invisible and able to see the world, were natural outgrowths of his parents' continual surveillance, which frequently focused on the body and "heightened...the body's peculiar, and problematic, status" within Said's family (59). In this regard, as well as with regard to Said's leukemia which hangs over the entire text, Out of Place participates wholeheartedly in the confessional's interest in the body and in medical discourse. For example, Said recalls a German Jewish pediatrician named Grünfelder, whom he visited when he was in Jerusalem for problems connected to: flat feet, an "odd habit of shuddering convulsively for a brief moment" while urinating, and a weak stomach (62). The list of potential ailments grows longer as Out of Place continues with Said's weak eyes, flat feet, poor posture, and overly large hands, among other things, coming in for criticism and attempts at diagnosis and reform. Reform becomes a form of discipline when Said's father buys Edward a truss in order to prevent him from slumping in the style of his maternal relatives:

The white cotton and latex truss with straps across my chest and over the shoulders was the consequence of years of my father trying to get me to "stand up straight." "Shoulders back," he would say, "shoulders back," and my mother—whose own posture was poor—would add in Arabic,

“Don’t slump.” As the offense persisted she resigned herself to the notion that my posture came from the Badrs, her mother’s family, and would routinely emit a desultory sigh, fatalistic and disapproving at the same time...(64)

Here, the Said family’s view of its defective matrilineal inheritance is extended to include a fear of the transference of poor posture, rather hyperbolically referred to by Said’s mother as “the Badr family humpback,” and this fear drives a unique form of bodily discipline. In light of the confessional’s interest in allegories of “the state of nature” which Said participates in, for example, via his memories of playing at Crusoe and Tarzan, Said’s recollection of his father’s systematic attempts at limiting Edward’s inheritance of maternal traits can be read as an effort to prevent a form of backsliding along the chain of evolution in which the “primitive” is the hunchbacked Badr male incapable of understanding and mastering the machinations of a capitalist economy, an odd combination of Darwinian and Rousseauvian traits assigned to earlier forms of humankind. Said’s father’s vision of the “new man,” who happens to walk upright, is made up of parts of Arab, American and European types. The desired result is an aggressive, opportunistic entrepreneur who shuns the traditional Arab world of Jerusalem for the more cosmopolitan worlds of Cairo and New York. Readers of Out of Place cannot help but feel that Said’s ability to make peace with his father later in life has something to do with his having succeeded, in both his father’s and his own eyes, in removing himself permanently to New York, where he lives largely outside the realm of maternal influences.

Over time, the regime of watchful discipline and concern for the body that dominated Said's life led the youngster to a predictable place in which he felt himself "to be seriously unwilling to let...[himself] be looked at, so conscious was...[he] of innumerable physical defects...To be looked at directly, and to return the gaze, was most difficult" (55). At its most extreme, Said is able to remember his parents' policing of his person down to the smallest detail, which included a voracious interest in preventing "self-abuse" as Edward entered his teenage years. At length, Said recalls being in his bedroom and hearing "a loud knock...followed immediately by a sternly authoritative wrenching of the handle" on "[a] chilly Saturday afternoon in late November 1949, at three o'clock." Said's father stepped into the bedroom – with Said's mother watching from the doorway – and holding his son's "pajama bottoms distastefully" he announced that because there had been no sign of wet dreams, Edward must have been abusing himself (70-1). Said does not refute his parents' assessment, but, rather, prodded by his father's question "Where did you learn how to abuse yourself?", Said recalls having recently observed an onanist in a manner that deepens the Rousseauvian context of his admission by reconfiguring aspects of Rousseau's confession of first observing onanism in the hostel in Turin:

...only a few weeks earlier, near the end of summer and just before school started, I had been loitering in the boy's dressing room at the Maadi Club...I knew relatively few people, and, with my usual shyness, would go into the dressing room to get into my bathing suit but would also take my time, hoping to strike up a friendship perhaps, or meet a stray acquaintance. My feelings of loneliness was unalloyed. This time,

however, a gaggle of older boys, wet with swimming, burst in. They were led by Ehab, a very tall and thin boy with a deep voice that exuded confidence. Rich, secure, at home, and in place. "Come on Ehab, do it," he was urged by the others...Ehab lowered his trunks, stood on the bench, and while peering over the wall at the pool's designated sunbathing area, began to masturbate. I heard myself blurt out, "Do it on Collette," Collette being a voluptuous woman in her twenties who always wore a black bathing suit and had graced my own private fantasies...We were all watching Ehab as he rubbed his penis slowly until, at last, he ejaculated, also slowly, at which point he started to laugh smugly...(73)

Of course, Said does not tell his parents this entire narrative but merely blurts out that "It was at the club, Ehab did it," in reply to his father's question regarding the source of his knowledge about onanism. Said's full recollection of the incident at this point, despite its going unrevealed to his parents at the time, points to both a level of intention in the narrative's Rousseauvian construction of identity and the author's hope for increasing verisimilitude. The open admission of onanism is meant to be exemplary of modernity while increasing the sense of the overall truthfulness of the narrative itself. This process is rendered all the more meaningful because one of the two openly masturbatory subjects in Out of Place appears to exemplify being "in place" or at least some movement in that direction. The young, well-liked young Ehab clearly performs a variety of onanism that, rather than being a solitary act, leads to a sense of connectedness to a wider community. For Said, the authoring of the Rousseauvian confessional, with its conventions surrounding the admission of onanism, can also be read as a move toward a larger

community because this variety of authorship is quintessentially European or Western in its character. To expose himself in this way is to construct a narrative of selfhood that places him very much in the West, and despite his feelings of displacement, the Romantic confessional form becomes his only real firm ground for inclusion on some level.

The manner in which Said establishes himself within the terms of the Romantic confessional illustrates an important continuum between Romantic constructions of selfhood and more postmodern notions of the self. Perhaps what is most significant in this is that the Romantic vocabulary made available to describe the self's alienation autoethnographically becomes essential to describing the hybridizing effects of the colonial and post-colonial experiences. Romanticism's "marginal man," who lived apart from the cultural mainstream, observing and critiquing himself and his society from this perspective becomes a model for a variety of post-structural and post-colonial cultural and literary criticism exemplified in the work of Said. The variety of "contrapuntal reading" that Said announced in Culture and Imperialism broadly predicts the situation of the autoethnographic project, but elements of this way of seeing were firmly implanted before Culture and Imperialism's publication in 1994. In his important 1984 essay "Reflections on Exile," not only does Said describe an exile who "knows that in a secular and contingent world, homes are always provisional" but he goes beyond assigning the exile special knowledge to note that "[e]xiles cross borders, break barriers of thought and experience" (170). This ability is bred out by the kind of "cultural distance" that informs the marginal voices of confessional autoethnography and which has numerous recent parallels in the explosion of autoethnographies focused on non-Western cultural

influences and practices both within the West and beyond. Said describes this ability as one of the “pleasures of exile”:

Most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and the plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, and awareness that—to borrow a phrase from music—is contrapuntal.

For an exile, habits of life, expression or activity in the new environment inevitably occur against the memory of these things in another environment. Thus both the new and the old environments are vivid, actual, and occurring together contrapuntally. There is a unique pleasure in this sort of apprehension...(171-2)

This contrapuntal way of seeing the world and reading texts parallels the ways of seeing both of the Romantic confessional autoethnographer and the modern sociologist or anthropologist. What draws these perspectives together might be best considered as a propensity for describing the world from the perspective of self-otherness, a perspective that clearly connects both Myrdal and Said, in the late twentieth century, to many confessional autoethnographers and social scientists who came before.

¹ Beyond Said's Culture and Imperialism (New York: Knopf, 1993), Orientalism (New York: Random House, 1978) marks his most significant moment of cultural criticism. Important critiques of Orientalism specifically and of Said's cultural criticism more generally can be found in Aijaz Ahmad's In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures (London: Verso, 1992) and James Clifford's "On Orientalism" (in The Predicament of Culture. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988. 255-77.). A characteristic recent example of broad support for Said's critical approach can be found in Mustapha Marrouchi's "Counternarratives, recoveries, refusals" (in Edward Said and the Work of the Critic: Speaking Truth to Power. ed. Paul A. Bové. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000. 187-228.). A balanced appraisal of Said's criticism can be found in Bart Moore-Gilbert's "Edward Said: Orientalism and Beyond" (in Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics. London: Verso, 1997. 34-73).

² In his recent essay "Auerbach in Istanbul," Amir Mufti reviews a critical controversy involving Auerbach and the anthropological point of view of the exile:

The importance of Auerbach for Said was noted in earlier responses to his work as well. In his well-known review of *Orientalism*, for instance, James Clifford pointed to the famous passage from Hugo of St. Victor about the loss of home and strength of consciousness. Cited by Auerbach at the end of his late essay, "Philology and *Weltliteratur*" (1952), an essay Said himself cotranslated in 1969, the passage appears repeatedly in Said's writings (on four occasions, by my count). . . . Clifford offers a peculiar gloss on Said's citing of this passage in *Orientalism*. It appears to him to signal Said's endorsement of the "anthropological commonplace" about "participant-observer" immersion in distant cultures: "The anthropologist as outsider and participant-observer (existential shorthand for the hermeneutical circle) is a familiar modern topos. Its wisdom—and authority—is expressed with a disturbing beauty by Hugo of St. Victor. The casualness of this series of equations is startling: anthropological fieldwork as exile; Said as closet anthropologist; participant-observation as an instance of the hermeneutic circle; and perhaps strangest of all, the twelfth-century monk as a kind of precursor of Malinowski. (231-32)

The quotation from Hugo reads as follows:

It is, therefore, a source of great virtue for the practiced mind to learn, bit by bit, first to change about invisible and transitory things, so that afterwards it may be able to leave them behind together. The man who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner; he to whom every soil is as his native one is already strong; but he is perfect to whom the entire world is as a foreign land. The tender soul has fixed his love on one spot in the world; the strong man has extended his love to all places; the perfect man has extinguished his. (as quoted in *Culture and Imperialism* 335)

I find myself seeing this issue in terms of both Clifford's and Mufti's positions both in light of Said's interest in the possibilities of anthropology, and his comment at the end of *Culture and Imperialism* with regards to this quotation from Hugo, that "[o]nly by embracing this attitude can a historian begin to grasp human experience and its written records in their diversity and experience" (171) a comment that speaks to the potential for recording and understanding human experience—ideas which are foundational to anthropology as well as history. I feel that Said's desire that East and West discover a method of communication that is less tainted by issues of power forces him to consider the potential of a far less problematic narrative space for anthropology. A postmodern autoethnography that allows for numerous contradictions and points of view may be just such a potential space for Said.

³ In an August 1999 interview published in *The Edward Said Reader*, Said points to the role played by his mother in beginning *Out of Place*. While commenting on the connection between his diagnosis of leukemia and his decision to write his autobiography Said comments:

I don't think I was ever consciously afraid of dying, though I soon grew aware of the shortness of time. My first impulse was to go some place quieter than New York, but that idea didn't last very long. And then, from out of the blue, I think probably left over from the death of my mother, who died in July of 1990, I considered writing about my early years, most of them connected to her. Two and a half years later, I began the memoir. (419)

⁴ In a move that Said cannot fully explain, his family moves to speaking exclusively Arabic when they are living briefly in Jerusalem before the Belfour Declaration took effect in 1947. Although this probably has something to do with a sense of "belonging" that Said identifies, within the context of the British checkpoints and tense politics of this period it is difficult to ignore a change in what English and England signified for the Suids. Not surprisingly, it is from this period that the Suids begin to spend extended periods in the United States.

⁵ This point is both problematized and made richer by Said's acceptance, in *Culture and Imperialism*, of Gauri Viwanathan's thesis regarding colonial schools "that what has conventionally been thought of as a discipline created entirely by and for British youth was first created by nineteenth-century colonial administrators for the ideological re-formation of a potentially rebellious Indian population, and then imported into England for a very different but related use there" (*Culture and Imperialism*, 42). See also Viwanathan's *The Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989. Of course, this kind of close observation and discipline is also a confessional commonplace, which indicates a potential connection between the confessional's and Said/Foucault's ideas regarding the relationship between discipline, the schoolroom, and the wider issue of the marginalized in society.

⁶In a 1989 essay entitled "Jungle Calling," Said feels that it is "[t]ime for a Weismuller revival" because "[j]uxtaposed with the wall-to-wall elaborate tackiness of the contemporary world there is an irrelevant beauty to the whole idea of Weismuller's self-sufficiency and relative silence" (336 & 334). Agreeing with Fanon's take on the complex relationship between the film version of Tarzan and race, Said goes on to describe a version of himself as he appears in *Out of Place*:

Yes, he belongs to the same epoch that produced traveling imperialists like Lawrence of Arabia, Kurtz in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, and of course Cecil Rhodes, but despite Hollywood and Burroughs himself, Tarzan is much less of a dominant figure than any of those white men. He is vulnerable, disadvantaged, and, because of his lonely silence in the movies, pathetic. Weismuller's face tells a story of stoic deprivation. In a world full of danger this orphan without upward mobility or social advancement as alternatives is, I've always felt, a forlorn survivor. Quite clearly that is not what Hollywood intended to convey. But it is what still comes through: Tarzan the hero diverted from worldly success and with no hope of rehabilitation, in permanent exile. (335-36)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmad, Aijaz. In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures. London: Verso, 1992.
- Aristotle. The Nicomachean Ethics. Trans. David Ross (Revised by J.L. Ackrill and J.O. Urmson). Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1925] 1980.
- Aristotle. The Nicomachean Ethics. Trans. Terence Irwin. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1985.
- Ashley, Kathleen and Leigh Gilmore, eds. Autobiography and Postmodernism. Amherst: U Massachusetts P, 1994.
- Atkinson, Paul. The Ethnographic Imagination: Textual Constructions of Reality. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Armstrong, Paul B. "Being "Out of Place": Edward W. Said and the Contradictions of Cultural Difference." MLQ 64:1 (2003): 97-121.
- Augustine. The Confessions of Saint Augustine. Trans. John K. Ryan. New York: Image Books/Doubleday, 1960.
- Barrell, John. The Infection of Thomas De Quincey: The Psychopathology of Imperialism. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Bateson, Mary Catherine. With a Daughter's Eye. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1984.
- Bauer, Ralph. "Between Repression and Transgression: Rousseau's *Confessions* and Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland*." ATQ, (1996) 311-329.
- Beer, John. "De Quincey and the Dark Sublime: The Wordsworth-Coleridge Ethos." Thomas De Quincey: Bicentenary Studies. Ed. R. L. Snyder. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985. 164-98.
- Benjamin, Walter. "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century." Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings. Ed. Peter Demetz. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.
- Benveniste, Emile. Problems in General Linguistics. Trans. Mary Elizabeth Meek. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971.
- Berger, John. Ways of Seeing. London: BBC and Penguin, 1972.
- Berman, Marshall. All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity. New York: Penguin Books, [1982] 1988.

- . The Politics of Authenticity: Radical Individualism and the Emergence of Modern Society. New York: Atheneum, 1970.
- Berkovitch, Sacvan. The Puritan Origins of the American Self. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.
- Bernstein, Susan David. Confessional Subjects: Revelations of Gender and Power in Victorian Literature and Culture. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Berridge, Virginia. Opium and the People: Opium Use and Drug Control Policy in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England. 2nd ed. London & New York, Free Association Books, 1999.
- Bloom, Allan. "Introduction." Emile, or On Education. By Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Trans. Allan Bloom. New York: Basic Books, 1979. 3-28.
- Bloom, Harold. The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry. New York: Oxford UP, 1973.
- Boas, Franz. Foreword. Coming of Age in Samoa. 1928. By Margaret Mead. New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1961.
- . "Anthropology." Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. 2: 73-110. 1930.
- Bok, Christian. "The Monstrosity of Representation: *Frankenstein* and Rousseau." English Studies in Canada 18 (1992): 415-32.
- Brooks, Peter. Troubling Confessions: Speaking Guilt in Law and Literature. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- . Body Work: Objects of Desire in Modern Narrative. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- . Reading for the Plot. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- . "'Godlike Science/Unhallowed Arts': Language, Nature, and Monstrosity." The Endurance of Frankenstein. George Levine and U.C. Knoepfmacher. eds. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979. 205-220.
- Cafarelli, Annette Wheeler. Prose in the Age of Poets: Romanticism and Biographical Narrative from Johnson to De Quincey. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

Cassirer, Ernst. Rousseau-Kant-Goethe. Trans. James Gutman, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945.

Cleij, Alina. A Genealogy of the Modern Self: Thomas De Quincey and the Intoxication of Writing. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Clifford, James. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

---. "On Orientalism." The Predicament of Culture. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988. 255-76.

---. "Introduction: Partial Truths." Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Eds. James Clifford and George E. Marcus. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. 1-26.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus. Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley: U of California P, 1986.

Cranston, Maurice. The Solitary Self: Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Exile and Adversity. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.

---. The Noble Savage: Jean-Jacques Rousseau 1754-1762. London: Allen Lane, 1991.

---. Jean-Jacques: The Early Life and Work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau 1712-1754. London: Allen Lane, 1983.

Cressman, Luther. A Golden Journey: Memoirs of an Archaeologist. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988.

Crio, Stelio. The Noble Savage: Allegory of Freedom. Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990.

Dannhauser, Werner J. "The Problem of the Bourgeois." The Legacy of Rousseau. Ed. Clifford Orwin and Nathan Tarcov. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997. 3-19.

Defoe, Daniel. Robinson Crusoe. Ed. Michael Shinagel. New York and London: W. W. Norton and Co., 1994.

De Luca, V. A. Thomas De Quincey: The Prose of Vision. Toronto, Buffalo, & London: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

De Man, Paul. "Autobiography as De-facement." Modern Language Notes. 94.5 (1979): 919-30.

- Denzin, Norman K. Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997
- . Interpretive Biography (Sage University Paper Series on Qualitative Research Methods). Vol. 17. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989.
- Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna Lincoln, eds. Handbook of Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994.
- De Quincey, Thomas. Confessions of an English Opium Eater. 1821. Ed. Althea Hayter. London: Penguin Books, 1971.
- . A Diary of Thomas De Quincey. 1803. Ed. Horace A. Eaton. London: Noel Douglas, 1927.
- . "Autobiographic Sketches." The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey. vol 1. Ed. David Masson. London: A. & C. Black, 1896. 14 vols.
- . "Confessions of an English Opium Eater." 1856. The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey. vol. 3. Ed. David Masson. London: A. & C. Black, 1896. 207-472. 14 vols.
- . "Suspiria de Profundis: Being a Sequel to Confessions of an English Opium-Eater." 1845. Confessions of an English Opium-Eater and Other Writings. Ed. Grevel Lindop. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. 87-181.
- Derrida, Jacques. "The Law of Genre." Trans. Avital Ronell. On Narrative. Ed. W.J.T. Mitchell. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1981. 51-71.
- Diamond, Stanley. "Anthropology in Question." Reinventing Anthropology. Ed. Dell Hymes. 1972. Reprint, Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1999.
- . "A Revolutionary Discipline." Current Anthropology 5 (Dec. 1964): 432-37.
- . "On the Origins of Modern Theoretical Anthropology." American Anthropologist 66.1 (Feb. 1964): 127-29.
- Dreyfus, Hubert and Paul Rabinow. "Introduction." Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics. 2nd ed. Eds. Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983. xvii-xxvii.
- Duchet, Michèle. Anthropologie et Histoire au siècle des lumières: Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, Diderot. Paris: François Maspero, 1971.
- Duffy, Edward. Rousseau in England: The Context for Shelley's Critique of the Enlightenment. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

- During, Simon. "Rousseau's Patrimony: Primitivism, Romance, and Becoming Other." Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory. Eds. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994. 47-71.
- Eakin, Paul John. How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Ellis, Carolyn. "Evocative Autoethnography: Writing Emotionally About Our Lives." Representation and the Text: Re-Framing the Narrative Voice. Eds. William G. Tierney and Yvonna S. Lincoln. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Fabian, Johannes. "Presence and Representation: The Other and Anthropological Writing." Critical Inquiry 16.4 (1990): 753-72.
- . Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- Firth, Raymond. Introduction. A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term. 1967. By Bronislaw Malinowski. Trans. Norbert Guterman. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989. xi-xix.
- . "Malinowski." Totems and Teachers. Ed. Sydel Silverman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.
- . "Contemporary British Social Anthropology." American Anthropologist 53.4 (1951): 474-489.
- Foucault, Michel. "The Subject and Power." Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics. 2nd ed. Eds. Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983. 208-226.
- . The History of Sexuality, vol. 1. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Freedman, Diane P. et al eds. The Intimate Critique: Autobiographical Literary Criticism. Durham: Duke UP, 1993.
- Friedman, Susan Stanford. "Women's Autobiographical Selves: Theory and Practice." The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings. Ed. Sheri Benstock. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. 34-62.
- Geertz, Clifford. Words and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.

- . The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gill, Stephen. Wordsworth: A Life. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Gilmore, Leigh. Introduction. Autobiography and Postmodernism. Ed. Kathleen Ashley, Leigh Gilmore, and Gerald Peters. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1994. 3-18.
- Girard, René. Deceit, Desire, and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure. trans. Yvonne Freccero. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965.
- Goodson, A. C. "Frankenstein in the Age of Prozac." Literature and Medicine 15.1 (1996): 16-32.
- Green, Martin. The Robinson Crusoe Story. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1990.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. Renaissance Self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Gusdorf, Georges. "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography." 1956. Trans. James Olney. Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical. Ed. James Olney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980. 28-48.
- Haney, David. "Nuptial Interruptions: Autobiographical Boundaries in Wordsworth's 'Farewell.'" Autobiography and Postmodernism. Eds. Kathleen Ashley and Leigh Gilmore. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1994. 240-65.
- Hartle, Ann. The Modern Self in Rousseau's Confessions. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame Press, 1983.
- Hayano, David. Poker Faces. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- . "Auto-ethnography." Human Organization 38 (1979): 99-104.
- Hepworth, Mike and Bryan S. Turner. Confession: Studies in Deviance and Religion. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.
- Horowitz, Asher. Rousseau, Nature, and History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Howard, Jane. Margaret Mead: A Life. New York: Harper and Row, 1977.
- Hymes, Dell, ed. Reinventing Anthropology. 1972. Reprint, Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1999.

- Jackson, Anthony. Anthropology at Home. London and New York: Tavistock Publications, 1987.
- Jamison, Kay Redfield. Touched by Fire: Manic Depressive Illness and Artistic Temperament. New York: Free Press, 1993.
- Jansson, Britta-Lena. Jan Myrdal : en kronologisk bibliografi 1943-1976. Stockholm: Oktoberförl, 1977.
- Jauss, Hans Robert. "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory." 1967. Toward an Aesthetic of Reception. trans. Timothy Bahti. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.
- Japp, A. H. ("H. A. Page"). Thomas De Quincey: His Life and Writings with Unpublished Correspondence. Vol. II. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., 1877.
- Jordan, John. Ed. De Quincey to Wordsworth: A Biography of a Relationship with the Letters of Thomas De Quincey to the Wordsworth Family. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962.
- Kant, Immanuel. Anthropology From a Pragmatic Point of View. Trans. Victor Lyle Dowdell. Ed. Hans H. Rudnick. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978.
- Kavanaugh, Thomas. Writing the Truth: Authority and Desire in Rousseau. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987.
- Kelly, Christopher. "Rousseau's Confessions." The Cambridge Companion to Rousseau. Ed. Patrick Riley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . "Introduction." The Reveries of the Solitary Walker, Botanical Writings, and Letters to Franquières. (*The Collected Writings of Rousseau*, vol. 8). Ed. Roger D. Masters and Christopher Kelly. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000. xi-xxviii.
- . Rousseau's Exemplary Life: The Confessions as Political Philosophy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Kelly, Christopher and Roger D. Masters. "Introduction." Rousseau Judge of Jean-Jacques: Dialogues. (*The Collected Writings of Rousseau*, vol. 1). Ed. Roger D. Masters and Christopher Kelly. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990. xiii-xxvii.

- . "Introduction." Discourse on the Origins of Inequality (Second Discourse), Polemics, and Political Economy (*The Collected Writings of Rousseau*, vol. 3). Ed. Roger D. Masters and Christopher Kelly. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990. xi-xxv.
- Lapsley, Hilary. Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict: The Kinship of Women. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.
- Laqueur, Thomas W. Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation. New York: Zone Books, 2003.
- Lattimer, Dean and Jeff Goldberg. Flowers in the Blood: The Story of Opium. New York: Franklin Watts, 1981.
- Leask, Nigel. British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Lejeune, Phillippe. "The Autobiographical Pact." trans. Katherine Leary. On Autobiography. Ed. Paul John Eakin. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989. 3-30.
- . Le Pacte Autobiographique. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975.
- Levine, George and U.C. Knoepfelmacher. eds. The Endurance of Frankenstein. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979.
- Levinson, Marjorie. Keats's Life of Allegory: The Origins of A Style. Oxford & New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. Tristes Tropiques. Trans. John and Doreen Weightman. New York: The Modern Library, 1997.
- . The Elementary Structure of Kinship. 1949. Trans. James Harle Bell, John Richard von Strumer, and Rodney Needham. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.
- . "Rousseau: The Father of Anthropology." UNESCO Courier 16.3 (1963): 10-14.
- Lindop, Grevel. The Opium-Eater: A Life of Thomas De Quincey. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1981.
- Lutkehaus, Nancy. Introduction. Blackberry Winter. 1972. By Margaret Mead. New York: Kondasha International, 1995. xi-xx.
- Lyotard, Jean-Francois. The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge. Trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1984.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term. 1967. Trans. Norbert

- Guterman. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- . Argonauts of the Western Pacific. 1922. London: Routledge & New York: Dutton, 1932.
- . "Special Foreword to the Third Edition." The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1932. xix-xlvi.
- . Argonauts of the Western Pacific. 1922. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1932.
- . The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia. 1929. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1932.
- . Sex and Repression in Savage Society. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927.
- Marcus, George. "What Comes (Just) After "Post"?: The Case of Ethnography." Handbook of Qualitative Research. Eds. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994.
- Marrouchi, Mustapha. "Counternarratives, Recoveries, Refusals." Edward Said and the Work of the Critic: Speaking Truth to Power. ed. Paul A. Bové. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000. 187-228.
- Marsden, William. The History of Sumatra. 1811. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966
- Mead, Margaret. Blackberry Winter. 1972. New York: Kodansha America. 1995.
- . Coming of Age in Samoa. 1928. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1973.
- . Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies. 1935. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1963.
- Meek, Ronald. Social Science and the Ignoble Savage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Miller, Nancy K. But Enough About Me. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Miller, J. Hillis. The Disappearance of God: Five Nineteenth-Century Writers. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Moore-Gilbert, Bart. Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics. London: Verso, 1997.

- Moran, Francis III. "Between Primates and Primitives: Natural Man as the Missing Link in Rousseau's Second Discourse." Journal of the History of Ideas. 54.1 (1993): 37-58.
- Myrdal, Jan. Pubertet. Stockholm: Nordstedt's, 1988.
- . Confessions of a Disloyal European. 1968
- . Introduction. Report from a Chinese Village. trans. Maurice Michael. New York: Pantheon Books, 1965. xiii-xxxiv.
- . Rapport från kinesisk by. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1963.
- Nord, Deborah Epstein. "The Social Explorer as Anthropologist: Victorian Travelers Among the Urban Poor." Visions of the Modern City: Essays in History, Art, and Literature. Ed. William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock. Proceedings of the Heyman Center for the Humanities. New York: Columbia University, 1983. 118-30.
- North, Julian. De Quincey Reviewed: Thomas De Quincey's Critical Reception, 1821-1994. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1997.
- . "Autobiography as Self-Indulgence: De Quincey and His Reviewers." Eds. Vincent Newey and Philip Shaw. Mortal Pages, Literary Lives: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Autobiography. Hants, England: Scholars Press, 1996. 61-70.
- Okely, Judith and Helen Callaway, eds. Anthropology and Autobiography. London: Routledge, 1992.
- O'Neal, John C. Seeing and Observing: Rousseau's Rhetoric of Perception. *Stanford French and Italian Studies* 41. Saratoga, CA: ANMA Libri & Co., 1985.
- Orwin, Clifford and Nathan Tarcov. "Introduction." The Legacy of Rousseau. Eds. Clifford Orwin and Nathan Tarcov. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997a. pp. xi-xiv.
- Orwin, Clifford and Nathan Tarcov, eds. The Legacy of Rousseau. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997b.
- Park, Robert E. "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment." The City. 1925. Ed. Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967. 1-46.
- . Introduction. The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Cultural Conflict. 1937. By Everett V. Stonequist. New York: Russell & Russell, 1961. xiii-xviii.

- Park, Robert E. and Ernest Bures. Introduction to the Science of Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921.
- Pascal, Roy. Design and Truth in Autobiography. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Pire, George. "J.-J. Rousseau et Robinson Crusoé." Revue de littérature comparée (Oct.-Dec. 1956): 479-496 .
- Plattner, Marc. Rousseau's State of Nature: An Interpretation of the Discourse on Inequality. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1979.
- Plotz, Judith. "Imaginary Kingdoms with Real Boys in Them: or How the Quincey Brothers Built the British Empire." The Wordsworth Circle. 27.3 (1996): 131-35.
- Porter, Dennis. "Anthropological Tales: Unprofessional Thoughts on the Mead/Freeman Controversy." Notebooks in Cultural Analysis 1 (1984): 15-37.
- Porter, Laurence M. "Autobiography Versus Confessional Novel." Symposium. 30 (1976): 144-59.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- . "Fieldwork in Common Places." Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Eds. James Clifford and George E. Marcus. Berkeley: U of California P, 1986. 27-50.
- Rabinow, Paul. Reflections of Fieldwork in Morocco. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977.
- . Symbolic Domination: Cultural Form and Historical Change in Morocco. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Reed-Danahay, Deborah, ed. Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social. Oxford: Berg, 1997.
- . Introduction. Reed-Danahay, Deborah, ed. Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social. Oxford: Berg, 1997.
- Roberts, Edward John Noel. Malinowski's Novels. M.A. Thesis. Michigan State University, 2000. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2000.
- Roberts, Daniel Sanjiv. Revisionary Glean: De Quincey, Coleridge, and the High Romantic Argument. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.

- Roman, Laura E. "Delving Into De Quincey's Palimpsest: Myth-Making, Digressions and an Unpublished Text." The Wordsworth Circle 26.2 (1995): 41-44
- Rosario, Vernon A. The Erotic Imagination: French Histories of Perversity. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Rose, Dan. Living the Ethnographic Life. (Sage University Paper Series on Qualitative Research Methods) Vol. 23. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990.
- Rose, Jacqueline. "Edward Said Talks to Jacqueline Rose." Edward Said and the Work of the Critic: Speaking Truth to Power. ed. Paul A. Bové. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000. 9-30.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. Confessions. trans. Angela Scholar. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . "The Neuchâtel Preface to The Confessions of J.-J. Rousseau." Trans. Christopher Kelly. The Confessions and Correspondence, including the Letter of Malesherbes (*The Collected Writings of Rousseau*, vol. 5). Ed. Christopher Kelly, Roger D. Masters, and Peter G. Stillman. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995. pp. 585-593.
- . Emile, or On Education. Trans. Allan Bloom. New York: Basic Books, 1979.
- . Les Confessions. Autres texts autobiographiques. Vol. 1 of Oeuvres complètes. ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard, 1959. 3-656.
- . "Ebauches des Confessions." Les Confessions. Autres texts autobiographiques. Vol. 1 of Oeuvres complètes. ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard, 1959. 1148-1164.
- . Oeuvres complètes. Ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond. 5 vols. Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard, 1959-1995.
- . The Confessions. Trans. J. M. Cohen. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1953.
- Rubinstein, Marc A. "'My Accursed Origin': The Search for the Mother in Frankenstein." Studies in Romanticism 15 (1976): 165-94.
- Rzepka, Charles J. Sacramental Commodities: Gift, Text, and the Sublime in De Quincey. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995.
- . "De Quincey and the Malay: Dove Cottage Idolatry." The Wordsworth Circle 24.3 (1993): 180-84.
- Said, Edward. "An Interview with Edward Said." The Edward Said Reader. Ed. Moustafa

- Bayoumi and Andrew Rubin. New York: Vintage Books, 2000. 419-44.
- . "Jungle Calling." 1989. Reflections on Exile and Other Essays. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. 327-36.
- . "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors." 1988. Reflections on Exile and Other Essays. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. 293-316.
- . "Michel Foucault, 1927-1984." 1984. Reflections on Exile and Other Essays. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. 187-97.
- . Out of Place. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.
- . Culture and Imperialism. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- . "Reflections on Exile." Granta 13 (1984): 159-172.
- . Orientalism. New York: Random House, 1978.
- Schama, Simon. Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1989.
- Schneider, Matthew. Original Ambivalence: Autobiography and Violence in Thomas De Quincey. New York: Peter Lang, 1995.
- Schwartz, Joel. The Sexual Politics of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. "Jane Austen and the Masturbating Girl." Critical Inquiry 17.4 (1991): 818-37.
- Shapiro, Melford. Oedipus in the Trobriands. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Shaver, Chester L. & Alice C. Chester. Wordsworth's Library: A Catalogue. New York and London, 1979.
- Shelley, Mary. Frankenstein. 2nd ed. Ed. Johanna M. Smith. Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000.
- Spender, Stephen. "Confessions and Autobiography." Auto-biography: Essays Theoretical and Critical. Ed. James Olney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980. 115-22.
- Starobinski, Jean. The Living Eye. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

- . Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- . "The Style of Autobiography." 1971. Trans. Seymour Chatman. Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical. Ed. James Olney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980. 73-83.
- Stelzig, Eugene. The Romantic Subject in Autobiography. Charlottesville: The University of Virginia, 2000.
- Stengers, Jean and Anne Van Neck. Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror Trans. Kathryn A. Hoffmann. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Stocking, George W. After Tylor: British Anthropology 1888-1951. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.
- . The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology.. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.
- . Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict, and Others: Essays on Culture and Personality. History of Anthropology vol. 4. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.
- Stonequist, Everett V. The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Cultural Conflict. 1937. New York: Russell & Russell, 1961.
- Strenski, Ivan. "Malinowski: Second Positivism, Second Romanticism." Man 17.4 (1982): 766-771.
- Sudan, Rajani. "Englishness 'A'muck: De Quincey's Confessions." Illicit Sex: Identity Politics in Modern Literature. Ed. Thomas DiPiero and Pat Gill. Athens : University of Georgia Press, 1997. 163-180.
- Tambling, Jeremy. Confession: Sexuality, Sin, the Subject. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Taylor, Charles. Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Tierney, William G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. eds. Representation and the Text: Re-Framing the Narrative Voice. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Tissot, S. A. Onanism. 1766. Trans. A. Hume. [republished in same volume with D.T. Bienville, Nymphomania, Trans. Edward Sloane Wilmot, 1775.] New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1985.

- Todorov, Tzvetan. Frail Happiness: An Essay on Rousseau. Trans. John T. Scott and Robert D. Zaretsky. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.
- Trinh, M. T. Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1989.
- Tyler, Stephen A. The Unspeakable: Discourse, Dialogue, and Rhetoric in the Postmodern World. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
- Valentini, Norberto and Clara Di Meglio. Sex and the Confessional. 1973. Trans. Melton S. Davis. New York: Stein and Day, 1974.
- Van De Pitte, Frederick P. "Introduction." Anthropology From a Pragmatic Point of View. By Immanuel Kant. Trans. Victor Lyle Dowdell. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978.
- Van Maanen, John. Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988.
- Veeder, H. Aram. Confessions of the Critics. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Viwanathan, Gauri. The Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.
- Wasserman, Renata R. Mautner. Exotic Nations: Literature and Cultural Identity in the United States and Brazil, 1830-1930. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Wayne, Helena. "Foreword." Malinowski between two worlds: The Polish Roots of an anthropological tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. xi-xviii.
- Williams, Huntington. Rousseau and Romantic Autobiography. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Williams, Raymond. The Country and the City. New York: Oxford UP, 1973.
- Winthrop, Robert H. Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.
- Wokler, Robert. "Ancient Postmodernism in the Philosophy of Rousseau." The Cambridge Companion to Rousseau. Ed. Patrick Riley. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001. 418-44.

Woolf, Virginia. "Robinson Crusoe." The Second Common Reader. New York: Harvest Books, 1932. 42-49.

Wu, Duncan. Wordsworth's Reading 1770-1799. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

---. Wordsworth's Reading 1800-1815. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Young, Michael W. Introduction. Malinowski's Kiriwina: Fieldwork Photography 1915-1918. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998. 1-27.